

**IMAGINED WOMEN:
CONSUMERISM, NATIONALISM, AND GENDER IN THE *LADIES'*
HOME JOURNAL AND *CANADIAN HOME JOURNAL* OF THE 1920S**

by

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Imagined Women: Consumerism, Nationalism, and Gender in the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* of the 1920s

Abstract

This thesis offers a comparative study of U.S. and Canadian print cultures of the 1920s, through examination of the *Ladies' Home Journal* (1883-2014) and *Canadian Home Journal* (1905-1958) respectively. Drawing on recent scholarship in the field of periodical studies, this study considers these magazines as collaborative literary texts, cultural artefacts, and commercial products, bringing together aspects of literary studies and consumer culture theory. In doing so, it considers how these titles negotiated competing literary and commercial demands and the extent to which this was nationally specific. Canadian periodicals have often been viewed as merely derivative of their American counterparts. I argue here that this is not the case. While both titles make use of a similar range of miscellaneous content, and adhere to common conventions of the magazine form, the manner in which each makes use of the form to construct their imagined audience is notably different. This is particularly evident in the period of the 1920s, in the context of modernity and burgeoning consumer culture. The overlooked complexities of these magazines are revealed through comparative reading, and this thesis provides the first comparative study of American and Canadian mass-market magazines.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	6
List of Illustrations	7
Introduction	9
Magazine as Form, Magazine as Genre	12
An American/Canadian Comparison	16
Imagined Audiences	22
The Aspirational Modern Housewife of the 1920s	25
Structure of Thesis	26
Chapter One: Two Home Journals: Context and Methodology	32
Popular Culture or Mass Culture?	33
Women's Mass-market Magazines of the 1920s	39
Serial Print Media	51
Periodical Studies	54
Consumer Culture Theory	58
Literary Ways of Reading: Close, Surface, Distant	63
Methodology	66
Chapter Two: The Art of Femininity: Aspiration and Self-improvement	74
Experience: Character and the Domestic Self	88
Appearance: Beauty, Fashion, and the Visual Self	114
Conclusions	142
Chapter Three: The Home and Domesticity: Readers, Consumers, Citizens	147
An Ideal Opportunity: The Christmas Issues of 1920	158

Beyond the Issue: Content Analysis and Contents Pages	200
Conclusions	209
Chapter Four: Fashionable, Beautiful, Moral: Idealised Images of Femininity	214
The Face of the Magazine: Cover Images	221
Fashion	239
Makeup	257
Conclusions	278
Conclusion	284
Appendix: Content Analysis of Advertising from the <i>Canadian Home Journal</i> and <i>Ladies' Home Journal</i>	296
Works Cited	314

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List of Illustrations

- 1 Campbell's Soup advert. *Ladies' Home Journal* Aug.1927
- 2 Clark's Soup advert. *Canadian Home Journal* Aug. 1927
- 3 Campbell's Soup advert. *Ladies' Home Journal* Nov. 1928
- 4 Clark's Soup advert. *Canadian Home Journal* Nov. 1928
- 5 California Sunkist advert. *Ladies' Home Journal* May 1920
- 6 California Sunkist advert. *Canadian Home Journal* May 1920
- 7 "Velvet and Metal Cloths" fashion feature. *Ladies' Home Journal* Oct. 1926
- 8 "Four Striking Ensembles Designed in New York" fashion feature. *Ladies' Home Journal* Nov. 1928
- 9 "Frocks Find New Ways of Hinting at a Higher Waistline" fashion feature. *Canadian Home Journal* Aug. 1926
- 10 "Frocks that are Formal, Informal and In Between" fashion feature. *Canadian Home Journal* Dec. 1928
- 11 Ivory Soap advert. *Ladies' Home Journal* Nov. 1928
- 12 Pompeian Beauty Powder advert. *Ladies' Home Journal* Aug. 1922
- 13 Palmolive advert. *Ladies' Home Journal* Sept. 1922
- 14 "The Real Peace on Earth" editorial. *Ladies' Home Journal* Dec. 1920
- 15 Editorial. *Canadian Home Journal* Dec. 1920
- 16 *Ladies' Home Journal* advert. *The Milwaukee Journal* 1 Dec. 1920
- 17 "Thrift and American Women" article. *Ladies' Home Journal* Aug. 1920
- 18 Cover image. *Canadian Home Journal* July 1920

- 19 Cover image. *Ladies' Home Journal* Oct. 1920
- 20 Cover image. *Canadian Home Journal* Feb. 1922
- 21 Cover image. *Ladies' Home Journal* Feb. 1922
- 22 Cover image. *Canadian Home Journal* Oct. 1922
- 23 Cover image. *Ladies' Home Journal* Oct. 1922
- 24 Cover image. *Canadian Home Journal* July 1922
- 25 Cover image. *Ladies' Home Journal* July 1922
- 26 Cover image. *Canadian Home Journal* June 1928
- 27 Cover image. *Ladies' Home Journal* Aug. 1928
- 28 Editorial. *Canadian Home Journal* Apr. 1921
- 29 "French News on Dolman Sleeves..." fashion feature. *Canadian Home Journal* Nov. 1926
- 30 Pompeian advert. *Canadian Home Journal* Nov. 1920
- 31 Jonteel advert. *Ladies' Home Journal* Apr. 1922
- 32 Colgate advert. *Canadian Home Journal* July 1920
- 33 Woodbury Soap advert. *Ladies' Home Journal* June 1920
- 34 Watkin's advert. *Ladies' Home Journal* July 1920

Introduction

In the first place, this magazine, as a whole, stands for and expresses through its printed pages the highest ideals of womanhood—culture, refinement, education. . . . [It] will give any woman, even though her reading be limited to this one magazine, splendid assistance in her natural vocation of building that greatest of institutions, the Home.

- *Ladies' Home Journal*, March 1922

The appeal of the *Canadian Home Journal* lies primarily in the facts [sic] that it is devoted to the interests of the home, and that it is thoroughly Canadian.

- *Canadian Home Journal*, June 1926

In March 1922, the *Ladies' Home Journal* published a letter from Mrs. Irene Darnell-Hartwick, of Low Moor, Virginia. Introducing the letter, editor Barton W. Currie stated, "We doubt that any of us could, so ably, in such brief space, state our aims and objectives" (26). Throughout the letter, Mrs. Darnell-Hartwick lavishes flattering comments on the range of content characteristic of the magazine; its "editorials and special articles by men and women especially qualified to write on upon these subjects", its "clean and wholesome" fiction, and its fashions which are "conservative and of good taste". The letter, together with the editorial endorsement, represents a rare example of an explicit statement of intent on the part of the *Ladies' Home Journal* (1883-2014), confirming its attitudes towards modernity and femininity, its priorities in terms of content, and—perhaps most crucially—the centrality of the home. The home is of equal importance in a full-page statement in the *Canadian Home Journal* (1905-1958). Untitled and unsigned, it too describes the magazine's range of content; its "entertaining, wholesome and clean-cut" fiction, the "very latest creations and styles" in fashions which offer also "practical information", and features "relative to the home and home life" (66). It differs from the piece

in the *Ladies Home Journal*, however, in that national identity is prominent throughout: “There is no doubt that the Canadian who is truly Canadian at heart, should know the preference for Canadian achievements and Canadian enterprise” (66). These magazines were, in their respective countries, among the most successful and enduring women’s titles of the twentieth century. They were quality monthlies, aimed at a middle-class, aspirational audience, and distinctive in their genteel ethos. As their titles indicate, there were close similarities between these magazines. Yet, surprisingly, no previous study has compared the two. But what is the value and purpose of studying such titles, and what can we learn from them?

In a recent article on periodical studies, Patrick Collier comments,

We might start with only one assumption: that the periodical is valuable simply because it exists—because it once performed some desirable functions for some number of people—and set as our first conceptual task reaching some hypotheses on what those functions were. (109)

Magazines have long been considered useful as historical sources. In the case of women’s magazines, they have been valued by researchers because they provide representations of idealised or problematic—depending on the perspective of the viewer—lifestyles, patterns of consumption, and gender roles. Indeed these assertions continue, as shown in the introduction to the recent *Women in Magazines: Research, Representation, Production and Consumption* (2016), which states, “One goal of the collection is to demonstrate the usefulness of magazines as historical sources” (Ritchie et al 6). Beyond historical value, though, magazines—particularly commercially popular

magazines—have often been marginalised as objects of literary study. While modernist little magazines have been accepted as valid objects of study for quite some time,¹ twentieth-century popular, pulp, mass-market, or middlebrow magazines have traditionally been regarded as having little or no literary merit and therefore as superfluous to literary studies. Yet, as Patrick Collier succinctly points out, we can assume that the magazine—whether it falls into the category of literary or pulp, slick or middlebrow, or indeed any other—has value, based purely on the fact that it “performed some desirable functions” for its audience. But what were these functions, and how did they differ in these two, rather different cultural contexts? To what extent are the titles, their content and concerns constructed in a national framework? Taking as a starting point these questions, this research considers the magazine as a collaborative literary text, a cultural artefact, and a commercial product. This involves an interdisciplinary approach, combining modes of analysis drawn from literary studies, cultural history, and consumer culture theory. In this, I focus attention on two specific titles: the American *Ladies’ Home Journal*, launched in 1883 and ceasing monthly publication in 2014, and the Anglophone Canadian *Canadian Home Journal*, established in 1905 and enduring until 1958. In doing so, I comparatively examine the various positions occupied by the titles; questioning how they were constructed, how they generated meaning, and how they

¹ Amongst the many critical discussions see, in particular, Brown University and the University of Tulsa’s Modernist Journals Project (modjourn.org); Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker’s *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume II* (2015); and Robert Scholes and Cliff Wulfman’s *Modernism and the Magazines: An Introduction* (2010).

functioned within and contributed to the frameworks of nationalism, consumerism, and gender.

Magazine as Form, Magazine as Genre

Mass-market magazines, I would argue, are spaces in which literary, ideological, and commercial interests intersect. They can therefore be considered to perform—or more accurately attempt to perform—literary, ideological, and commercial functions. In the context of the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal*, this can be seen most clearly in their most prominent forms of content: fiction, articles, and advertisements. Yet this is not to imply that these, and other, forms of content came together neatly. The disparate elements which overlap and collide—at times influencing and shaping each other, at others contradicting each other—are arguably one of the defining characteristics of the magazine form. Meanwhile, the shared or contradictory concerns expressed by these elements can be said to contribute to the understanding of the magazine as a genre. As Caroline Levine comments, in her recent book *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network* (2015), the terms “genre” and “form” have wrongly been used interchangeably. She explains that form and genre “can be differentiated precisely by the differing ways in which they traverse time and space”, largely rendered explicit by their relation to context (13). In accordance with her argument, in my analysis of magazines, I consider form and genre as distinct though complementary, since this enables a more nuanced understanding of the magazine as a literary and cultural text.

Levine argues that genre,

involves acts of classifying texts. An ensemble of characteristics, including styles, themes, and marketing conventions, allows both producers and audiences to group texts into certain kinds. . . . Thus any attempt to recognize a work's genre is a historically specific and interpretive act: one might not be able to tell the difference between a traditional folktale and a story recently composed for children or to recognize a satire from a distant historical moment. (13)

Following this logic, the magazine as genre is plural, shifting, and unfixed.

Women's magazines can be understood as a genre which, whilst sharing some of the characteristics of magazines aimed at men, is specific and distinguishable through its dedication to interests that are gendered feminine such as domestic advice, fashion, and beauty. Yet the genre is not fixed throughout time; contemporary women's magazines, in terms of attitudes towards these interests, do not share all of the recognisable characteristics of women's magazines in the 1920s. For example, while make-up and beauty are arguably the hallmark of contemporary women's magazines, they were less prominent and more contentious in women's magazines of the 1920s. This is not to say that these are separate genres: a cursory glance at the concerns, topics and marketing conventions of both provide ample evidence of parallels. Rather, the point is that the genre adapts to its context and can therefore be most fully understood with that in mind. Forms, on the other hand,

defined as patternings, shapes, and arrangements, have a different relation to context: they can organize both social and literary objects, and they can remain stable over time. . . . More stable than genre, configurations and arrangements organize materials in distinct and iterable ways no matter what their context or audience. Forms thus migrate across contexts in a way that genres cannot. (Levine 13)

Thus, consideration of the magazine as a form applies to all magazines regardless of genre. Margaret Beetham, in her essay “Toward a Theory of the Periodical as Publishing Genre”, alludes to this distinction between genre and form in the context of ephemerality, stating,

Periodicals are among the most ephemeral of printed forms. Read today and rubbish tomorrow. . . . Yet, while individual periodicals are ephemeral, the form has proved immensely resilient and self-renewing. It has developed from the eighteenth, throughout the nineteenth, and into the twentieth century as *the* characteristic modern form of print. (19)

Ephemerality and self-renewal, I argue, are core characteristics of the form, arrangements which allow for the portability of the form across time and genre. Additionally, I argue that the basic formal characteristics of the magazine also include its collaborative nature, and its commercial underpinning. This is by no means an exhaustive list, but it does indicate the way in which this research understands the magazine as both form and genre, and the necessity of a methodological approach which includes literary close reading and perspectives from consumer culture theory.

It is evident that, within the context of the magazine and elsewhere, genre often brings together form with styles, concerns, themes, and other characteristics, and I by no means intend to suggest that form and genre do not interact.

Indeed, as Caroline Levine further explains,

Genres, then, can be defined as customary constellations of elements into historically recognizable groupings of artistic objects, bringing together forms with themes, styles, and situations of reception, while forms are organizations or arrangements that afford repetition and portability across materials and contexts. (13-14)

This understanding of the difference between genre and form acknowledges the interplay between the two and offers a theoretical starting point for examination of the manner in which the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* operated. It also raises the question, are these two magazines part of the same genre in different national contexts or would it be more accurate to say that they belong to the genres of American women's magazines and Canadian women's magazines respectively?² Perhaps more pertinently, does this matter? Given that Canadian magazines have long been, rather unflatteringly, dismissed as derivative of their American counterparts, I would argue that it does. If we assume the former to be true—that they are part of the same genre in different national contexts—then the overall operation and function of both titles should be the same. If the latter is true—that they belong to distinct genres—then we would expect the manner in which they operate to be different, perhaps making use of the same forms, but distinct “themes, styles, and situations of reception” (14).³ This study keeps this question in mind throughout its comparative exploration.

² In “The National Longing for Form”, Timothy Brennan comments on “the (largely illusory) divisions of literature into distinct ‘national literatures’” (48), a separation he attributes to the German Romantics in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. These divisions, he argues, have been crucial in the conceptual formation of the nation. A cursory glance at library shelves or undergraduate course titles—where categories such as “American literature” or “Canadian Literature” are readily apparent—demonstrates the enduring nature of national categories.

³ Should this be the case, the two genres would not be entirely disconnected. As Gretchen Woertendyke points out, in the introduction to her study of the U.S. romance genre, recent work in hemispheric studies—and, arguably, also in border and transatlantic studies—has engaged with the issue of considering the nation as a bounded whole, instead exploring the networks and tensions “out of which the nation takes shape as an alternatively assumed, imagined, and enduringly important category—but ultimately just one category in a broader interpretive field” (12).

An American/Canadian Comparison

One of the most significant criticisms of periodical studies is the way in which research often takes place in a myriad of disciplinary silos. Speaking of the “field” of periodical studies, Maria DiCenzo states,

In many ways the term “field” is a misnomer, given how various the disciplinary communities and locations for this work are, including Victorian studies, American/Canadian Studies, newspaper and periodical/media history, women’s rhetoric studies, journalism history, book history, cultural studies, to name the most obvious. Working at the intersection of some of these areas I am struck by how much repetition and how little crossover there is, with a few notable exceptions, in spite of how similar are the objects of study. (21)

Indeed, DiCenzo’s assessment is accurate, as evidenced by her example of the ubiquity of Latham and Scholes’ article “The Rise of Periodical Studies”, which is cited approvingly in almost all discussions of twentieth-century periodicals, yet which is problematic because it stresses the “newness” of the field without acknowledging the work of established associations including the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals and the Research Society for American Periodicals (22-23). My research, like that of DiCenzo, works at the intersection of a number of disciplines, including cultural studies, American studies, Canadian studies, gender studies, consumer culture theory, and literary criticism, making use of a variety of approaches and building on a diverse range of existing research.

Whilst my methods are wide-ranging, it is necessary, as with all single-authored studies of periodicals, to limit the scope of my primary materials quite strictly,

particularly in the context of the “infinite archive”.⁴ Simultaneously, however, it is crucial to engage across the usual disciplinary and national boundaries. This research is made manageable in two ways by focusing on two titles as they existed in the 1920s. By the 1920s, the United States and Canada were both modern nations which had experienced similar shifts from a production- to consumer-based economy.⁵ The period of the 1920s was important for both American and Canadian magazines, albeit in different ways. The American magazines, established in the late nineteenth century, were more successful than ever, achieving wider circulations and becoming increasingly entwined with advertising and the burgeoning consumer culture. Meanwhile, the Canadian magazines, established comparatively later than their American counterparts, were increasing in popularity and providing opportunities for a specifically Canadian national advertising. The interdependence of women’s magazines and a burgeoning consumer culture has been widely acknowledged⁶ and while this was not unique to the period of the 1920s, the magazines and their advertising, in both Canada and the United States, were more popular than ever at this time. In this context, I will undertake a cross-border analysis which

⁴ This is a concern for periodical studies, as Patrick Collier comments, “Scholars accustomed to working with periodicals will, I expect, nod in recognition at the notions of an unimaginable plenitude of texts” (107). It is also echoed elsewhere. For more see Margaret Cohen, “Narratology in the Archive of Literature” (2009), and Ian Milligan, “Lost in the Infinite Archive: The Promise and Pitfalls of Web Archives” (2016).

⁵ While Canada is often depicted as trailing the United States in terms of modernity, Donica Belisle accurately points out that, “between the 1880s and the 1920s, the growth of cities, industry, the state, and capitalism transformed Canada into a modern nation” (3).

⁶ For more, see Roland Marchand’s *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (1986), Jennifer Scanlon’s *Inarticulate Longings: The Ladies’ Home Journal and the Promises of Consumer Culture* (1995), and Russell Johnstone’s *Advertising Themselves: The Emergence of Canadian Advertising* (2001).

has, astonishingly, never been attempted in previous scholarship. There are numerous comparative studies of magazines, but the majority are transatlantic in scope focusing primarily on American and British examples.⁷ This research represents the first comparative study of American and Canadian mass-market magazines as collaborative texts, cultural artefacts, and commercial products, and explores the potential of cross-border comparison in this context. As the following discussion demonstrates, a comparative approach renders visible functions of each title which are less apparent when they are considered individually. For example, the extensive and sustained nation-building intentions of the *Canadian Home Journal* are brought into sharper focus when compared to the relatively secure national identity expressed by the *Ladies' Home Journal*.

It is important to note that this research does not attempt to position these titles as representative of all American or Canadian publications; rather, through comparative consideration it seeks to understand how these specific titles operated, the manner in which they negotiated their various interests, and the extent to which this was nationally specific. To draw on Faye Hammill, Paul Hjartarson, and Hannah McGregor's objectives, expressed in their introduction to the *English Studies in Canada* special issue "Magazines and/as Media", my aim "is not to synthesize but to juxtapose" (15). In this study, I want to prioritise achieving the fullest understanding of the verbal and visual texture, market

⁷ Examples of this include David Reed's *The Popular Magazine in Britain and the United States, 1880-1960* (1997) and Ann Ardis and Patrick Collier's *Transatlantic Print Culture, 1880-1940: Emerging Media, Emerging Modernisms* (2008).

positioning, and audience address of these specific titles, which I argue are deserving objects of study in their own right. These magazines were highly influential, and accordingly should be better understood. Beyond this, I use these two titles as case studies in order to begin to develop comparative methods for reading American and Canadian magazines. Finally, on a third level of generality, I present some methods and insights which are more broadly applicable to commercial women's magazines in the early twentieth century. These magazines addressed a similar readership and arguably have comparable literary and commercial aspirations, circumscribed by the home and relatively traditional constructions of gender. Yet they were products of distinctly different national and cultural contexts. Whilst the United States had rejected colonial rule with their Revolutionary War in the late eighteenth century, subsequently becoming a republic, Canada was firmly part of the British Empire. As Margaret Conrad points out, in establishing a "responsible government" in Canada in the mid-nineteenth century,

cautious colonials developed a whole new vocabulary to describe their ambiguous political condition, speaking of 'autonomy' not 'independence,' adopting 'dominion' instead of 'kingdom' as their nation's status, and emphasizing 'evolution' rather than 'revolution' in their approach to reform. (5)

In the 1920s, Canada was still a dominion and would not become fully independent of British rule until the Statute of Westminster in 1931. Even after this, Anglophone Canada retained a strong impress from British culture and, even today, the constitutional relationship has not been entirely severed, given that the Queen remains the titular head of state. Of course, a separate sense of national and cultural identity was and is present in Quebec, naturally aligned

with France.⁸ Anglophone Canadian national identity was produced in a manner which was not incompatible with a sense of Britishness, and in contrast to the rhetoric of freedom, individuality and exceptionalism inherent in discussion of the American national identity, which consistently takes pains to position itself as unique.⁹ This context is significant, when interrogating the construction of nationalism in each title.

Gerald Freisen, in his book *Citizens and Nation: An Essay on History, Communication, and Canada* (2000), makes a compelling argument that “the very acts of communication—the social contexts created by voice, writing, print and modern electronic forms—establish a framework for citizenship and nationality and thus Canada” (3). Indeed, the historical, political, and governmental differences between the United States and Canada are vital within this context. They provide examples of the articulation of distinctly different conceptions of national identity and citizenship, privileging certain characteristics over others. These constructions should also be considered in the context of the notable difference in material circumstances of Canadian and American citizens. Canada was, and remains, a sparsely settled country, with more land space than the United States, but a significantly smaller population.

⁸ While this study limits itself to publications in English, and therefore to the United States and Anglophone Canada, there have been occasional comparative studies across language boundaries within Canada, including Eva-Marie Kröller’s “*Une terre humaine*: Expo 67, Canadian Women, and *Chatelaine/ Châtelaine*” (2010) and Faye Hammill and Michelle Smith’s *Magazines, Travel, and Middlebrow Culture in Canada: Canadian Periodicals in English and French, 1925-1960* (2015).

⁹ For more, see Ian Tyrrell’s, “American Exceptionalism in an Age of International History” (1991).

While the United States boasted a population of 106,881,000 in 1920, Canada's population was less than ten percent of that figure, at 8,798,000.¹⁰ As Conrad comments, no one "can ignore the tremendous geographical challenge of building a nation-state that spans the northern half of the North American continent" (2). This dramatic difference between the United States and Canada is reflected in the circulation figures of the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal*. It does not preclude a comparison between the two nations or the two titles; rather, it provides a necessary backdrop against which to consider how these titles constructed a homogenous and connected imagined audience, one which minimised the differences of their likely actual audience.

As Paul Boyer comments, "In the census of 1920, with sixty-eight cities exceeding the 100,000 figure, America's urban population for the first time surpassed the symbolic 50 percent mark" (174). Canada, perhaps surprisingly, was not far behind. In 1921, the urban to rural split was 50.5% to 49.5% (Weaver 23). These figures somewhat obscure the process of suburbanisation, crucial in the understanding of these magazines. The overcrowded cities, transport links and housing developments which stimulated suburban growth were all apparent substantially earlier in the United States than in Canada. While larger American cities saw suburbs springing up by the mid-nineteenth century, the conditions which necessitated suburban growth did not become

¹⁰ Canada's low population demanded it allowed immigration in the interwar years, while the United States firmly curtailed it. The interwar period saw, in both countries, a resurgence of nativist sentiment. For more on this see William H. Katerberg's "The Irony of Identity" (1995).

pressing in Canada until the early twentieth century.¹¹ Again, these contextual facts are not important with regards to the actual readership, as it is safe to say that both magazines would have been read by urban, suburban, and rural women; rather, they are important as this understanding would have contributed to the way in which each title constructed their imagined readership. As the process of suburbanisation increased within the United States, suburban living became associated with increased leisure time, upward social mobility, and comfortable middle-class status. This was positioned, in the *Ladies' Home Journal* as the aspirational ideal. Thus, the imagined readership of the *Ladies' Home Journal* was constructed as suburban, or soon to be suburban, whereas that of the *Canadian Home Journal* tended to be more rural, associated more closely with the traditional values of pioneer femininity. It is with close attention to these contextual and cultural differences, and indeed the social similarities, that I explore the construction of each title.

Imagined Audiences

The 'imagined women' of my title refers directly to the intended, as opposed to actual, readership of the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal*. This is a point worth rendering explicitly, as it has not been my intention in this research to reconstruct the actual readership of either title. Although highly interesting, and increasingly common in the fields of print culture and book history, reconstructions of this nature are notoriously difficult, arguably as a

¹¹ For more see Michael Ebner's, "Re-reading Suburban America: Urban Population Deconcentration, 1810-1980" (1985) and Richard Harris's, *Creeping Conformity: How Canada Became Suburban, 1900-1960* (2004).

direct result of the magazine form, particularly its ephemerality. Given that the magazine was, to return to Beetham's comment, "read today and rubbish tomorrow" ("Toward" 19), its distribution networks are highly complex and difficult to trace. There is no extant archive for the *Canadian Home Journal*, so subscription lists, editorial correspondence, and business documentation are unavailable.¹² Even had this material been available, distribution networks often extend beyond what can be accurately measured. The magazine may be purchased, read, and then passed on to family members or friends. It may even be read at newsstands or in public places, therefore rendering an accurate reconstruction of actual readership almost impossible. The intended or imagined readership, on the other hand, is discernible. Given that the object of study in this project is the magazine as collaborative text, cultural artefact, and commercial product, examination of the imagined readership is at the heart of this project.

Both titles addressed an imagined audience consisting predominantly of white, Anglophone, middle-class women who were above all housewives. While it is highly likely that these magazines were read by a diverse range of individuals—at least, more diverse than the individuals who graced their pages—the magazines consistently addressed a readership imagined as fairly homogenous, with similar aspirations, values, and interests. Examination of how these titles

¹² There is an archive available for the *Ladies' Home Journal*—for the period 1887 to 1946—held at the University of Pennsylvania. As no comparable archive is available for the *Canadian Home Journal*, it did not seem sensible to make use of the Pennsylvania archive, since this would have unbalanced the study.

constructed their readership, then, allows for questioning of how the magazine form was used to position certain ideals as important and desirable; how the titles encouraged their readers in the direction of these; and how the disparate features worked to achieve this. Inevitably, this approach means that certain important topics fall out with the scope of this project. In their article “Consuming Pedagogies: Controlling Images of Women as Consumers in Popular Culture”, Jennifer Sandlin and Julie Maudlin comment on early examples of American mass-market magazines—including the *Ladies’ Home Journal*—stating they,

relied on the newly developing order of middle-class readers poised to become the first great generation of consumers of advertised commercial goods. While these periodicals differed somewhat in content, they were all designed to appeal to middle- and upper-class women who shared similar interests of home and motherhood. Thus, the precedent for presenting White, economically and socially privileged women as typical consumers was set in the infancy of the modern advertising industry. (179)

Whilst I would argue that the *Ladies’ Home Journal* was aimed at a specifically middle-class, not upper-class, audience, the premise of this point remains accurate. The magazine constructed their imagined audience along racial and class lines, eschewing working class and non-white women. Representation of non-white or working-class women in these titles is proportionally minimal, predominantly contained within advertisements. Jennifer Scanlon accurately summarises the *Ladies’ Home Journal’s* representation of black women, stating, “When *Journal* advertisements in the 1920s and 1920s occasionally featured black women as domestic servants, their exaggerated features, physical distance, and averted look reflected cultural stereotypes” (*Inarticulate Longings*)

34). Whilst infrequent, this depiction is certainly not insignificant. As Richard Ohmann comments, in the early mass-market magazines “the deepening American racial crisis was kept at or beyond the horizon” (259). At this horizon, however, there is important work being done with this focus.¹³ Consistently, working-class and non-white women are positioned in these titles as “other”, confirming the whiteness and middle-class status of the imagined readership: “arguably, the white women readers found definition as much by not being black as by being young and middle class” (Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings* 34). While this aspect is referenced, considerations of the constructions of non-white and working-class women are minimal in the work that follows, given that the imagined audience remains the focus.

The Aspirational Modern Housewife of the 1920s

The value of comparative and interdisciplinary cross-border analysis in the context of the 1920s has been addressed by “The Modern Girl Around the World” research group. The period is characterised by changes in visibility and ways of seeing, in the context of a burgeoning consumer culture, Alys Eve Weinbaum et al. consider the appearance of the “Modern Girl” in the 1920s and 1930s as a global phenomenon, appearing through “multi-directional citation” from the United States to Japan to France to Nazi Germany, among others. Of the adoption of the term “Modern Girl”, Weinbaum et al. state, “we intentionally elected, at the outset, to employ the Modern Girl as a heuristic device” (2), as a

¹³ For more see Anne-Marie Kinahan’s “The Colored Lady Knows Better” (2013) and Cynthia Bailin’s “From Picaninny to Savage Brute: Racialized Images and African American Stereotyping in Turn-of-the-Century American Advertising” (2014).

way to “discern the linkages shaping specific phenomena across geographic and political boundaries” (2). Although my study is far more limited in scope, considering two specific magazines produced in only two countries, this method has proven particularly useful. In following this logic, the imagined readership of these titles can be characterised as, what I have heuristically termed, the “Aspirational Modern Housewife”. I argue that the imagined reader and aspiration ideal constructed by these titles does not fall neatly into the category of either “Modern Girl” or “New Woman”. Instead, I see this construct as being informed by these two “types”, but ultimately a negotiation between a wider variety of competing influences. The term “Aspirational Modern Housewife” has been specifically chosen as it encapsulates the dominant traits with which each title endows their audience, whilst speaking to some of the complexities and contradictions inherent in the ideal. The aspirations the modern housewife was encouraged to focus on related first to her home and family and second, to her appearance. Both experiential and aesthetic aspirational ideals were critically linked to the successful performance of femininity, bounded by notions of modernity.

Structure of Thesis

Consideration of context is crucial throughout this work and, accordingly, I dedicate the first chapter to fully exploring the cultural, theoretical, and methodological setting of this study. In doing so, I question whether it is more accurate to define mass-market magazines of the 1920s as products created within, and contributing to, “mass culture” or “popular culture”, drawing

substantially on Michael Kammen's argument that the period from the 1880s to the later 1940s represented "commercial culture" and "proto-mass culture" (167). This distinction is important, as it adds to our understanding of the foundational role played by these texts in contributing to the notion of a shared national culture, which would develop into mass culture. I then move on to discuss the publishing landscape of the 1920s, particularly with regards to women's magazines, in order to establish the specific American and Anglophone Canadian print cultures these texts entered into and outlining the role they played in the ideological shift from a production-based towards a consumer-based economy. In this, I affirm the logic of my interdisciplinary approach—engaging with periodical studies through bringing together literary perspectives with aspects of consumer culture theory—and present a solid theoretical framework for the chapters which follow. These chapters are divided according to three topics; with Chapter Two focusing on the broad topic of aspiration and self-improvement, Chapter Three on the home and domesticity, and Chapter Four on fashion and appearance.

Chapter Two, "Aspiration and Self-Improvement", considers the manner in which the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* encouraged their imagined readership to aspire to—and improve their selves in the direction of—the paradigmatic women contained in their pages. Notions of the, at times contentious, middlebrow are central in this discussion. These magazines can be read as middlebrow texts, in that they mediated between high and low culture, negotiated between the literary and commercial, and addressed an audience

which was perceived as upwardly mobile. In this chapter I consider the ways in which these magazines constructed aspirational ideals and positioned them as achievable, often through consumption. In noting that these ideals were not static and frequently contradictory, I argue that the modes of aspiration and self-improvement offered to the respective audiences of these titles can be considered as, what I have termed, experience and appearance. In other words: the internal, including character and identity; and the external, including beauty and fashion. The primary aims of this chapter are: to explore the relationship between discourses of self-improvement and the varied and disparate content inherent in the magazine form; to question how these notions work across the magazine as a text within the respective national contexts; and to gain an understanding of the manner in which these titles encouraged, at times contradictory, modes of self-improvement as an aspect of middle-class femininity. This chapter provides a basis for the chapters which follow, which explore the notions of domesticity and appearance respectively.

As the titles of the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* suggest, both were fundamentally circumscribed by discourses of the home and domesticity. Chapter Three, "The Home and Domesticity: Readers, Consumers, Citizens", expands on the experiential self-improvement discussed in Chapter Two, broadening this substantially in discussion of citizenship. It begins with discussion of the dual meaning of the "domestic", simultaneously familial and national in scope, and the now extensively challenged separate spheres model. Drawing on scholarship which has long since established the construction of

imagined audiences as both readers and consumers, I argue that these magazines also constructed their reader/consumers as citizens, and that this aspect of magazines' function has been relatively under-researched. Through attention to the often overlooked Christmas issues, I explore the manner in which the ideology of domesticity is deployed in each title, the extent to which they positioned their idealised version of femininity as an aspect of good citizenship, and the ways in which the construction of these ideals across the magazine content was nationally specific.

The ever-growing importance of appearance, and the problems and paradoxes, it posed forms the basis of enquiry for Chapter Four:

“Fashionable/Beautiful/Moral: Idealised Images of Femininity”. The increasing cultural focus on the visual is arguably a considerable similarity between the United States and Canada in the 1920s. Encouraged by new technologies of film and photography, this aesthetic emphasis extended not only to the magazines but also to women themselves. The burgeoning visual culture positioned, as an aspect of modernity, the visible performance of gender. From the department store to the silver screen, in print and in person, feminine appearance gained an unprecedented importance. In this privileging of appearance as an indicator of the successful performance of modern femininity, women were presented with complex contradictions to be resolved. Considering first the appearance of the magazines themselves, this chapter begins with a comparative analysis of the cover pages of each title, exploring the way in which, to borrow Marta Banta's phrase, “woman as image” (7) was deployed by each title, interrogating the

implications of this for both the magazine as text and the magazine as a commercial product. The chapter goes on to focus on the representation of fashion, then make-up, in each title. Fashion, for both titles, was an increasing area of focus and an area which had been established as an appropriate—perhaps even necessary—feminine interest. Yet while both fashion and make-up can be considered as, to borrow Jennifer Craik’s term, “techniques of display” (45), make-up use presented complex moral dilemmas. From fashion editorials and advertisements, to beauty advice columns and individual articles, this chapter examines the magazines’ representation of fashion and beauty. Placing these representations in contrast to nineteenth-century idealisations of “natural beauty”, it considers this shift in attitudes as evidence of the burgeoning consumer culture. Paying attention to the often contradictory nature of these disparate elements, I question the way in which the magazines encouraged negotiation, and provided spaces for this negotiation, between desires for beauty and idealised attributes of middle-class femininity.

Overall, then, this study represents a contextual and methodological approach which brings together aspects of literary studies and consumer culture theory, comparatively analysing these specific examples as collaborative literary texts, cultural artefacts, and commercial products. In this, I take into account the range of competing interests and ideals presented in the pages of these titles. Consumerism, nationalism, and domesticity permeated these titles, which engaged constantly with the construction of a modern version of femininity. At times, these ideological influences appeared to be working at cross-purposes,

colliding and conflicting with each other. Modernity necessitated a level of consumption which seemed at odds with the values of the middle-class housewife. The middle-class housewife's traditional private realm of influence seemed opposed to the public nature of the citizen. This work seeks to consider these seeming disagreements, the manner in which they were negotiated, and the role of the magazine in providing a forum for these negotiations. To borrow, again, Hammill, Hjartarson, and McGregor's phrase it seeks "not to synthesize but to juxtapose" (15), therefore employing various theoretical approaches and ways of reading in order to appropriately address the complexity of the magazine, both as form and as genre. By offering an interdisciplinary analysis, I engage with the way in which these magazines were shaped by and contributed to: middlebrow discourses of self-improvement, modernity and burgeoning consumer culture, and nationally-specific idealised versions of middle-class femininity.

Chapter One

Two Home Journals: Context and Methodology

This research aligns its approach with that of Faye Hammill, Paul Hjartarson, and Hannah McGregor, who seek to maintain,

a commitment to reading magazines not as transparent containers of information but, rather, as complex media artifacts whose relation to their cultural and political contexts is articulated through rhythms of seriality, patterns of remediation, and material systems of production and circulation. (15)

In this chapter, I will explore my own commitment to reading the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* using a combination of formal and contextual analysis. This requires a synthesis of approaches drawn from different disciplines, and I will outline these in what follows. The chapter has two main aims: first, to establish the critical framework for the detailed analysis that follows in chapters two to four; and second, to contribute to current methodological debate in the field of periodical studies. Beginning with contextual discussions on mass and popular culture, women's mass-market magazines, and serial print media, this chapter will question the terms used to describe these magazines, the print cultures they entered into and became an integral part of, and the existing scholarship which provides a basis for understanding them. Following this, the chapter will conclude by detailing the methodological approaches which will allow for the comparative consideration of these magazines as collaborative literary texts, cultural artefacts, and commercial products.

Popular Culture or Mass Culture?

In his study of the origins of mass culture—*Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century* (1996)—Richard Ohmann considers the rapid growth in circulation figures up until 1905, commenting, “By this measure, monthly magazines had become the major form of repeated cultural experience for the people of the United States” (29). Indeed, he designates the magazine as an instrumental force in the creation of “mass culture”. David Sumner, too, stresses the importance of magazines, stating: “Magazines became *the* national medium of communication and the only way to reach America’s surging population”, shaping and defining “popular culture for more than thirty years” (16). Both Ohmann and Sumner’s arguments for the importance of mass-market magazines, in facilitating and encouraging distinctive ideological shifts in culture and the commercial marketplace, are compelling. However, the different terms they use—“mass culture” or “popular culture”—highlight an inconsistency in the discussion of these magazines and in the deployment of the terms more generally. For Ohmann, mass culture, which “comes at us from a distance, produced by strangers” (Ohmann 1996, 15), emerged in the 1890s, but this date is disputed by numerous critics. Michael Kammen, for example, argues for consideration of mass culture as a post-World War II phenomenon (1999). Other critics, such as Vanessa Schwartz in her 1998 book *Spectacular Realities*, invoke labels such as “early mass culture” in an effort to define the turn-of-the-century period as distinct from the local, popular culture which preceded it and the national, mass culture which followed it. In order to explore this discordance, a definition of what is meant by “mass culture” and “popular

culture” is necessary. Definitions of these terms, however, prove to be at times elusive and vague, at others abundant and contradictory.

John Storey, in his book *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture* (2001), begins his first chapter with a title which asks, “What is Popular Culture?”. Storey highlights six distinct “ways in which various critical approaches have attempted to fix the meaning of popular culture” (5). These definitions confirm the lack of conceptual clarity regarding “popular culture” which Storey addresses as the implied “otherness” (1) intrinsically linked to the use of the term. He states, “popular culture is always defined, implicitly or explicitly, in contrast to other conceptual categories: folk culture, mass culture, dominant culture, working-class culture, etc” (1). Thus, definition of the concept depends on what is invoked as its “*other*”, making a conclusive, universal definition impossible. An example of this can be seen in Michael Kammen’s *American Culture, American Tastes* (1999) which focuses on social change throughout the twentieth century, providing an historical account of American cultural shifts and changing perceptions of leisure. Like Storey he grapples with elusive definitions in his opening chapter, titled “Coming to Terms with Defining Terms”. Kammen’s primary focus is the distinction between “mass culture” and “popular culture”. He points out the many occasions when the two terms have been used interchangeably, arguing that this is incorrect. Yet while Kammen asserts that “mass culture” and “popular culture” are not synonymous, he does not view them as diametrically opposed but as different yet overlapping. Regarding the criteria by which distinctions can be made, he argues,

The somewhat less important criteria involve matters of scale—such as thousands of people at an amusement park as opposed to many tens of millions worldwide watching the Super Bowl in January, for example—and increasing dependence on technologies of visual access, entertainment, and information rather than avenues of personal access, self-instruction or amusement, and knowledge for its own sake rather than practical utility. (22)

These distinctions, Kammen argues, lead to an overarching distinction between popular and mass culture,

I regard popular culture—*not always but more often than not*—as participatory and interactive, whereas mass culture (until the 1950s, when computers caused significant changes that have yet to be fully charted), *more often than not* induced passivity and the privatization of culture. (22, emphasis in original)

These caveats demonstrate the porous nature of the boundaries between popular culture and mass culture, and go some way to explaining the critical confusion which has surrounded the use of the terms.

Kammen argues that popular culture preceded mass culture, and was crucial in its formation. However, the former was not subsumed by the latter:

Popular culture did not die and is not ready for interment. It remains very much with us, albeit more easily observed in smaller towns than in large cities, in rural America more than urban or suburban, yet ubiquitous nonetheless in revivals as well as in some new TV shows and radio programs. Moreover, because of technological changes, popular culture always has been and remains more ephemeral and evanescent than mass culture. (21)

Kammen makes a clear distinction between the two, without ignoring the foundational role played by popular culture in the establishing of a mass culture and the fact that both, “function in more transitory ways. . . . Their principle objective is not enduring excellence but pleasure and commercial appeal” (26). Yet while many critics claim this as a sudden and direct shift in dominance—

from popular to mass—Kammen disagrees. Criticising the “oversimplification” of critics who place the emergence of mass culture between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, including Richard Ohmann, Lary May, and Janice Radway among others,¹⁴ Kammen offers an alternative account of the shift. He compellingly argues that the shift can be better understood as a gradual movement from popular culture to “proto-mass culture” to post-1950s, technologically-dependent mass culture, although he is careful to note that these phases overlapped. Following discussion of “American popular culture in its prime, 1885—1935”, he states:

Partially coinciding in time and and partially overlapping it, developments occurred that marked an important phase in the *emergence* of mass culture, yet differed from mass culture as we trace it historically after midcentury and especially from mass culture as we have known it in recent decades. For purposes of convenience, I have chosen to call these telescoped phases from the 1880s until the later 1940s “commercial culture” and “proto-mass culture”. (166-167)

These specific terms are particularly useful in providing greater clarity when considering cultural and commercial products that were mass-produced in the liminal period between the prime of popular culture and the dominance of mass culture. These include national magazines, which differed greatly from the previous local or regional publications.

Mass-produced and aimed at a mass market, these magazines were unquestionably informed by commercial interests, enabled by technological

¹⁴ Kammen specifically references Richard Ohmann’s *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century* (1996), Lary May’s *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry* (1980) and Janice Radway’s “The Scandal of the Middlebrow: The Book-of-the-Month Club, Class Fracture, and Cultural Authority” (1990).

developments and designed to provide, to borrow Ohmann's phrase, culture "from a distance, produced by strangers" (15).¹⁵ Yet they were equally informed by popular culture, by trends and activities which fell under that banner. The way in which these magazines were read, too, indicates their liminal position between popular and mass culture. James Wald, commenting on the impact of "cheap print" around the turn of the century, states,

Ironically, when periodicals were scarce, the experience of reading them was often collective and oral, but became more individualized and silent after they became a mass medium, reflecting the shift from vehicle of public discussion to object of private consumption. (430)

In this description, periodicals prior to the advent of cheap print—rare and providing collective experience—can be identified as texts associated with Kammen's definition of popular culture, evoking, perhaps, an image of a pioneer family around a fireplace, with one parent reading aloud from a magazine such as *Arthur's Home Magazine* (1852-1898). Periodicals after the advent of cheap print—as a mass medium providing an individual experience—can be identified as objects associated with mass culture. Yet in the 1920s, in the middle of Kammen's designated period of "proto-mass culture", magazines would have, at times and to varying degrees, fulfilled both of those roles. Although these magazines were inexpensive and widely available, it was not uncommon for all the members of one family to share the magazine or for the magazine to be passed amongst friends. At the same time, especially in countries such as the

¹⁵ These technological developments included the use of colour. Jeremy Aynsley and Kate Forde comment on the 1920s as "the seminal period when colour was first introduced to magazines" (17). For more on colour and the women's magazine as a designed object see Marie-Louise Bowallius's "Advertising and the Use of Colour in *Woman's Home Companion*, 1923-33" (2007).

United States and Canada, where populations were scattered across large tracts of land, magazines often presented themselves as agents of community-building, via imaginative connection amongst individual readers who were widely dispersed in space.¹⁶

To return to Ohmann's assertion that mass-market magazines were examples of culture "produced by strangers" (15), while it is certainly true in a commercial sense, it is arguably not entirely accurate when the magazines are viewed as literary and cultural productions. A lot depends on whom we see as the primary producers of the magazine. Many individuals or groups of staff might be in contention for this role—not only editors and staff writers but also contributing authors and artists, management teams, advertisers, and publishers or owners of the business. The latter groups could easily be classed as strangers, whereas writers and editors would have seemed more familiar because they worked hard to construct an imagined community to which readers also belonged. Although this was technically culture from a distance, it seemed particularly close to home, with the magazines themselves situated as sources of advice and at times trusted friends, offering experience more in line with conceptions of popular culture.¹⁷ As Jennifer Scanlon comments, in "Thrift and Advertising",

¹⁶ This is often referred to as a "community of readers" which, as Sharon Harris and Ellen Gruber Garvey point out, "resembles an 'imagined community' in the sense that Benedict Anderson uses the term for both readership and nation. They will 'never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion'" (xii).

¹⁷ Whilst the magazines themselves were often situated as familiar and trusted, their regular contributors and authors were placed in a range of positions. Specific examples, including the friendliness of editor Jean Graham and contributor Prim Rose in the *Canadian Home Journal*, and the fatherly chastisement of Barton Currie and

magazine publishers approached the middle-class woman “alternately as her confidant, friend, minister, critic, advocate, and teacher” (298). All of these roles implied a personal connection between the audience and the magazine. The national scale and commercial focus, however, renders the definition of these publications as products of popular culture problematic. In this context, then, Kammen's terms “commercial culture” and “proto-mass culture” are useful in the consideration of mass-market magazines in the 1920s. They acknowledge that magazines of this period, the cultural roles they played, and their creation and use, are simultaneously distinct from and intrinsically linked to the popular culture that preceded them and the mass culture which followed them.

Women's Mass-market Magazines of the 1920s

Generally speaking, the 1920s has been described as somewhat of a golden age for general-interest magazine publishing (Whittaker 9). In contrast to the modernist little magazines—often characterised by their small circulations and avant-garde content¹⁸—these mass-market magazines were evidence of, and contributed to, a distinct ideological shift towards a notion of shared national culture. They represented a distinct departure from the regional publications which preceded them, implying commonalities amongst their readers which transcended their local geographical location. They presented and promoted not only products, but specific ideals and values to a national readership.

authoritative advice of Eleanor Dare in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, will be discussed in the chapters which follow.

¹⁸ For more on modernist little magazines in the US and Canada, see Andrew Thacker's general introduction, “Magazines, Magazines, Magazines!”, to *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines: Volume II: North America 1894-1960* (2012).

Indeed, the products were often positioned as facilitators of the ideals. This, at the time, enabled the emergence of a consumer-based, as opposed to production-based, economy; a shift which certainly contributed to the development of consumer culture. Magazines were crucial in this development as they stimulated and satisfied the desire for non-essential products, constructing consumption as an aspect of good citizenship and femininity. In addition, the magazines presented the notion of the creation of identity and self through shopping. They taught their readers how to consume, presenting the opportunity for improvement of the self through the purchase and use of commodities. This idea, so ubiquitous today, was established largely through the successful mass-market magazines of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The success of these mass-market magazines was principally enabled by significant technological developments. As Mary Vipond notes, in her article "Canadian Nationalism and the Plight of Canadian Magazines in the 1920s", "The American periodical industry expanded tremendously in the 1920s, sparked by improvements in printing technologies and business practices as well as a growing market of a society with more leisure, education and money" (43). These developments enabled production and supply on a national level, but also altered the materiality and appearance of the magazines. Colour printing and mass production provided an aesthetically appealing advertising medium which could be nationally distributed. Liz Conor confirms this, asserting that in the modern scene of the 1920s, vision was "privileged above other senses" a shift

encouraged largely by technological developments in photography and film (19). These shifts had a significant impact on the magazines' appearance and content, allowing for the construction of aspirational ideals on a textual and visual level. In his study of American advertising from 1900 to 1980, Richard Pollay argues, "art can be expected to increasingly portray the consumer and the use situation, so that consumers can more readily project themselves into the experience of consumption" (25). In the magazines, the visual idiom of the advertising was largely continuous with that of cover images and editorial illustrations. These all served and promoted what was an increasingly image-based culture, one in which images of things—and especially products and celebrities—circulate far more widely than the real items, generating consumer desire.

In the US, a group of highly successful monthly titles established in the late nineteenth century was known as "the Big Six". They were *The Delineator* (1873-1937),¹⁹ *Women's Home Companion* (1873-1957), *McCall's* (1873-2001),²⁰ *Good Housekeeping* (1885-), *Pictorial Review* (1899-1939), and the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Their market dominance continued into the 1920s, when they achieved record circulations. These publications were distinct from titles

¹⁹ *The Delineator* ceased publication when it merged with *Pictorial Review* in 1937 (Endres and Lueck 58).

²⁰ *McCall's* magazine began as *The Queen* in 1873, and was renamed *McCall's Magazine: The Queen of Fashion* in 1897 later being shortened to *McCall's* (Endres and Lueck 219-220).

such as *Vogue* (1892-), *Vanity Fair* (1859-1936), and other “quality” or “slick”²¹ titles.²² The latter addressed a readership imagined as belonging to the upper class, and accordingly had higher prices. Both *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair* had far lower circulations: 137,000 for *Vogue* and 99,000 for *Vanity Fair* (Peterson 268-271). These titles sought to create a deliberately restricted audience through “urban” associations which appealed less to rural readers, higher prices, and content which was perceived as difficult—particularly in the case of *Vanity Fair*. The “Big Six”, meanwhile, sought an upwardly-mobile middle-class audience, a far larger cohort than the urban, sophisticated, wealthy elite to which the “quality” or “slick” magazines addressed themselves. First published in 1883 by Cyrus Curtis—who also published the *Saturday Evening Post* (1897-)—and his wife, Louisa Knapp Curtis, the *Ladies’ Home Journal* is widely acknowledged as the most commercially successful of the early mass-market magazines in the United States. The magazine was started, as Helen Damon-Moore comments, when “Cyrus Curtis and Louisa Knapp Curtis decided to turn their newspaper column for women into a separate monthly supplement to their weekly newspaper” (15). With Curtis as publisher, and Louisa as editor they, “presided over the union of reading, consuming, and advertising with gendered assumptions about middle-class women in their new magazine” (27). Louisa

²¹ Faye Hammill and Karen Leick’s “Modernism and the Quality Magazines” (2012) offers insight into the engagement of mass-market “quality” magazines with modernism, demonstrating the porous nature of magazine categories.

²² Again, Andrew Thacker’s general introduction is useful here, in acknowledging the difficulty of categorising magazines commenting that “the dominant feature of the periodical field of American magazines in 1920 is that of a ‘cross-fertilization’, shown in the multiple networks of connection between and across supposedly distinct categories of publication” (23).

stepped down as editor in 1890 and was replaced by Edward Bok who edited the magazine until 1919. Bok built on the success of the magazine—now commanding the “unheard-of circulation figure of 452,000” (27)—placing consumer choice at its centre and ensuring that each issue “featured the latest in dresses, hairstyle, decorating, and, most of all, consumer products” (Kitch 246). Yet, he maintained an authoritarian, at times patronizing editorial voice (Damon-Moore 71). The magazine was somewhat of a pioneer in the genre and, “not only took the lead in perfecting the format and economic formula of the modern magazine, but also approximated it in editorial content by 1893” (Ohmann 28). The success of the *Ladies’ Home Journal* is evidenced by the fact, as David Sumner points out, that in 1903 it became the first magazine to reach a million paid subscribers and by 1920 it was the most valuable magazine property in the country (Sumner 25). After Edward Bok, “no editor was as closely identified with the *Ladies’ Home Journal*. H. O. Davis briefly followed Bok; John E. Pickett followed Davis, but with the title of managing editor. Barton Currie soon followed, as did Loring Schuler” (Endres 175). For the majority of the 1920s, it was Barton Currie who was editor with Loring Schuler taking over in 1928. Both of these editors followed the format established by Bok. The magazine proved thoroughly resilient, running for 131 years and only ceasing monthly publication in 2014.

Canada, as Russell Johnston comments,

had an astonishingly wide and vital periodical publishing industry both before and after the market was transformed by national advertising. The only components of this industry that did not meet the expectations

of publishers before 1905 were the literary and consumer magazines.
(263)

Approaching the subject of Canadian publishing from an advertising perspective, Johnston argues that these genres struggled until Canadian advertisers sought national media. After this, he continues, “Canadians developed the skills, capital, and marketing orientation required to produce magazines that were competitive with the American genres they consciously mimicked” (263). By the 1920s, the Canadian national advertising industry was established and the period was a crucial time for national Canadian magazines. Established, in the main, later than their American counterparts, Canadian titles such as *Saturday Night* (1887-2005), *Maclean’s* (1905-),²³ and the *Canadian Home Journal* made use of the now recognisable stylistic and economic models which had been tried and tested south of the 49th parallel. As Faye Hammill and Michelle Smith comment, “mainstream English-language magazines in Canada were markedly influenced by their American precursors” (37), leading to the unflattering assumption that Canadian magazines are simply derivative of those produced in the United States. Will Straw pushes this further, when he comments that the adoption of American models resulted in, “the perception of so many Canadian cultural commodities as being at least partially fraudulent” (117).²⁴

²³ The magazine was established in 1905 as *The Business Magazine*, and renamed *The Busy Man’s Magazine* two months later, before finally becoming *Maclean’s* in 1911, a change intended to present the publication as a general interest—rather than business—magazine.

²⁴ Elsewhere in his article, “Constructing the Canadian Lowbrow Magazine: The Periodical as Media Object in the 1930s and 1940s”, Straw comments on the period of 1940-1946 as a “golden age’ for popular (and what are conventionally considered lowbrow) English Canadian periodicals” (112). While his discussion pertains more to

Perhaps one of the reasons why scholars have been reluctant to undertake comparative studies of American and Canadian periodicals is the perceived notion of Canadian periodicals as derivative of their American counterparts or inferior in quality. Indeed there are, to my knowledge, no large-scale comparative studies of magazines published in the United States and Canada. Straw's article is perhaps the only example which brings periodicals from the United States and Canada into direct conversation. In concluding his study of the way in which low-brow Canadian titles took advantage of the ban on U.S. periodicals—reprinting, revising, and repurposing material from U.S. publications—he states,

these activities knit together a complex set of relationships between the magazine cultures of Canada and the United States, and it is by studying these media objects that condense and express these relationships that we may come closer to understanding them. (131)

Whilst the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* were arguably more distinct from one another than the examples discussed by Straw—insofar as there is no evidence that the *Canadian Home Journal* used material taken directly from the *Ladies' Home Journal*—Straw's assertion on the value of comparison remains relevant.

“pulp” magazines, the economic and commercial causes of this “golden age” speak more generally to the difficulties faced by Canadian periodicals as a result of US imports.

Mary Vipond, in her book *The Mass Media in Canada* (1989), comments on the hardships faced by Canadian periodicals due to their relative youth, smaller markets, and proportionally higher distribution costs, further stating,

Add to that the competition from the popular, attractive and already easily accessible American magazines, and it is not surprising that it was not until after 1920 that Canadian magazine publishers found it feasible to follow in the footsteps of Munsey, McClure and Curtis. (21)

The 1920s are repeatedly referenced as a period of importance for the Canadian magazine industry, a time when magazines were understood as crucial to the cultural nationalist project, particularly in relation to encroaching Americanisation. Russell Johnston comments, “A certain view of the magazine industry has emerged in the history of Canada’s culture. This view portrays an industry under siege, barely capable of resisting the invasion of American magazines that swept across the border” (262). He continues to reference the 1920s as a period when Nationalist intellectuals and business people— “Believing their work was crucial to the formation of national consciousness” (263)—attempted to gain support from the federal government to fight what was largely regarded as American cultural imperialism.

The *Canadian Home Journal* is a particularly useful example of the ways in which nationalism was mobilised in the Canadian magazines. As the first large-circulation Canadian women’s magazine which was national in scope, it was initially published under the title of the *Home Journal* in 1905, adding *Canadian* to its title in 1910 (Sutherland 156). Founded by James Acton, who owned mainly trade magazines, it was purchased in 1912 by Harold Gagnier’s

Consolidated Press, also the publishers of *Saturday Night*.²⁵ Indeed the editor of the *Canadian Home Journal* for the majority of the 1920s was Jean Graham, who had previously been the women's editor of *Saturday Night* (Lang 110).²⁶ While the magazine ran until 1958, when it was absorbed into another Canadian women's monthly, *Chatelaine* (1928-), its popularity peaked in the 1920s (156). The magazine followed the same general model as the *Ladies' Home Journal*—insofar as it contained a similar mixture of fiction, articles, advice, and advertising—and Ohmann's assertion that the *Ladies' Home Journal*, "penetrated into areas of personal and social concern previously kept apart from culture in the medium of magazines, if not in other sectors of American society" (28) is equally valid when applied to the *Canadian Home Journal* and Canadian society. The *Canadian Home Journal* maintained a commitment to promoting Canadian content and a sense of Canadian national identity, and was one of the most popular Canadian women's magazines throughout the 1920s.²⁷ Yet, as Vipond comments, "American publications outsold both British and Canadian in Canada by a wide margin" ("Canadian Nationalism" 44). The margin is significant to say

²⁵ The parallels evident between Consolidated Press's publications—*Canadian Home Journal* and *Saturday Night*—and those of the Curtis Publishing Company—*Ladies' Home Journal* and *Saturday Evening Post*—are considerable, and provide significant potential for future comparative research.

²⁶ It is interesting to note that while the *Canadian Home Journal* was edited consistently by women, men were appointed as editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. After Louisa Knapp Curtis, aside from co-editor Beatrice Gould, the *Ladies' Home Journal* did not appoint a woman as editor until 1973.

²⁷ Russell Johnston comments on the importance of the short-lived *Everywoman's World* (1915-1923) stating, "It might be suggested that it was the first consumer magazine produced in Canada" (242). Whilst the circulation of *Everywoman's World* was greater than that of the *Canadian Home Journal*—106,167 to 55,407 in 1921 (232-233)—the overriding commercial interest behind its production and its short life confirm the *Canadian Home Journal* as the most appropriate for this study.

the least. Circulation of the *Ladies' Home Journal* in Canada, as of 30 June 1926, was 128,574 (43), whereas circulation of the *Canadian Home Journal*, as of 31 December 1925, was 68,054 (44).

This is not, though, necessarily indicative solely of a preference for American periodicals, and the values, ideals and tastes they promoted. The *Ladies' Home Journal* was far more established, having been published every month since February 1883. By the time the *Canadian Home Journal* was first published in 1905, it was already two years since the *Ladies' Home Journal* had become the first magazine to reach one million paid subscribers in the United States.

Therefore, the *Ladies' Home Journal* not only had a budget which far outstripped that of the *Canadian Home Journal*, but also had time to create a regular readership and amass loyalty to its brand before the *Canadian Home Journal* ever came into being.

The relative commercial superiority of the *Ladies' Home Journal* does not necessarily preclude a comparison. Both magazines catered to a similar perceived demographic, of white, middle-class women and as the titles of each suggest, a readership that was primarily domestically focused. They also carry similar ratios of content to adverts, and are comprised of a similar range of features, including articles, advice, fiction, and advertising. The importance and value of these particular magazines does not depend on them being completely representative of all magazines, all women's magazines, or even all American or Canadian women's magazines. Indeed, they are not. Rather, their value lies in

the fact that both titles engaged in the development of a proto-mass culture within their national contexts, informing and shaping women's lives, and framing them within modes of consumption and an emerging consumer culture. While the *Canadian Home Journal*—and other Canadian publications—did utilise the models established in the pages of their American counterparts, it does not follow that they have no distinctive qualities or individual value. Nor is it the case that these titles must be viewed as entirely toxic or dangerous objects, given their status as women's magazines.

Much critical discussion of women's magazines centres on the perceived fostering of insecurities amongst readers. There exists, as Valerie Korinek points out, "an analytical continuum from Betty Friedan to Naomi Wolf which contends that women's magazines are 'bad'" (9). These magazines are seen by many critics as one of the tools by which a patriarchal system has been maintained, because they encourage millions of women to occupy a primarily domestic, traditional role and to focus their effort on attracting and retaining a husband and on the cultivation of the appearance rather than intellect.

Feminist critics analyse the ways magazines aim to convince women that they are inherently lacking something—a lack which, the articles and adverts imply, can be resolved through engagement with the modes of consumption encouraged in the magazine itself. These ideas are the basis of Friedan's critique of the "feminine mystique" (1963), and more recent analyses of women's magazines, such as Jennifer Scanlon's (1995), further investigate the

“inarticulate longings” which women’s magazines both feed and condemn. Recently, though, criticism has emerged which builds on, whilst also revising, this widespread academic view of the women’s magazine as a sinister and manipulative commercial and cultural object.²⁸ The reading of magazine material focused on self-improvement as entirely pernicious is an oversimplification. Although it could be argued that this material was liable to encourage and exploit the anxieties of the reader, it is equally arguable that the same material brought demonstrable benefits to readers and their families.

As James Wald comments, “Mass-circulation magazines were immensely profitable and influential, but whether they succeeded in manipulating their readers is a question that only a history of audiences can confirm” (430). As outlined previously, this study does not intend to offer a history of audiences; rather, it focuses primarily on the imagined audience constructed by the editors and contributors. Understanding the dual nature of the magazine, as helpful and harmful, is however a vital point of departure. In this, Caroline Levine’s discussion of the concept of “affordance”—which she borrows from design theory—is particularly useful. Levine describes the term as one, “used to describe the potential uses or actions latent in materials or designs” (6) which allows for the fact that “designed things may also have unexpected affordances generated by imaginative users” (6). This allows us to move beyond the binary of helpful or harmful, since the women’s magazine affords both and, in turn, a

²⁸ These include Margaret Beetham’s *A Magazine of Her Own?* (1996), Nancy Walker’s *Shaping Our Mothers’ World* (2000), Amy Beth Aronson’s *Taking Liberties* (2002), and Valerie Korinek’s *Roughing It in the Suburbs* (2006).

potential plurality of meanings. Consideration in this way, in terms of the magazines' genre, form, and imagined audience, allows for an interrogation of how they functioned as opposed to an examination of whether they were detrimental or beneficial. As Nancy Walker comments, "at no time in their histories have women's magazines delivered perfectly consistent, monolithic messages to their readers" (vii). The advisory or instructional content in such material may well have made women's lives easier in some ways, while simultaneously reinforcing higher expectations in others.

The magazines in themselves also provided entertainment and relief from the burdens of domesticity, along with a sense of community amongst readers. It is therefore evident that these magazines, and the material contained therein, should not be read as entirely benevolent nor as entirely toxic, but rather as texts and products which afforded both possibilities. This high-profile debate, I argue, should not obscure the inherent interest of mass-market magazines. This study seeks to interrogate the extent to which each title—including its content and concerns—is constructed within a national framework, the ways in which each construct their audience as readers and consumers, and the ramifications these elements have for the magazine when considered as collaborative text, cultural artefact, and commercial product.

Serial Print Media

As Margaret Beetham comments, “the periodical is above all an ephemeral form, produced for a particular day, week or month” (*A Magazine of Her Own?* 9). Pointing out the importance of “‘periodicity’ which gives the genre its name and distinguishes it from other kinds of print” (9) in her study of Victorian magazines, Beetham highlights the fact that the way periodicals are situated in a particular moment in time has significant ramifications for their meaning, materiality, and study. Similarly, James Mussell comments, “the dynamic of seriality means that serials such as periodicals and newspapers address a moment that is provisional and is destined to pass” (“Of the Making” 70). Periodicity and seriality position the magazine as an ephemeral medium, with each issue quickly superseded by a new one. As Natalie Houston and Margaret Beetham comment, in the introduction to a special issue of the *Victorian Periodicals Review* on “Tradition and the New”, “a periodical had to remain fairly consistent with the format and content of its earlier issues and yet offer something novel enough to attract new purchasers and readers” (535). Each issue defines itself with reference to its specific moment of publication and its difference from the issues which precede it yet, as Straw comments, “In a smoothly operating magazine culture, references forward and backward serve to establish the continuities on which a sense of publicness may found itself” (129). What Straw refers to as a “sense of publicness”, can also be understood as the title’s identity; comprised of both formal layout, patternings, and structures, and also things related to genre, such as values, interests, and tones of address. Beetham, too, comments on the periodical’s double relationship with time, stating, “the series is open-ended and fluid but each number is contained”

(*Magazine* 13), and relating this to the context of an industrialising society, in which work, and in turn leisure, time was increasingly structured and controlled. This double relationship to time raises interesting questions about how magazines operate, how they are conceptualised and, in turn, how they are read in their contemporary moment, and how they are examined by critics in later periods.

Like most periodical forms, magazines are not simply a medium for fiction or advertising or articles. Rather, they are complex collages in which these seemingly disparate, and at times contradictory, features influence and shape each other. Recent theoretical accounts of periodical studies advocate the examination of magazines as complete texts, more akin to books, rather than simply, “containers of discrete bits of information” (Latham and Scholes 517). Whereas previous work on magazines has tended to focus purely on one element—removing the parts of the magazine considered relevant to the particular theme of the study and analysing them separately from the material context—more recent scholarship has attempted to view the magazine in a more complete manner. Generally speaking, recent scholarly promotion of interdisciplinarity when approaching periodicals offers possible ways to circumvent these limitations, allowing for interrogation of the magazine as a valuable object of study. It could be argued that one aspect of the significance of the magazine—and more particularly the women’s magazine—lies in the fact that it operates at a number of intersections, between the cultural and the commercial, the ephemeral and the permanent, the authoritative and the

intimate, to name but a few. When considered in this way, the magazine becomes a site of constant negotiation and renegotiation. Magazines can therefore be seen as cultural artefacts, commercially oriented products, and collaborative texts, amenable to analysis in different frameworks including, but certainly not limited to, periodical studies, consumer culture theory and literary studies.

Periodical Studies

Every year new books are appearing that emphasize periodicals and investigate the ways in which modern literature and the arts are connected to the culture of commerce and advertising and to the social, political, and scientific issues of the time. (Latham and Scholes 517)

Once dismissed as being tangential to literary history, periodicals are now the subject of an increasing amount of academic analysis. In their seminal article, entitled “The Rise of Periodical Studies”, Latham and Scholes define this area of study as still-developing, specifically related to print culture, and “particularly distinguished by its insistence on interdisciplinary scholarship” (517). Latham and Scholes’ insistence on the need for interdisciplinary scholarship is thoroughly warranted, though it might be best understood as an aspiration for the field rather than a description of its current practice. Analyses of periodicals from the perspective of a single discipline still appear frequently. To cite literary modernism as an example, Patrick Collier comments,

Despite [the] expansion of primary materials, the field has not been broadened much conceptually, in that literary modernism, and

particularly the values of avant-garde aesthetics and political radicalism congenial to the “New Modernisms,” remain the leading conceptual frameworks through which periodicals of the early twentieth century are viewed. (94)

Examples include Robert Scholes and Cliff Wulfman’s *Modernism in the Magazines* (2010) and Matthew Chambers’ *Modernism, Periodicals, and Cultural Poetics* (2015).²⁹ In the “Mission Statement” which begins the first issue of the *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, Latham and Morrisson state “Daily newspapers, weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies, and irregularly published little magazines are all part of the field covered by this journal” (iii). As is clear from this list, there is a wealth of source material available to the field, and it is increasing constantly due to the many new digitisation initiatives. Yet, as Maria DiCenzo comments, “digitization has proven to be both a gift and a burden” (21). As DiCenzo argues, periodical studies began much earlier among Victorianists and nineteenth-century Americanists than among modernists or twentieth-century scholars. Thus, Victorian periodical studies—not least the work of Margaret Beetham, Brian Maidment and Laurel Brake, considered pioneers in the field—has informed much of the theory and methodology used in modern periodical studies. Regardless of the period of study, however, the vast quantity of available material combined with the plethora of possible conceptual approaches and methodologies serves to make periodical studies simultaneously alluring and terrifying.

²⁹ As Collier comments in his article, this trend is also particularly evident in numerous articles contained in the *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*.

This is readily apparent when we consider the variety of scholarship utilising periodicals as a primary resource. These projects differ greatly in both approach and scope. Examinations by individual researchers, following what has been referred to as the “romantic model of solo scholars” (Hutcheon 2000), are the most common. Ellen McCracken’s *Decoding Women’s Magazines* (1993), Margaret Beetham’s *A Magazine of Her Own?* and Valerie Korinek’s *Roughing it In the Suburbs* (2000) are all examples of studies which take as their principal focus women’s magazines, but are constrained—necessarily—in scope by time period, magazine title, themes, or a combination of these. While all are thoroughly accomplished studies which add greatly to our understanding of their respective areas of attention, this mode of discrete scholarship within periodical studies has led to questions being raised about the field. In his recent article, Patrick Collier acknowledges concerns raised at the 2013 MLA session, “Towards a Theory of Periodical Studies,” that the discipline continues to be, “dominated by discrete analyses of individual case studies, the contribution of which is largely empirical” (22). Collier points out that, “computers or teams of research assistants or multidisciplinary colleagues are implicitly held out as the key to mastering, or at least managing, an archive too vast for the individual scholar” (22). This anxiety regarding the individual scholar can be seen, too, in Latham and Scholes’ article where they assert that the individual student or scholar, “might be able to mine these sources for a narrow range of materials relating to their fields, they are rarely in a position to say much about the periodical as a whole” (517). Furthermore, they suggest seeking inspiration from scientific disciplines, and considering the creation of “humanities labs:

similarly collaborative networks of researchers and institutions that lend their collective expertise to textual objects that would otherwise overwhelm individual scholars” (530).

Perhaps though, researchers need not look as far as the sciences. This type of collaborative research is relatively common in social science and business disciplines. One example, particularly concerned with periodicals, is the Discursive Families Network, based in the Business School at the University of Edinburgh. Comprising five scholars from institutions in the UK and Australia, this network is conducting a “longitudinal and comparative study of UK and Australian advertising in popular magazines” (Marshall et al. 1658). Examining sixty years of the UK *Good Housekeeping* magazine and *The Australian Women’s Weekly*, this study considers “media representations of the family (including motherhoods/mothering and fatherhoods/fathering) in relation to branding, advertising and marketing” (1658). This research is evidently firmly grounded within the discipline of marketing, and in particular the field of consumer culture theory. Yet, this “network” of researchers seems to provide a more accessible model of the “humanities lab” than a science laboratory would do.

Some models of humanities labs do already exist, such as the Stanford Literary Lab directed by Franco Moretti. The lab aspect, in this example, refers not only to the teamwork but also to the computer hardware and programmers, a vital part of the network. The fundamental issue with subscribing wholeheartedly to Latham and Scholes’ call for humanities labs, or agreeing with the assertion that

the solitary scholarship being completed within periodical studies is “discrete” and “largely empirical” is that it results in somewhat of a devaluing of that scholarship, one which is perhaps unjustified. Indeed, as Collier notes, “Reading, responding to, and building on the work of other scholars is a form of collaboration—mediated collaboration, no doubt, but still collaboration at the highest level” (109). If we take this as true, all research is therefore collaborative to an extent. The challenge for periodical studies scholars is to take note of the diversity of their chosen object of study—in that it is guided by various disparate interests, including the commercial and the literary—and employ interdisciplinary methodological approaches which take this into account. This research seeks to do just that, by making use of existing periodical studies scholarship and adopting approaches informed by consumer culture theory and literary studies.

Consumer Culture Theory

The magazine, as suggested above, can be understood as a designed consumer product which affords benefit and detriment, a perspective which does not ignore consumer agency. Wendy Mitchinson comments on this change in approach, summarising,

In recent years, historians of consumerism (whether reading or buying) have emphasized the agency of consumers. . . . No longer can we assume a direct connection between product advertising and a purchase of the product. Potential consumers read advertisements through their own perspectives and they react to them in different ways—being annoyed by them, ignoring them, rejecting them, and possibly accepting them. (8-9)

Consumer culture theory allows for a multiplicity of effects of, and responses to, commercial material. Consumer culture theory adopts an “approach to reality as being multiple, heterogeneous, distributed and dynamic; arguably committing to, ‘enacting realities that have been “othered” by rival paradigms” (Badje 233). This approach accepts the status of magazines as consumer products, accounting for the way in which, as Grant McCracken points out, “cultural meaning is drawn from a culturally constituted world and transferred to a consumer good” (71). Consumers and consumer goods, he argues, can be understood as “the way stations of meaning” (71). This acknowledgement enables a focus on the ways in which they construct their imagined audiences and attempt to teach their readership how to consume. Rather than arguing over the damaging or helpful ideological effects of the magazines, scholars can instead concentrate on how commercial materials actually produce these effects.

In their 2005 article, the aim of which is to define consumer culture theory as a “viable disciplinary brand” providing a “heuristic framework,” Eric Arnould and Craig Thompson state,

Consumer culture denotes a social arrangement in which the relations between lived culture and social resources, and between meaningful ways of life and the symbolic and material resources on which they depend, are mediated through markets. (869)

Consumer culture theory, therefore, addresses “the sociocultural, experiential, symbolic, and ideological aspects of consumption” (868). In their follow-up article in 2007, Arnould and Thompson revise their title stating,

In hindsight, a more epistemologically appropriate term would have been consumer culture theoretics. This label would have better represented the theoretical, ontological and epistemological heterogeneity that has contributed to this research stream” (7).

This acknowledgment of conceptual plurality, and a commitment to drawing on a range of approaches and insights, confirms consumer culture theory as a particularly appropriate framework for interdisciplinary studies which involve consideration of consumption. Magazines in the early twentieth century had become reliant on income from advertisers for their continued operation, resulting in two industries which were intimately intertwined. Women’s magazines had been at the forefront of this shift around the turn of the century. As Margaret Beetham states, “The move from reading to shopping became increasingly central to the genre. The magazines positioned women both as purchasers and readers of texts” (*Magazine* 8). While, more broadly, the whole family was positioned as potential consumers, it was estimated that women purchased at least 80 percent of the total products amassed in families (Scanlon, “Thrift” 297).

Women’s magazines of the period maintained a thoroughly domestic focus, targeting imagined readerships predominantly comprised of middle-class housewives, the “darling[s] of the advertisers” (“Thrift” 297). As Jennifer Scanlon comments, “The home was considered the “natural” consumer unit, the housewife the “natural” consumer. Of course there was very little that was actually natural about this process” (*Inarticulate Longings* 13). Women, in particular, were constructed by the magazines as shoppers, with shopping

becoming their primary role. Carolyn Kitch argues, in fact, that “most magazine readers—of not only women’s, but also “general interest” periodicals—were female, and most product-purchase decisions were made by women” (244-245). The consumer desires of their husbands and children were encouraged by mass-market magazines, but it was women, as “natural” consumers, who were expected to make the purchases. As Scanlon comments elsewhere, by 1929 women’s magazines were “a ‘prodigious labyrinth’ of editorial and advertising matter” (“Thrift” 298). Thus, even in the 1920s, consumption was evidently inextricably intertwined with the medium of the mass-market magazine.

In this context, the way in which magazines encouraged the construction of the self through consumption can be understood in terms of Russell Belk’s notion of the “extended self”. Belk comments,

Objects in our possession literally can extend self, as when a tool or weapon allows us to do things of which we would otherwise be incapable. Possessions can also symbolically extend self, as when a uniform or trophy allows us to convince ourselves (and perhaps others) that we can be a different person than we would be without them.”
(145)

The commodities promoted in the pages of the mass-market magazines offered both literal and symbolic extension of the self in the direction of the aspirational ideals featured elsewhere in their pages. By way of a brief example, in the *Ladies’ Home Journal* products such as convenience foods and labour-saving appliances granted more leisure time, offering literal changes to lived experience, while in the *Canadian Home Journal*, Canadian-made products allowed for a symbolic extension in the direction of Canadian nationalism. In

this way, the commercial content can be read as integral to the magazines' encouragement of self-improvement. Belk also comments on what he calls "multiple levels of self" (152), arguing that "We often define family, group, subculture, nation, and human selves through various consumption objects" (152). Analysis of the extended self, then, is not only relevant at an individual consumer level but can also shed light on collective identity. This understanding of multiple levels of self—and the role played by commodities in their construction—is particularly useful with regard to the magazines, which constructed their audiences as women, housewives, and citizens.

Given the influential and ubiquitous nature of consumer-based content in the magazines and in considering the magazine itself as an object of study, then, an approach informed by consumer culture is particularly appropriate. As noted, although commercial and editorial forms of content could be contradictory, they did not operate in isolation and both contributed to the project of self-improvement. Within the magazine, these forms influenced and shaped each other, ultimately contributing to the production of what can be understood as a complete text. Jennifer Scanlon comments on the manner in which advertising infiltrated the women's magazines, stating,

At the same time that women's magazines began quite effectively to develop a national community of women in their pages, advertisers inserted themselves as central to any developing definitions of community, even family, for women. They did this in two significant ways: by moving advertisements forward in the magazines and by mimicking editorial content in language, imagery, and tone. ("Thrift" 298)

Scanlon, here, renders explicit the interrelatedness of the editorial and the commercial in the pages of the magazines and, in turn, highlights its importance for analyses of the magazine as a complete text. The commercial borrowed the tropes and conventions of the editorial, but the commercial also influenced the editorial. As Scanlon points out, advertising embedded itself in constructions of “community”. This is equally true when considering the imagined audience and also the sense of national community that was arguably fostered in part by national advertising. As Stewart Ewan points out, advertising offered “a commodity self” in which identity could be constructed through consumption (47). It logically follows, then, that advertising which was national in scope and aimed at middle-class housewives contributed to the construction of relatively homogenous representations of “the good life” for both the imagined audience and the actual consumers of advertised products. Nation- and community-building were also functions of the editorial content, and therefore the use of an approach that combines consumer culture theory with perspectives from literary studies allows for exploration of these forms of content in a manner which understands them as equally important to the function of the magazine.

Literary Ways of Reading: Close, Surface, Distant.

In the introduction to a special issue of the literary journal *Representations*—titled “The Way We Read Now”—Stephen Best and Sharon Marcus comment on the emerging concept of “surface reading” addressed by the issue. Best and Marcus comment that, as literary critics, they were trained “to equate reading with interpretation” and in “symptomatic reading,” becoming “attached to the

power it gave to the act of interpreting” (1). Yet, they detail a shift in their “way of reading”, towards one which focuses more on the “surfaces of texts” than concealed depths, suggesting, “Perhaps this is because, at the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, so much seems to be on the surface” (2).

In her contribution to the same special issue, Margaret Cohen comments on surface reading as, “‘a return to the archive,’ a renewed interest in historical research on the part of literary critics trained in the era of theory” (51). She goes on to state, “To reorganize the bookshelves of literary history, it is not enough to restore decanonized works or popular literature of the era. Rather; the theories and descriptions we use to make sense of individual works are thoroughly intertwined with the artifacts themselves” (53). Cohen argues for the tracing of larger patterns across groups of texts, repeated characteristics—such as plots, types of character, overall concerns—which require reading of the text, but not in-depth analysis. Best and Marcus also suggest numerous possible “ways of doing surface reading” including, “attention to surface as a practice of critical description” (11). The focus of this approach makes the assumption that texts “mediate themselves” and can therefore “reveal their own truths” (11). The main function of criticism, from this perspective, “is a relatively modest one: to indicate what the text says about itself” (11). The approaches described and these calls for literary critics to re-evaluate, or indeed reinvent, their modes of reading can be seen as a distinctive ideological shift, one informed by the questioning and diminishing of barriers between high and mass culture, the canonical and noncanonical.

Franco Moretti, too, calls for new approaches to literature, although he distinguishes himself from critics such as Cohen, stating,

The difference is that, for me, the aim is not so much a change in the canon—the discovery of precursors to the canon or alternatives to it, to be restored to a prominent position—as to change how we look at *all* of literary history: canonical and noncanonical: together. (Moretti 2013, 66)

To this end—focusing on the example of world literature—Moretti proposes “distant reading”, using quantitative literary analysis methods which are increasingly common in the digital humanities. The justification for this, he states, is that the subject of literary study—in his case, world literature—is not an object, but rather a scientific problem, “and a problem that asks for a new critical method: and no one has ever found a method just by reading more texts” (46). This argument could also be applied to the literary consideration of periodicals. Here, too, is a vast corpus of texts, unmanageable by individual researchers and as Moretti states, “reading ‘more’ is always a good thing, but not the solution” (46). That said, Moretti’s discarding of close reading altogether would be an untenable solution for periodical studies, for two reasons. First, not all magazines have been digitised, and the type of computer-aided large-scale distant reading which Moretti particularly advocates is impossible to apply to paper archives such as those of the *Ladies Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal*.³⁰ Such undigitised magazines risk being relegated to what Patrick O’Leary describes as the “offline penumbra” of unstudied periodicals (84).

³⁰ Scanlon’s essay, “Thrift and Advertising”, provides a nuanced exploration of this interdependence.

Second, when applied to magazines—and given the limited academic attention the form has received—Moretti’s assertion, “we know how to read texts, now let’s learn how *not* to read them” (48) does not necessarily ring true. Do we really know how to read texts, if those texts are magazines? Given the relative youth of periodical studies as a discipline, I would argue not.³¹

As Patrick Collier points out,

Such surface reading is often a prelude to close reading; at other times it is distant reading’s prelude. At its best, close-reading in a periodical reveals how its multiple internal forms—letterpress, advertising, text, image, paper, page design—interact in a historical moment to give order and meaning to a multiplex reality; and close-reading places that individual process of meaning-making in the context of the conventions of meaning-making around it, within and beyond the periodical. (22)

The importance of the interconnectivity of the features of the magazine cannot be understated, and, as Collier rightly points out, it should underpin academic approaches to periodical studies. As he argues, a complete and rigid theory of the magazine—or the periodical—should not be the aim. Rather, a more appropriate and realistic approach can be found in, “treating the periodical—and the larger field of periodicals—as ‘autonomous object of study’ to the greatest degree possible” (23). This is not to say, however, that the modes of reading which can be defined as “distant” or “surface” are superfluous to this approach, merely that they should not be used in isolation from other methods. Indeed, an approach which utilises a plurality of modes of reading—engaging in close, surface and distant readings which develop, challenge and support each

³¹ Cohen references Moretti’s theory in her description of surface reading as excavation, positioning the method somewhere between close and distant reading, stating, “Such excavation is, however, distant reading that starts close to home” (57).

other—can provide new perspectives in the consideration of periodicals. This research makes use of a number of ways of reading, as discussed in the section which follows.

Methodology

This project began in a fashion very similar to that described by Collier when he reflects on the moment “at the start, when you sit down with a periodical that speaks to you” (23), though in this case there were a number of periodicals. The primary goal was to undertake a comparative study of Canadian and American magazines, since virtually no such comparison has yet been attempted by scholars. The eventual choice to limit this comparison to one Canadian and one American title meant that the archive of material was restricted to a manageable quantity.³² Yet, even with this restriction and the relatively short time period, the volume of material and range of content demands a methodological approach, to borrow T. Jackson Lears’ phrase, akin to “intellectual bricolage” (13). Carolyn Kitch, too, uses this phrase to establish her methodology, drawing on journalism historian Marion Marzolf’s idea of “content assessment”, “a process of ‘reading, sifting, weighing, comparing and analyzing the evidence in order to tell the story’” (13). This research follows this approach with regard to all forms of content, but also includes a content analysis—of advertising in particular—to supplement its findings; this will be explained in greater detail

³² As no digital archive, at this point, exists for the *Ladies’ Home Journal* or *Canadian Home Journal*, this material was collected from Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa; the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, Toronto; the Toronto Reference Library; the New York Public Library; and the British Library, London.

below. In general, this research will take as its basic unit of study the individual issue of the magazine, but within the larger context of the magazine as a relatively cohesive title with distinctive characteristics. The limiting of this study to issues from the 1920s allows for this approach, in that these titles were relatively consistent over this period. Focus on a single decade will avoid any need for specific emphasis on longitudinal change. As will become readily apparent, however, this is not to say that shifts in form and content did not take place over this decade. Indeed, the limited timeframe allows for an interrogation of these titles as spaces for negotiation and renegotiation of values, interests, and ideals. These were not, however, as dramatic as the shifts which occurred over the magazines' lifetimes.

As Valerie Korinek comments,

To understand the history and role of any magazine, one needs to examine how the periodical is constructed—the range of articles, fiction, advice, political commentary, and advertisements. As with woven cloth, it is possible up close to separate different strands of thread according to colour or texture, but, taken as a whole, the impression is quite different. (16)

Taking this point into consideration, and through the use a variety of research methods, this study will engage in a multi-layered analysis. Faye Hammill and Michelle Smith argue, “in the specific context of the periodical, structure can work at different levels, such as column, page, issue, and volume” (89). These different levels of structure, they propose, require different levels of analysis in order to offer perspectives on the chosen magazines “as complex multi-authored texts and as physical objects” (91). This project, too, will approach the chosen

magazines using different levels of analysis. Through close textual analysis of the features which comprise the issues, considering also the ways in which these seemingly disparate features influence and shape each other, this research will be organised around individual case studies of representative material. This is, of course, not to homogenise material which is relentlessly contradictory, varied, and disparate, but rather to consider the juxtapositions and interactions that these case studies represent. In order to support the detailed examples presented, surface reading techniques will be employed, identifying core themes, concerns, tropes and conventions which unite the issues under the banner of the respective titles.

These readings will, in turn, be supported using content analysis, a method which will engage with some of Moretti's suggestions for distant reading. Krippendorff defines content analysis as, "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use" (18) which, "entails a systematic reading of a body of texts, images, and symbolic matter, not necessary from an author's or user's perspective" (3).

In her study of *Chatelaine* magazine in the 1950s and 60s, Valerie Korinek specifically identifies content analysis as a "key component of the research methodology" which was "designed to explore and manage the flow of material" (16). To this end, Korinek employs a two-stage sampling and content analysis, the first being a general survey database of all 240 issues of the magazine. This

focused on basic information for each issue, including, among others, price, number of letters, and page counts of the various features. The second stage was a component database—focusing on editorials, articles, letters, fiction, departments and advertisements—which was limited to sixty issues from the twenty-year period. Korinek comments that content analysis, “has fallen out of vogue with academics, but there is merit in including this analytical approach” (17). This may well have been the case at the time, and within the area of cultural studies in which she situates her research. Yet content analysis has been, and continues to be, extensively utilised in disciplines beyond the humanities, and is particularly prominent within consumer culture theory and social science-oriented journalism studies, fields of research which are relevant to this work. Increasingly, also, it is a mode of analysis being adopted by periodical studies.

Studies from this area usually begin, following conventions of social science disciplines, by applying sampling methods then employing content analysis, since content analysis is the primary research method. The resultant data is then considered, hypotheses interrogated and conclusions drawn. In this respect, the research methodology which will frame this study diverges. Given that the primary research method is literary and critical close reading, content analysis is secondary to these methods, and is employed in order to contextualise the findings of the close and surface readings. While this may seem at odds with the conventional approach advocated by content analysts, this approach actually falls under the sampling category defined by

Krippendorff as “relevance sampling” (Krippendorff 118). In this method, “analysts proceed by actually examining the texts to be analyzed, even if only superficially, often in a multistage process” (119). Thus, the multistage process which established the sample used for this content analysis consisted of: literary and critical close readings and surface readings, informing areas of relevance; and content analysis of the sample. Therefore, the literary close and surface readings provide a basis for the case studies and their consideration in a wider context, but also serve as a foundation for a detailed content analysis, that can arguably be understood as a form of distant reading.

David Reed uses a particularly extensive content analysis in *The Popular Magazine in Britain and the United States, 1880-1960* (1997). In his exhaustive work, Reed conducts a content analysis of the content of each of his chosen magazines; which include, but are not limited to, *The Cosmopolitan*, *McCall's*, *The Delineator*, *Woman's Home Companion*, and the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Reed's analysis comprised of “an analysis of all issues of the particular magazine during a six month period, normally the first six months of the year named” (235). This is a particularly appropriate sampling method for the sort of longitudinal and comparative analysis Reed intended. Reed does not, however, include commercial content in this analysis. When approaching the magazine from a literary or cultural studies perspective, the advertising can often be viewed as superfluous. Yet when considering the magazines as, to return to Hammill, Hjartarson, and McGregor's phrase, “media artifacts”, the advertisements, however numerous and complex, cannot be avoided. Indeed, through the close

and surface readings—the first part of the multistage process described above—the importance of the commercial content within these titles was rendered explicit. With this in mind, the most appropriate material for content analysis, in this study, has been identified as the advertisements. Of course, as studies such as Reed’s and Korinek’s demonstrate, the value of content analysis for editorial material in the magazines is significant. In the case of this study, however, the subject matter—the type of content and core interests—of the other forms of content are easily identified through the magazines’ contents pages.³³ The range of content, concerns and interests, at this level of analysis, are fairly consistent and similar. Therefore, there is little that a content analysis could add in terms of understanding in this case. This methodological approach, then, brings together the process outlined by Carolyn Kitch—of “reading, sifting, weighing, comparing and analysing”—and content analysis, generally speaking, for the editorial and the commercial content respectively.³⁴ Bringing together these methods, and using them in tandem, ensures consideration of the magazine—and all of its component content—as a complete object of study.

The second part of this multistage analysis is a detailed content analysis of the commercial content present in these titles. In order to give an indicative overview of advertising in these magazines in the 1920s a systematic sample

³³ While in the earlier years of the decade, issues of the *Canadian Home Journal* did not have contents pages, their relatively small size makes a comparison of the content through article and feature titles a simple process.

³⁴ This is not to imply that the methods are completely distinct: at times basic counting methods are applied to the editorial and fictional content, and close reading techniques are applied to the commercial.

was selected, comprised of the May and August issues of 1920, 1922, 1926, and 1928. The figures produced by this content analysis are used throughout this thesis, and included in full as an appendix. This sample was necessarily constrained by the availability of issues of the *Canadian Home Journal*, and is not intended to be fully representative of all advertising in the magazines. Rather it serves to give an overview of the commercial content which, when supported by close analysis of case studies, allows for the consideration of the commercial content as an integral part of the magazine as an object of study. In this manner, the methodology for this thesis will be thoroughly interdisciplinary, using both qualitative and quantitative methods, literary perspectives and aspects of consumer culture theory. This methodology underpins the chapters which follow, beginning with Chapter Two which will consider the construction of aspiration and self-improvement in these titles.

Chapter Two

The Art of Femininity: Aspiration and Self-improvement

Now, it would be an overstatement to insist that the art of living is exclusively under the control of women, yet it is approximately true that the social arts—conversation, cookery, dress, manners, the more gracious forms of personal intercourse—owe their beginnings and continued cultivation to the care of women. (Bishop 47)

Knowing what is new or popular may be a means of gaining prestige and acceptance. Moreover, knowing the consumption patterns of the next higher social class may facilitate social mobility. (Belk and Pollay 888)

In his article “The Art of Living as a Feminine Institution,” published in the November 1920 issue of *Vanity Fair*, American poet John Peale Bishop comments on what he describes as “phases of civilization” (47). Included alongside “man’s conquest over nature” and “man’s conquest over himself” (47) is the art of living, seen to be contained within daily routine and domestic social encounters. Bishop defines this art of living as being primarily feminine, and his concise list of what he considers “the social arts” could serve as a draft contents page for the women’s magazines of the period. For the intended readership of mass-market magazines in the 1920s, the improvement of the domestic environment and the projection of a successful image of the self as wife, hostess, and fashionable woman remained highest on their list of priorities. However, when the 1920s are mentioned, especially in the context of North America, the domesticated woman is not the dominant popular image. Rather, it is the flapper who springs most readily to mind. Perhaps it is because, as far as images of femininity go, she has come to be symbolic of so many things: social change, controversy, shifts in gender paradigms, and the decline of traditional

models of morality, among others. Or perhaps it is because, visually, she is so easily recognisable: with her short, bobbed hair; her slender, androgynous figure; her more revealing, loose-fitting clothes. The flapper was ever-present in smart magazines such as *Vogue*, *Harper's Bazar* (later *Harper's Bazaar*, 1898-present), and *Vanity Fair* throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s. In her study of women's magazine covers, Carolyn Kitch comments, "the concept of change was strongly gendered female, and the flapper was the 'newest' of all versions of the New Woman" (130). Indeed, the flapper embodied a drastic difference from her turn of the century mother: in her appearance, in her disconnection from the home and domestic life, and in her participation in the traditionally masculine activities of smoking and drinking, to name but a few aspects. She frequently attracted criticism and contempt for her frivolity, allegedly ludicrous styles and immoral behaviour, particularly in the daily press.³⁵

Yet in some contexts, she was the prevailing feminine ideal—in terms of both beauty and lifestyle—and situated as the aspirational example for the female reader of the fashionable publications whose covers she graced. Mass-market magazines, though, reveal the limitations of this particular ideal as a representative, aspirational example of femininity for the majority of American and Canadian women at this time. While these publications did not display the same levels of hostility towards the flapper as the dailies, neither did they

³⁵ A thirteen-page article in the 24th June 1922 issue of *The Literary Digest* detailed numerous opinions from the daily and weekly papers on the subject of the flapper, and was titled "The Case Against the Younger Generation". Billie Melman's discussion of the British daily press's characterisation of the flapper as a "superfluous woman" (15-40) aligns with her treatment in the American and Canadian daily press also.

admire her in the manner typical of publications aimed at the young and the wealthy. Titles such as the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* presented aspirational examples of femininity more in keeping with Bishop's cultivators of the art of living, through journalistic, fictional and commercial content. Yet the flapper serves as an interesting counterpoint to the paradigmatic women presented to the readership of mass-market magazines.

The flapper is occasionally used by the *Ladies' Home Journal* in order to emphasise the behaviours, traits and interests that were considered appropriate for respectable American women in the 1920s. In an article titled "The Woman Who Wrote Little Women", Julian Hawthorne disparages the flapper in order to assert the importance of traditional family values:

There is no doubt a new type of little women who seem to be neither women nor girls, but an amalgam of the least admirable qualities of both, rotten before they are ripe, and pithless before they are rotten; and there are boys to match them. But they are an artificial spawn of the times, with which our current fiction and magazine covers have had a good deal to do, not to mention the movies. The dissemination of them is wider, one inclines to think, than their numbers are large, or, at any rate, than their survival will be long. (25)

Although "boys" are mentioned, the flapper is primarily positioned as female and wholeheartedly undesirable. Her objectionable traits—artifice, selfishness, and frivolity—contrast with the virtuous (wholesome?) qualities of the women depicted in *Little Women* (1868) by Louisa May Alcott, who is the subject of Hawthorne's article. This comparison allows Hawthorne to affirm traditional, familial values over the pleasure-seeking priorities associated with the modern girl. Additionally, Hawthorne claims that the flapper is "an artificial spawn of

the times”, and that her abundant representation in popular culture has led to an overestimate of the number of actual women who embraced flapper styles. The editorial for this issue, too, comments on the flapper. Carrying the title, “Eliminate Flapperism, Male and Female”, it calls for the abolition of the word “flapper”, given that “it has come to mean so much that it is practically meaningless”. Citing associations “with jazz, short skirts, bobbed hair and glistening legs” as well as with “Ziegfield chorus girls; with one-piece bathing suits; with so-called modernism in art”, the argument attempts to stress the pointlessness of the word but also demonstrates a distaste for the significant list presented. The flapper becomes a focus for the magazine’s hostility to a range of elements in both high and popular culture, thus differentiating it from both.³⁶ Evident here is the resistance to experiment and novelty—associated with modernism—and to immodesty, sexual provocation, and exposure of the body more generally. Jazz, of course, was affiliated with both modernism, because of its rhythmic experimentalism and rejection of traditional forms, and with sexuality, since dancing to jazz music often involved intimacy and freedom of movement.³⁷

³⁶ Pierre Bourdieu argues, “To the socially recognized hierarchy of the arts, and within each of them, of genres, schools or periods, corresponds a social hierarchy of the consumers. This predisposes tastes to function as markers of ‘class’” (*Distinctions* 1-2). The hostility shown to these elements characterises a distinction in taste, and therefore class, on the part of the magazine and its perceived audience.

³⁷ Jazz was often depicted as a “menace” in the *Ladies’ Home Journal* and framed along racial lines, as in “Our Jazz-Spotted Middle West” (Feb. 1922) where John R. MacMahon describes it as “moral smallpox” alongside the “Afro-American dance, that unholy mingling of the civilized with the savage” (38).

In an emphatic comparison, the editorial goes on to detail examples who can be viewed as appropriate members of the younger generation, young people who established women's volunteer organisation "the New York Junior League".³⁸ This sort of charitable work would have prepared young women far more effectively for becoming wives and mothers than would jazz or swimming. Direct comparison between this admirable activity, characterised as "serious but not too solemn", and the immodesty and selfishness associated with "flapperism" emphasises the correct behaviours and values encouraged by the magazine, ones which are compatible with the role of housewife and mother. Although the flapper is rarely mentioned explicitly in the *Canadian Home Journal*, the magazine operated in a context where the flapper was largely viewed as, what Wendy Mitchinson in her study of media ideals of Canadian bodies calls, "a folk-devil image of American origin" (12). There were, of course, some exceptions such as Leslie Gordon Barnard's story, "Matilda Flapper", which appeared in the August 1920 issue. The romance story tells of a sixteen-year-old "carefully brought up young girl" (9), who is "full of romance" and "simply adores dancing" (10). The innocence and inexperience of Matilda is often remarked upon, and her transgressions—situated as characteristic of the flapper—are thoroughly tame, allowing them to be forgiven as youthful indiscretions. The story implies that while Matilda is a flapper, she is a particularly unthreatening one who is on track to become a respectable, middle-class housewife. This ideal is displayed through Matilda's sister, Gladys who is

³⁸ The New York Junior League is still in operation today, describing itself on its website as, "one of the oldest and largest women's non-profit volunteer organizations in the city" (nyjl.org).

“intensely practical, you see” (10). Rather than providing an open critique, then, the story frames the flapper as a youthful phase of naivety which ends when she meets an appropriate man and falls in love. From a visual perspective, the cover illustrations, fashion pages, and advertising styles were also evidently influenced by the flapper trends, but the lived experience of the flapper remained distinct from that of its readers. In Mary Pettit’s *Whatever Happened to Mary Janeway* (2012), the narrator refers explicitly to the 1920s as “a time for flappers and dance crazes like jazz, the Charleston, and the Black Bottom” (198), yet goes on to note,

Mary enjoyed leafing through the glossy pages of the *Canadian Home Journal* or *The Canadian*, but when she closed the magazines her world was still the same. It consisted of housedresses and aprons, not plunging necklines and fur coats. (198)

This fictional account of a real Canadian young woman renders apparent the disconnection between the image of the flapper and the lived experience of the magazine’s readers. It remains true, though, that the flapper, although a visual influence in both, was a far less common presence in the *Canadian Home Journal* than the *Ladies’ Home Journal*.

Whilst the flapper was viewed as distinct from the domestic sphere, the ideal version of femininity presented in these magazines was firmly circumscribed by the home, although this was by no means straightforward. In a section of the March 1929 *Ladies’ Home Journal* editorial, subtitled “A Husband Surprises Himself”, editor Loring Schuler demonstrates the complexity of the venerated role:

The homemaker today, in addition to the old routine duties that are still to be met—more efficiently now, thanks to modern equipment—is a marketing expert, for one thing. She buys the groceries and meats, the household equipment, the furniture and furnishings, the clothing for the family, bargains for the services of plumbers, painters, electricians, heating engineers, repair-men of all sorts. She sees that the automobile is in working order, buys the gasoline and oil, keeps the tires properly inflated. Nor is this all. She must keep abreast of the times. There are her study clubs, her recreation clubs, her civic affairs, her politics. For she knows the real value of her home and she is vitally interested in seeing that nothing threatens it with disaster. (34)

Primarily constructed as homemakers, the readers of the *Ladies' Home Journal* are encouraged in the direction of an ideal which blurs the distinctions between private and public, closely associating domesticity with consumption and home management with business. The archetypal homemaker is “a marketing expert” and her role is asserted elsewhere in the piece as demanding “all the skill and training of a big business executive” (34). These associations serve to elevate the status of the domestic role, providing a flattering blueprint to the reader. Crucially though, these business associations are made possible by practices of consumption. It is through her role as consumer that woman makes a contribution comparable to that traditionally reserved for men, positioning consumption as an enabler, or indeed prerequisite, of the ideal which is presented. The case for women’s magazines constructing their imagined audience as both readers and consumers has been compellingly made by numerous critics and is discussed in greater detail elsewhere, but what this excerpt also demonstrates is the expectation of a degree of intellectual, social, and political engagement. The importance of this is defined in relation to the home; the modern housewife, in “keep[ing] abreast of the times” must engage with modes of self-improvement which are more closely identified with

knowledge, intellect, and character, elements which can be understood as—to borrow Pierre Bourdieu’s phrase—embodied forms of cultural capital. In this, “The work of acquisition is work on oneself (self-improvement), an effort which presupposes a personal cost” and “presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation, which, insofar as it implies a labor of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor” (“The Forms of Capital” 83).³⁹ Loring Schuler’s description of the ideal housewife captures how readers were encouraged to improve the self in the direction of an ideal which went beyond the material practices of consumption, involving the acquirement of embodied cultural capital, and which also went beyond the confines of the home itself.

Notions of the self and self-improvement are crucial within conceptions of the middlebrow. In her seminal text, *The Making of Middlebrow Culture* (1992), Joan Shelley Rubin addresses the contentious nature of the middlebrow, which has been understood as a democratization of high culture, on the one hand, and on the other, as an insidious dilution of it.⁴⁰ While her work focuses more on book clubs, book reviews, and literary radio programmes, there are

³⁹ As Pierre Bourdieu argues, cultural capital can exist in three forms, “the *embodied* state, in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body”, “the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods”, and “the *institutionalized* state” (“Forms of Capital” 82). Arguably, these magazines encouraged the accumulation of embodied and, to a certain extent through the advertising and promotion of cultural products, objectified cultural capital.

⁴⁰ Janice Radway’s work on book-of-the-month clubs, *A Feeling for Books* (1997), is particularly relevant to this conversation, in terms of the popularisation of literature, the issues of literary taste this raised, and middle-class quests for intellectual self-improvement.

considerable overlaps with the mass-market magazines aimed at middle-class audiences. This is particularly evident in articles on authors and books, taste and fashion, and culture and values which featured heavily in the pages of the magazines. Of her own perspective, Rubin states,

Like the more truculent castigators of “midcult,” I see the rise of American consumer society not simply as a spur to the commendable democratization of “high” culture: to my mind, as middlebrow popularizers accommodated consumer priorities, worthwhile aesthetic commitments were also lost in the bargain. (xix)

The middlebrow represents mediation not only between high and low culture, but also between the literary and the commercial. In these mediations, it is often associated with mediocrity, and its products therefore seen as superfluous to literary and cultural history. Yet, as Rubin points out, consideration of the middlebrow is valuable in that it illuminates the cultural implications of a shift from a producer to consumer society, one in which culture is repositioned as a product for mass consumption. She also notes the shift away from interest in “character” to “personality” as one of cardinal features of middlebrow culture, “character” being defined in relation to inward traits and “personality” by social performance (24-25).⁴¹ This distinct ideological departure can also be understood within the context of the burgeoning consumer culture, in which consumption was beginning to be positioned as an alternative to spirituality in terms of improvement of the self and creation of identity. In their study of twentieth-century American advertising, Russell Belk and Richard Pollay refer

⁴¹ In discussion of this point, Rubin draws on Warren Susman’s definition of the “culture of personality”, the performative and superficial aspects of which contrasted dramatically with the genteel traditions of the nineteenth century, which were informed by a “larger moral justification of self-culture” (24).

to this shift in values through interrogation of two lexicographic meanings of “the good life”; the first being “a life lived according to the moral and religious laws of one’s culture”, the second, “a life abounding in material comforts and luxuries” (887). A negotiation of these two meanings can be seen in middlebrow culture.

Conceptions of the middlebrow are central in understanding mass-market magazines, in their dual role of encouraging a burgeoning consumer culture and promoting self-improvement. In the introduction to their book, *Magazines, Travel and Middlebrow Culture* (2015), Hammill and Smith comment,

Self-improvement is the central ideal of middlebrow culture. We understand the mainstream magazines we are studying as part of the middlebrow project because they are aspirational, addressing an upwardly mobile readership. This is achieved partly through advertising of luxury products, partly through editorial material such as travel features and society reports, and partly through commentary on high cultural forms. (12)

These examples of aspirational content which encouraged self-improvement are elements of the magazines which became increasingly important throughout the twentieth century, albeit in revised forms. That said, the magazines of the 1920s also encouraged self-improvement in the direction of definitively middle-class idealised traits, positioned as enablers of further social mobility. As Helen Damon-Moore comments, the growing middle class’s “group identity was informed by a shared set of morals, values, and attitudes, and by a certain cluster of cultural features: the home and what went into it . . . leisure activities, and levels and patterns of consumption” (23). Generally, these can be defined as middle-class tastes. In keeping with Pierre Bourdieu’s assertion that “taste

classifies, and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make” (*Distinctions* 6), these shared tastes served to distinguish a relatively cohesive middle-class identity. The mass-circulation magazines both shaped and were shaped by this identity, positioning it as aspirational. In this respect, they can be seen as middlebrow texts in the ways they negotiated between popular appeal and elite culture, between commercial and literary interests. Again, it is important to note that these negotiations and the ideals they produced were neither static nor without contradiction. Equally important is the fact that within women’s magazines, as seen in Schuler’s editorial, improvement of the self was often positioned as significant in terms of the benefits it offered for the home, family, community or nation.

The role of women’s magazines in their readers’ lives is controversial, and this should alert us to their complexity as cultural texts, and to the dangers of oversimplified readings. For example, material focusing on self-improvement (whether through learning to consume or through domestic and fashionable arts) should not be read as entirely pernicious. Although this material was liable to encourage and exploit the anxieties of the reader, it also brought demonstrable benefits to readers and their families. In many ways, the advisory or instructional content in magazines may well have made women's lives easier in some ways, while simultaneously reinforcing higher expectations and increasing difficulty in others.

The magazines in themselves also provided entertainment and relief from the burdens of domesticity, along with a sense of community amongst readers. These aspects often overlapped, with advice presented in the format of answers to readers' letters. This is particularly evident in the *Canadian Home Journal*, where regular columns responded to letters sent by readers. In the early 1920s these included "Concerning Investments", "Health and Home", and beauty column "Through The Looking Glass". Later in the decade, new columns engaged with readers in a similar manner. "Arts and Letters" (1926 onwards) selected a specific topic of interest, requested by a reader regarding Canadian art, culture, or literature—and produced a detailed column on the subject. "Travel Talk" (1926 onwards) printed numerous responses to readers' travel-related enquiries, often regarding excursions within Canada. These "departments", as they were named by the magazine, made use of readers' correspondence to drive or augment the subject-specific content. The "Consultation Service Bureau"⁴² with Eleanor Dare, however, was introduced with the express purpose of answering readers' letters on any topic.⁴³ At the top of each column, the magazine "cordially invited" readers to "to write for friendly advice or suggestions regarding their problems or perplexities", asserting "All correspondence answered personally" (Aug. 1928). Yet even while it purported to answer any "problems presented and . . . personal

⁴² The "Consultation Service Bureau" was, at times, presented with the more friendly titles, "At Your Service" (Oct. 1926 87) and "What I Would Do If I Were You" (Dec. 1928 88).

difficulties disclosed" (Feb. 1927), these problems were bounded by the home. A full-page advertisement for the column in the February 1927 issue carried the title "Home-Pride", framing the problems faced by readers in specific relation to the home. Additionally, recipes were increasingly presented as being from readers, including the regular "We Test Your Recipes" (1928-1929) and specific seasonal variations, such as "Holiday Recipes Sent in by Our Readers" (Dec. 1928).

While the columns and departments mentioned sometimes changed in title or shifted in focus, the format of reader engagement was consistent. This type of engagement with the readership created a friendly imagined community of shared values, interests, and standards in which readers conversed with the magazine and, through the magazine, with each other. Through the magazine form, readers were both informed of and encouraged to emulate the ideals presented in its pages. But through this interaction readers also influenced the content, granting them a level of agency (albeit a limited one) in the negotiation of these ideals, what Ros Ballaster refers to as "the dynamic process of exchange in the discourse of the women's magazine" (44). The *Ladies' Home Journal*, too, in 1927 established a regular feature encouraging reader engagement. Titled, "We Test Our Readers' Recipes" the format is remarkably similar to that of the equivalent column in the *Canadian Home Journal*, and the latter was most likely influenced by it. Nevertheless, this is the only consistent example of reader-generated content in the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Usually, instruction was offered through the articles themselves or through the intensely promoted "Helpful

Ladies' Home Journal Books", covering topics from "Prenatal Letters", to "How to Buy Your Home", to "Parties for Everyone". Individual readers' letters were very occasionally referenced in the editorials and some features, usually forming the introduction to a topic, rather than presenting a direct question and answer. The assistance offered by the *Ladies' Home Journal* predominantly took the form of authoritative advice from a position of expertise, as opposed to the friendly conversational advice the *Canadian Home Journal* attempted to produce. In spite of these differences, both titles constructed and addressed their readership as a community possessing shared values, issues, and interests.

It is evident that the advisory material in these magazines should not be read as entirely benevolent, nor as entirely toxic. More useful than a questioning of whether this material was helpful or harmful is an investigation into how it worked and why it was popular. The concept of self-improvement, it could be argued, permeates all aspects of the women's magazine. In an article on periodicals Szeman comments, "Form and content overlap in the audience's cultural aspirations, which are addressed by advertising as much as by the articles in the magazine" (222). Although Szeman's article deals predominantly with contemporary periodicals, this assertion holds true also for early examples of mass-market magazines. On every page—from commercial to editorial content, advertisements for underwear to recipes for cakes, from beauty tips to decorating guides—the reader is presented with a myriad of opportunities for improvement of the self and home. This chapter will explore the concept of self-improvement as presented in the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home*

Journal, considering: how the magazines constructed aspirational ideals and positioned them as achievable; the manner in which these are circumscribed by notions of domesticity, consumerism, and nationalism; and the extent to which the titles offer nationally specific approaches to self-improvement. This enquiry will be underpinned by a specific attention to the role of the disparate forms of content in facilitating these constructions, limitations, and specificities, and the ways in which they complement or contradict each other. This enquiry will be split into two general sections: appearance and experience. Beginning with the internal, including character and identity, before moving on to the external, including beauty and fashion, the aim is to explore the relationship between discourses of self-improvement and the miscellaneous content, how these notions work across the magazine as a text, and the manner in which these titles encouraged self-improvement as an aspect of middle-class femininity.

Experience: Character and the Domestic Self

In popular magazines of the 1920s, fiction made up a substantial portion of the publication and was one of the primary selling points. This fiction has received very little academic attention and has often been met with derision, perhaps due to the assumption that it has little or no literary merit and is therefore superfluous to the study of literary history. The fiction was, on the whole, rather formulaic, with romance, adventure and detective genres predominant. But this is not the only reason why it is ignored by critics. The stories are probably dismissed partly because of the material practices underpinning their publication: for instance, the fact that some magazines paid by the word; the

illustration of stories with rather hackneyed or misleading images; and the tendency of writers with serious literary aspirations to supplement their incomes by producing more marketable stories for magazines.⁴⁴ The commercial underpinnings of the fiction were evident on several levels. It was a source of income for the authors; the magazines used author brand-names to boost sales; and the increase in circulation figures, in turn, was used to drive up advertising revenue. This content's popular appeal and commercial functions are important and, as Jennifer Scanlon argues, it is because of, rather than in spite of, these features that it has literary and ideological significance. Scanlon acknowledges the dismissal of magazine fiction, commenting that critics have been quick to claim that magazine fiction revealed little about women's lives (*Inarticulate Longings* 138). Yet, she claims the fiction in the *Ladies' Home Journal* "is as important a component of the magazine as any other", arguing,

the fiction tries to express women's wrongs and rights, providing a socially acceptable means of both redressing the wrongs and keeping the rights in check. More explicitly than the advice, however, and more thoroughly than the advertising, the fiction also addresses the mysteries of women's lives, those aspects that cannot be easily defined, culturally or otherwise. (139)

In this respect, the fiction not only provides escapism and entertainment, but contributes—by example or contrast—to the magazine's construction of middle-class ideals of femininity. This aspect of the fiction is only rendered visible when regarded within the context of the magazine as a whole. Typically, when magazine fiction is considered, it is most often removed from the

⁴⁴ Gary Hoppenstand comments "capitalism itself came to be a key feature behind the origin of popular fiction" (102), and that the periodicals allowed a "professionalization" of fiction writing, giving authors "another income-generating venue for their work" (108).

magazine and viewed separately from the content which surrounded it at publication. This separation severs the link between the fiction and the rest of the issue it appeared in, as well as the link with the magazine as a whole: its values, intended readership, and concerns. However reading this fiction in conjunction with the surrounding material, as an integral part of the text, and within the larger context of the title's identity, generates new meanings and reveals interactions among the different components. To illustrate this, two specific examples of fiction will be read comparatively, examining the ways in which these stories operate as part of their respective magazines. Both the Canadian and American short stories which follow appeared in the May 1920 issues of each title and were the first pieces of fiction to appear in each issue. While the magazine fiction did vary significantly from issue to issue, many stories focused on the lives of women, engaged with repeating themes, such as morality, social mobility, and familial duty, and addressed shared and consistent concerns, including tensions between frugality and consumption, domestic and workplace roles, and restraint and desire. The two selected stories are typical of the publications.

Appearing on page 7, the first story in this issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal* follows the "Editor's Page" (1), a humour page titled "That Reminds Me" (4), and four full-page advertisements; one of which is for the *Ladies' Home Journal* itself (3). Carrying the heading, "Looking Forward With The Editor", the advertisement details some of the contents to be featured in the June issue. After a brief summary of an article on royal mothers, the advertisement

presents details of all the forthcoming fiction, under the subtitle “Notable Fiction in June” (3). The perceived importance of the fiction to the reader is rendered explicit in its privileging in this advertisement, which uses the fiction as an incentive to purchase. Similarly, the ordering of the fiction in each title usually reflects its expected appeal. Titled “In the Game Called Life”, the issue’s first fictional offering is written by Peter Clark Macfarlane, a popular American author at the time. The story begins before the end of the First World War at what is presumably an American army base in France. The reader is introduced to two protagonists, Edith O’Brien and Arthur Raleigh. The story opens with a disagreement between them in which Edith states;

Perhaps, as you say, I look very appealing to you now, and I own that you look very wonderful to me and always will; but—the war will be over some day. Then you will be back with your rich father and mother in Boston and I’ll be –a telephone girl in the Bronx once more. I won’t look the same to you then... We’re equals now, your uniform and mine... fix our status. The differences in our social position do not appear to you. They do not exist—now. There is no gulf between us now. There will be a chasm, an ocean between us then. (7)

The character dynamic is that of a typical war-time romance, in which the upper-class lieutenant falls in love with the working girl. As Edith’s comments highlight, this situation, which by traditional class standards would be unacceptable, is enabled by the equalising effect of the war-time situation. Here, Edith is presented as sensible and logical, in attempting to moderate Arthur’s emotional and romantic notions, showing deference to propriety and the established social-class system.

Edith's emotional restraint is repeatedly presented as a positive quality throughout the narrative. Even when Arthur returns from France – going straight home to Boston and his family – and she finds his letters “vague and unsatisfactory,” her “resolute will kept out of her own letters any heart cry, any protest” (7). Edith's frugality is also depicted as an invaluable trait. After returning from the war, when he tires of his old lifestyle, Arthur visits Edith and remarks on her unwillingness to spend his money:

“Say you're queer, you know; not spend money? You're the first girl I've heard that—”

“But,” she began to explain, and the little lady's face wore an embarrassed expression, “it makes me feel uncomfortable. It humiliates me.”

“Pride! Holy mackerel, what pride!” reproved Arthur.

“Besides, it's rather—rather like making a display of one's wealth, isn't it?” she twitted naively, “That's considered bad taste, isn't it, in some circles?” (8)

The prospect of extravagantly spending money embarrasses her and is placed within the context of “taste”, in opposition to “display”. Her distaste for the conspicuous exhibition of wealth aligns Edith with traditional values as opposed to the extravagance of the flapper. Her frugality, in this context, confirms her as a person of good character; yet, she is also appropriately deferential towards Arthur on the subject of propriety and taste, evidenced in the repetition of “isn't it?” This further establishes a distinction between them; while Arthur is confident and certain, Edith is shy and questioning. In this way, the interaction between the characters can be read in the context of social class and aspirations for mobility, with the upper class secure and the middle class attempting to emulate appropriate behaviours and values.

From her modest restraint, to her appropriate frugality, to her endearing naivety, Edith is constructed as the absolute paradigm of middle-class femininity despite her working-class occupation and residence in a working-class neighbourhood. This tension is just one of the ways in which Edith's character is unrealistic. Since the story is a romance, this is perhaps unsurprising. This being said, it would seem that Edith models a social mobility and a middle-class identity which is not predicated on social background or income, but rather on behaviour and values. With regards to the latter, her character depicts an idealisation of what a middle-class female should represent. When Arthur tells his parents of his intention to marry Edith, they predictably disapprove. Their objection leads to an elaborate scheme in which the Raleighs move into an apartment in the same block as Edith's family, pretending to be the Montgomerys—a wealthy couple who have fallen on hard times. They befriend Edith, learning in the process of her admirable frugality, correct values, and caring nature. It is only after this scheme is complete that they finally approve of their son marrying beneath him. In its use of a particularly fantastical situation as the catalyst for Edith's acceptance, the story does not encourage social mobility; rather, it encourages fantasies while simultaneously working to reinforce social hierarchies. However, the conclusion of the story, with Edith's successful attainment of a socially and economically improved life, reaffirms the importance of the middle-class values Edith displays. The message is clear: restraint and frugality are enablers of social and domestic improvement. The story feeds fantasies which cater to the desire for upward mobility and improvement, but maintains them in the realm

of fantasy through the stereotyped characters and the elaborately contrived narrative circumstances.

“Her Official Self”, presented as the opening piece of fiction in the May 1920 issue of the *Canadian Home Journal*, is also of significant interest in this respect. It appears on page 5, following an editorial piece titled “Fairyland and Return” (1), which details the importance of fairy tales; this issue’s “O Canada!” (3), a regular feature on specific Canadian issues; and two full-page advertisements. “Fairyland and Return” makes specific reference to “Cinderella”, with the author, Jean Graham, asking, “Who was your earliest friend in that magic country? Cinderella was my first love, and the fairy and the pumpkin were a delight for many a long year”. The editorial extols the virtues of stories which encourage the imagination, but which also construct romantic narratives culminating in happy endings. The reader is encouraged to value “magical” romantic narratives, like “Cinderella”, which can be viewed as a tale not dissimilar to “Her Official Self” in the context of social mobility. The story itself is signed Marshall Saunders, the pen name of the Canadian author Margaret Marshall Saunders CBE.⁴⁵ Like the previous short story, this example deals with issues of class stratification through a typical romance narrative. The reader is first introduced to Wynne Dryfield, the editor of an unnamed publication, and Elizabeth Sterling, his stenographer. From the outset, Elizabeth’s character and

⁴⁵ Saunders was best known for her story *Beautiful Joe* (1894), a “book that revolutionized a generation’s view of animal welfare” (Chez 11). As Keridiana Chez comments, Saunders’ long-time residence in the US and her publishing there resulted in her being claimed as an American writer; yet she was Canadian, born in Nova Scotia, and American was a label she rejected (14).

actions are the driving force of the narrative. She introduces herself to Dryfield, who prior to that moment “Did not know what she looked like. She had no more individuality to him, than his desk or his office chair” (5). Elizabeth’s previous invisibility speaks to the nature of her employment, and somewhat echoes the invisible nature of much of women’s traditional work. In presenting herself however, Elizabeth becomes visible in the public environment and establishes herself as far less passive character than Edith. However, the similarities are considerable.

Elizabeth, too, is a working-girl who displays middle-class values, involved in a romance with a man above her on the social spectrum. The mentions of Dryfield’s home, “an old family mansion” (36) and “the clubs and the hospital work and all the other good things” (36) that his mother, Mrs. Dryfield, has the leisure time to pursue reaffirm the disparity between Elizabeth and her admirer.⁴⁶ Elizabeth is reserved, loyal to her family, restrained in her emotions and, perhaps most importantly, frugal. In her initial conversation with Dryfield she comments, “The world is in fearful turmoil. Materialism is rampant” (36). Yet she is not painted as puritanical, merely economical and appropriately reserved, and it is her possession of these traits which overcome Mrs. Dryfield’s initial reservations about her. Near the end of the narrative, after a lavish dinner at the Dryfield residence—when it is clear that Dryfield has proposed to Elizabeth—Mrs. Dryfield states her approval. Confirming the importance of

⁴⁶ This can be understood in light of Pierre Bourdieu’s argument that “the link between economic and cultural capital is established through the mediation of the time needed for its acquisition” (“The Forms of Cultural Capital” 84).

Elizabeth's restrained and careful character, Mrs. Dryfield declares, "I would rather have this quaint, little prig than a social butterfly" (40). Elizabeth, like Edith, has won over her socially elevated mother-in-law through paradigmatic middle-class values. In turn, she has also secured a much-improved domestic and social situation. While these examples seem remarkably similar, at least initially, a direct comparison highlights numerous contrasts. They are, crucially, American and Canadian stories respectively—in terms of author and setting—and can be read in a nationally-specific context. The story in the *Canadian Home Journal* is distinctly more straightforward than the American tale. There is no deception, no need for an elaborate ruse to diminish the barriers between social classes. While both pieces of fiction prominently feature parental approval, representative of propriety and correctness, they do so in different ways. The Raleighs' disapproval is loudly demonstrated, while Mrs. Dryfield's takes the form of introspective ponderings.

While the two female characters are markedly different—in that Edith is largely passive while Elizabeth is decidedly active—in the end it is their restraint and frugality that lead to their successful attainment of an improved social standing. They both manage to trade their working-class occupations for middle-class domesticity through a form reminiscent of non-magical "Cinderella" stories; a transition facilitated by the distinctively idealised middle-class traits they display. It is in this respect that the different features of the magazine seem to be at an ideological impasse. The fiction promotes frugality and restraint, implying that self-improvement is achievable through those practices, while the

advertisements promote a desire for commodities, positioning self-improvement as achievable through consumption. In this respect, can the magazine be seen to be a complete collaborative text when its features promote such disparate ideals? As Margaret Beetham points out, femininity is always represented in magazines as fractured, “not least because it is simultaneously assumed as given and still to be achieved” (*Magazine* 1). In turn, “This femininity has been addressed and through a form which is itself fractured and heterogeneous” (1), containing a range of voices and opinions. Therefore, it is thoroughly unsurprising that the magazines contain content which is often contradictory. The conception of the audience as readers and as shoppers is one such tension, as shopping became increasingly important to the “work of being feminine” (8), demanding continual negotiation and renegotiation.

In an article published in the March 1929 issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, “Two Women at the Counter”, Julius Klein states, “Women handle from 80 to 85 per cent of the forty billion dollars that go to make up the nation’s retail sales—the largest single item in our business life. The extent of woman’s sovereignty in marketing is increasing steadily” (35). Both magazine publishers and advertisers were aware of the buying power women wielded, and the quantity and content of the advertising presented both encouraged and acknowledged this. The advertisements featured in the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* are many and varied, and advertising consistently occupies around half of the page space in each. In the November 1928 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal*, for example, advertisements account for 56 percent of the

publication (with 240 pages, about 135 of them dedicated to advertisements). In the *Canadian Home Journal*, for the same issue, the figure is 50 percent (120 pages, 60 pages of advertisements). Among the most common adverts in each title are those for, what can loosely be categorised as, domestic products. These include: food and drink, cleaning products, home wares, domestic appliances, furnishings and décor. From the advertisements alone, it is readily apparent that the home and a domestic life are perceived as being of crucial importance to the imagined readership. The overwhelming majority of the advertisements focus on items for the home or family, or are framed in the context of that environment. This is equally true of both titles, yet the content of the adverts signals possible dissimilarity in the manner in which these products are positioned as enablers of self-improvement.

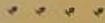
Almost without exception, in every issue of each title throughout the 1920s at least one advert appears for soup; specifically Campbell's soup in the *Ladies' Home Journal* and Clark's soup in the *Canadian Home Journal*.

MOCK TURTLE SOUP

How you'll enjoy its unusual flavor!

MOCK TURTLE! A soup famous for its own individual and delicious flavor. A soup which has helped many a smart cafe and fashionable hotel dining-room the world over, to attract its distinguished patronage. The eyes of the trained soup chef will sparkle at the very mention of Mock Turtle Soup. For to him it is an opportunity—the coveted chance to display all the fine touches of his art.

And Campbell's French chefs can receive from you no more welcome a challenge to prove their skill. For here is a soup that is unusual. A soup that is difficult to make and so seldom attempted in the home kitchen. Yet rightly made, it never fails to win the appetite, instantly and unmistakably.



Only the tenderest, selected calves' head meat is used in Campbell's Mock Turtle Soup. Tempting, succulent pieces of this meat are blended in rich broth of fine beef, purée of full-ripe luscious tomatoes, snow-white celery, savory herbs and deft seasoning. A dash of truly European flavor livens the blend and aids in producing the distinctive taste for which this soup is famous.

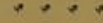
Your appetite will tell you, at the very first spoonful, that this is a masterpiece in soup-making. It will give you an even better appreciation of why the housewives of America repose such confidence in Campbell's. The best ingredients that money can buy. The utmost care and skill in blending. Women know these facts about Campbell's.

When you consider that there are twenty-one



different kinds of Campbell's Soups, you realize that the Campbell's kitchens offer a complete service in fine soups. Are you taking full advantage of it? Do you draw upon this wide variety of soups constantly to help you in your difficult and important task of giving the utmost charm and variety to the daily family menus?

You know, of course, that soup belongs in the daily diet. No other food offers such a variety of delightful flavors. Soup conditions the appetite and the digestion—makes them more vigorous, active and healthy. It does this by causing a freer flow of the digestive juices. So soup is a food that should not be omitted for a single day—as it is so enjoyable and so beneficial.



How easy and convenient it is to obtain the proper variety in your soups, since Campbell's offer such a wide range for your choice. Every known popular kind of soup in the world is made by Campbell's with a strict regard for quality that is justly famous.

See how simple it is. Your grocer has, or will obtain for you, any or all of the Campbell's Soups you select from the list printed on the label of the can. All you have to do is to add an equal quantity of water, let the soup simmer for a few minutes, and then serve it, hot, savory, and invigorating, on your table.

Let your choice for today be Campbell's Mock Turtle Soup. But for tomorrow, and the next day, and the days to follow, make a full selection of the different kinds and stick to the rule of serving soups regularly every day. 12 cents a can.



I'm riding high, with feelings spry,
Aglow with true ambition.
I'm headed straight on lively gait
For Campbell's rich nutrition.

WITH THE MEAL OR AS A MEAL SOUP BELONGS IN THE DAILY DIET

Figure 1 Campbell's Soup advert. Ladies' Home Journal Aug.1927



*Canada's Choicest Products
go into these Delicious Soups*

Start the Meal Right with a plate
of Clark's Soup

It is a welcome appetizer and can be relied upon to be tasty, nourishing, true to its name.

Not only is it inexpensive (approximately three cents per serving) but it avoids all the work and worry which the making of soup involves.

CLARK'S SOUPS 

Serve CLARK'S Soups for any occasion.—There is a choice of all your favorite sorts: as a special treat try the Chicken Soup, real chicken broth with rice—a wonderfully tasty, appealing soup, costs a little more, but so nice!

"Let the Clark Kitchens Help You"

W. CLARK LIMITED—MONTREAL, St. Remi, P. Q., and Harrow, Ont.
Packers of "Clark's Pork and Beans, etc., etc."

Figure 2 Clark's Soup advert. *Canadian Home Journal* Aug. 1927

As was typical of the Campbell's adverts, this example is in colour and full-page, while the Clark's adverts are black and white and quarter-page. Of course, this is not particularly surprising, as the *Ladies' Home Journal* carried a far higher proportion of full-page advertisements. In this issue, there are 62 full-pages (39.0 percent of the publication), while the corresponding issue of the *Canadian Home Journal* featured only 13 (19.1 percent). Additionally, Campbell's was, and remains, a huge brand with an equally large advertising budget, while Clark's was a family-run business from Montreal. As Katherine Parkin comments, in her analysis of Campbell's Soup adverts in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, the company was "a consistent, influential advertiser that spent extraordinary amounts of money to reach women nationwide and in so doing carved out a strong identity in the *Ladies' Home Journal* and other women's magazines" (52). In terms of the Campbell's illustration, there is a fairly standard representation of the product as it is sold, and a rather odd image of a cartoon girl riding a turtle. However, the majority of space in the advertisement is dedicated to advertising copy which is perhaps of the most interest. It begins,

Mock turtle! A soup famous for its own individual and delicious flavour. A soup which has helped many a smart café and fashionable hotel dining-room the world over, to attract its distinguished patronage. The eyes of the trained soup chef will sparkle at the very mention of Mock Turtle Soup. For him it is an opportunity—the coveted chance to display all the fine touches of his art. (29)

The reader is immediately encouraged to associate the soup with refinement and style, "smart cafes" and "fashionable hotel dining-rooms", to identify with their "distinguished patronage". The advert continues to situate this soup as a

marker of luxury and good taste with the lavish description of the ingredients; a “rich broth of fine beef” with, “puree of full-ripe luscious tomatoes, snow-white celery”, among others. The product is then stated to be, “a masterpiece in soup making”, before the advertisement shifts focus away from upper-class cafes and restaurants, towards the domestic and the national. The assertions that, “the housewives of American repose such confidence in Campbell’s” establishes a collective of women who are already benefitting from the product, placing them as the ideal. The suggestion, then, is that with the purchase of this product, the reader can become part of this collective of idealised domesticity.

Thus the soup—an affordable product—brings associations with the luxurious environments which the housewife cannot really afford to enter, but which—it is implied—she would fit right into, due to her excellent taste, which is evidenced in her purchasing of the soup. The advertisement then goes on to mention the variety of soups, addressing the reader directly asking, “Do you draw upon this wide variety of soups constantly to help you in your difficult and important task of giving the utmost charm and variety to the daily family menus?” In the mention of the housewife’s task as difficult and important, the advertisement emphasises the discourse of expertise which is attached to housewifery; flattering the housewife, but also frightening them into ensuring they have enough knowledge and the right equipment. While the product itself is positioned as supplying the knowledge and the equipment here, this question potentially has a wider influence. Increased variety of family menus is offered elsewhere in the magazine, both through other advertisements and recipes. In

this way, the individual advert can be read as a part of the magazine as a collaborative text, influencing the content which precedes or follows it. The ideal housewife, here and throughout the magazine then, is not only one who focuses on the practical running of the household, and basic care of her family, but one who facilitates “charm and variety”, who can emulate the tables of “smart cafes” because of her good taste. While the practical is mentioned, the focus remains on refinement, options, and charm.

In contrast, the August 1927 advertisement for Clark’s Soup is comparatively simple. There is distinctly less text, and it appears to be influenced by traditional and rural, rather than suburban, values. The illustration shows a selection of farmers, and presumably farmer’s wives, carrying raw ingredients and surrounding a depiction of the product as it is to be consumed. The impression of simplicity and authenticity is furthered by the concise text, which begins with the tagline “Canada’s Choicest Products go into these Delicious Soups” (61). This is the only mention of the ingredients, and it is interesting that it is situated firmly within a national context. There are no exuberant adjectives, no mentions of cafes or restaurants, of distinguished patronage or chefs. The focus remains, in all aspects of the advert, on simplicity, practicality and thrift. The mention of the removal of “work and worry” constructs the product as beneficial to the housewife, as enabling improvement of her domestic life. Arguably, the relative simplicity of this advertisement could be attributed to a limited advertising budget or a less sophisticated advertising agency. This may well be the case, but it does not alter the effect of the

advertisement. The ideal presented is one of modesty, practicality and thrift, in keeping with the enduring traditional values of pioneer femininity.

This distinction between the Canadian and American advertising can be seen in other examples of adverts for the same products, as pictured below.



The first
bright glow
in the meal!

A soup you want
again and again —
it's so delicious!



WITH THE MEAL OR AS A MEAL SOUP BELONGS IN THE DAILY DIET

SOUP and Mrs. Grundy

SHE HAS always been a famous woman—has Mrs. Grundy. She never lived, to be sure, but she has been feared and respected ever since her name was first used in an old English play. In this play she never even appeared on the stage, but another woman, a rival of hers, stood in constant awe of her and kept continually asking, "What will Mrs. Grundy say?" From that day to this, her name has been used to represent the gossip and the critics.

Every neighborhood has its Mrs. Grundys who set up their little courts and deliver their judgments on their sisters. No independent, self-respecting woman caters for their favor. But by the same token, proud and capable women demand that their homes shall at all times be so faultlessly kept that no Mrs. Grundy can throw her little barbs of criticism at them.

SOUP IS now accepted as one of those refinements in the daily menu that mark the well-kept home. The woman who is jealous to have for her family a table second to none in charm and excellence is careful not to omit soup. She is quick to follow the example of those neighbors whom she most respects and admires—friends who exchange visits with her and who take it for granted that delicious, invigorating soup will greet them at the table, as it does in their own homes.

The woman who makes it the rule to serve soup every day proves that she wishes to make her meals just as enjoyable as possible. She also shows that she knows how to make them most beneficial. For soup not only delights the taste, it also stimulates the flow of the digestive juices and promotes general good health.

SOUP OFFERS a variety of delightful savors and flavors that no other food supplies in such tempting form. There's nothing like good, hot soup to cheer you and invigorate you. Add to this, the distinctly helpful effects of soup on appetite and digestion—and you see why the experts recommend soup.

The more you appreciate quality, the better you like Campbell's Soups! Add an equal quantity of water, bring to a boil, simmer a few minutes. So easy and convenient. Your grocer has, or will gladly get for you, any of the twenty-one Campbell's Soups listed on the label. 12 cents a can.



I'm a happy, bounding maid,
See the clever part I've played;
Helping mother more and more,
Bringing Campbell's from the store.

Figure 3 Campbell's Soup advert. *Ladies' Home Journal* Nov. 1928

"Let the
Clark
Kitchens
help you"



*Ready in
a minute*

CLARK'S SOUPS

They go to the right spot!

DELICIOUS and invigorating CLARK'S soup begins the meal well and increases the enjoyment of the following courses. And they save work and money.

Add even amount of water, bring to a boil, and CLARK'S soups are ready to serve. The cost is about three cents a plate--slightly more for chicken. The assortment includes

Vegetable, Tomato, Mulligatawny, Pea, Green Pea, Chicken, etc. All meats used are "Canada Approved". See this legend on the labels of all CLARK Meat Soups



SOLD EVERYWHERE

W. CLARK Limited - - Montreal
Packers Clark's celebrated Pork and Beans, etc.



37-17

Figure 4 Clark's Soup advert. *Canadian Home Journal* Nov. 1928

Beginning once more with the advert from the *Ladies' Home Journal*, published in the November 1928 issue, it is again the text which, while not the most eye-catching, is certainly the most interesting. Titled "Soup and Mrs. Grundy", the text begins by introducing the reader to Mrs. Grundy, a character from Thomas Morton's 1878 play *Speed the Plough*, who is situated as representative of gossips and critics. The text continues,

Every neighbourhood has its Mrs. Grundys who set up their little courts and deliver their judgements on their sisters. No independent, self-respecting woman caters for their favour. But by the same token, proud and capable women demand that their homes shall at all times be so faultlessly kept that no Mrs. Grundy can throw her little barbs of criticism at them. (35)

The concept of surveillance here is introduced by the invisible yet omniscient Mrs. Grundy. In this way the ad plays on the reader's fear of failure, as much as the previous Campbell's ad implies upward aspiration. This advertising method was typical of Campbell's, whose advertisements "counselled women [that] to avoid humiliating themselves and their family, they ought to have a supply of Campbell's soup on hand" (Parkin 57). The product not only promises benefits, but threatens perceived failure in its absence. The advert calls on the reader to identify herself as an "independent, self-respecting," "proud and capable" woman, placing the product as an enabler of this ideal by stating,

Soup is now accepted as one of those refinements in the daily menu that mark the well-kept home. The woman who is jealous to have for her family a table second to none in charm and excellence is careful not to omit soup. (35)

The representative perfect woman in this advert, then, is proudly domestic. Yet, in the same way as the previous Campbell's advert, she is not domestic in a traditional, homely manner. She has a taste for "refinements", possesses a

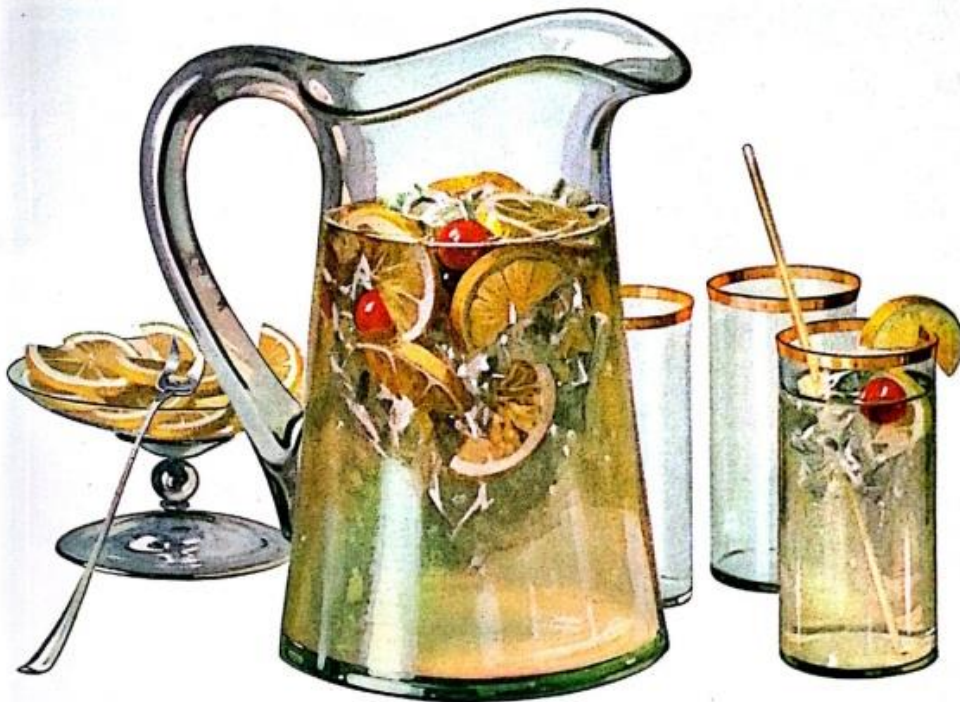
capacity for “charm and excellence”, and, in turn, upward social mobility and self-improvement. Again, the potential influence of the advertisement goes beyond mere promotion of the product. The dual possibility of failure and improvement works across the content, raising potential problems and providing solutions through products or practical advice. Whilst the problems, and their alleged remedies, are multiple and wide-ranging, they are consistently circumscribed by domesticity. These different advertisements and features come together within the magazine as a text, providing a multi-faceted paradigm of middle-class American femininity—one which is markedly different from that presented in the *Canadian Home Journal*.

The comparable advert for Clark’s soup in the November 1928 issue of the *Canadian Home Journal* illustrates the same focus on simplicity and traditional values as did the advert from the previous year. While the woman depicted has short hair, she looks fairly traditional, and is certainly no flapper. The text of the advert states,

Delicious and invigorating CLARK’S soup begins the meal well and increases the enjoyment of the following courses. And they save work and money. Add even amount of water, bring to a boil, and Clark’s soups are ready to serve. The cost is about three cents a plate—slightly more for chicken. (64)

When viewed alongside the advert presented to the readers of the *Ladies’ Home Journal*, the difference is stark. The advertising copy, like the image, is simple and to-the-point. The importance again placed on practicality and affordability. In language almost identical to the previous Clark’s advert, the product is said to save “work and money,” with the implication that this will improve the domestic

situation. The explicit comment on exactly how much the product costs per serving highlights, again, the expectation that the minimising of domestic expenditure is a priority for the Canadian housewife. The “family money” was a repeated concern throughout both titles, although arguably more so in the *Canadian Home Journal*. The improvement offered through the purchase and use of the product, therefore, is one concordant with the practical, frugal housewife who values simplicity. South of the border, however, the improvement offered is one of increased sophistication, charm, and leisure time. This disparity is apparent in other comparative advertising examples.



Lemonade

The Delicious Efficient Drink

Keep a Full Pitcher Always Within Reach

Delicious, refreshing, vitalizing lemonade!—what other drink equals it when you are thirsty, hot or tired?

Lemonade cools the entire system, not merely the throat as ordinary *cold drinks* do. It cools not alone because it's cool, but because it's *lemon*.

That's why lemonade is the stand-by of millions.

The almost universal craving for it is Nature's own way of telling you that it is the best way to cool the body.

Ask your physician if he knows of another drink that is so good for children and grown-ups.

The pure sugar it carries is energizing and vitalizing. The lemon's natural salts and acids are digestants.

Order a dozen California lemons and make it now. Don't go another day without it.

California Lemons are practically seedless, tart, and heavy with full-flavored juice. The skins are clean, bright and waxy. If you want the better grades ask your dealer for "Sunkist."

CALIFORNIA Sunkist

Uniformly Good Lemons

Drink Dispensers—
Store Owners—

There are big opportunities in the use of efficient machines for the quick and profitable dispensing of real lemonade and fresh orange juice drinks, iced sodas, fountain, general water, apricot, fruit drinks, etc. We have made a study of all types of machines and will advise you on the best type to fit your needs. Also figures on profits. Makes no difference whether you now sell drinks or not—write us about our profits.

California Fruit Growers Exchange
A Non-Profit, Co-operative Organization of 10,000 Growers,
Spartan 14, Los Angeles, California

All Distributors of Sunkist Oranges
and Sunkist Lemonade.

*Buy them
by the
Dozen*



"Sunkist New-Day Drinks"
53 Recipes—Sent FREE

We will send on request "New-Day Drinks," a book containing 53 recipes for delicious beverages, new and attractive fruit-juice cocktails, punches, ices, etc., made with lemon and orange juice. The recipes are by Alice Bradley, principal of Miss Farmer's School of Cookery, Boston. These are excellent hot-weather drinks—ideal for entertaining. Ask for your free copy now. See address above.



Figure 5 California Sunkist advert. *Ladies' Home Journal* May 1920



The Chef's Secret

A Natural Sauce That *All Homes* Can Use

IN scores of recipes gained by famous chefs the flavor-secret is lemon juice. Lemon juice is often the added touch, the final refinement, the sauce that delights the connoisseur.

Note a few of the ways in which the chef uses the "Witching Drop of Lemon Juice."

In His Salad Dressings

He makes delicious dressings, both French and Mayonnaise, by using beautiful lemon juice in place of vinegar.

He seldom serves fish, cold meats, or meats, without a lemon garnish.

That he shows his high regard for lemons is these very simple ones.

And he serves lemons with these and other foods for more than flavor alone; for lemons add vim, as they will aid you, in more than reliable ways.

As An Appetizer

Plentiful digestion of his food creations, as well as their flavor, is the chef's concern. And so it is every woman's, especially the mother's. Foods must be digestible, otherwise they disappoint.

Lemon juice—Nature's Sauce—is also one of Nature's best appetite aids, due to its organic salts and acids. So the dishes with lemons are not only better, but are better for you. We believe you will be glad to remember these facts when you plan your family's meals.

CALIFORNIA Sunkist Uniformly Good Lemons

In selecting, always ask for California Sunkist Lemons. They are juicy, tart, sweet, clear and bright, and practically seedless.

The crisp, ruffled, rumped "Sunkist" mark the best lemons grown, not here, but no more than other.

CALIFORNIA FRUIT GROWERS' EXCHANGE

210 North Main, Los Angeles, California

Agents: Boston, Montreal, Calgary, Winnipeg, Vancouver
Also distributors of Sunkist Oranges and Florida Grapefruit



Sunkist Marmalade

Made with the rich, pure lemon, the yellow part of the peel (shady side) of fresh ripe fruit from our finest orange groves—with a little granulated sugar and pure water—nothing else. A delicious, new, most delicious, for your pocket for it.



Make Salad Dressings



With Lemon Juice Instead of Vinegar



Always Garnish Fish With Lemons



Make a Lemon-Lemon Pie



Make the Best Tea Better

Figure 6 California Sunkist advert. *Canadian Home Journal* May 1920

As opposed to adverts for two different brands, these examples promote the same product, California Sunkist Lemons, but use different approaches to position the product as beneficial. Both are in colour and both are full page, showing the appeal of the product through illustrative examples of how it can be used. The advertisement presented in the *Ladies' Home Journal* shows lemonade, described as "The Delicious Efficient Drink" (169), and urges readers to "Keep a Full Pitcher Always Within Reach". In contrast, in the *Canadian Home Journal* the lemons are advertised as "The Chef's Secret: A Natural Sauce That All Homes Can Use" (31). There is a significant difference here in the framing of the product, and in turn the implications for consumption. Within the context of each issue, this divergence appears as one of national specificity.

The advert presented to American audiences focuses on enjoyment and leisure time, presenting the product as an ingredient of something "delicious". This advert omits any actual work in the production of the drink, focusing instead on its refreshing properties and using a picture suggestive of summery picnics. The product is intended to appeal to the reader herself. This is confirmed by the opening line of text which states; "Delicious, refreshing, vitalizing lemonade!— what other drink equals it when you are thirsty, hot or tired?" (169). In directly addressing the reader, the advertising copy maintains emphasis on her personally. In contrast, work is inherent in the advertisement presented to Canadian readers, emphasised by the image of the hand and knife, the person working. The statement that lemons are the "Chef's Secret", while associating the product with the making of sophisticated cuisine, implies substantial work

and effort in the preparation of such dishes. By placing the reader in the position of chef, a professional cook for others, the focus is not placed on her enjoyment; rather, on the pleasure of those she cooks for. The emphasis here is on providing for the family, as further demonstrated by the statement made regarding health benefits,

Lemon juice—Nature’s Sauce—is also one of Nature’s best *digestive* aids, due to its organic salts and acids. So the dishes with lemon are not only better, but are better for you. We believe you will be glad to remember these facts when you plan your family’s meals. (31)

Again, the reader here is associated with the domestic ideal, the housewife who plans and executes the cooking for her family. While the reader is addressed directly, the maintained emphasis on domestic work and the family differentiates this advert from the one that appears in the *Ladies’ Home Journal*. This distinction between the ads is furthered by the American advertisement’s offer at the bottom of the page:

We will send on request “New-Day Drinks,” a book containing 53 recipes for delicious beverages, new and attractive fruit-juice cocktails, punches, fizzes, etc., made with *lemon* and *orange* juice. The recipes are by Alice Bradley, principal of Miss Farmer’s School of Cookery, Boston. Here are excellent hot-weather drinks—ideal for entertaining. (169)

The mentioned drinks—cocktails, punches, fizzes—are not practical, frugal beverages for the family. As the advert states, they are for “entertaining,” specifically associated with leisure rather than domestic labour. As in the advert for Campbell’s soup, the idealised American housewife is concerned with charm and variety over practicality.

While the American advertisement focuses on the reader, emphasising leisure time and suggestions for entertaining, the Canadian equivalent focuses on the reader's role as a more traditional housewife, provider to her family. Again, the distinction appears to imply a different set of priorities for the American and Canadian reader and hints at a perceived difference in the lifestyles of the American and Canadian housewife. For both adverts however, consumption is situated as a facilitator of improvement in the direction of the idealised lifestyles depicted, whether it be one full of entertainment or one in which the family is well cared for. This is not to say, of course, that familial care was not prescribed as important for the American housewife. As the Campbell's advertisements demonstrate, the ideal presented places considerable emphasis to the familial role of the housewife. Nevertheless, these American advertisements consistently pay attention to leisure time and refinement, while their Canadian counterparts focus on practicality and thrift.

Appearance: Beauty, Fashion and the Visual Self

Image and spectacle came to typify the modern scene of the early twentieth century which, as Keith Walden notes, "began to characterize day-to-day experience" (333). Indeed, the technological development which allowed for visual representation—including film and photography—had increased the focus on appearance to a level never before seen. As Jane Nicholas comments, "Technological innovations from photography to electricity to printing to transportation provided for the quick and plentiful circulation of images" (*Modern* 6). These modernisations led to an increasingly image-based culture,

which saw a renegotiation of the relationship between appearance and identity. Margaret Beetham links the importance of appearance with consumption, stating, “The woman shopper was defined both by the activity of looking—whether through plate-glass windows or at newspaper advertisements—and by how she looked at herself” (*Magazine* 8). In an increasingly visual consumer culture, where women were becoming ever more observable, the activity of looking at oneself and the experience of being looked at by others dominated. Appearance became increasingly important as did, unsurprisingly, fashion and beauty as facilitators of improved appearance. This was a shift that was both noticeable in and influenced by, the mass-market magazines. Christopher Breward points to the 1920s as a turning point, stating “the fashion magazine and the Hollywood film in particular brought fashionable models to a hugely expanded audience from the 1920s onwards” (*Culture* 182). While the magazines referenced here are more likely the high-fashion titles such as *Vogue* or *Harper’s Bazar*, the *Ladies’ Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* presented fashions to a far wider audience than did the expensive fashion glossies.

An interest in appearance, in fashion and beauty had traditionally belonged—in its more elegant manifestations—to the upper class. By the early twentieth century, what Margaret Walsh refers to as “the democratization of fashion” (299) was well underway. In the mid-nineteenth century, she comments, a frequently changing style of dress was the preserve of the wealthy, yet by the late-nineteenth century, “thanks to the mass production of paper patterns,

American women and their European counterparts were able to participate in a new social experience of making stylish clothes at will” (299). Increasing middle-class wealth and leisure, greater exposure to fashionable modes, and effective practical methods enabled middle-class women to share more fully in this preoccupation. Although women would have likely made clothes for their families as well as themselves, the fashions displayed in the magazines were predominantly aimed at the readers themselves. Increasing interest in appearance was evident across genders, but it was certainly more acute and contentious for women.⁴⁷ As Joanne Entwistle argues, an interest in beauty and fashions “was not considered a matter of equal male and female concern and, moreover, a woman’s supposed ‘natural’ disposition to decorate and adorn herself served to construct her as ‘weak’ or ‘silly’ and open her to moral condemnation” (22).⁴⁸ Situating this point in relation to modernity, Jane Nicholas comments,

By the 1920s, there was a cultural expectation that women would look a certain way to be deemed modern, female, and beautiful—and the quest for beauty was a powerful discourse, not easily ignored. It seemed that women were bound to be beautiful and simultaneously judged. (*Modern* 23)

The tensions inherent in this gendered interest are echoed in the mass-market magazines. They provided advice and instruction on how to be fashionable but warned against frivolity, championed beauty but denounced artifice. In doing so, they enforced standards which can be read as an acceptable middle ground,

⁴⁷ Nicholas comments, “Although both men and women were appealed to as consumers, for women the direct pressure to consume and change their bodies was stronger” (*Modern* 36).

⁴⁸ In *The Fashioned Body* (2000), Entwistle provides a detailed historical discussion of gender and fashion from the seventeenth to the twentieth century (146-163).

where potential failure and judgement lay on either side. Take an insufficient interest in appearance, and be scorned as old-fashioned; dedicate too much attention to being beautiful, and be derided as a flapper. Situating acceptability in this manner ensured that appearance was circumscribed by the role of wife, home-maker, and mother, whilst being an essential component of the performance of modern femininity. Both titles provided advice on how to walk this tightrope between these opposite threats through a significant proportion of content—editorial and commercial, visual and textual—regarding fashion and beauty.

Generally speaking, fashion was presented mainly via articles and dress patterns, while beauty was emphasised predominantly through adverts. Arguably, the dress patterns presented in both titles could be viewed as commercial content, since they were essentially advertisements for a commodity produced by other companies or franchises.⁴⁹ They were, however, defined as the “fashion pages”, presented as distinct from the advertisements or advertorials, and included in the contents pages. For this reason, they are considered in this study as editorial content. The distinction that the magazines maintained between fashion, as an editorial department, and beauty, as a category of advertisement, is related to the fact that fashion was presented both as a form of news (for instance, news of changing silhouettes) and also as an art

⁴⁹ In the case of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, this was the Home Pattern Company (also owned by the Curtis Publishing Company). For the *Canadian Home Journal*, patterns were provided by Pictorial Review until 1923, Standard Designer until 1926, and Butterick Pattern Company for the remainder of the decade.

form, requiring inspiration as well as practical instruction. Beauty, on the other hand, was in this period restricted largely to skincare and could not so easily be recuperated into narratives of novelty, skill or distinction.⁵⁰ The aesthetic ideals presented to the readers of the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* were not, however, entirely consistent; not with each other and certainly not with the visual ideal of the flapper.

In her 2011 book *20th Century Fashion Illustration: The Feminine Ideal*, Rosemary Torre defines the style of “The Garçonne” as, “the most radical change in apparel and appearance” (40) which had taken place in just a decade. She draws comparisons with the “Gibson-girl” aesthetic ideal of the late nineteenth century, and comments on the shorter skirts, boyish silhouettes and cropped hair that were evident in high-fashion magazines such as *Vogue*, and titles which engaged with highbrow culture like *Vanity Fair*. Torre states; “The Garçonne in France, the maschiotta in Italy, and the flapper in America were the new Ideals” (40). Torre considers the flapper, in both attitude and style, to be the paradigm of femininity of the 1920s, although this is a contentious opinion. While she may well have been the ideal for *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair*, her highly controversial nature meant that the flapper could not be fully appropriated as an aspirational ideal in the pages of the *Ladies' Home Journal* or *Canadian Home Journal*. Yet the high-fashion magazines and European styles were pervasively influential, and

⁵⁰ Throughout the period, the manner in which beauty was represented shifted, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

the fashion pages of *Ladies' Home Journal* display reserved versions of these styles.

Velvet and Metal Cloths

Dominate in These Lovely New Frocks

MOVEMENT and yet more movement, but careful regard withal for the slender foundation that still must be preserved—such is the outstanding fashion tendency of the day. Every dress on this page and the next, whether of the afternoon or evening variety, bears unmistakable witness to this leading mandate, and the result is a thoughtfully intriguing lesson in the subtle blending of severity and femininity.

Drapery of all kinds, circular movements, shirring, fringes, tiered skirts, godets, boleros and bloused bodices—all seen on these two pages—are some of the delightful methods used by fashion to achieve the movement she has decreed.

That velvet, both as a trimming and a foundation, has assumed tremendous importance this fall is attested by three of the stunning afternoon dresses and one of the evening frocks sketched. At extreme left, below, a dress of black cashmere crepe, boasting three godets at front of skirt, uses black velvet for the broad, flat belt, the long, pointed cuffs and an inset on the bodice; while, at upper right, a dress of tan cashmere crepe has yoke and cuffs of matching

velvet. The skirt has two wrap-around tiers, and a soft loop of the crepe passes under the upper tier to hang down on top.

On page 63, black velvet again appears in the frock third from left, making the skirt, sleeves and wide, flat belt. The bodice, in simulated jumper effect, but fastened to the velvet skirt, is of Persian brocade in red, green and gold, and the sleeves, which in turn fasten to the bodice, have turn-back cuffs of the brocade.

Entirely of black velvet is the evening dress, second from right on page 63, with silver metal embroidery, interspersed with rimestones, outlining the deep V neck and extending down center of bodice at both back and front. A wing of the velvet falls from the right shoulder at back, and clever draping of the skirt results in that uneven hem line which contributes so much to the cause of flutter and motion.

At lower right, this page, green and gold embroidery on cuffs, sash and bolero makes doubly effective a frock of sage green crepe Elisabeth. The wide, crushed godde loops at left side, where the overskirt,



At upper left, a pair of brown deer-skin and beige kid pumps, seen at the rear, are perforated on toe, strap and heel. At right, Green demonstrates the popularity of reptile leathers on a pair of beige kid shoes with a triangle of brown alligator, outlined with scalloped brown snakeskin, and two tabs of brown lizard on the vamp. Strap and edging are of snakeskin. At upper right, page 63, the front view of Jullienne's shoes in central figure at left of this page. Next in order, an unusually elaborate shoe from Green boasts five kinds of kid—black speckled with gold for the back, heel and strap, a plaided beige for the vamp, alternate gray and bright green for the tongue, and red for the piping of strap and vamp.

From French designers come the smart shoes on this page and the next, typical of the newest suit and robes for day and evening wear. At extreme left, Hellier's version of the one-strap pump—the train's numerical leader—has appliqued rectangles of dark brown and yellowish-beige kid on a background of pinky-beige kid. Next, Jullienne offers a trim afternoon shoe of fawn kid, with fawn leather strap, piping and ornamental tongue effect. The third, a simple court pump from Hellier, is of light brown kid, with a narrow band across vamp and around base of heel composed of alternate squares of gold and light brown kid.

PLAIN

Figure 7 "Velvet and Metal Cloths" fashion feature. Ladies' Home Journal Oct. 1926



Four Striking Ensembles Designed in New York

The Short Fur Jacket and the Muff are Important New Notes

THE short little fur jacket plays a new rôle this winter, reappearing as part of smart sports ensembles. Youthful and at the same time practical, the fur jacket has never been seen to better advantage. At the extreme left above is sketched a delightfully chic ensemble, distinctly youthful in feeling and individual in execution. A snuggly, short jacket of beige kasimere, lined with vivid green wool, is worn over a blouse of beige silk and wool hand-painted with a brilliant modernistic design, and with a tightly plaited skirt of green wool.

Not too sophisticated for the college girl or too studied in its youthfulness for the older woman with slim figure, it is the type of winter costume most admirably suited to the needs of active American women, who more than any others can combine chic with practical sports apparel.

For day and street wear the ensemble is very simple but striking in its simplicity. Another New York creation, shown at the left center, combines beige tweed with beige silk and wool. The simple but expertly tailored coat is luxuriously lined with matching beige fur, and the silk crêpe is used

for the blouse which is worn over the tweed skirt. More elaborate occasions still find a suitable ensemble in the model sketched at the right center. Typically American and impressively handsome in genre, such an ensemble gives the impression of having been very carefully put together, particularly when the accessories are chosen with the greatest care, so the modern woman knows they must be, to accompany it. The long coat is of black lada cloth, with front borders, high collar and deep cuffs of hustrous black closely shorn and supple vicuña. The overblouse, worn over a skirt of the black lada cloth, is of gold lani and has an interesting over-tone or pepsiu below its belt.

Dressed with very studied care in such a costume, whose simplicity is its triumph, in plain hat, plain slippers and matching plain gloves, with a handsome bag of black suede clasped with maroon and enamel, perhaps, the well-dressed woman knows that she can forget her clothes completely and thereby add immeasurably to her poise.

The return of the muff is heralded as another step in the growing femininity of the mode, which is turning back

attention to the '00's and their frills. Here the muff appears as part of an ensemble, and a very chic part it is. At the extreme right above is sketched an expression of the enormous vogue of velvet—black velvet and eggshell velvet combined. The collar and tiny muff of fitch fur echo the lighter velvet in tone and combine with both shades to make a costume which is really exquisite.

Here again the completeness of the costume gives a sense of well-ordered dressing and real chic, and the ensemble is not without its practical side, for it is particularly well suited to the town engagements which crowd the American woman's day—matinees, luncheons, bridge parties, concerts, lectures, tea. Planned but not labored, handsome but not overelaborate, the ensemble appears from immense sports to evening functions and fits particularly the type and individual chic of the American woman for whom it is planned. And the increasing vogue of color which is seen in shoes, purses, handkerchiefs and costume jewelry makes the planning of the ensemble, as a whole, an increasingly attractive and simple affair.

Figure 8 "Four Striking Ensembles Designed in New York" fashion feature. *Ladies' Home Journal* Nov. 1928

The majority of fashion images, such as these, appeared alongside instructional and explanatory articles or text. In appearance, they are similar to the style cited by Torre as the prevailing ideal. The loose, more revealing, shorter dresses coupled with short hair and slim figures are typical of the style. In these examples, high fashion is moderated and restrained before being presented for sale to or adoption by a wide market. The images still represent an aspirational ideal for the reader—but a more reserved one, suitable for a wife, homemaker or mother. In the November 1928 article, “Four Striking Ensembles Designed in New York”,⁵¹ the unnamed author is careful to mention that the type of outfit pictured is:

Not too sophisticated for the college girl or too studied in its youthfulness for the older woman with slim figure, it is the type of winter costume most admirably suited to the needs of an active American woman, who more than any others can combine chic with practical sports apparel.

While this implies that the styles presented are more inclusive than those of high fashion, embracing a wide age group, the text still presents limitations. It is possible to attain this fashionable ideal, whether younger or older, but you must have a slim figure. Furthermore, in the flattering comments regarding the active American woman, there is the implication that this is the ideal type of woman to be. These images present the reader with an aspirational visual example, a suggestion of how she should hope to look, along with instruction on how to emulate this paradigmatic model of femininity. Yet the images presented are decidedly unrealistic. At this time, the fashion pages rarely featured

⁵¹ The New York focus of this article is rare, as the vast majority of fashions featured in the *Ladies' Home Journal* were positioned as Parisian or, at least, European.

photographs and the illustrations which prevailed were impossibly proportioned and unfailingly youthful. In this way, the pages provide advice on modes of self-improvement but depict an ideal which remains unattainable. Whilst it may not be intentional, this ensures that improvement in the direction of the aspirational standard remains unsuccessful, necessitating sustained purchase of, and engagement with, the magazine and the advice and products offered therein. Encouraging self-improvement, through its depiction of these ideals, this supplies now “necessary” assistance through products or articles; such as “How to Lose Fat” which states, “there is no greater affliction that can come to a woman than inordinate fatness” (5).

FROCKS FIND NEW WAYS OF HINTING AT A HIGHER WAISTLINE



These are Butterick Patterns. If your local dealer can not supply these patterns, send direct to The Butterick Publishing Co., Order Dept., 468 Wellington St. West, Toronto

Figure 9 "Frocks Find New Ways of Hinting at a Higher Waistline" fashion feature. *Canadian Home Journal* Aug. 1926

Frocks that are Formal, Informal and In Between



2341—Two-piece frock, blouse tucked or gathered to yoke-front, one-piece straight skirt, plaited across front. Width with plaits drawn out 17½ yards. Size 36 requires 2½ yards of 36-inch silk crepe. Sizes, 32 to 43 (15 to 38 years) and 38 to 44 bust. Price, 45 Cents.

2345—Coat frock with straight lower edge. (Suitable for borders and other materials). Width at lower edge 40 inches. The 36-inch size requires 2½ yards of 36-inch tweed, with ½ yard of 35-inch paper. Sizes, 25 to 45 (15 to 38 years) and 36 to 48 bust. 45 Cents.

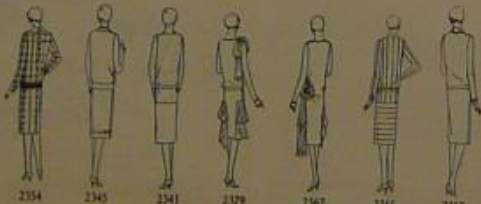
2354—Frock with straight lower edge. (Suitable for wide borders and other materials). Width at lower edge 43 inches. The 33-inch size requires 2½ yards of 48-inch bordered wool, with ½ yard of 35-inch contrasting material. Sizes, 31 to 37 (14 to 20 years). Price, 45 Cents.

2367—One-piece draped frock, with wrap-around lower part, evening neck and armhole or day neck and normal armhole with sleeve. Width 42 inches. Size 36 requires 4 yards of 36-inch velvet. For women and young girls of 32 to 35 (15 to 18 years) and 36 to 44 bust. Price, 50 Cents.

2365—Two-piece frock (which can be made with slide fasteners). Width at lower edge with plaits drawn out 17½ yards. The 36-inch size requires 2½ yards of 34-inch tweed, with ½ yard of 35-inch linen. Sizes, 32 to 35 (15 to 18 years) and 36 to 48 bust. Price, 45 Cents.

2357—Surplice closing dress with skirt attached across front, pressed or unpreserved plaits, one-piece back. Width with plaits drawn out 13½ yards. Size 36 requires 2½ yards of 39-inch crepe satin, with 1 yard 35 for collar and cuffs. Sizes, 34 to 32 bust. Price, 45 Cents.

2379—One-piece frock, flared tiers attached across front and side, evening neck and armhole or day neck and normal armhole with sleeve. Width 43½ inches. Size 36 requires 3¾ yards of 22-inch reversible silk. Sizes, 32 to 37 (15 to 20 years) and 38 bust. Price, 30 Cents.



These are Butterick Patterns. If your local dealer can not supply these patterns, send direct to The Butterick Publishing Co., Order Dept., 468 Wellington St., W. 21, Toronto

Figure 10 "Frocks that are Formal, Informal and In Between" fashion feature. Canadian Home Journal Dec. 1928

Comparable images are found in the fashion pages of the *Canadian Home Journal*, and appear somewhat more demure than their American counterparts. While the *Ladies' Home Journal* regularly contained fashion pages with illustrations of styles, allegedly, by well-known designers, there was little of this in the *Canadian Home Journal*. Instead, as the examples demonstrate, the illustrations were for the practical dress patterns which were, understandably, less elegant and elaborate than the styles available from couture houses. These more demure and practical styles would have likely been thought to appeal to Canadian readers, who were perceived as being more conservative even than Americans, who in turn were held to dress more conservatively than did European women. The nineteenth-century pioneer woman was the enduring feminine ideal in Canada, and remained so into the twentieth century. As Misao Dean comments,

The supposed passivity and physical limitations of the nineteenth-century woman were contradicted by the necessity for active and physical labour on the Canadian bush farm. Femininity was reconstituted as consisting of the virtues which were instrumental to class mobility: primarily, a woman's ability to create domestic comfort and well-being wholly by her own labour and without expending any of the family income. (12)

Given that the pioneer era was more recent in Canada than in America, and urbanisation was moving at a much slower pace, Canadian magazines addressed more rural readers who might be expected to identify with this nationally specific conception of femininity, while the American titles by this point addressed a more suburban audience. Even these dress pattern drawings, though, present unrealistically slim figures and youthful faces. Fashions presented to the Canadian readership—both pattern illustrations or written

advice—were never specifically Canadian, but came from elsewhere; New York, Paris, London. Yet their presentation within the magazine—a Canadian publication, with a Canadian title, surrounded by Canadian content—confirms them as selected and approved for the imagined Canadian readership. This is particularly relevant to the fashions presented without an explicit national affiliation. Of course, where a national identification is made, it is done in order to generate associations with aspirational style. The fashions found in the *Ladies' Home Journal* were frequently, although not exclusively, cited as being from Paris. Considering these examples, it could be argued that while high-fashion is diluted to become more wearable and less risqué for the middle-class readers of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, the middle-class American styles have been further diluted to provide an aesthetic standard which would appeal to Canadian readers.

Across both of the magazines, these visual ideals provide a blueprint for aesthetic self-improvement. Fashion is emphatically stressed as a worthwhile, if not essential, feminine interest by the accompanying text. Throughout the fashion pages, the words “important”, “correct”, and “essential” are used generously as descriptors of the designs and styles, alongside “beautiful”, “elegant”, and, increasingly throughout the decade, “individual”. These descriptions of fashion reiterate the endorsed perspective: that fashion is important, yet must be correct; it is beautiful, but cannot be vulgar; and that it is a necessary aspect of the construction of the individual self. Consumption was positioned not simply as an enabler of this improvement but as a necessary and

frequent part of it. Given the seasonally changing nature of fashion, clothes would have had to be altered regularly, if not made afresh, in order to successfully emulate the correct styles. One example of this can be found in the May 1920 issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal* in an article titled, "One Girl's Ideas on the Clothes Problem," by Gertrude Sheppard. The author advises on the remaking of clothes and frugal methods of ensuring adherence to fashion. She states, "My clothes are always remodeled [sic] at least once, and sometimes oftener. I seldom do so immediately after discarding them, because they are too easily recognized and also because I am tired of them myself" (145). These recommendations, while discouraging the purchase of entirely new garments, advocate the consumption of other goods: sewing equipment, fabric, dressmaking tools. Similarly, in the May 1920 issue of the *Canadian Home Journal*, thrifty fashion advice is given in the fashion editorial, "New Trimming Touches Enliven Simple Frocks". In this way, these magazines could encourage readers both to consume and to work in a skilful and thrifty manner. This meant that readers could combine aspirations for fashionable elegance with care for their budgets and families. The following of fashion, in this way, doesn't preclude a focus on domestic life. Although the designs presented differed between the American and Canadian title, the manner in which they presented aesthetic self-improvement as achievable through consumption was markedly similar. This, however, was not the case when it came to the presentation of beauty products.

Beauty was a significant focus in both the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* yet this focus manifested differently in each publication, offering an interesting comparison. Adverts for beauty products appeared in both, but there are notable discrepancies in the manner in which each title approached the notion of beauty. For both, however, conceptions of beauty were still informed by nineteenth-century ideology and the term "beauty products", in the era of the 1920s, did not initially encompass makeup. In her 1996 study of changing conceptions and consumption of makeup in America, Kathy Peiss comments, "In Western culture, the face, of all parts of the human body, has been marked as particularly meaningful, a unique site of expression, beauty, and character" (313). This view of the face reflecting character, she argues, presented a moral dilemma when considering makeup. Given that facial beauty was associated so closely with spiritual beauty or a goodness of character, to alter the face in order to improve its appearance was seen as deception. This view of makeup, in the context of nineteenth-century middle-class culture, went beyond mistrust to deep-seated fear.

In *Confidence Men and Painted Women* (1982) Karen Halttunen argues that hypocrisy, perceived to be a major social threat in antebellum America, manifested in two vilified archetypal characters. Advice books, magazines and etiquette guides claimed the "confidence man" and the "painted woman" manipulated appearance and manner, "poisoned polite society with deception and betrayal", diminished social confidence between men and woman and threatened "to reduce the American republic to social chaos" (xv). These texts

instead championed the concept of “moral cosmetics” (88). Moral cosmetics made explicit the link between spiritual and aesthetic beauty, advising a programme of exercise and temperance in food and drink. Beyond this, women were encouraged to improve their souls and minds “so their beautiful thoughts and sentiments might shine forth through their skin” (88), confirming a beautiful appearance as representative of a goodness of character. Both the *Ladies’ Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* took part in an “idealization of the ‘natural face’” (Peiss 43); offering products and advice positioned as aids in attaining this ideal, and invoking the image of “natural beauty” frequently.

In her book *Living Up to the Ads*, Simone Weil Davis comments, “The consumer then and still conceived primarily as female, is supposed to manifest her “rainbow moods” most entirely via the selection and purchase of commodities, the expressive lexicon from which she is to assemble and display her identity” (4). Taking this point into consideration, the adverts presented in these publications are intended not only to promote a product, but to imply that the products can move the reader closer to the idealised image of femininity presented in the magazine as a whole. Advertisements featuring the “natural” face appear frequently in the *Ladies’ Home Journal*, promoting products which fall into the category of beauty products but which are presented as aids in bringing out natural beauty, rather than ways of altering the appearance. The natural is a recurring theme throughout the period when it comes to American adverts for beauty products. From soap to night cream to toothpaste, the concept of natural beauty is invoked frequently and the opportunity for self-

improvement offered to the reader through purchase and subsequent use of a range of products. While this is not without tensions, given that the production of the “natural” undermines it as natural, this serves as an example of the way in which conflicting concepts were at times deployed to make certain practices or activities acceptable. Specific instances include the pictured double-page advert for Ivory Soap from the *Ladies’ Home Journal*.



Figure 11 Ivory Soap advert. *Ladies’ Home Journal* Nov. 1928

The illustrations echo those typical of the fashion editorials, with emphasis on fashionable clothes, slim figure and youth. The main illustration on the right-hand page depicts what appears to be a restaurant scene. The implication here is of a lifestyle in which there is time and money available for entertainment; a lifestyle that is, if not lavish, then at least comfortable. While many middle-class

readers of the *Ladies' Home Journal* would not have been able to afford to dine in restaurants with any sort of frequency, it would almost certainly have been something many of them aspired to. Thus, the association of the product with a depiction of a beautiful woman in an aspirational environment defines the product as an enabler of self-improvement in this direction. The text that runs alongside this image states, "Cosmetics and soft lights are a great help when you wish to be pretty. But a slanting ray of light will betray a surface that is not naturally fine and smooth" (63). The mention of cosmetics here is sufficiently vague so as not to invoke any alarm, nor cast any overt judgement. However, cosmetics are positioned as subordinate to the advertised product in their role at assisting in beauty. This concept is expanded in the main body of text:

Under the shaded lamps of evening, almost any complexion can bloom into beauty. It needs only a becoming powder and a spot of color... But daylight is so frank! A nice cheerful ray of sunshine will reveal any flaw – in spite of make-up. (62)

Appropriate makeup, as it is made clear in this excerpt, is nothing more than a face powder and blush – euphemistically referred to as “a spot of color” – conforming to the concept of beauty products as enhancers of natural beauty. That said, the implication is that these makeup products provide only a thin veneer of beauty, one that fails when tested by natural sunlight. The message is repeated and reinforced; the product is more important than the cosmetics mentioned. The “nice cheerful ray of sunshine” becomes a menace, threatening to undermine the reader’s efforts in her quest for beauty. The product, then, is positioned as an aid in avoidance of failure in this quest, an impression continued throughout the remainder of the text.

The visual emphasis of the advert is on leisure, far removed from the daily domestic routine. Yet the text of the advert does cite a housewife as the main example. In warning about “imperfect cleansing”—which can be taken to mean cleansing that doesn’t involve the use of the advertised soap—the fictional character of Joan Marshall is mentioned:

What happens when pretty Joan Marshall, after a busy day with her children and shopping, carefully massages her face with cold cream, wipes it off and goes to bed feeling that she has done her whole duty to her skin? (63)

The mention of motherhood, when combined with the images of leisure time and entertainment, implies an ideal of prosperous domestic life. This is linked to the sustained youthful appearance, which can be facilitated through use of the product. Simultaneously though, the text alludes to the undesirable effects which will allegedly occur in the absence of the product. The advertising copy identifies Joan’s beauty regime as “imperfect cleansing,” directly asking the reader, “Is it any wonder that blackheads come from this practise?” (63). Detailed instructions follow for an alternative “simple beauty-treatment,” involving the use of cold cream before washing with the advertised product. This regime, the advert claims, keeps skin “smooth, fine, youthfully radiant” (63). Through adherence to the instruction provided, fictional Joan can improve her skin, thereby improving her appearance and happiness, thus implying that the reader can too. The soap is positioned as a product that, rather than masking and providing a false beauty like the powder and blush mentioned, truly enhances natural beauty. In this manner the textual and visual elements of

the advertisement collaboratively construct the product as both desirable and beneficial. This is achieved through the promise of benefits and threat of failure, and the presentation of familiar domestic experience with aspirational and luxurious environments.

This approach is fairly common throughout *Ladies' Home Journal*.

Advertisements from other issues, such as those for Palmolive soap and Pompeian Beauty Powder, also associate the use of products with sophistication, luxury, and socially elevated environments. Yet, they still retain an emphasis on traditional feminine roles: the courtship of a future husband in the Pompeian advert (55) and dining out with a husband in the Palmolive (50).

Pompeian Beauty powder



"Don't Envy Beauty - Use Pompeian"

The shaded lights can not conceal her wondrous beauty. Her vivid smile, her flashing eyes, are accentuated by the soft, beautiful coloring of her cheeks. She wins the admiration of all who see her. And why shouldn't she? She knows and uses the complete "Pompeian Beauty Toilette."

First, a touch of fragrant Pompeian DAY Cream (vanishing). It softens the skin and holds the powder. Work the cream well into the skin so the powder adheres evenly. Then apply Pompeian BEAUTY Powder. It makes the skin beautifully fair and adds the charm of delicate fragrance. Now a touch of Pompeian BLOOM for youthful color. Do you know that a bit of color in the cheeks makes the eyes sparkle with a new beauty? Lash, dust over again with the powder, in order to subdue the Bloom. Presto! The face is beautified and youth-fied in an instant. (Above 3 preparations may be used separately or together. At all druggists, 60c each.)

TRY NEW POWDER SHADES. The correct powder shade is more important than the color of dress you wear. Our new NATURELLE shade is a more delicate tone than our FLASH shade, and blends exquisitely with a medium complexion. New RACHEL shade is a rich cream tone for brunettes.

"Don't Envy Beauty - Use Pompeian" Day Cream (60c) vanishing, holds the powder Beauty Powder (60c) - stays on unusually long Bloom (60c) - a rouge that won't break Massage Cream (60c) cleans up the complexion Night Cream (50c) the cold cream for beauty Fragrance (25c) a talc with an exquisite odor Vanity Case (1.00) powder and rouge compact Lip Stick (25c) - makes lips beautiful



These three for Instant Beauty

Get 1922 Panel - Five Samples Sent With It

"Homeromancing in Venice." What romance! The golden sunlit balconies! The blue lagoons! The swifly gliding gondoliers! The murmuring gondoliers! Tinkling music! The sighing winds of evening! Ah, the memories of a thousand Venetian pasts! Such is the story revealed in the new 1922 Pompeian panel. Size 28 x 14 inches. In beautiful colors. Good for only 10c. This is the most beautiful and expensive panel we

have ever offered. Ask your value 50c to 1.00. Money value refunded if not wholly satisfactory. With each order for an Art Panel we will send samples of Pompeian BEAUTY Powder, DAY Cream (vanishing), BLOOM, NIGHT Cream (for exposed and covered), and Pompeian FRAGRANCE (a talc). With these samples you can make more interesting beauty experiments. Please test all samples now and receive a coin.

THE POMPEIAN COMPANY, 2031 Payne Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio
Also Made in Canada

GUARANTEE

The name Pompeian on any package is your guarantee of quality and value. Should you not be completely satisfied, the purchase price will be gladly refunded by The Pompeian Co., 21 Cleveland, Ohio.

TEAR OFF NOW

To mail or put in person at shopping counter.

THE POMPEIAN COMPANY

2031 Payne Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio

Gentlemen: I enclose 10c (or three preferred) for 1922 Art Panel. Also please send me five samples sent in offer.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Enclose check, postal note, or money order with coupon below



1922 Panel
Pompeian Beauty

Figure 12 Pompeian Beauty Powder advert. Ladies' Home Journal Aug. 1922



Still the thrill of courtship

Is your skin fresh, lovely, attractive? Or have you allowed it to become sallow, oily? Women who do not protect their complexions age unnecessarily. Here is the simple secret all may know.

THE supreme test of a wife's charms, a famous novelist recently was quoted, comes after two years of marriage!

Sparkling life and warm cheeks, wives who are ever brides—how few women realize the part these play in modern life. Today is a day of youth prolonged, with freshness and charm at every sale—no woman can afford to neglect herself.

You may not be beautiful, but you can be charming and that surpasses all beauty. Start with correct skin care—not costly beauty treatments, but common-sense, daily care. The means are simple, as thousands will tell you, just the balmy lather of Palmolive—the perfect blend of palm and olive oils scientifically ascertained.

**Today begin this simplest of all beauty methods
See what one week will bring**

Use powder and rouge if you wish. But never leave them on over night. They clog the pores, often enlarge them. Blackheads and disfigurements often follow. They must be washed away.

Wash your face gently with soothing Palmolive. Then massage it softly into the skin. Rinse thoroughly. Then repeat both washing and rinsing. If your skin is inclined to be dry apply a touch of good cold cream—that is all.

Do this regularly, and particularly in the evening.

The world's most simple beauty treatment

Thus in a simple manner, millions since the days of Cleopatra have found beauty, charm and Youth Prolonged.

No medications are necessary. Just remove the day's accumulations of dirt and oil and perspiration, cleanse the pores, and Nature will be kind to you. Your skin will be of fine texture. Your color will be good. Wrinkles will not be your problem as the years advance.

Avoid this mistake

Do not use ordinary soaps in the treatment given above. Do not think any green soap, or one represented as of palm and olive oils, is the same as Palmolive. The Palmolive habit will keep that schoolgirl complexion.

Plain and olive oil—giving skin—your nature's own—just in Palmolive Soap

Volume and glossy finish—2 1/2 quality for only

10c



THE PALMOLIVE COMPANY (Incl. Corp.), 162 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Not carefully the name and wrapper. Palmolive Soap is never sold unwrapped



Figure 13 Palmolive advert. Ladies' Home Journal Sept. 1922

The two adverts are remarkably similar in their visual layout, presenting three images, including one of a glamorous couple and one of the product as it is sold. These visual cues are endowed with specific meaning by the accompanying text, in much the same manner as the Ivory Soap advertisement. The restaurant scene in the Pompeian advertisement consists of an attractive couple, ostensibly in a morally appropriate relationship of either courtship or marriage. In the background of this main image three other women are pictured, looking at the woman at the table. This scene is clarified by the tagline, “Don’t Envy Beauty – Use Pompeian,” and furthered by the following text:

The shaded lights cannot conceal her wondrous beauty. Her vivid smile, her flashing eyes, are accentuated by the soft, beautiful coloring of her cheek. She wins the admiration of all who see her. And why shouldn’t she? She knows and uses the complete “Pompeian Beauty Toilette”. (55)

This text situates the woman as the object of desire for her partner and envy for others. Her beauty, according to the text, does not purely derive from the advertised products; rather, it is her “vivid smile, her flashing eyes”, which are enhanced by her beautiful complexion, enabled by the products. In this manner, the Pompeian range is positioned as an aid to natural beauty. Similarly, the Palmolive advertisement depicts a stylish couple, in a comparable restaurant environment. Again, the image is defined by the tagline “Still the thrill of courtship,” and the text which follows,

Is your skin fresh, lovely, attractive? Or have you allowed it to become sallow, oily? Women who do not protect their complexions age unnecessarily. Here’s the simple secret all may know. (50)

This is more subtle than the Pompeian advertisement—in that it relies on the reader to make connections between the textual and the visual. Again, the

product is placed as an aid to natural beauty; however, this advertisement not only suggests benefits with use of the product, but implies perceived failure in its absence. “Fresh, lovely, attractive” skin is achievable, and the threat of unnecessary aging and “sallow, oily” skin can be neutralised with the “simple secret” that constitutes the product. Despite the different textual approaches, these advertisements operate in a similar manner overall. Through visual associations with glamour and leisure time, and textual associations with accepted gender roles and domesticity, these advertisements present an idealised, specifically domestic, version of femininity, one positioned as achievable through consumption.

Notably, the *Canadian Home Journal* features significantly fewer adverts for beauty products than the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Those few that are featured also tend to be for American products, including brands such as Elizabeth Arden, Palmolive and Pompeian. While the content within these magazines appears to be presented through the same overall model – a combination of articles, fiction, advice columns, and so on – close analysis reveals divergences in the content itself. The *Canadian Home Journal* featured a regular beauty advice column, a feature absent from the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Indeed, in spite of the extensive commercial presence of beauty within the *Ladies' Home Journal*, “the magazine devoted less than one percent of each issue to beauty in the 1920s” (Peiss 123). The *Canadian Home Journal*, meanwhile, featured a dedicated beauty column every month for the majority of the decade. This was also true of other Canadian mainstream magazines, including *Mayfair* (1927-1959), *Chatelaine*

(1928-present), and *La Revue Moderne* (1919-1960) (Hammill and Smith 80-90).

In the early 1920s the beauty column published in the *Canadian Home Journal* was titled “Through the Looking Glass,” and attributed to the author “Vain Jane”. By 1923, the title had been changed to “The Vanity Box,” written by “Prim Rose,” and appeared as such until April 1928. After this time, beauty features by “Prim Rose” appeared under more specific titles—such as “Good Looks for Summer” in June 1928, and “That Flock of Freckles From Sun and Wave” in August 1928—but they were no longer a constant in every issue. The column, despite the change in name, remained much the same, based on general, but seasonally-specific, beauty advice and instruction for home remedies, followed by responses to readers’ beauty-related questions. For example, the column in the November 1926 issue begins:

In the language of the old poem – “the melancholy days have come – the saddest of the year.” November however, is a rather maligned month. Sometimes it turns over a new leaf presents us with a fortnight of perfectly good days, sunny and almost spring-like. Enough of October’s glory remains in the woodland to make the beginning bright. Then we have the prospect of the Christmas month, and console ourselves, when a North wind blows, with thoughts of the tree decked with candles which will bloom on the twenty-fifth of December. (22)

These comments on the season, and the implication of shared experience, calls on the reader to view the author as similar to herself. This suggestion of similarity is furthered by the use of first-person plural pronouns, with the result that the reader is predisposed to accept the author’s advice as sincere and genuine. The text does not contribute any information about “beauty”; rather, it

serves the purpose of establishing bonds among an imagined community on the basis of the shared domestic ritual of Christmas and associated shared structures of feeling.

The construction of an imagined community of readers in this way is reminiscent of nineteenth-century Canadian conduct guides, such as Catherine Parr Traill's *The Female Emigrant's Guide* (1854). *The Female Emigrant's Guide* proposes ideals of feminine conduct for women living in an isolated bush settlement, citing familiar experiences for women in similar conditions and circumstances to the author. This notion of a collective of women, of which both the reader and author are a part, is furthered in the practical advice given by Prim Rose:

In these days, you very seldom see a woman with ill-kept hands; and it is well to discover some simple expedient for keeping them sightly. A woman who does a great deal of house work told me that she always has a cut lemon and a bottle of vinegar near the sink; and so is able to apply either the juice or the vinegar to the hands after the ordeal of dish-washing. (22)

This advice comes not as instruction from a privileged place, but as friendly guidance from peer to peer, as hints and tips shared amongst friends. The inclusion of this second-hand information from "a woman who does a great deal of house work," serves something of a dual purpose. Firstly, it implies that Prim Rose herself does not need to do housework, perhaps because she has a servant. In this manner, she is in fact putting herself in a somewhat privileged position, situating herself as both a source of friendly and practical advice but also as occupying an aspirational social and economic position. Secondly, this confirms

the intended readership as consisting primarily of housewives, who would most likely not have servants. However, as this excerpt makes clear, this should not mean their standards of beauty slip. This example is typical of the column.

In the August 1923 column there is also specific attention dedicated to the presentation of advice from an aspirational, but unthreatening, position and the outlining of shared experience. Again, this shared experience focuses largely on the seasons, the weather and natural imagery, with Prim Rose asking,

What should we call you, August, but month of gold? The summer light is a little on the wane and there is a little haze in the late afternoon. . . . The sky is glorious in its azure depths above the dark waters of the Muskoka. The woods hide in their green recesses all the beauty which Pan loved of old. (22)

In this manner, Prim Rose focuses on recognisable collective experience. The recurring seasonal imagery also connotes of ephemerality and regular change; characteristics of both the fashions presented elsewhere in the magazine and indeed periodical time itself. Being a monthly publication, the magazine is a text that purports only to be true at the time of publication. As James Mussell argues,

The value of all types of ephemera lies in the properties that once made it valueless. The connection to the prosaic, transitory and mundane is both the reason that it should not have survived and the reason it is so valuable for us today." ("Passing of Print" 91)

Much like the seasons, magazines are transient and changing but also regular and recurring. In addition, the introductory text associates the advice that follows with a natural and specifically Canadian context. The mention of the Muskoka—a river in the region of the same name in central Ontario—positions

the column, and in turn the readership, as Canadian. The detailed picturesque descriptions of natural beauty situate the advice as natural, an implication strengthened by the suggestions of natural, home-made beauty remedies rather than ready-made beauty products. Thus, the opportunity for aesthetic self-improvement is naturalised and offered without any engagement with make-up and its problematic associations. Like the fashions, this would have likely been thought to appeal to Canadian readers, who were perceived as more conservative than their American counterparts. Therefore, the combining of practicality and thrift with aspirations for greater “natural beauty” would have provided a method of self-improvement that did not contradict intended readers’ traditional values. This presents a significant contrast to the forms of aesthetic self-improvement offered to the readers of the *Ladies’ Home Journal*, evident almost exclusively in adverts from the burgeoning beauty industry.

From these examples it would seem that the *Canadian Home Journal* was addressing a readership that did not place beauty as their highest priority. This is not to say, however, that cultivation of the appearance was not presented as significant or as achievable through consumption; merely that it manifests itself in a manner concordant with the perceived traditional values of the readers. After all, the home-made remedies would have required other products the readers would most likely have had to purchase, such as the lemons suggested by Prim Rose. As Nancy Walker comments, “at no time in their histories have women’s magazines delivered perfectly consistent, monolithic messages to their readers” (vii). Yet the distinctive difference between the editorial and

commercial content highlights the ideological tensions consistently being negotiated and renegotiated within the pages of each issue. Both titles feature aspirational examples of idealised beauty but in the main, although not exclusively, through different forms of content: the *Ladies' Home Journal* through commercial content, and the *Canadian Home Journal* through editorial. Although American beauty advertisements did appear in the *Canadian Home Journal*, their presence indicates the beginnings of the global reach of the American beauty industry, rather than the publication's promotion of a specifically Americanized feminine ideal. The regularity and consistency of the "Through the Looking Glass"/"The Vanity Box" columns support this claim, and suggests the encouragement of a quintessentially Canadian feminine ideal, as opposed to the largely commercially-informed American ideal.

Conclusions

In an article published in the September 1921 issue of *Vanity Fair* magazine, Italian novelist Alfredo Panzini wrote,

"Where are they all going?"

That is the question a fellow is tempted to ask, when he sees so many girls—so many flappers—going around these days.

"Where are they going? Why, they are going . . . around!"

"Why aren't they at home?"

"Home! Excuse me, that word is out of date. Now we say—apartment, boarding-house, moving picture theatre or hotel . . ." (63)

This excerpt characterises the difference between the women who aspired towards the ideal of the flapper, and the readership of the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal*. The flapper, and those who could identify with her, were separated from the home. Yet as these close readings of a variety of

content reveal, the home was not a place that all women were assumed to want to escape. The middle-class readership of both titles was still expected to prioritise the home and a successful domestic life and the idealised examples of femininity they were presented with were in keeping with that focus. From fashion editorials to beauty columns, from fiction to advertisements, aspirational examples of femininity are presented to both the Canadian and American audiences. Yet, this is not to say the aspirational examples in either title were entirely consistent. Even from this small selection of content, it is clear tensions existed between the ideological perspectives underpinning the various features of the magazines.

The forms of self-improvement predicated on readers' experience and character display both similarities and distinctions between the two titles. In general terms there appears, initially at least, to be a disparity between the commercial and editorial content. As seen in the examples of fiction examined, frugality and restraint are promoted. Both Edith and Elizabeth, as the main female protagonists of the stories discussed above, embody specifically idealised middle-class traits. Through their successes within their respective narratives—both managing to improve their domestic, social, and financial situations—they promote the possibility of self-improvement through the incarnation of middle-class traits. In turn, these characters position these traits as an aspirational standard for the readership. Yet, this seems to contradict the placing of consumption as an enabler of self-improvement in various adverts for domestic products. In both titles then, it could be argued the features are

catering to two different people, the reader and the shopper, but not to the same extent. In the *Ladies' Home Journal*, desires for a better domestic life are addressed by the advertisements and positioned as achievable through consumption. Yet in the fiction, the middle-class traits of frugality and restraint complicate, or even contradict, this focus. Meanwhile, in the *Canadian Home Journal* the adverts and fiction are more cohesive in terms of presenting consumption as a necessity which can be navigated using the idealised middle-class qualities expressed and promoted in the fiction, implying a greater overlap between reader and shopper. Both examples of fiction, though, reinforce the importance of a traditional domestic life and the associated middle-class values, with the female protagonists making an effective transition from working-girl to upper-middle-class housewife.

The visual ideals of the fashion editorials, although distinctly more demure than the images seen in *Vanity Fair* or *Vogue*, present aesthetic ideals for readers to aspire to along with instruction on how to emulate the fashions pictured. From the samples considered, it would appear the American styles—as toned-down versions of high fashion—are further diluted for a Canadian audience. Yet, as will be discussed in more depth in Chapter Four, the Canadian styles were never Canadian in origin, but rather came from elsewhere. While this difference in the presentation of fashions hints at a national difference between the content of the titles, the advertising of dress-patterns rather than ready-mades allows for the both American and Canadian readers to consume in a frugal and restrained manner. Yet each title caters particularly to their imagined readership, with the

Ladies' Home Journal appealing to a more urban or suburban audience and the *Canadian Home Journal* a more rural one. The traditional values of pioneer femininity, then, continued to inform cultural products in Canada the 1920s, placing importance primarily on nature and the natural, practicality and thrift. Meanwhile, increasingly urban and suburban American audiences were believed to be more receptive to modes of self-improvement that promised increased glamour, luxury, and leisure time or, indeed, threatened failure in their absence. This can be seen in the adverts examined, but while readers of the *Canadian Home Journal* were restrained in their quest for improved appearance by the values of pioneer femininity, so too were readers of the *Ladies' Home Journal* constrained by domesticity. Fashion and beauty are positioned as achievable, but only insofar as they do not exceed the acceptable bounds of wife, homemaker, and mother. Yet from these examples it is clear that readers of both the *Canadian Home Journal* and *Ladies' Home Journal* aspired to, and were encouraged to emulate, Canadian visual ideals of femininity and American visual ideals of femininity respectively. The paradigmatic examples found in the commercial and editorial content of these titles provide a blueprint for aesthetic self-improvement, increasingly based on consumption and emphatically stressed as a worthwhile, and at times essential, feminine interest. Yet they also display a national specificity, which can be read as a direct result of the cultural context in which they were produced, and which in turn contributed to the delineation of nationally-specific modes of self-improvement.

Neither magazine presented or promoted the specific version of feminine perfection seen in *Vogue*, *Vanity Fair* and *Harper's Bazar* and symbolised by the flapper. Yet through their complex collages of features they did promote and reinforce a nationally-specific, fundamentally domestic feminine ideal, positioned as achievable, somewhat confusingly, through both an adherence to middle-class values and consumption. In an article on American advertising in this period, Roger Miller comments, "The new periodicals promulgated a mixed ideology, one that could be hegemonic, despite (or perhaps through) extreme self-contradiction" (264). The contradictions present within these titles replicate both the complexity of the magazine form, and the fractured nature of the feminine self, both of which required negotiation. Arguably, the magazine form provided a space in which the self could be constructed, reconstructed, and improved. Yet the precise manner in which this was afforded needs further exploration. While character and appearance were by no means discrete, the consideration of each one separately in the following two chapters allows for an interrogation of the ways the magazines allowed for these negotiations and constructions and the extent to which this function was nationally specific.

Chapter Three

The Home and Domesticity: Readers, Consumers, Citizens

Since for many years home and hearth were identified with women, it was natural that the first [Canadian] women's magazine should be called the *Canadian Home Journal*. (Sutherland 156)

The home was considered the "natural" consumer unit, the housewife the "natural" consumer. Of course, there was little that was actually natural about this process. (Scanlon 13)

The conceptual centrality of the home in the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* is evidenced, as Fraser Sutherland points out in the case of the latter, by the presence of the word itself in their titles. Both magazines placed a great deal of importance on the home and the role of their imagined readers in that context; yet, while Sutherland seems to accept the "naturalness" of the association between women and the home, Scanlon questions it. In her comment, which is quoted for a second time because it illuminates the themes of this project so clearly, she draws attention to the role of consumerism, and hence of commercial interests, in enforcing the identification of women with the home. More broadly, it is important to recognise domesticity itself, as it is presented in these magazines, as an ideological construct which emerged in the nineteenth century in tandem with the rise of the middle classes. The consumer emphasis dominated from the turn of the century onwards, as evidenced by Christina Frederick's often-quoted *Selling Mrs. Consumer* (1929).⁵² Including

⁵² Christine Frederick's life and career are discussed in Janice Williams Rutherford's *Selling Mrs. Consumer: Christina Frederick and the Rise of Household Efficiency* (2003). Rutherford notes the particular importance of the *Ladies' Home Journal* in Frederick's career stating, "In 1912, the *Ladies' Home Journal* accepted her series of articles entitled 'The New Housekeeping,' and Christine Frederick began what was to become a stunningly successful career in home efficiency."

chapters such as “The Facts Regarding Mrs. Consumer’s Spending Power”, “The High Status of American Women in Family Spending”, and “Mrs. Consumer is Looking for Effects”, Frederick’s book champions advertising whilst asserting the importance of women’s proper role as housewives and, in that capacity, consumers. Frederick was highly influential, yet her role was inherently conflicted; as Janice Williams Rutherford comments, “Disingenuously representing herself as a typical housewife, she appeared to remain in the domestic sphere while working in the public one” (69). This tension arises from the superimposing of early twentieth-century notions of consumption on nineteenth-century conceptions of domesticity, which must first be understood.

As Kathleen McHugh points out in *American Domesticity* (1999),

The idea that public life and private life are truly distinct, not just discursively constructed as such, and the notion of a homogenous gender identity called “woman” are powerful enabling fictions that continue to have profound efficacy in the organization of knowledge and power. (37)

Following compelling evidentiary discussion of economic and ideological shifts in the nineteenth century—including the movement of production away from the home, and a growing emphasis on sentimental, as opposed to authoritarian, approaches to child rearing—McHugh states, “The cult of domesticity transformed women’s enforced legal subjugation and material, economic dependency into an idealized spiritual, emotional and physical state of dependency called ‘femininity’ or ‘true womanhood’” (41). Domesticity, then, was integral to the development of gendered identities and the discursive construction of the notion of “separate spheres”. It reconfigured the home as

primarily a place of morality, sentiment, and femininity as opposed to its previous role as a signifier of “secured economic sustenance and political privilege” (41). The forums in which these ideological and economic transformations were discussed, developed, and disseminated in the later nineteenth century also differed from those of the previous period. As McHugh states,

While evangelical publications and missionary associations, authored or convened by clergy and upper- and middle-class women, predominated in the century’s first three decades, these were superseded after the 1830s by mother’s magazines, maternal associations, and sentimental fiction primarily generated by women. (40)

The cult of domesticity had, to some extent, endowed middle-class women with a new power over the home. It was now, in theory, they who were best placed to give appropriate advice on domestic concerns; from house-keeping to child-rearing, the responsibility was theirs.

In the introduction to her discussion of antebellum American magazines, Amy Beth Aronson outlines two general academic positions on domesticity: the first viewing domesticity as “insidiously repressive”, in that it deceptively fosters the belief that women possess all-powerful influence, albeit within the home only; the second finding it “secretly suggestive and enabling”, insofar as demands can be made for greater freedom and opportunities by members of its middle-class collective on that basis (*Taking Liberties* 1). The commonality between these views, she states, is that both hinge on, “a tacit belief that domestic ideology was largely produced by men and received by women—particularly women readers

of popular literature and women's magazines" (1). Acknowledging that men have historically controlled discourse, thus making men the authors of gender ideology, she goes on to state, "Still, women were not so silent—in large part because early women's magazines were there" (2). Women frequently authored and contributed to these earliest examples, with the result that, "middle-class women, working periodically together, were, within certain limits of course, the ardent and instrumental makers of the gender ideology by which they would consent to live" (2). Aronson and the McHugh cite early nineteenth-century magazines and late nineteenth-century magazines respectively, as significant sites of development for discourse regarding domesticity; forming part of a reciprocal relationship with the women who wrote and read them. While these carried fewer advertisements—focusing more on moral than commercial goals—than those which followed, the domesticity discussed and promoted in these nineteenth-century magazines considerably informed the mass-market magazines of the early twentieth-century. This is not to say that this version of domesticity remained unchanged in the mass-market magazines; rather, that conceptions of the home as a feminine place under female control remained central. Mass-market magazines produced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries continued to be a key site in the negotiation and renegotiation of ideals of domesticity.

The home was now a feminised place, seemingly contrasted with the world beyond its walls, characterised as masculine. This is a simplified summary of a

complex and gradual shift that had taken place over the course of the nineteenth century. The essential point here is that the factors which had produced this change were in no sense “naturally occurring”. As Scanlon argues, constructions of the home and the housewife were of vital importance in the development of early consumer culture. As was the case in the nineteenth century—when the reshaping of domesticity and gender roles were influenced by the relocation of production to workplaces set apart from the home—economic factors contributed to the dramatic refashioning of domesticity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The “advertising revolution” in the 1890s and its implications for continued industrialisation and urbanisation are considered instrumental in the gradual, but notable, shift towards a culture organised around consumption. Discussing the growing ubiquity of advertising from 1890 to 1904, Richard Ohmann comments, “any urban person living through this time – and any rural person who read and shopped – had striking visual evidence of a burgeoning cultural practice, and came to participate more often in it” (83). Engagement with advertising equates to participation in the developing consumer culture. Margaret Beetham, commenting on British magazines of the same period, notes that: “The new femininity of consumption was located within the dominant ideology of the domestic” (*Magazine* 157). In the nineteenth century, then, the home becomes at once: a place of morality, sentimentality, and femininity, and a site of consumption rather than production. An increasing number of items which had been homemade, including food, clothes, health remedies, and beauty preparations, were being bought in via mail order and shops. While this is evident in advertisements, this

shift can also be traced in other magazine content; from needlework columns which began to focus on the decorative embroidery that women now had time for as they could buy the main items of clothing, to recipes that involved tinned or packaged ingredients, as opposed to only home-produced items. At the turn of the century, the home's status as a consumer unit was cemented within the context of increased industrialisation, urbanisation, and developing consumer culture. The increasingly suburban⁵³ middle-class home was ideologically constructed as a place of consumption, consumption is feminised, and femininity—and in turn domesticity, as the position of “true womanhood”—is associated with the practice of consumption. In her essay “Establishing the Modern Consumer Household”, Victoria de Grazia argues, “Nothing about modern family attitudes toward consumption seems to have come naturally, least of all the sex-based division between Mr. Breadwinner and Mrs. Consumer” (152). In tracing the development of modern domesticity, albeit heuristically, it is clear that gendered distinctions between production and consumption are constructs. The consumption which was naturalised—a process notably distinct from naturally occurring—in the mid- to late-nineteenth century both assisted and was reinforced by the rise of consumer culture at the turn of the century. As Belk and Pollay demonstrate, through longitudinal content analysis of magazine advertisements between 1900 and 1980, conceptions of what constitutes “the good life” shift away from morality and religion and towards practices of consumption. They observe, “focusing on

⁵³ As noted in Chapter One, this is true of both Canada and the United States although urbanisation and suburbanisation were moving at a slightly slower pace in the former.

the material rather than spiritual world, appears to be increasingly prevalent in the values and aspirations of Americans” (887). Mass-market magazines, with their ever increasing quantity of print advertising, undoubtedly played a significant role, though advertising in other forms and media (catalogues, newspapers, leaflets, outdoor signs) also contributed to this process. Thus, the discourses of domesticity—seen to be located in the “private sphere”, honed by early magazines and guidebooks, and influenced by the burgeoning consumer culture—informed and shaped the *Ladies’ Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal*.

While unquestionably central to nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ideology, the conceptual location of domesticity within the metaphorical “private sphere”, as opposed to the “public sphere” of politics, business and society, has been shown by numerous critics to be flawed. In the editor's introduction to *Separate Spheres No More*, Monika Elbert sets out the intention of the collection to “revise or reassess women’s conventional position as a liminal public figure [sic]” (2). She goes on to clarify, “This is not to say that a separate sphere for women did not exist . . . but that an essentialist, reductionist position is dangerous in coming to terms with the diverging experiences of different kinds of women” (1-2). Helen Damon-Moore points out that the metaphor itself is fundamentally flawed, in that “men’s larger, more flexible sphere did not actually resemble a circumscribed sphere at all” (25). In addition, the application of this flawed metaphor implied an equal division of labour and an equal division of economic power, neither of which existed. This

metaphor, she argues, “had a critical impact on the development of both gender relationships and commerce at the turn of the century” (25). In addition to these flaws, the “separate spheres” model has been shown to be too rigid to serve as an accurate conceptualisation of the lived experience for the majority of women. As Amy Kaplan notes, while the ideology of “separate spheres” has been academically useful in understanding the work of white middle-class women,

Most studies of the paradigm have revealed the permeability of the border that separates the spheres, demonstrating that the private feminized space of the home both infused and bolstered the public male arena of the market, and that the sentimental values attached to maternal influence were used to sanction women’s entry into the wider civic realm from which those same values theoretically excluded them. (581)

This is particularly relevant when considering the early twentieth-century mass-market magazines. These magazines were constructed in the context of the central concerns of domesticity and targeted specifically at housewives, placing them, in theory, firmly within the “private sphere”. Yet the publications themselves were mass-produced commercial products, so even in their purchase women were essentially engaging with the marketplace. They also promoted consumption of advertised products and therefore facilitated women's engagement with the “public sphere”. Similarly, both titles frequently published articles and editorials which focused on politics, again part of the “public sphere”.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ In the use of the term “public sphere” this work does not seek to engage in depth with theories of the transformation of the public sphere, as outlined by Jürgen Habermas in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962), but follows the usage of feminist critics who have tended to focus on the distinction between the home and the outside world as spheres of activity for men and women.

The scholarly challenge to the “separate spheres” model is evidently justified and its interrogation can open up interesting avenues of enquiry for considering the construction of domesticity within magazines. Kaplan argues,

The deconstruction of separate spheres, however, leaves another structural opposition intact: the domestic in intimate opposition to the foreign. In this context *domestic* has a double meaning that not only links the familial household to the nation but also imagines both in opposition to everything outside the geographical and conceptual border of the home. (581)

As early examples of national mass-market magazines, the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* are particularly useful for a consideration of the dual meaning of the home and the “domestic”. The case for women’s magazines constructing their imagined audience as both readers and consumers—whose needs, desires, and aspirations were primarily defined and circumscribed by their domestic roles—has been compellingly put forward by numerous critics.⁵⁵ Yet the extent to which these national magazines construct their readers as citizens is relatively under-researched. Amy Kaplan argues persuasively for the contributing influence of the ideology of domesticity in antebellum America in the creation of a distinctively American national identity commenting, “If domesticity plays a key role in imagining the nation as home, then women, positioned at the center of the home, play a major role in defining the contours of the nation” (582). Given the continued centrality of the home and discourses of domesticity, albeit reshaped in the context of consumption, Kaplan’s

⁵⁵ For more see Margaret Beetham’s *A Magazine of Her Own?* (1996) and Ellen Gruber Garvey’s *The Adman in the Parlor* (1996).

assertion raises interesting questions about how these two titles operated in the context of nationalism. The political development of America and Canada as nation states took place on different timescales, since America had of course begun the process of national self-determination with the War of Independence in the late eighteenth century, while Canada did not become autonomous in government until the Confederation of 1867, and retained the status of Dominion until the 1930s.⁵⁶ Two of the key differences between the two countries are: first, that in Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, nationalism was compatible with an attachment to British identity, while in the United States it was not; and second, in Canada, national identity was often defined in opposition to “Americanness”, whereas in United States mythologies of nation, Canada was not a reference point. Nevertheless, the configurations of patriotic feeling and national pride in the two countries are not so different that they cannot be compared. Indeed, a comparison in terms of their manifestations in popular literature and culture can be highly productive.

Michelle Smith, in her article “Fiction and the Nation”, examines the role of *Chatelaine* and the *Canadian Home Journal* of the 1930s and 1940s in the creation of “a mainstream Canadian identity” (38). In focusing primarily on the fiction and the manner in which it was situated as specifically Canadian, she comments,

This way of situating the fiction dovetailed with the magazines’ broader capitalisation on their Canadian identity as a means of separating

⁵⁶ “Dominion”, given its usage in federal government and Parliament, remains Canada’s official title (Forsey np). Although the word is no longer used commonly, the status has never been rescinded.

themselves out from stiff competition from similar American periodicals. Articles abounded on Canada's different regions and ways of life, and ongoing portrayals of different Women's Institutes and clubs across Canada were presented as part of a large, inter-connected community. (38)

While these statements specifically relate to the context of the 1930s and 1940s, they hold true also for the *Canadian Home Journal* in the 1920s. Another critic's comments on *Chatelaine* are also relevant: Jaleen Grove comments on the manner in which *Chatelaine* "wished to help Canadian women keep house and then extend that caretaking to the nation through voting, social work, and club activity" (168). This, Grove argues, aligned with notions of "maternal feminism, where woman's right to participate in public life was predicated upon her customary role in ensuring the economic, moral, and physical health of the nation in its smallest unit, the family at home" (168). Grove's comments also apply to the *Canadian Home Journal* in this period, even though it was perhaps less explicitly feminist than *Chatelaine*. *Chatelaine* would not appear until 1928, so for the majority of women in eastern and central Canada the *Canadian Home Journal* was the only easily accessible alternative to the well-established American women's magazines, rendering its presentation of English Canadian nationality and the structuring of its readership as specifically Canadian particularly interesting. This chapter seeks to explore the manner in which the ideology of domesticity, both in the familial and national senses, was deployed within these titles, the extent to which they positioned their idealised version of femininity as an aspect of good citizenship, and the ways in which the construction of these ideals was nationally specific.

An Ideal Opportunity: The Christmas Issues of 1920

In the introduction to *Roughing it in the Suburbs*, her highly comprehensive examination of *Chatelaine* in the 1950s and 60s, Valerie Korinek states,

To best understand the history and role of any magazine, one needs to examine how the periodical is constructed – the range of articles, fiction, advice, political commentary, and advertisements. As with woven cloth, it is possible up close to separate different strands of thread according to colour or texture, but, taken as a whole, the impression is quite different. (16)

This is, undoubtedly, a fair assertion in the context of Korinek's undertaking, which is chart the development of *Chatelaine* across this period and how it engages with its cultural context. While a valid approach, it is certainly not the only one possible, as Faye Hammill and Michelle Smith have recently demonstrated in their book *Magazines, Travel, and Middlebrow Culture*.

Considering "the magazine as a material object" (65) allows Hammill and Smith to offer, "a set of four perspectives on the chosen magazines as complex multi-authored texts and physical objects" (68). Their analyses—at the level of the page, issue, year, and run—offer practical additions to Korinek's approach.

Korinek attempts to achieve an all-encompassing description by taking sample issues as representative of the magazine as a whole: as she notes, "Each January, May, and September issue of the magazine was read closely and its entirety. . . .

These months were selected to allow for seasonal differences in advertising and departmental content, without including major religious or public holidays"

(17). While this is certainly an appropriate sampling method for the stated research goal, it does mean that Korinek's book, like several other studies of mass-market magazines, leave the issues published in months containing

significant holidays, such as Christmas, out of account. As discussed in the previous chapter, the magazines frequently capitalised on shared experience and associated structures of feeling to relate to their readership. For the intended readers of both the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal*, there is arguably no experience they were more likely to share than Christmas. As Eileen Fischer and Stephen Arnold comment, in their study of gender roles and Christmas gift shopping, "Festive practices are laden with meanings that derive from and contribute to the culture, and the manner in which they are executed is culturally constituted and constitutive" (333). While Fischer and Arnold are here discussing shopping practices themselves, these practices were, and are, encouraged by various cultural elements, including magazines. Christmas, on many levels, operates as an ideal opportunity for the magazines: it is notably seasonally specific—with clear associated visual cues and indicators—relating to the magazine's relationship with time; it is highly informed by conceptions of domesticity, being primarily centred around the home and family; and through the tradition of gift-giving it allows for an intensified promotion of consumption. The often under-explored December issues of each magazine, then, within the context of my examination of how the magazines function as complete texts, offer interesting perspectives on the deployment of the ideology of domesticity, both at a familial and national level. With this in mind, and following Hammill and Smith's approach to the study of the individual issue, the December 1920 issues of each title will be examined in detail, exploring the extent to which the ideology of domesticity shaped the disparate features of each title.

The December 1920 issues of the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* initially appear to be markedly different, although not in unexpected ways. The *Ladies' Home Journal* is substantially bigger (at 196 pages to the *Canadian Home Journal's* 70), is printed on higher quality paper, and contains significantly more colour pages. Both issues contain the expected mix of content, specifically situated within the context of the Christmas season, and feature monthly editorials. However the editorials in the *Canadian Home Journal* are unsigned at this period, while the *Ladies' Home Journal* editorials are consistently signed by the editor at the time, Barton W. Currie. The monthly editorial in each title served a number of functions, which could differ from issue to issue. At times they contextualised the issue in relation to previous or future publications, at others they drew the reader's attention to a particular page or item, at others still they were used to convey specific opinions. Given their contextualising function, these editorials serve as an appropriate entry point for detailed discussion of the contents of these particular issues.

Editorials were often a place for the vehement promotion of a specific attitude or ideology, either that of the magazine as a whole or the editor individually.

The latter was frequently the case in the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Barton W. Currie, successor to the infamous Edward Bok, was editor of the title for the majority of the decade. Jennifer Scanlon speculates that perhaps Currie was "less didactic" with his own moral agenda than Bok, who considered the magazine the world's "largest possible pulpit" (*Inarticulate Longings* 51). Yet Currie, in his editorial in

this issue, is guilty of many of the criticisms levied at Bok, who “frequently preached to, chastised, and patronized his readers” (Damon-Moore 97).



Figure 14 “The Real Peace on Earth” editorial. *Ladies' Home Journal* Dec. 1920

Initially though, the editorial in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, appearing on page 30 and titled "The Real Peace on Earth", begins in a relatively traditional style of moralising commentary:

For almost two thousand years the word "Christmas" has been associated in human minds with the word "peace." "Peace on earth, good will toward men" must be combined with the joy of the Christmas season or there can be no joy at all. One forgives one's enemy at Christmastime. How can one do otherwise when the spirit of love fills the air. It is a sordid soul that does not, for a few moments at least, on the great anniversary catch a glimpse of the Far Horizon and stretch its draggled wings. In millions of hearts, more or less briefly, lies appreciation of the wonder and glory of peace and good will and the yearning for their continuance.

The introduction of Christmas in this manner confirms the position taken by the title and the imagined traits of the intended readership. In the assertion that peace and good-will "must" be associated with Christmas, followed by the threat of "no joy at all" in its absence, the magazine is promoting traditional Christian morality and addressing a readership that it expects to share that worldview. The editorial then shifts dramatically in tone, and sentiment, continuing, "If one could always feel like this!" one sighs—and then, looking around the distraught world, never so distraught as now, one sighs again". Currie then goes on to detail the apparent realisation that the peace and good-will were only temporary—a "dying ideal"—and incompatible with the "inevitable conditions" of everyday life. Yet, Currie argues, in accepting this, one "closes one's eyes to the great truth that the peace of the world lies not in the hands of rulers of states, but in each individual heart and home in the world, and that so long as that heart beats and that home endures peace cannot be destroyed save by the possessor". It is in this turning-point that the true subject of discussion is

revealed, in a manner which hints at a similarity to Bok's traditional editorial homilies. The responsibility for creating and maintaining peace is repositioned as a private domestic concern—as opposed to a national domestic concern—and thus placed under the charge of women. Again, the pattern of hope followed by threat is invoked in that the peace cannot be destroyed “save by the possessor” of the heart and the home.

The responsibility of women is made explicit almost immediately, with the declaration,

The fact is so obvious that many women wholly overlook it. They seemingly forget that every woman who has a home, with others around her in it, has the opportunity to establish and maintain in that home a peace colony of infinite importance to the happiness of those she loves as well as a definite center of influence in her community. For peace is not alone the absence of warfare.

Discursively, this excerpt illustrates the merging of the ideology of domesticity and the language of national conflict, such as “peace colony” and “warfare”. This conflation results in the creation and maintaining of peace in the familial home being granted the same significance as the creation and maintaining of peace at a national level. Aspiration and performance in the direction of the ideals of domesticity are equated with aspects of good citizenship. Not only does this deployment of domesticity raise the perceived importance of the housewife's role, but it also increases the stakes should she fail. The failings of a housewife who does not foster this serene home, and repercussions of failure in this regard, are detailed extensively for the following seven paragraphs. For instance: “Trifles irritate her, and she shows her irritation; associates annoy her,

and she shows her annoyance; disappointments embitter her, and she resents the bitterness; disillusionments harden her, and she betrays the hardness. She grumbles, she fault-finds, she nags". The repetitive listing generates a tone which is simultaneously lecturing and threatening. The failed housewife and her traits are thoroughly established, culminating in the statement, "Never once, except perhaps at Christmastime or in the great moments does she tell herself: 'I myself am peace or warfare. It rests with me, and with me alone, to decide in which condition my family and I shall live'". Again, this asserts the importance of the housewife, endowing her with a level of power and experience which does not seem to correspond with the lived experience of readers. The deployment here of domesticity—evidently informed by the "separate spheres" model—implies the housewife wields an impossible amount of power. In reality family income and national wars are all beyond the housewife's control. Yet, these issues are minimised and the housewife's control over her household presented as unlimited: she herself "is peace or warfare".

The central importance of the housewife having been established, along with the example of behaviours and traits which constitute failure, the editorial moves on to describe the successful traits of the ideal housewife:

She is, first of all, thoroughly poised. She does not pass on to those she loves her petty daily cares. They have their own. Neither is she impatient, nor critical, nor intolerant. She does not "worry" and she does not "nag." She is sympathetic and understanding. Her rule is firm, but gentle. Each morning her family goes forth strengthened for the work of the day. Back to her each night they return like voyagers entering harbour.

Aside from the attribution of poise, the idealised characteristics of the peace-creating housewife are evident through her relation to her family, who are clearly identified as her reason for being. Her daily cares are “petty” and subordinate to theirs. Her sympathy, understanding, and method of rule are important only insofar as they relate to her family. Her work is positioned as supporting her family’s “work of the day”, marginalising the practical domestic labour which would make up her daily experience. It is particularly interesting to note that the ideal home-maker is described in terms of that which she is not as opposed to what she is; the focus is on a condemnation of unappealing traits rather than commendation of desirable ones. The overall tone of this, and indeed the majority of the editorial, brings together criticism and reproach with celebration of the ideal woman. Her selflessness is never explicitly referenced, but assumed throughout, and the text implies she should not expect praise or even recognition for her endeavours:

Those she loves may not wholly realise why it is that peace enfolds them while they are with her and accompanies them when they leave her. They may not understand the difference between their homes and other homes they enter. They may be merely happy absorbers of the atmosphere the true home-maker creates. But they carry out into the world something of this atmosphere and pass it on to others. They give to their work and to the world the best that is in them because their home life tends to develop the best.

The role of the housewife is constructed as a duty, and her effort does not require thanks, or even acknowledgement. This is justified by the comments on the far-reaching impact that the successful performance of her domestic role can have. Through her adherence to idealised principles of domesticity, her

“private” efforts extend into the “public” realm through her family, who go out and “give to their work and the world the best”.

The home, constructed as “the place which we turn to most hopefully in our eternal quest for happiness”, is, like the housewife, of vital importance in its relation to all that lies outside it. Its foundational importance is confirmed in the comment, “The knowledge that nations are warring is grim, but endurable. The consciousness of warfare and unrest in one’s home is the turn of the screw”. Considering the timing of this issue, less than two years after the end of World War One, the war is clearly in the collective memory. Yet war lies beyond the “private sphere”. The extensive use of military rhetoric in relation to domesticity at once acknowledges it as a concern to intended readers, and redirects this concern back towards the home, enforcing domesticity as the primary concern. That said, it also sites women’s influence on a familial-domestic and national-domestic level, implying that successful performance of the ascribed gender role is both a familial and national duty. The responsibility of women is cemented in the final paragraph of the editorial: “It rests with woman, therefore, to begin on her own hearthstone her work for world peace”. This comment implies that women’s work is important on a national level, but only insofar as she provides a peaceful and nurturing environment for her family so they can “give the world the best”. The editorial firmly limits her role within the bounds of domesticity, simultaneously assigning her power and limiting that power.

The Canadian Home Journal

NEW YORK
122 FIFTH AVE.
CHICAGO
100 N. WABASH

OFFICE of PUBLICATION:
RICHMOND and SHEPPARD STREETS
TORONTO, CANADA

MONTREAL
111 ST. JAMES ST.
WINNIPEG
111 ST. VICTORIA ST.

Overlaid, December, 1920, in Canada.

Volume Seventeen

DECEMBER, 1920

Number Eight

THE season of Christmas is just as welcome as ever—perhaps all the more shining with comfort because the war clouds hang so heavily over us for four weary years that "peace and good-will" seemed but a mocking dream. To-day the world does not yet know the meaning of the Christmas message, but the outlook is brighter than it was in those years of crisis, and we realize with thankfulness the prosperity and hope in our own land—which shared in the sacrifices of the war, but, in its youth and vigor, looks forward, not with despondency, to the tasks of reconstruction.

There are prophets of evil who would have us believe that civilization has been hurt beyond repair—but THAT we cannot believe, so long as there are so many sincerely anxious to help in the work of putting the world together again. It is usually the idlers who are the despondent citizens—those who are the helpers are also the hopefuls. So, as we look abroad or look at home in this year of nineteen hundred and twenty, we repeat once more the centuries-old greeting which is a prayer as well as a salutation. Peace is what the world longs for—and may Christmas cheer and good-will be the atmosphere of every home!

IT will be admitted that the illustration on this page hardly suggests Christmas or a Yuletide blaze. Mr. Hubert Footner, one of Canada's popular novelists, is here photographed on a happy summer day enjoying the heating air of the seashore. Mr. Footner "be-

longs" in Hamilton, Ontario, although he has lived for some years in the United States. Of course, he spends some of his days in New York, for nearly all Canadians who would write a best-selling novel or have a story in the movies find their way to the largest city in the continent and there acquire a studio or a sky parlor from which they send forth tales of thrill and pictures of rare color. Mr. Footner has already mounted several cages on the ladder of success, and is making his way as a playwright as well as a writer of fiction. "Country Love," which ran as a serial in "Mansey's Magazine" this year, is one of his recent productions in story-telling.

In our January issue will be found the opening chapters of "Two on the Trail," a novel by Mr. Footner which has been published in book form and for which we hold the Canadian serial rights. It is a story dealing with the adventures of an extremely daring hero and a lovely heroine, whose wanderings through Northern Alberta are thrilling as a "real movie." In spite of its frankly modern melodrama, there is a villain whose soper-wickedness seems medieval. He is, really, one of the most thorough scamps you could find, and outdoes the Wicked Uncle of the old fairy tales. So, there is an old-fashioned touch, after all, in this tale of modern Canada, and you will follow the varying fortunes of the persecuted heroine with sincere interest.



THE WRITER OF OUR NEXT SERIAL

Mr. Hubert Footner is at that goodly fellowship of Canadians rapidly winning fame and fortune in New York. We are beginning publication in our January issue of a story by Mr. Footner, entitled "Two on the Trail," which is an exciting account of his breath adventures in Northern Alberta.

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Subscriptions must be paid in advance.
To change address we must know former and new address. No address changes later than 1921.
We have discontinued the sending of receipts for money paid by subscribers. The first figure on the wrapper of your journal shows to what date your subscription is paid.

Figure 15 Editorial. *Canadian Home Journal* Dec. 1920

The hectoring tone of Currie's editorial contrasts starkly with that of the *Canadian Home Journal's* editorial, which appears on the first page of the December 1920 issue. Untitled and unsigned, this piece is presented directly under the standard masthead indicating the title of the magazine, the locations of its offices, and the date of publication. It is the very first piece of writing in the issue, preceded only by the cover and a full-page colour advert for "Magic Baking Powder". While the editorial is ostensibly written by the editor, there is no mention anywhere in the issue of the editor's name. Although this renders the editorial essentially anonymous, the language and tone employed are very similar to those of previous editorials. Anonymous content was fairly common in the *Canadian Home Journal*, which published many smaller features unsigned. That said, the friendly, advising tone created a voice which became associated with the title as a whole, as opposed to individual contributors. The magazine is in effect personified, and positioned as both a trusted friend and as a source of guidance and instruction. In spite of a lack of title or author name, then, this friendly editorial voice would be recognisable to regular readers.

The text addresses the very same concepts and concerns presented in the opening paragraph of Currie's editorial. It begins:

The season of Christmas is just as welcome as ever—perhaps all the more shining with comfort because the war clouds hung so heavily over us for four weary years that "peace and good-will" seemed but a mocking dream. To-day the world does not yet know the meaning of the Christmas message, but the outlook is brighter than it was in those years of crises, and we realize with thankfulness the prosperity and hope in our own land—which shared in the sacrifices of war, but, in its youth and vigor, looks forward, not with despondency, to the tasks of reconstruction.

As with the editorial presented in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, Christmas simultaneously positions this issue in the present moment—the month when Christmas is imminent and the war is very recent—and also in a cyclical pattern of human pasts and futures in which Christmas is regular and repeating. Yet in contrast to the authoritative, and at times condescending, style adopted by Currie, the writer of this piece immediately positions themselves as being part of the collective that is addressed. According to the writer, the recently ended war hung “heavily over us”, yet “we realize” that hope exists in “our own land”. This sets a tone which is continued throughout the text, developing a sense of commonality among author and readers and situating the comments as a conversation among equals regarding the shared experience of Christmas and what will become the shared experience of reading the issue. In particular, the mention of “our own land” situates the both readers and author—and in turn the magazine—as specifically Canadian, implying that the war was a thing endured by all citizens and encompassing the readers in that description.

Canadian participation in World War One certainly stimulated nationalism on both political and cultural levels, and both fictional and journalistic texts tapped into that popular nationalist feeling and sense of pride.⁵⁷ There is a clear difference between the approach taken by the *Canadian Home Journal* and that employed by Currie in the American context. Here, the war is directly

⁵⁷ See Amy Tector's "Healing Landscapes and Evolving Nationalism in Interwar Canadian Middlebrow Fiction of the First World War" (2012) and Sherill Grace's *Landscapes of War and Memory* (2014) for further discussion.

addressed, not subsumed under the discourses of domesticity, and the tone is hopeful:

There are prophets of evil who would have us believe that civilization has been hurt beyond repair—but THAT we cannot believe, so long as there are so many sincerely anxious to help in the work of putting the world together again. It is usually the idlers who are the despondent citizens—those who are the helpers are also the hoppers. So, as we look abroad or look at home in this year of nineteen hundred and twenty, we repeat once more the centuries-old greeting which is a prayer as well as a salutation. Peace is what the world longs for—and may Christmas cheer and good-will be the atmosphere of every home!

The emphatic rejection of pessimistic views lends a conversational aspect to the piece, furthering the impression that the author is familiar and friendly. These traits are then attributed to the magazine as a whole. The text suggests that the reconstruction effort will be successful only if there are enough willing to help, implying the appropriate attitude is to want to help. Similarly, the equation of idleness with despondency, and activity with hope in the context of citizenship reveals a particular ideological stance which venerates effort, work and optimism. The contrast to the *Ladies' Home Journal* here can perhaps be viewed in light of the social purity movement in Canada. While this moral reform was influenced by those in Britain and the United States, Canadians “then (as now) tended to define themselves not so much positively but by way of a differentiation” (Valverde, 17). In her study of moral reform from 1885 to 1925, Mariana Valverde states of Canadians, “their self-image as healthy citizens of a new country of prairies and snowy peaks contributed both to twentieth-century nationalist ideas and to the success of the purity movement, one of whose symbols was pure white snow” (17). This image was in opposition to the many evils of urban America, positioning Canada as a place of optimism. This goes

some way to explaining the friendly tone and subtle presentation of the editorial, which offers guidance rather than instruction, inclusion rather than condemnation. The readers are not excluded from the process of repair, nor is their contribution explicitly constrained to the home. In fact, the piece does not dictate a particular approach to take to assist in “putting the world together again”, as opposed to the *Ladies’ Home Journal* which explicitly limits women’s potential assistance to the context of the home. This has a somewhat equalising effect, as women’s potential contribution to post-war recovery is positioned in relation to their roles as citizens instead of being circumscribed by their domestic roles.

While references to Christmas and the season are continued throughout the issue as a whole, the remaining editorial space is used in a manner that diverges considerably from the *Ladies’ Home Journal*. As the *Canadian Home Journal* at this stage did not have a contents page, the editorial often served the function of contextualising or directing readers to content throughout the issue or forthcoming content in the next issue. James Mussell specifically comments on this feature of periodicals:

the dynamic of seriality entails a sort of contract: publishers attempted to anticipate the demands of their readers by giving them more of what they had already demonstrated they wanted, and readers repeatedly spent their money on the understanding that they would not be disappointed. (“Repetition” 348)

In this case, the editorial outlines a serialised novel, forthcoming in the January issue. “Two on the Trail” by Hulbert Footner is described as, “an exciting

narrative of hair-breadth adventures in Northern Alberta”. Referring out to the rest of the page, and forthcoming content, the editorial continues,

It will be admitted that the illustration on this page hardly suggests Christmas or a Yuletide blaze. Mr. Hulbert Footner, one of Canada’s popular novelists, is here photographed on a happy summer day enjoying the bracing air at the seashore. Mr. Footner “belongs” to Hamilton, Ontario, although he has lived for some years in the United States. Of course, he spends some of his days in New York, for nearly all Canadians who would write a best-selling novel or have a story in the movies find their way to the largest city on the continent and there acquire a studio or a sky parlor from which they send forth tales of thrill and pictures of rare colour.

The decision to feature a photograph which contradicts the positioning of the issue in relation to its moment in time demonstrates an interesting editorial decision. It illustrates the privileging of the promotion of fiction within the magazine over visual consistency, perhaps revealing the perceived importance of fiction. It also optimistically provides a vision of a happy summer’s day to counterbalance the wintriness of the season and the depressing aspects of the recent war. The presence of this unseasonal photograph also shows the interaction between the items of content on the page: that is, between text and image. The explanatory text contextualises the out-of-place image, making it relevant. This image also serves to separate the discussed author, Mr. Footner, from his place of residence, the United States.

The natural “sea shore” background of the picture removes the author from an implied urban American environment, as does the statement that he “‘belongs’ to Hamilton, Ontario”. As Michelle Smith notes, *Chatelaine* and the *Canadian Home Journal*, “marketed themselves to Canadian readers on the strength of

their Canadian contents” (38). Regarding the fiction, she notes the positioning of authors as Canadian was significant in this endeavour. While Mr. Footner resides in New York, this does not diminish his Canadian-ness since he truly “belongs” to his home town. Indeed, it is implied that only his success keeps him from Canada, where he belongs, since all successful authors must spend “some of their days” in New York. The remainder of the editorial space is used to cement both Mr. Footner’s success and the importance of the fiction, which is positioned as specifically Canadian. The story, to appear in the January 1921 issue, “is a story dealing with the adventures of an extremely daring hero and a lovely heroine, whose wanderings through Northern Alberta are as thrilling as a ‘real movie’”. This description has a somewhat defensive tone, appealing to readers’ patriotism in order to generate interest in a story about the less than thrilling region of Northern Alberta by comparing it to a movie. The editorial appears to be trying to counteract the lure of America, yet not quite succeeding as it continues to refer to American culture, inevitably positioning it as more attractive. Nevertheless, the introduction of next month’s fiction in this way demonstrates the importance placed on fiction in the title, and also promotes the forthcoming issue within a specifically national context, making nationality the primary concern in this editorial. Indeed, more of next year’s fiction is also introduced later in the issue in a small promotional feature titled “For Next Year”: “The CANADIAN HOME JOURNAL for 1921 will have the brightest fiction from such writers as Hulbert Footner, Virna Sheard, Beatrice Redpath and others”. All of the mentioned authors are Canadian. From discussion of

Christmas and the recently ended war to the promotion of the fiction, Canada is at the forefront.

According to Smith,

the importance of magazines as purveyors of fiction in these decades should not be underestimated. The cheap paperback novel had yet to rise to prominence, and magazines filled a demand for inexpensive fiction by delivering it each month to households across Canada. (38)

While the decades in question for Smith's analysis are the 1930s and 1940s, this assertion holds truer still for the period of the 1920s, as the advent of the paperback was further in the future. The fiction contained in the December 1920 issue of the *Canadian Home Journal* comprises six short stories: "My Christmas Burglary", by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch; "Unlit Decembers", by Katherine Hale; "A Sense of Humor", by Arthur Stringer; "The Lost Baby", by Elizabeth Gotto; "The Worker in Sandal Wood", by Marjorie Pickthall; "The Next of Kin", by Christina R. Frame; and "The Mystery of 'C.Q'", by William Le Queux. The quantity of fiction is much the same as other issues, aside from the absence of an instalment of a serialised novel. This absence, however, is somewhat neutralised by the editorial focus given to the upcoming serial in the January issue. All of the short stories contain seasonal elements, including "The Worker in Sandal Wood". However this short story is the only piece accompanied by an editor's note:

This story . . . was originally published by the Atlantic Monthly Company, Boston, holders of the copyright in the United States. It is now republished by request of many readers. Miss Pickthall is English by birth, but has spent many years in Canada, and is now a resident of that "bit of England in the West" Victoria, BC. (16)

In establishing that this is a republishing of existing fiction, this note is careful to explain that this was “by request of many readers”. It could be the case that this represents an excuse for publishing work that was not new, having first appeared in 1914. It could, however, be a genuine description of events, giving an example of the reciprocity between magazine and reader; readers’ opinions being positioned as important enough that they influence the choice of content. The editor’s note also illustrates the relative inclusivity of conceptions of Canadian nationality in the magazine. Mr. Footner is Canadian in spite of his residence in the United States, while Miss Pickthall is Canadian in spite of her birth in England.⁵⁸ Quiller-Couch and Le Queux were also British, but the publication contained no American contributors. Considering this in the context of Canadian nationalism, it is fair to conclude that the presence of British but not American authors relates to the notion that Canadian nationalism was compatible—at this point—with a sense of Britishness, but also depended on a rejection of Americanness. Citizenship—it is implied in the comments on Pickthall and Footner, and the presence of Quiller-Couch and Le Queux—is not acquired exclusively through either birth or residence, but rather, through an active connection to Canada. Yet this inclusivity, at an editorial level, should be considered in the context of the Canadian publishing landscape.

⁵⁸ Marjorie Pickthall was contrastingly characterised as “an ethereal poetess” (112), yet her status as a Canadian author was and is seemingly undisputed. She has been featured in anthologies such as *New Women: Short Stories by Canadian Women, 1900-1920* (1991), edited by Sandra Campbell and Lorraine McMullen.

The rates offered to authors by Canadian periodicals could not compete with those offered by American rivals. Carole Gerson discusses evidence of this, stating, “Letters in the files of the *Canadian Magazine*, one of the country’s leading cultural periodicals during the first decades of the twentieth century, indicate that many who wished to publish in Canada could not afford to do so” (112). It is possible, then, that Canadian magazines’ inclusivity—which consisted of forgiveness of Canadians who had moved south of the 49th parallel, and welcoming hospitality to authors of non-Canadian origin—was informed, at least in part, by a financial motivation to publish successful fiction to attract more readers. Citing a letter from Marjorie Pickthall to the *Canadian Magazine*, Gerson details Pickthall’s refusal to accept the sum of eight dollars for a story which was later published in the *Atlantic*. Following this, in a letter regarding a poem, “Pickthall explained that she had ‘acceded to your unusually low terms because I like to see my verse occasionally in a Canadian publication’” (112). In this case, it seems, the “hard-nosed business-woman” (112) accepted remuneration which she believed to be incommensurate with the financial value of her work on the basis of a sense of national identification.⁵⁹ Its Canadianness was the *Canadian Home Journal*’s only marketable distinction—for both readers and contributors—when compared to the *Ladies’ Home Journal*. It is likely, then, that the emphasis on Canadian national identity and pride was informed at least in part by a commercial need to distinguish itself from American titles. That

⁵⁹ Pickthall was not the only Canadian author to take this patriotic approach. L.M. Montgomery, too, accepted lower revenues for her work in Canadian publications although at the beginning of her career, as Clarence Karr comments, she “peddled her best work to those magazines which paid the most and provided the greatest exposure” (60).

said, the commercial benefits and motivations of the extensive promotion of Canadian patriotism do not undermine the fact that, as a text, *Canadian Home Journal* constructed a flexible and inclusive Canadian national identity which arguably assisted in its acquisition of content. Correspondingly, this was the Canadianness it displayed to its readership.

There are, however, distinct limitations to this vision of national identity in the magazine, notably that those constructed as Canadian are overwhelmingly white, Anglophone and middle-class. Erin Manning, in her book *Ephemeral Territories: Representing Nation, Home, and Identity in Canada* (2003), states, “nationalism by its very nature depends on policed ports of entry from whence enunciation is limited by the vocabulary of the nation, a language that determines which bodies are qualified to speak” (xv). In this context, the *Canadian Home Journal* constructs a national identity which, consciously or not, excludes those perceived to be out with its target demographic and naturalises notions of Canadian-ness as white, middle-class, and predominantly Anglophone. The presence of Marjorie Pickthall’s story is interesting in this context because of its setting. As Cynthia Sugars comments, the story itself was credited by Desmond Pacey, in his preface to *A Book of Canadian Stories* (1950), as one of two English stories contained in the anthology which provided “sympathetic portrayals of French-Canadian life” (Sugars 118). Quite rightly, Sugars points out that this story is not remotely representative of French Canadian life, and Pacey’s assertion serves to marginalise the Francophone contribution to literature. The story makes use of its Montreal setting to

facilitate a supernatural narrative, presenting Francophone Canada as a place of folkloric charm. The French Canadian⁶⁰ setting is not mentioned in the magazine beyond the story itself, while Marjorie Pickthall's nationality is a considerable focus. Thus, while the story engages with a non-Anglophone setting, it does not diversify the sense of Canadian nationality presented in the magazine. Similarly, Elizabeth Gotto's story "The Lost Baby", also features a French Canadian setting yet serves to confirm the normative white, Anglophone, middle-class Canadian identity. Set in the Jewish quarter of Montreal, this piece carries the subtitle, "A Story of Montreal's Ghetto Which Shows Again the Little Child Leading Them" (11). The narrative follows Rachel Tamolensky, who guides her teacher—Miss Cameron, the only non-Jewish character—through the neighbourhood, introducing her teacher to the people she knows while she helps them with various familial problems. The reader, here, is invited to view the character and events from the perspective of Miss Cameron, situating the Jewish characters as "other". Again, the more diverse settings and characters serve to reinforce Canadian identity and the imagined readership as white, Anglophone and middle-class.

In this respect, there are similarities to be found in Zane Grey's "The Great Slave", published in the December 1920 *Ladies' Home Journal*. The narrative stands out among the *Ladies' Home Journal's* fictional offerings because of its

⁶⁰ In the use of the term "French Canadian", is an intentional decision here and throughout. As Hammill and Smith comment, "The term 'French Canadian' is generally used in this study in preference to 'Québécois' because it fits better with the way in which Francophone identities in Canada were understood during the period we focus on" (5).

Native American content. Following the character Siena, chief of “the vanishing tribe of Crows” (10), it opens:

A voice on the wind whispered to Siena the prophecy of his birth. “A chief is born to save the vanishing tribe of Crows! A hunter to his starving people!” While he listened at his feet swept swift waters, the rushing, green-white, thundering Athabasca, spirit-forsaken river; and it rumbled his name and murmured his fate. “Siena! Siena! His bride will rise from a wind-kiss on the flowers in the moonlight! A new land calls to the last of the Crows! Northward where the wild good ends its flight Siena will father a great people! (10)

Siena is immediately positioned as the hero of the narrative, who will save his tribe and ensure their endurance. The representation of a Native American hero could initially appear to disrupt the *Ladies' Home Journal's* consistent presentation of a white, middle-class national identity. Yet, much like “The Worker in Sandal Wood”, this story makes use of a marginalised ethnicity as a narrative device. While the Montreal setting and characters facilitate the magical elements of “The Worker in Sandal Wood”, so too does the Native American material allow for an adventure story, distinctive enough to be exciting but familiar enough to fall short of the exotic. This implies magic and danger are close enough to be exciting but not so close as to be threatening, cementing white, Anglophone normativity by positioning it in contrast to the “other”. This is particularly notable in “The Great Slave” with the entry of friendly white pioneers, which signals a turning point in the narrative. Siena, by this point a young man and leading his tribe, manages to secure their survival through his skills as a fisherman. The tribe have enough food, but a harsh winter is approaching and it is likely to run out. It is then that, “A boat in which were men with white faces” (10) arrives. The starving men are seeking to buy

the fish, a notion rejected by Siena. Responding to the request in the third person, Siena states “Siena’s tribe is poor . . . sometimes they starve too. But Siena will divide his fish and wants no trade” (11). Finally understanding why Siena has rejected this offer, the leader of the “palefaces” states, “Chief . . . the white man understands, now he offers presents as one chief to another” (11). He then presents “bright beads and tinselled trinkets, yards of calico and strips of cloth” and, crucially, “a shooting stick” (11). It is this final gift that drives the narrative forward, feeding Siena’s tribe, leading to their capture, and finally to their emancipation. With the gift of a gun, Siena becomes a hero only insofar as he has been helped by the “palefaces” (11). The main characters in “The Great Slave” and “The Worker In Sandal Wood” deviate from the accepted forms of national identity promoted in each magazine. Yet, the inclusion of these “exotic” characters only serves to reinforce the normative white, middle-class, Anglophone Canadian or American identity, since these characters are constructed as “other”. Thus the marginalised ethnic groups represented in the narratives are excluded from the implied audience.

SALE Open Today The Ladies' Home Journal Christmas Number The Ladies' Home Journal At Your Newsstand

All That Women Want at a Price All Can Pay

"Is it really helpful?" is the first question that comes to the mind of the reader when she opens the Ladies' Home Journal...

With The Journey With Sir Philip Gibbs "Through Enchanted Seas?"

A Hundred Ideas for Christmas Gifts

Making a Community Happy



Billie Burke Exhibits This Winter's Clothes

"Life Is Cheap" Said the Dutchess Woman



Safe Motherhood

Mother Tried So Hard to Make Things Safe

Why Not On the Way Home?

Something Worth Each Penny to You

What Better Christmas Gift At Any Price?

Can Kindness Ever Be Great?



The Honors of a Deserted Home

The Hottest Best Recent Books

Do You Know the Why of a Dog?

Christmas Memos

Cut-Outs For Kids

Women Executives in Movie and Drama

One Each Minute While Harding Is President

One Each Minute While Harding Is President

One Each Minute While Harding Is President

All in the December Ladies' Home Journal And It Costs Only 20 Cents \$2.00 the year by mail from The Curtis Publishing Company, Philadelphia, Pa.

Figure 16 Ladies' Home Journal advert. The Milwaukee Journal 1 Dec. 1920

In a national advert for this issue of the Ladies' Home Journal—titled "All That Women Want at a Price All Can Afford" (9)—there is specific reference to Grey

as “America’s Most Popular Author”. Alongside a black and white illustration of a man wearing a Native American headdress is the promotional paragraph:

Zane Grey’s books are now selling by hundreds of thousands more than those of any other American author. More than 2,000,000 of his books will be sold this year in the United States and British possessions. That is probably the record of any writer of the present day. Read Zane Grey’s story, “The Great Slave,” in the Christmas Journal and you will not wonder at his unprecedented popularity. It is beautifully illustrated in bright colour. (9)

In this example, the manner in which the *Ladies’ Home Journal* promotes its fictional content, and itself, offers a stark contrast to the approach adopted by the *Canadian Home Journal*. Canadian citizenship, albeit in a malleable fashion, is of primary importance in the *Canadian Home Journal*, while American citizenship here is subordinate to popularity, celebrity and success. Grey’s story is one of seven short pieces of fiction contained in this issue. The others are: “Through Enchanted Seas”, by Sir Philip Gibbs; “Wait—For Prince Charming”, by Temple Bailey;⁶¹ “A Thin Slice of Romance”, by Martha Banning Thomas; “Slip’ry Flies Out”, by Ruth Comfort Mitchell; “The Noah’s Ark”, by Elsie Singmaster; and “A Message to Santa”, by John Patrick. Not all were promoted by the national advert, only “The Great Slave”, “Through Enchanted Seas”, “Wait—For Prince Charming”, and “The Noah’s Ark”. The manner in which these pieces of fiction were advertised is also of interest, as seen from the subtitles given to each in the advert: for Grey, “America’s Most Popular Author”; for Gibbs, “Will You Journey With Sir Philip Gibbs ‘Through Enchanted Seas?’”; for Bailey, “Can Kindness Ever Be Cruel?”; and for Singmaster, “Mother Tried So Hard to Make Them See”. The

⁶¹ As it is the name printed in both advert and magazine, Temple Bailey has been used here. The author’s full name, however, is Irene Temple Bailey.

presence of Gibbs' name in the title of the advert, and the presentation of Grey in the context of literary popularity, show the magazine trading on the authors' names as saleable brands.⁶²

Following the heading, the advert for "Through Enchanted Seas" begins, "The World War produced no greater war correspondent than Sir Philip Gibbs. Millions of Americans read his dispatches daily through a long, dreadful period of anxiety" (9). Meanwhile, the adverts for the work of the two female authors make no mention of their status, achievement, or popularity, in the titles or elsewhere. Instead, these adverts focus on the fiction rather than the author, providing only brief descriptions of the stories themselves. Commonly, the domestic and romance fiction in these titles was often commissioned from relatively unknown, certainly less famous, authors and sold on the basis of the stories' content rather than the popularity of the author. This method is not dissimilar to that used by other publishers of "feminine" fiction. Dixon comments of Mills & Boon, "By the 1920s it was established practice for them to publish four new promising authors in July of every year" (14). While her argument is that Mills & Boon were ardent supporters of new writers, the publisher brand itself—"synonymous worldwide with category romance fiction" (14)—in nearly all instances trumped individual author name.⁶³ In the case of

⁶² There has been considerable scholarship on literary celebrity and popular authorship. Particularly useful, in this context, are Loren Glass's *Authors, Inc: Literary Celebrity in the Modern United States* (2004), Aaron Jaffe's *Modernism and the Culture of Celebrity* (2005), Joe Moran's *Star Authors: Literary Celebrity in America* (2000), and Faye Hammill's *Women, Celebrity, and Literary Culture Between the Wars* (2007).

⁶³ While individual authors are not the focus of Dixon's work, this book is particularly useful in its examination of the romance genre, challenging of the assumption that

“feminine” fiction, narrative content is perceived to be more enticing than the author’s status, and thus fame and popularity are relatively inconsequential. Initially at least, Bailey and Singmaster certainly appear—in the context of the advert and issue—to be relatively unknown authors, while Grey and Gibbs are very famous, and so this theory holds. However the situation is complicated in the publishing histories of the two female authors. Temple Bailey published widely in magazines from 1902, including *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Cosmopolitan*, *McClure’s*, *Woman’s Home Companion* and *Good Housekeeping*. Her novels also appeared in the top ten of the *New York Times*’ bestsellers list three times: *The Tin Soldier* in 1918, *The Dim Lantern* in 1922, and *The Blue Window* in 1926. In light of this, it can be assumed that she was a relatively well-known and popular author, although there appears to be no academic scholarship on her. Elsie Singmaster, too, was published in various magazines and between 1905 and 1950 “she published more than three hundred articles and over forty books” (Hill xii). It is possible that Bailey and Singmaster have been written out of a literary history that was constructed in largely male terms. Regardless, in the context of the December 1920 issue and its advert, they are certainly not described as popular celebrity authors. It could be argued then that the “feminine” domestic and romantic magazine fiction relied only on the appeal of familiar types of content, whilst “masculine” adventure magazine fiction relied above all on the author-as-brand name.

romance fiction is superfluous to literary history. Also relevant is Janice Radway’s *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy and Popular Literature* (1984).

Bailey and Singmaster's stories, which centre on romance, family and feminine concerns, differ dramatically from the adventure stories of Grey and Gibbs. In "Wait—For Prince Charming", the narrative centres on Mary Barker, a stenographer and secretary for a successful lawyer, Kingdon Knox. In the description of Kingdon Knox, his income is said to provide him with the "proper settings" (8). These proper settings include his home and office, his private and public environments:

His home in the suburb was spacious and handsome and presided over by a handsome and socially successful wife. His office was presided over by Mary Barker, who was his private secretary. (8)

From the outset Mary is compared to Knox's wife, and seems to perform similar functions in that she dresses specifically to please him, she supports him at the expense of herself, and she gratefully receives gifts. It becomes apparent that in an effort to keep her in his service, Knox has discouraged Mary from marrying, urging her to "Wait—for Prince Charming" (8). Mary realises this through Knox's behaviour towards her landlady's daughter, Nannie, who has recently been hired as a stenographer. When Knox repeats his advice to Nannie, who is on the verge of becoming engaged, Mary steps in to ensure that Nannie does not make the same mistake as she did, giving up someone she loved because of Knox's flattery. She is successful and through Nannie's fiancé, is reunited with the man she rejected—following Knox's advice—ten years previously. While it stops short of demonising employment for women, the story does present a career as temporary, preceding married life, and threatens women with spinsterhood if their employment lasts too long. Marriage, family, and domestic life are positioned as infinitely preferable to a career. Singmaster's

contribution, too, asserts the importance of the role of the woman as housewife and mother. The use of a Christmas setting, particularly with children who have reached adulthood, positions the mother permanently at the heart of the home providing indispensable support and happiness to her family.

Whilst Singmaster's is the only Christmas-themed story out of the seven appearing in this issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, each of the six fictional contributions to the *Canadian Home Journal* are focused on the Christmas period. This is perhaps due to the greater importance of Thanksgiving in the United States, a specifically secular holiday largely based on nationalism. Indeed, the November 1920 issue identifies with Thanksgiving themes.⁶⁴ That said, this distinct difference is interesting. Of six stories present in the December 1920 issue of the *Canadian Home Journal*, two could be defined in accordance with E.L. Bobak's comments on Canadian fiction of the 1920s:

"Refinement of style and sentiment" and "warm humanity" were traits that characterized most Canadian fiction of the decade, but in accord with nationalist sentiments of the time, some critics looked chiefly for books that would establish that elusive concept—the Canadian identity. (87)

Katherine Hale's "Unlit Decembers" and "The Next of Kin" by Christina R. Frame both take place at Christmas in Canadian settings, the former in the prairies near Edmonton and the latter in Baysville, Ontario. While both stories give attention to a Canadian setting, family and the home, they privilege different

⁶⁴ Examples include recipes titled "Thanksgiving Cheer for All" (94), an advert for Apex Election Suction Cleaners, which claims the product is "The Daily Thanksgiving" (45), and advice on entertaining in the form of "An Impromptu Good Time for Thanksgiving" (153).

aspects. "Unlit Decembers" appears with the subtitle, "A Story of Three Women and the Prairies", immediately establishing the centrality of gender and place. The story opens, "It was when the glow of Christmas time grew near that Selina felt the numbed uncanniness of her situation more keenly—Selina, whom a fanciful mother had named moon-fashion because she looked "so white and kind of peaked-like" (7). The narrative is focalised through Selina Strode, a thirty-five year old native of Ontario, who lives and works with her husband, Abel, on a corner of the wealthy Greysons' ranch in Alberta. The decision to move from Ontario to Alberta, from a suburban to a rural environment, is framed as being Selina's. Abel had informed her of his intentions to move "somewhere near Edmonton", and her, "sudden flush and palpitant interest were so unexpectedly alluring to him that he thoughtlessly proposed to her on the spot" (7). While Abel wants to move, "for a place of my own, and a family", Selina agrees to marry him primarily because she is enchanted by the West; presented, at least initially, as a somewhat magical and fantastical place. This implies Selina has privileged rural Canada over family and home. Although it is evidently not the case that Selina is rejecting the latter, they are presented as subordinate to her excitement and desire to move to the West.

Explaining Selina's fascination with the prairie, the narrator comments,

Selina Strode had heard its voice long ago, when a wonderful, unthought-of occurrence happened, and she was taken by a benevolent uncle on a Press excursion to Banff. She was working at the time as a stenographer in this uncle's newspaper office in a small Ontario town. She was twenty-five years old and nothing had ever seemed to happen to her in all her life. That quick whirl through the West, the first sight of

mountains, the incomparable brown hugeness of Banff was the awakening of her mind. (7)

This excerpt renders explicit the extreme difference between the environments of rural Alberta and suburban Ontario, and also the lifestyles they demand or facilitate. While Selina had perceived her Ontario life to be boring but been thrilled at the prospect of the excitement of Alberta life, it becomes readily apparent that her view has changed. She now longs for her comfortable suburban life whilst feeling intensely unhappy with her rural one, and this forms the basis for the “uncanniness of her situation” (7). She is contrasted, initially, in this respect with Alice Greyson. The wife of the owner of the large and successful ranch, Alice is first presented to the reader in this telling paragraph:

And while they were agreeing on this point there was the rapid entrance of Mrs. Greyson, dexterously managing her small car, perfectly dressed and exactly the kind of superior coon-skin coat that ought to, and does, fit prairie life, a tinge of sunburn and a look of youth about her, and that irritating, perfectly-poised composure and strict economy of word that is the hallmark of the prosperous. (7)

Her introduction in this way establishes Alice as enviable—an embodiment of Selina’s aspirations—highlighting the dissimilarities between the two women. Alice embodies a self-assured, capable, confident woman who is marked as such by her dress as much as her demeanour. Elsewhere, it is made clear that Alice is also hard-working, proficient and “full of resource” (10) in the face of adversity. The impression is given that while Selina struggles in the prairie, Alice is completely at home. The narrator’s description of Alice’s composure as “irritating” invites sympathy for Selina, who is evidently of a lower class. This

mild envy initially displayed by Selina, is positioned as understandable and therefore the reader's condemnation is not invited.

The prairie itself is discussed in somewhat paradoxical terms throughout the story. From the outset, it is brought into comparison with the ocean in the assertion that, "Reams have been written about the ocean and its effect upon the destinies of individuals and peoples, but little has been said of the prairie—greater, vaster, more magnetic in its earth currents, more maddening in its allure" (7). The role this setting plays in the lives of its inhabitants is rendered explicitly here. The narrative is related—through comparison with the ocean—to popular adventure fiction, such as Sir Philip Gibb's "On Enchanted Seas", seen in the *Ladies' Home Journal*. This comparative pairing is repeated later on the same page:

The prairie sometimes compared with the ocean, is animated by different ends. The ocean is masculine and the prairie is feminine. It makes so many promises, throws so many flowers, fulfils richly and has demoniac ways. (7)

This gendering of the prairie as feminine is relatively unexpected, given that it is often characterised as wild, aggressive and testing. The association of femininity with something defined as unpredictable and powerful foreshadows the changes and strength displayed by the female characters later in the story. The Greysons' cook, Mrs. Davids, is the third woman referred to in the subtitle. Falling and breaking her leg on Christmas Eve whilst heavily pregnant, she goes into labour. A terrified Selina is called to the Greysons' impressive house to help, while the men go to get the doctor. Demonstrating the power of "the great

Tyrant" (7), the personified prairie, the husbands are stuck in the snow storm and Selina, "was alone with another woman to meet the greatest of emergencies" (10). Responsibility is forced on Selina and Alice by the prairie, in the domestic setting, depicted as, "a solitary futile torch rearing its little flame in a vast wilderness" (10). The familial home here represents a fragile sanctuary within the prairie. It is within this environment that Selina finds renewed excitement, in the combined human and natural emergencies which test and challenge her. The defining difference is the friendship which is fostered between the three women, all of different social standings but equalised by the demands of rural life. With Selina's help, Alice manages to successfully deliver Mrs. Davids' baby and the men eventually return with the doctor. The story concludes with Alice inviting the Strodes to live in their large, beautiful home. Asserting that this is the best plan for all, Alice states: "The prairie is no place for separate aims. It has wide arms and sometimes it seems to me to be calling aloud to a multitude of associates. It needs a thousand thousand friendly hearth fires to light it up" (67). Here, the paradoxical nature of the prairie is confirmed, and it is positioned as a place which depends on the familial homes within it. Selina, in a similar manner to the prairie, changes: "Expectation again flooded her, she heard the eternal call of a wonderful, unpeopled world but this time, as again she listened, in her thoughts she also lit pink candles one by one" (67). The connection between Selina and the quintessentially Canadian prairie is emphasised by this change in attitude, reinforcing the importance of the home. This story also champions the idealised traits of strength, perseverance and

hard-work echoed elsewhere in the magazine, presenting those traits as desirable feminine attributes but also as aspects of good citizenship.

“Unlit Decembers” takes up the entirety of pages 7 and 10, surrounded by other full pages of fiction, but continues with two paragraphs on page 55, a quarter-page column on page 58, and two final paragraphs on page 67. The presentation of fiction in this format is typical for both the *Canadian Home Journal* and *Ladies’ Home Journal*. The distribution of fiction in this manner, beginning in earnest at the start of the magazine and more widely spread in smaller sections across the back pages, forces at least passive interaction with content beyond the fiction. Alongside the two paragraphs of “Unlit Decembers” on page 55, for example, the reader would be presented with all content from pages 54 and 55, including: three columns of “My Christmas Burglary”, and adverts for Vaseline, Bayer Aspirin, Horlicks Malted Milk, Cox’s Gelatine, Bissell’s Carpet Sweepers and Vacuum Cleaners, and 1847 Rogers Bros. Silverware. While these two pages are limited to fiction and advertisements, a far wider variety of content can often be found occupying the same quantity of space. The miscellaneous form of the magazine, when considered within the context of the materiality of the page, brings into dialogue different forms of content, sometimes in interesting ways. As Hammill, Hjartarson, and McGregor comment, “Perhaps even more central to the study of periodicals—and to their interest as objects of study—is the kind of unpredictable and exciting juxtapositions that occur within and across their pages” (11). Indeed, some of

these placements are most likely intentional editorial decisions, encouraging the desire for and purchase of advertised products.⁶⁵

The *Canadian Home Journal*, within this issue, featured the beauty column alongside a half-page advert for Sun Maid Raisins which carried the tagline “Raisins and Rosy Cheeks” (34), emphasising the claim that these raisins are an aid to beauty. The *Ladies’ Home Journal* placed a full-page Paramount Pictures advert on the opposite page from an article by E. V. Lucas titled “The Magic of Movies” (36-37). These placements, while not unusual, demonstrate the way in which the editorial and commercial worked to encourage the consumption of advertised products or services. At times, though, the associations at the level of the page demonstrate a range of interests. For example, the *Canadian Home Journal’s* regular “Book Corner” column is placed alongside an advert for Ryerson Press books, titled “Give Books this Year” (32). This particular page encourages increased consumption in the context of Christmas gift-giving but also nationalism, in that all books featured in both the commercial and editorial content are written by Canadian authors. The *Ladies’ Home Journal* shows a similar interaction between its components at the level of the page, in the adverts alongside the concluding column of “Wait—For Prince Charming” (156). The half-page column, concluding the story which privileges domesticity above professional work, is accompanied by two quarter-page adverts; one for Miss

⁶⁵ The success of the advertising—in terms of purchase of the advertised products—was, of course, in the magazines’ commercial interest. As Ellen Garvey comments, the growth of the magazines and “the proliferation of nationally distributed brand-named goods” were closely linked and “ad-dependent magazines therefore had an interest in encouraging consumership” (137).

Manhattan Coats and Suits and another for Lloyd Baby Carriages. These ads cater to young single working women and married mothers respectively, but are contextualised by the fiction which asserts that, at an appropriate time, the former should become the latter. Nationalism, consumerism, and femininity are brought into dialogue in these pages, which are typical of the kinds of interactions at the level of the page seen elsewhere in the titles.⁶⁶

The cookery pages of *Ladies' Home Journal*, too, display this type of placement; with the two pages of "Menus for the Holiday Season" appearing alongside full-page adverts for Morris Supreme Margarine (86-87), linking the recipes' calls for margarine with a specific product.⁶⁷ The *Canadian Home Journal* did not have any linked advertising with its cookery features, but these features reveal another way in which content overlapped across the two titles. The December 1920 issues of both titles feature articles by Marion Harris Neil.⁶⁸ Neil was a regular contributor to the *Canadian Home Journal* in the early 1920s, and her recipes and guidance were also published frequently in the *Ladies Home Journal*

⁶⁶ While specific and explicit nationalism was more readily apparent in the *Canadian Home Journal*, the *Ladies' Home Journal* displayed and promoted an "Americanism" which was closely aligned with consumption, leisure and shopping. Therefore, American nationalism was often implicitly evident in the adverts themselves.

⁶⁷ Gary Allen and Ken Albala comment on the extent of the integration of nationally-marketed products with cookery advice, giving the example of "The 1913 *The Story of Crisco*, with its 250 recipes using the mock lard" which was "penned by Marion Harris Neil, the food editor of *Ladies' Home Journal*" (6).

⁶⁸ Marion Harris Neil as Elizabeth Driver comments, "studied at the West End Training School of Cookery in Glasgow, Scotland, but she made her career in the United States, where most of her books were published" (512). Neil also published numerous cookery books in Canada.

throughout the 1910s and early 1920s.⁶⁹ The *Canadian Home Journal* included two contributions signed by Neil, “Christmas Candies and Their Preparation at Home” (20) and “Puddings, Pies and Cakes for the Holiday Season” (46) which offered brief, practical recipes in accordance with their titles. These articles constitute the only cookery advice in the issue. They establish themselves as useful and instructional, and include introductory paragraphs preceding the short recipes. “Christmas Candies” begins,

Sweet-making, especially at Christmas time, when it is often impossible to be out of doors, is always a favorite pastime. And, though it is an art which requires a good deal of practice, yet a great a great deal can be done by a person gifted with a little common sense. (20)

This brief introduction establishes the functional nature of the advice, but also situates sweet-making as a “pastime” and an “art”, simultaneously accessible and highly skilled. Yet the article gives no suggestions beyond the practical instruction. Meanwhile, the *Ladies’ Home Journal* contained one signed article from Neil, longer and more narrative in style, titled “Menus for the Holiday Season” (87).

In stark contrast to Neil’s Canadian material, this article contains similar recipes but presented in the context of entertaining. It goes beyond function, towards charm and variety in a manner not dissimilar to that employed by the Campbell’s Soup adverts discussed in Chapter Two. This is established in the opening sentences, where Neil states,

⁶⁹ *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Food and Drink in America* refers to Neil as a “*Ladies’ Home Journal* editor” (15) and while this is perhaps true of her role at the magazine in the 1910s, by the 1920s her contributions were less regular and there is no evidence in the magazine itself of Neil occupying an editorial role.

Times may have changed in many ways but Christmas still holds pride of place as a time for hospitality and festivities of all kinds. In ancient times, bringing in and placing the yule log on the hearth in the baronial hall was the great event of Christmas Eve. (87)

This text, which precedes the recipes and suggestions for eight distinct breakfast, lunch, and dinner menus, draws on the tradition of Christmas and situates it as a celebratory event, casting the imagined reader as hostess as opposed to mere cook. This is not to say the article obscures the domestic labour involved for the housewife; rather, it acknowledges it and offers advice on its management:

On the average housewife, for a week or two before the season of good will and cheerful festivities, devolve a multitude of duties. There is always so much to be done and so little time to accomplish all our tasks satisfactorily. If we are wise in the ways of Christmasing we shall set our "shoulder to the wheel" and get much done before the rush begins.
87

The purpose of the housewife's effort is not simply to provide a happy Christmas for her family, but to offer entertainment to many guests, and the ideal referred to is that of the feudal hospitality system of past centuries. Similar goals are emphasised by the other four articles dedicated to Christmas cookery: "Delicious Confections from Canned Fruits" by Harriet Ellsworth Coates; "A Luncheon for Holiday Guests" by Nathalie Schenck Laimbeer; and "New Ways of Serving Chicken, Duck and Goose" and "Some New Christmas Candies", both unsigned. The dissimilarity in the festive cookery advice provided by these titles offers insight into the particular domestic ideal constructed by each title. Of course, the difference in quantity of content is to be expected, given the larger size of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, but the range remains significant. While the *Canadian Home Journal* focuses purely on practical, instructive advice, the

Ladies' Home Journal positions its advice in relation to elaborate menus, entertaining guests, and gift-giving, going beyond the practical and towards the leisured.

These specific examples of advertising placement demonstrate how the similar—sometimes identical⁷⁰—content was deployed in both magazines, using analogous techniques in order to create logical associations between editorial and commercial content. Yet, the case of Marion Harris Neil, alongside the comparative analysis of the editorial pages and the fiction, reveals distinctions between the two magazines in the ways in which they construct an idealised version of femininity and the traits and attitudes they tacitly encourage. Consistently, the *Ladies' Home Journal* promotes a form of idealised domesticity which goes beyond the functional and practical, focusing on leisure and entertainment. Increasingly, this was positioned as achievable through consumption. The guidance provided is extensive and oscillates between the authoritative tone of Currie and the more approachable tone of Neil, demonstrating the plurality of voices present within the magazine. The *Canadian Home Journal*, on the other hand, presents a more consistent editorial voice. There are no examples of commanding instruction; the advice is either frugal and practical in scope—as in the case of Marion Harris Neil—or friendly

⁷⁰ For example, both the *Canadian Home Journal* and *Ladies' Home Journal* feature the same advertisement for Gossard Corsets alongside one of their fashion pages. Titled “Corsets and Clothes”, the advert claims that “Good taste in dress must find its first expression in the right corset” (*Canadian Home Journal* 38; *Ladies' Home Journal* 55) and thus establishes a clear and explicit connection with the content on the opposite page.

and approachable—as in the case of the editorial. The range of content, too, is interesting when comparatively considered. The *Canadian Home Journal* contains more Christmas-themed content, in terms of fiction and advertisements, than the *Ladies' Home Journal*, yet the *Ladies' Home Journal* contains far more Christmas-themed advertising.

The commercial deployment of Christmas by the *Ladies' Home Journal* indicates a substantial material difference between the two titles. Comparative reading of these issues reveals the commercial content in the *Ladies' Home Journal* as crucial in situating it as the Christmas issue. The issue does have a “Christmas Gifts” department, cited on the contents page, which gives advice on both handmade and purchased presents. As Eileen Fischer and Stephen Arnold comment, “Christmas gifts are particularly value expressive, serving diverse social, economic, and personal purposes” (333), and this is readily apparent in the content provided by the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Of the twelve pieces contained in this department, four give advice on homemade gifts while the remaining eight encourage the purchase of gifts.⁷¹ The page space dedicated to Christmas-themed advertising far outstrips that given over to these articles; yet, even in this example, the purchase of readymade gifts is encouraged to a greater degree than the production of gifts at home. This emphasises the centrality of

⁷¹ Examples which offer guidance on homemade gifts include, “Handmade Gifts That are Proofs of Real Friendship” (106), “Gifts One Girl can Make for Another” (108), and “Santa Claus Designed These Toys for You to Make” (123); those which present readymade gifts and, in turn, encourage consumption include, “Gifts That Add to Housekeeping Joys” (117), “Presents—Useful and Simple” (114), and “One Hundred Recent Books for Christmas” (158).

consumption to the notion of Christmas in the *Ladies' Home Journal*. The *Canadian Home Journal*, on the other hand, marks the festive season primarily through editorial content. This is not to say that the *Canadian Home Journal* obscured consumption as an aspect of the Christmas season, merely that it did not endow it with the same sort of primacy seen in the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Charlotte Storey's article, "Christmas Shopping—Its Joys and Perplexities", for example provides guidance to the reader as consumer. Acknowledging the importance of shopping to the holiday, it begins,

We never shop with as much zest at any other time as we do at Christmas. We may profess that we hate it, that it bores us to death and wears us to a frazzle, but down deep in our hearts we enjoy it, even though we haven't all the money to spend we should like to have.

Like much of the *Canadian Home Journal's* content, particularly that discussed in Chapter Two, this advice is positioned as that of a friend. Storey immediately places herself within a collective of women who shop at Christmas, who are occasionally frustrated by this task but fundamentally enjoy it, and who are of varying means. This final point introduces the nature of the advice that follows.

Storey offers frugal, practical tips on shopping, most of which come from a friend of hers, referred to as "Lady Alert". Lady Alert has, "a limited amount of money to spend and a limited amount of time, for like the model woman whom King Solomon immortalized, *she looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness*" (emphasis in original). This biblical quotation positions Lady Alert as the "model woman"; an industrious, Christian housewife.

Yet, the advice which follows this idealisation of frugality initially appears as contradictory:

Lady Alert has always been addicted to reading and as the Christmas season draws near, she develops a perfect passion for newspapers and magazines. She becomes almost omnivorous in her reading, or at least she appears to. To tell the truth, she doesn't read nearly as much as she does at other times, but she confided in me, that what she really does is to read the advertisements, from which she gets some of the most valuable suggestions for many unique gifts. She finds that it is the newest and most seasonable things that are advertised, and as she told me, once she gets the suggestion she can always find the goods.

To begin with, the advice appears to be emphasising the importance of newspapers and magazines, which would have been unsurprising given that the *Canadian Home Journal* often explicitly promoted Canadian periodicals. Instead of asserting the importance of the editorials, articles, or advice in newspapers or magazines, however, Lady Alert privileges the advertising and, indeed, does not even read the other content. There are three possible explanations for this advice. While this could be perceived as the *Canadian Home Journal* espousing a similar attitude to consumption as the *Ladies' Home Journal*, it is far more likely that this was either: an attempt on the part of the magazine to encourage advertisers to purchase space, by confirming the magazine's support for advertised goods; or an effort to encourage readers in the direction of thoughtful and discerning consumption, a move which might, in turn, help to increase the sale of advertising space. Regardless, this article remains a part of the issue's extensive editorial content which positions the issue as Christmas-themed, a role played in the case of the *Ladies' Home Journal* primarily by Christmas-focused commercial content.

While both titles are primarily centred on the home and domesticity, this contrasting presentation of the Christmas theme reveals consumerism as dominant in the *Ladies' Home Journal* and nationalism as dominant in the *Canadian Home Journal*. Arguably, though, both titles engaged with a sense of nationalism, since consumerism—and the leisure and entertainment it supposedly facilitated—was increasingly being positioned as an aspect of American middle-class identity. Close comparative attention to these often overlooked festive issues has demonstrated significant differences between two magazines which, initially, appeared to be functioning in a highly similar manner. It highlights the fact that while the magazines contained similar forms of content—fictional, editorial, and commercial—the manner in which they were deployed diverges. This complete case study gives insight into the ways in which each title used and developed nationally-specific notions of domesticity and feminine citizenship; the *Ladies' Home Journal* reinforcing the primacy of the private and familial while asserting the importance of consumption as an aspect of idealised femininity, and the *Canadian Home Journal* bringing domesticity into dialogue with the nationalism and reinforcing the values of practicality, hard-work, and thrift. The next section will provide analysis that goes beyond these individual issues, allowing for a more complete and far-reaching exploration of these central concerns, beginning with discussion of the manner in which commercial content presented domesticity before examining a range of examples from elsewhere in the titles which addressed domesticity, further questioning the extent to which this was nationally-specific.

Beyond the Issue: Content Analysis and Contents Pages

A content analysis of the advertisements present in each of these titles demonstrates the centrality of domestic products, as seen in table 1.⁷²

⁷² The full dataset for this content analysis, and details on the process, are included in the Appendix.

Table 1 – Advertisements for domestic goods

<i>Ladies' Home Journal</i>					
	1920	1922	1926	1928	Overall
No. of ads	98	97	109	112	104
As % of total no. of ads	60.68%	53.59%	58.13%	58.03%	57.54%
Page space	66.66	53.02	67.08	76.27	65.75
As % of total pg. space	63.29%	58.08%	59.28%	67.57%	62.24%
Average size of ad	0.68	0.55	0.62	0.68	0.63
<i>Canadian Home Journal</i>					
	1920	1922	1926	1928	Overall
No. of ads	53.5	60	72.5	61	61.75
As % of total no. of ads	53.77%	54.05%	54.92%	50.41%	53.29%
Page space	17.97	18.94	29.53	25.81	23.06
As % of total pg. space	57.45%	58.05%	67.38%	54.43%	59.45%
Average size of ad	0.34	0.32	0.41	0.42	0.37

In the case of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, the number of advertisements remained fairly consistent throughout the period but the page space dedicated to these adverts increased. The figures for the *Canadian Home Journal*, on the other hand are slightly more erratic. This is, in all likelihood, a reflection of the fact that the *Canadian Home Journal's* advertising was not as regular or plentiful as that of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Table 1 also demonstrates that the advertisements presented in the *Canadian Home Journal* were, on average, smaller than those of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Given that magazines sold advertising space on the basis of their readership statistics, it is logical to assume the *Canadian Home Journal* would have been less marketable in this regard. Its circulation was far smaller, as discussed in Chapter One. Thus demand for advertising space would have likely been relatively inconsistent. Indeed, the content of the *Canadian Home Journal* at times hints at the difficulty faced by the publication in securing advertising. For example, a small note in the March 1927 issue states,

“I saw it in my Canadian Home Journal”—is such a little thing to say that means so much to our advertisers and ourselves. Please don't fail to add—“I saw it in my *Canadian Home Journal*”. (44)

This request, essentially asking the readership to stimulate advertising, demonstrates an interesting interaction between the title and its audience. Yet the need for the request in the first place reveals that the *Canadian Home Journal's* advertising was far less secure than the *Ladies' Home Journal*, which featured no comparable statement. What these figures clearly demonstrate, however, is that throughout the period of the 1920s domestic products occupied more than half of the advertising space in both titles.

These domestic products ranged in type from health and hygiene products to foods to household appliances. These advertisements played a significant role, as discussed in Chapter Two, in renegotiating what constituted the successful or ideal housewife. The commercial content, however, worked alongside the editorial text in this task. As Jennifer Scanlon comments,

Women's roles as consumers became naturalized even as they were extraordinarily crafted. The "emergent managerial culture" that fostered the gendered advertising played a dual role as well, simultaneously offering myriad promises and providing professional, scientific, rational advice about women's work in the home. ("Thrift" 298)

The apparent professionalisation of homemaking—the type of household efficiency encouraged by individuals such as Christine Frederick—was readily apparent in the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Advertisements which promoted labour-saving technologies and products were common in its pages, and these worked together with practical advice from such articles as the February 1922 "What Science Has Done for the Housewife" (113) by Mary D. Warren, the May 1926 "Getting the Most of Out of Your Electric Table Devices" by Ethel Wan-Ressel Chantler, and the unsigned May 1929 "What's New? Or, What the Up-to-Date Homemaker Wants to Know". These articles worked—at times tacitly, at others explicitly—to further promote the advertised goods elsewhere in the magazine. In Warren's article, for example, menus are suggested which incorporate new electrical products such as the toaster and electric coffee maker, emphasising their time- and labour-saving potential. The later "What's New?" article goes a step further, discussing new technologies and citing the names of specific

companies able to provide them within the article itself. While this article displays increasingly sophisticated editorial techniques, in terms of the increasing intertwining of the commercial and editorial, the primary benefit of the advice and products they promote remains efficiency: the hallmark of the modern housewife. Through associations with efficiency, the consumption of these goods is positioned as thrifty.

Thrift, both in time and money, was venerated throughout the title. In the August 1920 issue, an article titled “Thrift and American Women”—written by future President of the United States, Herbert Hoover⁷³—discusses the economic dangers of “extravagance and big prices”, and states,

All this is not just something for statesmen and professors to worry over, but it reaches into the American home and affects every family and every individual. It may be hard for us to think of such dry matters, but whether we think of them or not they are going to act upon us and those whom we cherish. (3)

In reframing public economic concern as something which belongs also in the private domestic environment, Hoover situates thrift as both a national and feminine concern and urges readers to “practice thrift in all its forms” (3). It is the female citizen’s duty, then, to be “the guardian of the American pocketbook” (3). The illustration of the latter, as seen below, which accompanies the article emphasises the positioning of the reader as citizen, in military clothing brandishing a rifle. This serves in stark contrast to the extravagant woman in

⁷³ At the time of this article, Hoover was the Secretary of Commerce in the Harding Administration. William Leuchtenburg comments on the devotion both the *Ladies’ Home Journal* and the *Saturday Evening Post* displayed to Hoover, claiming that it united the magazines with “the laborite Heywood Broun and the Manhattan sophisticates Dorothy Parker and Robert Benchley” (47).

the top illustration, surrounded by servants and deliveries, apprehending herself in a mirror.⁷⁴



Figure 17 “Thrift and the American Woman” article. *Ladies' Home Journal* Aug. 1920

⁷⁴ The depiction of extravagance is markedly similar to idealised images of women presented elsewhere in the title; paradoxically inviting aspiration and encouraging fantasies of upward mobility, at the same time as representing extravagance as dangerous.

While this may seem to contradict the commercial ethos of the magazine, as Scanlon comments, “it was difficult by the early twentieth century to view participation in consumer culture as antithetical to thrift; in fact, it was increasingly difficult to even tease one practice from the other” (“Thrift” 302). Thrift did not, in this context, mean a rejection of the burgeoning consumer culture but a rejection of extravagance, one which was in line with traditional middle-class ideals. In her quest for efficiency, the ideal housewife was encouraged to purchase products defined as efficient or positioned as aids to efficiency; be they foods, labour-saving appliances, or ready-made clothes.

Of course, this efficiency was intended not only to save money, but also to provide additional leisure time. As discussed at length in Chapter Two, the advertisements and advice given in the *Ladies' Home Journal* often centred on leisure and entertainment. While the *Canadian Home Journal* tended to champion practicality and thrift over leisure and entertaining, it too exhibits the tensions and incongruities fundamentally characteristic of women's magazines. Beginning in the March 1927 issue, the *Canadian Home Journal* began to publish a regular contribution from Katherine Caldwell, referred to regularly as “her entertainment page” (64). Beginning with “The Simple Company Dinner” (52), the series also included titles such as the January 1928 “Skating, Skiing, Sleighing and Supping” (24), the May 1928 “The May Hostess Gives a Luncheon” (47), and the September 1928 “When the Boy has a Birthday Party” (37). Caldwell's contributions appear to demonstrate an increasing interest in

entertaining towards the end of the 1920s, seemingly contradicting the more workaday orientation of the title as a whole. It is important to note, though, that these constituted a very small proportion of a publication which remained committed to frugality, practicality and fostering a sense of Canadian national identity. This is particularly noticeable in comparison to the *Ladies' Home Journal*, in which articles on entertaining featured far more frequently and regularly. Therefore these articles can be seen as evidence of ideals which are constantly, albeit incrementally, shifting rather than a significant departure from established norms. Entertainment did not overtake the well-established ideals championed by the title; rather, it began to be incorporated into the discourse of Canadian domestic femininity.

Consideration of the contents pages of these titles confirms the diverse range of topics involved in these nationally-specific discourses of domesticity. Each magazine consistently maintained a fiction section which appeared first on the list of contents.⁷⁵ This was followed in the *Canadian Home Journal* by the category of "Special Articles"—after the merging of the fiction and articles, "Special Departments"—and then "Fashions and Embroidery". In stark contrast are the far more extensive contents of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. While the categories were altered slightly at points throughout the period, they remained fairly consistent in terms of their range. The editorials were consistently listed first, followed by: "Fiction", "Special Articles", "Fashions", "Needlework", "The

⁷⁵ In June 1928, the *Canadian Home Journal* merged its fiction with other individual articles under an untitled first section of the contents. Nevertheless, fiction continued to be a significant part of the publication.

Practical Homemaker”,⁷⁶ “Interior Decoration”, “Poems”, “Gardens”, “Architecture”, and “Miscellaneous”. Of the eleven categories established by the *Ladies’ Home Journal*, five focused exclusively on the home and domesticity.⁷⁷ Again, this range of categories demonstrates that the *Ladies’ Home Journal* dedicated a substantial portion of its publication not just to the home, but to the charming home; one suitable for entertaining, cultivated by the idealised housewife who was additionally mother and hostess.

Of course, the comparatively large size of the *Ladies’ Home Journal* allowed for more numerous categories. Yet, the *Canadian Home Journal*, whilst having a similar range of interests, focused significantly more on Women’s Institutes—reports and information about the activities of various branches, alongside invitations to participate—and articles which were national in scope. To return to the notion of maternal feminism, it is clear that the *Canadian Home Journal* was far closer in its aims to this strand of thinking than was the *Ladies’ Home Journal*. The latter largely confined its intended readers to the private home, construing their role as citizens as being performed exclusively within those confines. Yet the *Canadian Home Journal* often positioned its audience as citizens whose contributions, while circumscribed by domesticity, engaged

⁷⁶ Prior to May 1928, this department was titled “Better Housekeeping”.

⁷⁷ The other departments often contained content which was focused on the home and idealisations of domesticity. For example in the May 1928 issue: “Fiction” contained a story titled “The Beautiful House”; “Special Articles” featured “First Aid for the Harried Hostess”; “Poems” included “The Kitchen of My Dreams”; and “Miscellaneous” included “Helpful Ladies’ Home Journal Books” (238).

beyond the home in terms of their nationally-focused purchasing, their reading of Canadian publications, and their activity in service of the nation.

Conclusions

To return to Jennifer Scanlon's comment on perception of the home as the "natural" consumer unit and, in turn, the housewife as the "natural" consumer, it is readily apparent that this was, and remains, an ideological construct. These gendered divisions were undoubtedly encouraged by the mass-market magazines, whose existence was intrinsically linked to national mass-advertising. The commercial interests of both titles significantly guided their content, but these were defined along distinct national lines. Crucially, though, the function of the mass-market magazine was not limited to the positioning of its audience as both reader and consumer. Both the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* additionally constructed their imagined audience as citizens, although they did so to varying degrees. Indeed, the fact that the role of those addressed by these publications was circumscribed by the domestic supported rather than diminished their status as citizens. The ideology of domesticity was deployed extensively within these publications, constructing nationally-specific feminine ideals, and encouraging the notion that the traits attributed to these ideals constituted aspects of good citizenship. The distinctions between the American woman citizen and the Canadian woman citizen are rendered explicit in comparative consideration of these magazines, displaying in sharper focus the ways in which each magazine worked to construct its imagined audience: through mode of address, in different uses of

editorial and commercial content, and in the deployment of ideals of domesticity.

For both the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal*, Christmas provided an ideal opportunity to serve their literary, cultural, and commercial interests. As a seasonally-specific shared experience, based around the familial home, which emphatically encouraged consumption, the Christmas issues—whilst often avoided in representative studies—allow for an interrogation of how these magazines constructed their imagined audience, made use of different forms of content, and engaged with discourses of nationalism and domesticity. In the case of the latter it is clear that nationalism and domesticity are intimately interlinked, a conclusion which supports the claims of Amy Kaplan, Monika Elbert, and Helen Damon-Moore that the “separate spheres” model of a distinct and separate private and public is critically flawed. The centrality of the home in both of these titles is not in question, and can be seen clearly from the consistently high volume of advertising for products which relate to the home. But the value of the case study of the December 1920 issues lies in the way it exposes the magazines’ complex engagement with discourses of domesticity and nationalism. Through comparison, the distinct ways in which the *Canadian Home Journal* and *Ladies' Home Journal* constructed their readers as citizens is rendered explicit, and it is perhaps the case that the underlying cause of this distinction lies in their national context and the extent to which these were guided by imperialism.

Due to its commitment to the British Empire, Canada remained closely associated with the ideology of imperialism. This thoroughly influenced the maternal feminism which arguably shapes the *Canadian Home Journal's* formation of its intended readers as citizens. Following the logic of maternal feminism, Canadian women were positioned not only as mothers within the individual family, but also mothers to the nation. This was explicitly linked to imperialism, as Cecily Devereux explains:

The identification of maternal feminists as mothers of the race is thus not so much political as ideological. Feminist discourse of this period emerges in lockstep with that of race regeneration not simply because regenerationist ideas offered a way out of gender inequality. The prospect of imperial conquest by other nations was as pervasive and deeply rooted as Cold War anxieties would be for North Americans in the decades after the Second World War; in the imperial contest, women were “the white hope”. (27)

While the *Canadian Home Journal* is not an explicitly feminist magazine, it did align itself with this line of thinking in more ways than one. It generally implied that women were morally superior and mothers of the nation, and it vigorously railed against the perceived imperialistic intentions of the United States, whether in political, cultural, or economic arenas. This line of thinking is particularly apparent in the Christmas editorial, which emphasises Canadian women's role in the context of the repair and future success of the nation—in a manner which is not necessarily contained within the familial home—while vigorously promoting Canadian nationalism, elsewhere defined by its rejection of Americanism.

In the corresponding editorial featured in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, on the other hand, the reader's role as citizen is restricted to the family home. While this editorial is remarkably similar in its content—in that it too focuses on Christmas, makes explicit reference to Christianity, and draws heavily on the recent war—the idealised version of domesticity and citizenship presented is markedly different from that of the *Canadian Home Journal*. Here, it is the reader's role within the familial home which is emphasised. Thus, it is implied, the reader's successful performance of femininity within the home will benefit the nation through the achievements of her family. While both of these constructions of citizenship engage with the discourse of domesticity, the *Canadian Home Journal* elevates the Canadian housewife as the moral leader of the nation, while the *Ladies' Home Journal* relegates the American housewife to the role of facilitator and supporter.

This distinction goes some way to explaining the fact that, in the main, the *Canadian Home Journal* appears to be guided predominantly by nationalism while the *Ladies' Home Journal* places a higher importance on consumption. This can be seen also in the differing ways Christmas is communicated in the magazines, with the *Canadian Home Journal* making more use of editorial content to situate the issue as the Christmas one and the *Ladies' Home Journal* relying more heavily on Christmas themes in the commercial material. This case study raises contrasts which are confirmed by analysis which goes beyond the individual issue. As seen in the range of content from other issues, the *Ladies' Home Journal* consistently focused on the creation of the home as a place

of comfort and leisure, tacitly encouraging increased consumption of products which were positioned as facilitators of this. The American woman citizen, then, was encouraged to support the nation primarily through attending to her home and engaging in the thrifty consumption deemed essential to that endeavour. Meanwhile, the *Canadian Home Journal* maintained a more pragmatic focus, encouraging consumption of Canadian products and wider engagement with work for the good of the nation. This is, of course, not to claim that the *Canadian Home Journal* was inherently more progressive or feminist than the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Rather, what these examinations demonstrate is the way in which Canadian and American expressions of nationalism crucially shaped the way in which these periodicals functioned.

Chapter Four

Fashionable, Beautiful, Moral: Idealised Images of Femininity

In the decades around the turn of the century, the two chief components of the upwardly mobile “aesthetic of imitation”—culture and consumption—were the province of women, who were homemakers, magazine readers, and shoppers. (Kitch 8)

“Appearing” describes how the changed conditions of feminine visibility in modernity invited a practice of the self which was centered on one’s visual status and effects. “Feminine visibility” refers to the entire range of a woman’s capacity to be seen: from self-apprehension in a mirror, to being seen in a public space, to becoming an image through industrialized visual technologies such as the camera. The Modern Woman was spectacularized. (Conor 7)

The United States and Canada in the 1920s were cultures which, arguably, were becoming increasingly focused on the visual. The rapidly improving technologies of film and photography⁷⁸ were instrumental in this shift, as were the mass-market magazines. In addition to written content the mass-market magazine presented increasingly sophisticated images; iconography which served to construct aesthetically-based ideals which their readers were encouraged to aspire to, but which were also used in a commercial capacity to sell advertised products and the magazines themselves. This use of imagery on a mass-market scale can be seen as evidence of this burgeoning visual culture, which granted growing importance to appearance. As Conor points out in her book *The Spectacular Modern Woman*, women were far more visible in public spaces—from the department store to the silver screen, in print and in person—with the result that, “For women to identify themselves as modern, the

⁷⁸ Elizabeth Wilson, in the revised edition of her highly influential text, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (2003), affirms the importance of technology in this regard stating, “It was above all the camera that created a new way of seeing and a new style of beauty for women in the twentieth century” (157).

performance of their gendered identity had to take place within the modern spectacularization of everyday life” (7), thus, “Modernity’s visions of women became part of women’s self-perception as modern: gendered representations became embodied” (8). Conor’s study focuses primarily on recognisable character types of the period, including the flapper and the screen star, who are not closely aligned with the intended audience of the *Ladies’ Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal*. Yet Conor’s comment is nevertheless entirely applicable to the two magazines. Both asked and encouraged their readers to identify themselves as modern, and provided images and instruction in accordance, which arguably influenced their readers’ self-perceptions. The rapidly changing culture of modernity saw a renegotiation of the relationship between appearance and identity, a renegotiation encouraged in no small part by the positioning of consumption as a form of identity creation.⁷⁹ The increase of middle-class wealth and leisure allowed for the intended readership of the *Ladies’ Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* to share more fully in a preoccupation which had traditionally belonged—at least in its more elaborate manifestations—to the upper class.

Yet the privileging of appearance—as a marker of the successful performance of modern femininity—presented women with complex contradictions to be

⁷⁹ In his 1988 article, “Possessions and the Extended Self”, Russell Belk explores the “relationship between possessions and sense of self” (139), acknowledging that “only a complete ensemble of consumption objects may be able to represent the diverse and possibly incongruous aspects of the total self.” (140) With this in mind, modes of consumption which related to appearance formed part of this varied construction.

negotiated and resolved; not least the seeming incongruity of the selflessness demanded by domesticity and the self-interest of vanity. Like the tensions discussed in the previous chapters—between middle-class restraint and leisured consumption—these paradoxical aspects of idealised feminine appearance were noticeable in the magazines. In the editorial for the February 1921 issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, titled “The Importance of Being Beautiful”, editor Barton W. Currie highlights the distinction between an acceptable interest in fashion and the decidedly inappropriate engagement with “simulated” beauty and makeup. The editorial is framed in response to a letter from a “Mr. L., of Pawtucket” who asks,

Now that women have the vote and are getting into Congress and the House of Commons, and holding public office generally, and are becoming bank presidents, captains of industry, doctors, lawyers and dentists, isn't it about time they adopted a different attitude toward dress and self-adornment? Surely it isn't so important for them now to be beautiful, or astonishing, or dazzling.

The question highlights the disjunction between women's new opportunities in the professional sphere and the persistence of traditional expectations about their appearance and preoccupations, tensions rendered explicit by the shifting social and political climate. This question and the response which follows are particularly striking considering Carolyn Kitch's argument that, “the New Woman, a political concept in the 1890s, became commercialized and diffused by the 1920s” (183). Currie responds,

We doubt, however, if the importance to women of being beautiful will ever diminish. (We pray not!) Her interest in dress and adornment is inevitable; really, it is just as much a human as a feminine trait. But what there is hope for is a new scorn of current modes of embellishment and camouflage, devised to create or simulate beauty.

This assertion confirms the magazine's position on what is appropriate in terms of feminine appearance and women's preoccupation with it; encouraging an interest in beauty and fashion, but disparaging any efforts which constitute deceit. The differentiation between ideas of fashion and simulated beauty emphasises a distinction between body and face, arguably informed by residual nineteenth-century notions of morality.

As discussed in Chapter Two, the face had a particular moral and spiritual significance in the nineteenth century, making any attempt to alter it tantamount to deception. The idea that beauty was an indicator of goodness and purity of character informed these assumptions. This nineteenth-century notion appears to influence Currie's editorial, as he goes on to vehemently assert that the *Ladies' Home Journal*, while "importuned day after day to establish as a feature a 'beauty department'", will not do so, because, "Beauty departments that teach dawdling and interminable time-wasting for freakish effect are an abomination rather than a service in this day and age". Instead, he argues,

More real beauty shines out from within than was ever derived from a beauty parlor or make-up kit. Human love, kindness, generosity, genuine benevolence—the pigments the soul provides—are infinitely the greatest aids to giving beauty to mankind, and they are at the command of the most remote and unfavored of fortune.

Currie presents the magazine as an aid to the cultivation of these spiritually and morally—in turn, aesthetically—beautiful traits, stating, "All that we publish in The Journal that is helpful, informing or entertaining will be backed by this thought". The equation of makeup with masks, disguises and immorality

retained its hold on Western middle-class consciousness into the early twentieth century. Edward Bok, editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal* from 1890 to 1919, reported in 1912 that rouge remained a mark of sin (Peiss 56). It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that the *Ladies' Home Journal* of the 1920s continued to be informed by these notions. Indeed, the *Canadian Home Journal*, too, displays a definite aversion to the use of makeup, encouraging natural beauty aids that are implicitly justified on a moral basis.⁸⁰ But what is perhaps surprising is the way in which fashions are exempted from this damning indictment, particularly since both makeup and fashions can be considered what Jennifer Craik terms “techniques of display” (45). This presents the question: if they serve the same function, why were makeup and fashions viewed so differently in this period?

Malcolm Bernard, in *Fashion as Communication* (1996), asserts that “the origins of fashion are in the origins of modernity, with the growth of industrial capitalism” (149). Fashionable dress, of course, was not an exclusively modern phenomenon but the manner in which it was disseminated, popularised, and adopted by a majority audience was.⁸¹ He also differentiates between fashion and “clothing or dress (with their more anthropological connotations)” (147), yet acknowledges the fact that these terms often overlap and cannot be easily segregated (8). In the early to mid-nineteenth century, fashion was easily as

⁸⁰ The regular beauty columns “Through the Looking Glass” and “The Vanity Box”, discussed in Chapter Two, are prime examples of this attitude.

⁸¹ This is demonstrated well by Christopher Breward’s *The Culture of Fashion* (1995) and Elizabeth Wilson’s *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (2003), which engage with fashion history from the Medieval period and the early Mercantile period respectively.

contentious as makeup was in the early twentieth. Valerie Steele's study of fashion, morality and eroticism addresses some of these notions, stating, "The concepts of truthfulness, naturalness and appropriateness modified the theoretical legitimacy and desirability of trying to be beautiful" (126). Similarly, fashion historian Christopher Breward comments that, "the split allegiance between public and private was undoubtedly accentuated by mainstream moral condemnation of material display, particularly fashionable display" (*Culture* 164). However, after 1860, he argues, "constraints on fashionability do appear to have relaxed" (166), thanks in no small part to commercial and technological developments: "The rise of the department store and the expansion of women's fashion magazines, both designed to serve all classes, undoubtedly transformed and 'modernised' the culture and consumption of dress in the second half of the century" (166). In this manner, the increasing acceptability of a preoccupation with fashion is coupled with the growth of feminised commercial spaces, implying a renegotiation of moral codes and standards in the face of expanding consumption.

It logically follows, then, that in the early twentieth century—a period when mass-production and mass-media came to the fore and when consumption was gendered feminine—these moral objections to fashion are further diminished, and fashion is adopted as an acceptable, even admirable, feminine interest. Indeed, fashion patterns, articles, and advice are a significant and promoted element of both the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal*. As an editorial in the February 1922 issue of the *Canadian Home Journal* commented

“There are two features that the modern magazine for women must have—and those are fiction and fashions” (1). Yet, the same could not be said of makeup in the period. The moral codes and objections which had blighted fashion in the early nineteenth century continued to position makeup as an unacceptable and dishonest feminine vice. The lack of clarity regarding the explicit reasons for this difference in attitude serves to further emphasise the problematic and contested nature of feminine appearance. This chapter seeks to examine the difference between these two elements of appearance as they manifested themselves in each title, the way in which these magazines construct—and encourage their imagined readers in the direction of—idealised images of femininity, and how the texts reconcile the desire for beauty with idealised attributes of femininity. To begin the discussion, the appearance of the magazine itself will be considered through a comparative analysis of the cover images of the period. These are significant as a commercial feature, in that they were used to appeal to potential consumers, and they are also significant in terms of the ways in which they presented, at times, an idealised “woman as image”. Next, attention will be paid to the ways in which each title encouraged their imagined audience to emulate aspirational images through these “techniques of display”. This part of the discussion will examine fashion then makeup as presented in each title; exploring reasons for the differing attitudes towards each, how they were recuperated as appropriate feminine interests, and the extent to which this was nationally specific.

The Face of the Magazine: Cover Images

Carolyn Kitch, in her book *The Girl on the Magazine Cover* (2001), argues, “that media stereotypes of women first emerged not in mass media from the 1970s to 1990s but in mass media of the first three decades of the century” (3), largely through “the first truly mass medium” (6). Quoting Marta Banta’s study of American imagery from 1876 to 1919, Kitch comments on the extensive use of “woman as image” (7) in the period. She states, “Banta’s point was illustrated—literally—on the covers of the era’s popular magazines, where an idealized woman was used to signify broader concepts that spoke to an emerging American identity” (7).⁸² Crucially, these images were not mere representations of women, they were constructions of ideas. This insight forms the starting point for Kitch’s study which considers cover illustrations, the images they present, and meanings they portray. She claims, “Cover imagery in this era expressed—for the first time that was truly national—ideas about gender and about class, gradually diffusing those identity tensions by blending them into a larger notion about what it meant to be a ‘typical American’ in the modern era” (181). This compelling methodology could arguably be applied also to Canadian magazines, particularly considering the role played by Canadian titles in the creation and promotion of a specifically Canadian identity, as discussed in the previous chapter. While Kitch refers to the American identity of the late

⁸² In *Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History* (1987), Banta also raises the crucial point that “images of American women were *created* as ideas, not *found* as facts” (xxxii, emphasis in original), a distinction particularly relevant in the context of mass-market magazines.

nineteenth century as “emerging”, it is worthwhile noting that by the 1920s a national American identity seemed secure enough to provoke serious concerns in Canada about its influence and reach. In this context, American national identity can be seen as relatively stable when compared to that of its northern neighbour.⁸³ This disparity, and the explicitly stated nation-building intentions of the *Canadian Home Journal*, makes comparative consideration of cover images an appropriate entry point into a comparative discussion of appearance. Appearance in the *Canadian Home Journal* and *Ladies' Home Journal* will be considered both in terms of idealised feminine images and in relation to the magazine as a visual commercial object.

Marjory Ferguson argues, in her discussion of cover photographs used by magazines in the 1970s and 1980s, “At its simplest level, the function of the cover is to differentiate—to identify—and to sell a magazine” (99). She cites the image as being of principal importance in this, for “Although words, colors, typefaces and sizes are also employed in this process, their significance is relative to the primacy of the chosen picture” (99). While Ferguson discusses much later examples of cover images, these techniques were arguably established in the 1920s.⁸⁴ The cover design of each title follows a distinctive

⁸³ The relative nature of this security is crucial here, as conceptions of American national identity were neither fully formed nor monolithic in nature. As Gregory Streich comments, “American national identity has increasingly been interrogated by those who argue that it is not a singular identity but a complex identity comprised of multiple traditions and strands” (268).

⁸⁴ One technique which became commonplace during the 1920s is what Ferguson refers to as “the dominant visual image” in her context, “the big head”, which “resembles the close-up shot of film and television presentations and the head and shoulder studies of portrait photography” (103).

format, made particularly clear by the font, position and appearance of the titles, which would have rendered each issue aesthetically familiar to regular readers.



Figure 18 Cover image.
Canadian Home Journal July 1920



Figure 19 Cover image.
Ladies' Home Journal Aug. 1920

In the early 1920s, the covers of the *Canadian Home Journal* featured distinctly more outdoor imagery than those of its American competitor. Between May 1920 and April 1921, for example, all but two of the cover images were placed outdoors, with eight of the settings expressly rural. The magazine's effort to associate itself with the rural and the natural is particularly evident in the cover of the June 1920 issue, which pictures a woman dressed in practical outdoor clothing in a picturesque, quintessentially Canadian setting. This image of woman as hardy adventurer contrasts sharply with the October 1920 cover of

the *Ladies' Home Journal*. The stylised image features a fashionable housewife in her equally stylish kitchen. The numerous kitchen utensils confirm this woman as thoroughly modern, making full use of new labour-saving appliances to make lemonade. Her clothing, pointed shoes and hairstyle imply an interest in fashion which is maintained even in the privacy of her kitchen. Even the most practical article of clothing, her apron, features a bright, fashionable, floral pattern. These cover images present differing, yet equally idealised versions of femininity, arguably constructed in accordance with national values and identities. While this version of the ideal Canadian woman is depicted in an outdoor setting as rural and practical, her American counterpart is placed in a domestic setting and constructed as fashionable and modern.

The *Ladies' Home Journal* used proportionately more cover images of women over the period of the 1920s (as I will discuss in more detail below). This is perhaps due to the *Canadian Home Journal's* self-identification as "A Monthly Magazine of Interest to All Progressive Canadians". This tagline featured directly below the title on the first page of the magazine, usually preceding an editorial, until May 1928 when it was changed to "Canada's National Women's and Home Magazine". While the content of the *Canadian Home Journal* implies a female readership, the fact that this is not explicitly stated until May 1928 is interesting when compared to the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Evidently, there was never any question regarding the gender of the intended audience for the latter, as it is clearly stated in the title. Yet, its tagline throughout the 1920s was "The Family Magazine of America", confirming the conceptual bond between the

women it was addressing and their familial role. The unchanging tagline is reflective of the *Ladies' Home Journal's* relatively consistent aesthetic design and ideological stance throughout the period. The changes to the *Canadian Home Journal*, however, when viewed charitably imply a more flexible approach and identity, or when considered critically demonstrate an insecure position in the publishing landscape, attempts to compete with better-financed publications and efforts to broaden appeal.

The outline format of the *Canadian Home Journal's* cover was changed significantly in 1921;⁸⁵ perhaps in an effort to compete more effectively with the *Ladies' Home Journal* and other U.S.-produced monthlies marketed to a similarly middle-class audience – such as *Good Housekeeping*, the *Woman's Home Companion*, *The Delineator*, and *McCall's*. As noted in previous chapters, even based on circulation figures in Canada alone, American magazines outsold their Canadian counterparts. The implications of this were far-reaching, given the enduring conception of the free press as integral to national identity.⁸⁶ The *Canadian Home Journal* repeatedly confirmed its interest in providing a

⁸⁵ It is (at this time) impossible to pin down the precise point of this change, as the issues from May 1921 to December 1921 cannot be located. Given the current scholarly interest in periodicals, it is possible that these issues may become available in future. The editorial of the April 1921 issue does include an image of the forthcoming June cover, which maintains the established format. Given the dramatic difference between the June 1921 and January 1922 covers, it is reasonable to assume that a decision was made to rebrand the magazine somewhere in this time period.

⁸⁶ Catherine McKercher comments on the similarity of American, Canadian, and Mexican print culture in this respect, stating, “unlike other goods covered by international trading agreements, newspapers and magazines in all three countries have a claim to constitutional protection, rooted in the idea that freedom of the press is critical to nationhood” (189).

publication that was thoroughly Canadian in focus. The January 1922 “Editorial Chat” provides a typical example of this, opening,

With the beginning of the year, all of us have a kind of mental, as well as material stock-taking. In these upside-down years, it is not as easy as it used to be, to estimate our resources and calculate what the demands will be on them. Canadian journalism, like the course of true love, “never did run smooth,” but we believe that a new day has dawned for the publication which aims to be “mainly Canadian”.

This is an explicit reference to the relative difficulty faced by Canadian publishers, discussed in previous chapters. Yet in spite of this assertion of being “mainly Canadian”, the core design of the cover had shifted remarkably in the direction of the *Ladies’ Home Journal*, as can be seen in the February and October covers of each title.



Figure 20 Cover image
Canadian Home Journal Feb. 1922

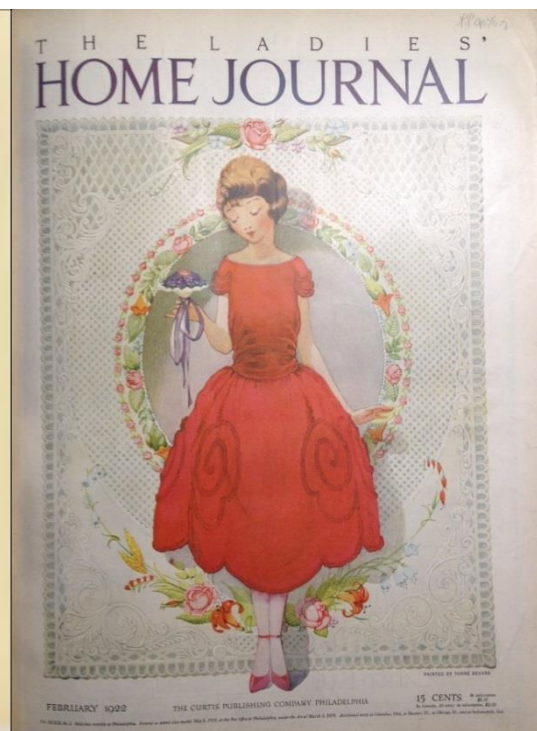


Figure 21 Cover image
Ladies’ Home Journal Feb. 1922



Figure 22 Cover image
Canadian Home Journal Oct. 1922



Figure 23 Cover image
Ladies' Home Journal Oct. 1922

Stylistically these covers are remarkably similar; the font and the use of blank space, in particular, imply commonality between the titles. There is the possibility, however, that this change was not entirely a result of American influence. Self-styled as “Canada’s Greatest Magazine”, *Everywoman’s World* was established in 1909 with the specific aim of appealing to a consumer demographic of Canadian women (Johnston 239).⁸⁷ By 1921, its monthly circulation had far surpassed the *Canadian Home Journal’s*, at an average of 101,167 to the *Canadian Home Journal’s* 55,407 (233). *Everywoman’s World*

⁸⁷ Johnston suggests *Everywoman’s World* could be considered “the first consumer magazine produced in Canada” (242), given that it was first and foremost dedicated to the carriage of advertising, and content was selected and edited on that basis. This is in contrast to the *Ladies’ Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal*, both of which had demonstrably more complex agendas.

even passed the *Ladies' Home Journal's* Canadian circulation, which stood at 84,452. Although the magazine ceased production in 1922,⁸⁸ it is reasonable to assume that its exceptional success influenced the aesthetic shifts seen on the covers of the *Canadian Home Journal*. This is necessarily a conjecture, as this dramatic change in the appearance of the covers is not mentioned in the available issues. Indeed, in the case of these three issues—January, February, and March 1922—there is no mention in the corresponding editorials of the cover illustrations used. This lack of information is notable when compared to the previous cover designs, where strong links were made in the editorials to the covers, through discussion of the image itself and/or the illustrator or artist. Again, this indicates a shift towards the format of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, which presented its cover images with little to no additional detail, aside from the fact that the designs were most often signed. From 1922 until the end of the decade, the covers for the *Canadian Home Journal* were relatively consistent in their design. They presented a recognisable manifestation of the interests and identity of the title, in much the same manner as the *Ladies' Home Journal*. To some extent, this masked the competing and conflicting interests found within the pages of each title, presenting a rather misleading image of cohesion and certainty.

⁸⁸ Sutherland confirms this date, and states, "The magazine ceased publication after its purchaser, Harpell Brothers, the Garden City, Quebec, publisher of the women's magazine *La Canadienne*, gave up consumer magazines to concentrate on its trade papers" (157).

The cover illustrations of each title varied greatly, and while “woman as image” featured frequently, it was sometimes substituted—or combined with—pictures of children and couples. The representation of women on the covers of the two magazines throughout the 1920s are analysed in table 2, table 3, and table 4.⁸⁹

Table 2 – Representation of women in *Canadian Home Journal* cover images

	May 1920 - Apr. '21	Jan. 1922 - Dec. '22	May 1926 - Apr. '27	Jan. 1928 - Dec. '28
Total available covers	12	11	12	12
Featuring women	5	7	9	10
%	41.6%	63.6%	75%	83.3%
Cover Images – Manner of Representation				
Alone	4	5	7	6
% of covers	33.3%	45.5%	58.3%	50%
With Men	1	1	2	1
% of covers	8.3%	9.0%	16.6%	8.3%
With Child(ren)	1	1	0	3
% of covers	8.3%	9.0%	0%	25%
With Servant(s)	0	0	0	0
Percentage of Covers	0%	0%	0%	0%

⁸⁹ This sample has been chosen as it represents the most nearly complete set of consecutive covers that is available. The only missing covers in these sequences are for the July 1922 issue of the *Ladies' Home Journal* and the November 1922 issue of the *Canadian Home Journal*.

Table 3 – Representation of women in *Ladies' Home Journal* cover images

	May 1920 -Apr. '21	Jan. 1922 - Dec. '22	May 1926 - Apr. '27	Jan. 1928 - Dec. '28
Total available covers	12	11	12	12
Featuring women	7	9	10	11
% of covers	58.3%	81.8%	83.3%	91.6%
Cover images – manner of representation				
Alone	3	4	8	6
% of covers	25%	33.3%	58.3%	50%
With men	3	4	0	4
% of covers	25%	36.3%	0%	33.3%
With child(ren)	1	1	1	1
% of covers	8.3%	9.0%	8.3%	8.3%
With servant(s)	0	0	1	0
% of covers	0%	0%	8.3%	0%

Table 4 – Summary of table 2 and table 3

	<i>Ladies' Home Journal</i>		<i>Canadian Home Journal</i>	
	Early '20s	Late '20s	Early '20s	Late '20s
Featuring women	69.6%	87.5%	52.2%	71.2%
Alone	30.4%	58.3%	39.1%	54.1%
With men	30.4%	16.7%	8.7%	12.5%
With child(ren)	8.7%	12.5%	8.7%	12.5%
With servant(s)	0%	4.2%	0%	0%

The majority of *Canadian Home Journal* covers featured women, although the proportion was consistently smaller than that for the *Ladies' Home Journal*.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ It could be the case that the *Canadian Home Journal* was conscious that consistent images of women would not be what their readership wanted. In the material

Throughout the 1920s for both titles, there was an increase in the representation of women on the covers, with a noticeable difference when the results from the first half of the decade are compared to those from the latter half. More specifically, there was an increase in women being pictured alone. This fits with the general trend of most women's magazines of the period and beyond.⁹¹ For the *Canadian Home Journal*, a consistently small proportion of covers featured women as part of a couple, especially when compared to the *Ladies' Home Journal* where romanticised images of couples appeared more frequently. Meanwhile, the *Canadian Home Journal* featured more images of children. Although only 9% of 1922 covers featured women with children, the covers which did not feature women at all were all of children. So when the figure of women with children increases to 25% in 1928, this really represents an increase in women and children being displayed together, as opposed to an increase in the display of children. The *Ladies' Home Journal*, on the other hand, has a relatively low representation of children on covers. While the majority of readers of the *Ladies' Home Journal* would have been mothers, this aspect of their experience is largely absent from the aesthetic ideal being presented on the covers. This contrast in the titles is notable, as it implies that while the visual ideal being presented to a Canadian audience often emphasised family, that displayed to the American readership more often privileged romantic relationships. As the decade

surrounding the contents page of the February 1927 issue, it is stated, "I know you sometimes hear the complaint that there are just too many pretty girl cover designs: but just here one of our masculine readers will murmur: 'How could there be?'" (3).

⁹¹ This trend is visible in Lindsay King and Peter Leonard's current "Robots Reading Vogue" project (Digital Humanities Lab, Yale University).

progresses, however, fewer couples are pictured in accordance with the increase in representation of women alone, often in passive poses.

While these figures show thought-provoking contrasts, they certainly do not provide a complete picture and some of the covers from this period warrant closer scrutiny, such as those below.

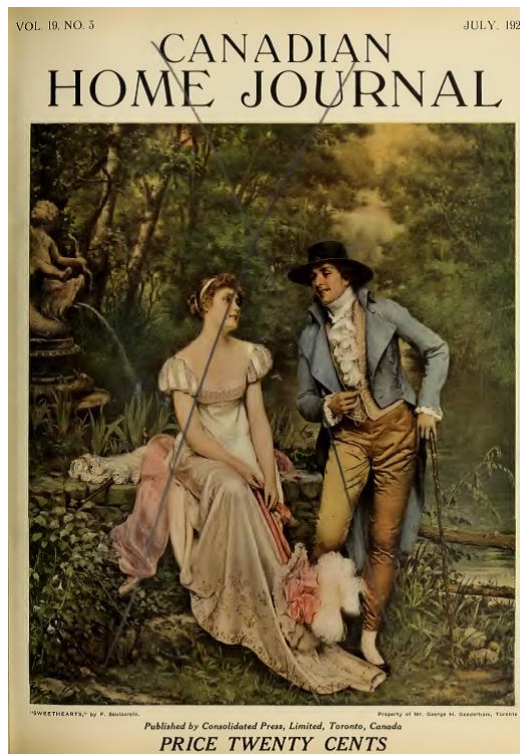


Figure 24 Cover image.
Canadian Home Journal July 1922

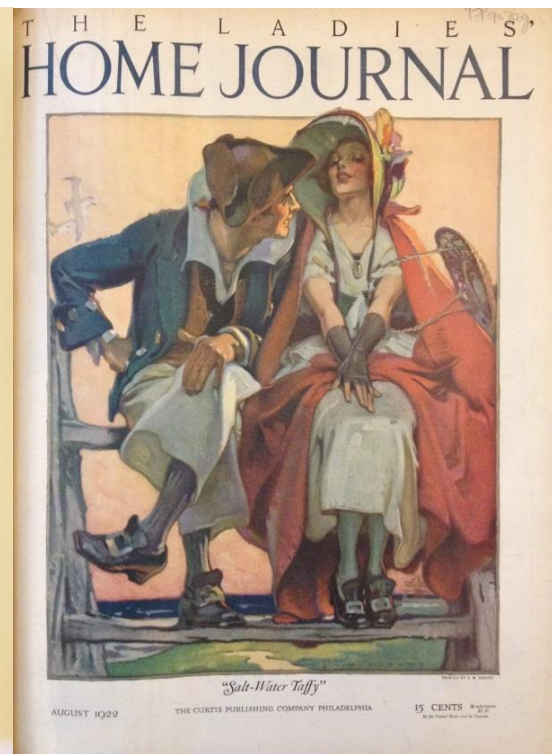


Figure 25 Cover image.
Ladies' Home Journal Aug. 1922

The July 1922 cover for the *Canadian Home Journal* and the August 1922 *Ladies' Home Journal* are strikingly similar in terms of the categories applied. Both display relatively passive women, pictured as part of a couple. Aesthetically, the illustrations are remarkably alike but they depict different forms of nostalgia which are arguably constructed in different national contexts. The *Canadian*

Home Journal cover displays a romantic, early-nineteenth-century image which associates more closely with a British Regency aesthetic, while the *Ladies' Home Journal* suggests an American pioneer setting. This relates to the different ways in which national identity was constructed in the two cultures at this period and particularly to the fact, as discussed in Chapter Two, that Canadian nationalism was understood as compatible with an attachment to Empire while American nationalism was construed more in terms of self-determination and freedom. Likewise, representations of women on the 1928 covers refer to other contrasts between the titles. The June (*Canadian Home Journal*) and August (*Ladies' Home Journal*) covers exemplify this.

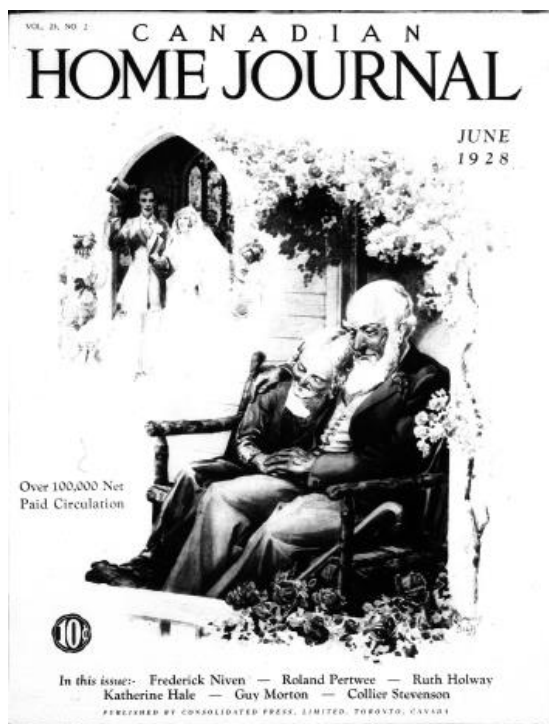


Figure 26 Cover image.
Canadian Home Journal June 1928

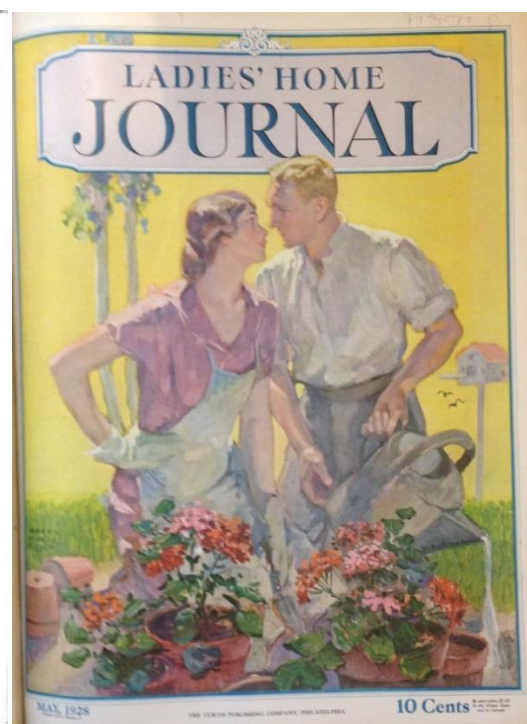


Figure 27 Cover image.
Ladies' Home Journal May 1928

Here, both depict couples but in very different ways. The *Canadian Home Journal* shows an elderly couple sitting on a bench while a newlywed couple emerge behind them, implying intergenerational commonalities, the importance of family and traditional standards. The *Ladies' Home Journal* shows a couple having a romantic moment whilst engaging in leisurely gardening, evoking an idealised suburban middle-class lifestyle. Closer inspection of these images confirms that quantitative analysis of these covers, while helpful, provides only a partial impression of the differences between the images, and associated ideals, that were used to sell these magazines. Nevertheless, the figures do show that both magazines made significant use of woman as image, often as shorthand to communicate a series of traits, interests and values which both informed and marketed the magazine.

Beyond the variation in cover images and representations of women, other material shifts in the magazines are also of significant interest. For the *Canadian Home Journal*, its 1922 cover format redesign was just one notable material change. Prior to this, the April 1921 issue announced a reduction in page size in its editorial, "April and After".



Editorial—April and After

THE most variable month of the year—April—with her smiles in the morning and her tears before night—is on her way, and already the hillsides are showing promise of Spring. In the magazine world, too, a fresh breeze is blowing, and new fashions have come with the mid-month of the season. We hope you like the shorter gown which this publication has seen fit to assume for its April issue. In fact, this journal is strictly in the fashion, as the readers will admit, after scanning the other magazines. The war is over, but the short skirts persist, for there is a scarcity of cloth and silk, which encourages brevity in the matter of skirts and coats. The supply of paper is limited, also, and so the magazines are donning abbreviated skirts and finding themselves better able to move about—thus the circulation is stimulated. You will find the new-sized magazine easier to hold than the other, and altogether a more convenient companion for the fireside or the library table.

There will naturally be more pages in the new-fashioned 1921 magazine than in the old, and we trust that our readers will find the usual departments in their familiar places. Last month we were obliged to "hold over" a page of "Nut Novelties," which, however, gladdens your eyes in this April issue. Mary M. Neil's cookery articles continue to be one of our most valuable features, and we know that you will welcome this month's pages of refreshing recipes.

NOW that we have announced that this is a reconstruction month, we are willing to admit that cutting down the size of the page is almost as bad as moving. The most perplexing feature in this undertaking of running an inch-and-a-half tuck in our page was the treatment of the fashions. Now, censors may say what they please concerning woman's vanity and consuming interest in clothes, but "wherewithal shall ye be clothed" remains a highly important consideration for the women of the household. Consequently, we were concerned lest the re-adjustment of our Pictorial Review patterns should prove not just what our fancy painted. However, the new arrangement of the illustrations for our fashion pages is all that we could desire, and you may look each month for as good service as you have received from this excellent department in

the past. We have been endeavoring to give a page of embroidery in each month's issue, and we should be glad to have the opinion of our readers as to their need for such patterns. While needlework is not so popular with the modern maiden as it was with our grandmothers, still the art of embroidery is not likely to go out of fashion, and it is "the little touch" which makes the dainty difference in towel, apron or gown.

FICTION is a feature in our monthly fare which you cannot afford to ignore. For this month we are fortunate in having a story by Anna McClure Sholl, one of the best-known writers on the continent. "The Square of Chinese Embroidery" has just enough of the mystery element to make you wonder how a stray jewel is going to come back. Then there is "The Most Kindest Cut," by William Hugo Pabke, which is an amusing story of private theatricals, showing how an untoward incident may prove a benefit. There is also an unusual story, "The Bad Penny," by Margaret Hilda Wise, a young writer whose work is of unusual merit and who delights in a good "dog story."

FOR the May issue we have stories that will prove to you that we are trying to give our readers the best that Canadian writers are producing. There is no more popular author than Mrs. Ewan Macdonald, better known as L. M. Montgomery, who has given us "Anne of Green Gables" and other delightful stories of Prince Edward Island. Our next issue will contain "Bloom of May," a story by this writer, for which Mr. Bladen is making the illustrations. "The House of Shadows," by Virna Sheard, is an exquisite fantasy of May-time, and "To Him That Hath," by Sara Galbraith Mosher, is a tale which you will not only read, but will ask others to read.

The four walls of the room received due consideration in our March issue; in this number Miss Coxwell treats of new hangings and draperies for the house which needs refurbishing, and in May will contribute an article regarding the summer home. Our garden articles are quite worth while, and this month Mr. Cutting has turned his attention to the flowers and has given highly valuable information regarding the times and seasons for planting.



NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS.

Subscriptions must be paid in advance.

Yearly subscription price for Canada and Great Britain is \$2.00; United States, \$2.50; Foreign, \$3.00. Remit by Express or P. O. Order. Add collection charges to cheques.

To change address we must know former and new address. No address changed later than 15th.

We have discontinued the sending of receipts for money paid by subscribers. The first figures on the wrapper of your journal show to what date your subscription is paid.

Figure 28 Editorial. *Canadian Home Journal* Apr. 1921

This relatively simple material change, which constituted “an inch-and-a-half tuck”, is granted around half of the total editorial space, demonstrating its perceived importance to readers. It is likely that this alteration was primarily intended to reduce postage costs. Keeping costs as low as possible was of vital importance for the survival of Canadian publications since, “U.S. publishers recouped their costs in domestic sales, exports across the border represented extra profit” (McKercher 190), an option unavailable to Canadian publishers. Yet, perhaps what is most interesting about this reduction in size is the manner in which it is presented to the readership.

The most variable month of the year—April—with her smiles in the morning and her tears before night—is on her way, and already the hillsides are showing the promise of Spring. In the magazine world, too, a fresh breeze is blowing, and new fashions have come with the mid-month of the season. We hope you like the shorter gown which this publication has seen fit to assume for its April issue. In fact, this journal is strictly in the fashion, as the readers will admit, after scanning the other magazines. The war is over, but the short skirts persist, for there is a scarcity of cloth and silk, which encourages brevity in the matter of skirts and coats. The supply of paper is limited, also, and so the magazines are donning abbreviated skirts and finding themselves better able to move about—thus the circulation is stimulated. You will find the new-sized magazine easier to hold than the other, and altogether a more convenient companion for the fireside or the library table.

The editorial appeals to its readers to look favourably on the reduced page size; presenting it, by turns, as natural, fashionable, responsible, and practical. The change is situated as natural through a specific link to spring and the transformation it represents. This is followed by a personification of the title and an explicit link to fashion, with the pages becoming its shorter “gown”. The mention of scarcity, in the context of post-war recovery, positions the choice of a smaller page as responsible. Finally, the practicality of this smaller size is

presented: both for the publication, in an increased circulation; and for the reader, in the increased convenience and ease of holding.⁹² The manner in which the magazine appeals to its readership demonstrates a belief that these four interests are most important to them: naturalness, fashionability, responsibility, and practicality. This is certainly consistent with the material found within specific issues, which often venerates one, or more, of these priorities. The manner in which this material change in the magazine is communicated also forms the basis of a potential analogy, providing insight into the construction and operation of the magazine form.

As demonstrated by Richard Ohmann, in his 1996 book *Selling Culture*, analogies can often be useful in understanding how the complex text of the magazine operates.⁹³ For example, Ohmann comments that magazines were, “like *stores*. . . . The colored cover was an enticement to buy the magazine, seconded, often, with the editor’s plugs and promotions; and something like half the pages were given over to images and descriptions of commodities for sale” (223). This analogy is useful, in that it helps to provide a framework for the different ways in which the magazine operated in a commercial context; both as a promoter of consumer goods, and as a commercial product itself. With this in

⁹² Periodicals specifically aimed at a male readership, were, in this period, often designed with a more mobile reader in mind. *The New Yorker* is an example of this: it was designed by Harold Ross in 1925 with a three-column format specifically so it could be folded, and read, using just one hand while strap-hanging on the subway.

⁹³ These analogies are founded on “etymological thread[s]” (Ohmann 223), and include the magazine as a warehouse, museum, and department store. Ohmann additionally characterises the magazine as a tour guide. In each example, the “discontinuity and discreteness” (Ohmann 230) of much of the content is commented on.

mind, the anthropomorphic description of the magazine present in the “April and After” editorial could, arguably, be said to provide another analogy; one based on the notion of the magazine as a “feminised space” (Beetham *Magazine*), but going further and aligning the magazine with discourses of the fashioned body. Discussing the apparent “strangeness” of fashion, Elizabeth Wilson comments that the body is, “an organism in culture, a cultural artefact even” (*Adorned 2*). The fashioned body, therefore, can be considered a constructed cultural artefact, which has clear parallels with the magazine. In considering the magazine as fashioned body, then: the cover serves as face; the pages, and in turn the disparate content they present, are positioned as changeable “dress”. In combination, they result in the overarching image and associated identity. The potential usefulness of this analogy lies in its conception of the magazine as a whole entity, yet one in which all parts are not equal or held to the same standards. The face, and in turn the cover, as a site of identity, spiritual goodness and morality, must remain relatively unchanged and recognizable; although, as has been demonstrated in the championing of “natural cosmetics”, it can be enhanced. Dress, however, enjoys far greater flexibility in terms of differing fashions and trends, and its inherent ephemerality is a trait shared by the magazine form. In this context, the latest fashions are one of the most important elements for allowing the magazines to offer novelty and change. Yet throughout this, the magazine’s identity remains recognizable, although not altogether consistent. Like the women of its target audience, the magazine must negotiate changing attitudes and varying demands, and is circumscribed by its perceived role. The tensions between the

display of fashions in face and dress, then, are reflected not only in the content, but in the form of the magazine itself. The specific nature of these conflicting representations of appearance, and the extent to which they were nationally specific, will be considered in relation to the magazine form in the following sections; beginning with fashion, then moving on to makeup.

Fashion

As Christopher Breward comments, “The relationship between production, consumption and the designed artefact, which has always been central to any definition of the discipline, demands an investigation of cultural context, and is well-suited to the study of historical and contemporary clothing” (“Cultures, Identities” 302). This statement is as true for the magazine as it is for the fashions presented by it. Indeed, Breward’s assertion seems particularly pertinent, given that the *Ladies’ Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* presented the majority of their fashions in the form of practical patterns to be followed or styles to be emulated. As Margaret Beetham notes, patterns allowed for the reconciliation of frugal domesticity with fashionable interests: “The paper pattern was a brilliant device for bridging the gap, or rather the gape, between the reader as ‘household manager’ on one hand and as fashionable lady on the other” (*Magazine* 76). In addition to these, they incorporated advertisements for readymade goods: specific garments and accessories including hosiery, corsets, workwear, and footwear. Through this combination of material, the magazines address a reader who is both shopper and dressmaker, and this in turn raises questions regarding the relationship

between types of production, modes of consumption and the artefacts themselves. Yet the fashioned artefacts themselves are not the focus here. As Elizabeth Wilson comments,

Since the late nineteenth century, word and image have increasingly propagated style. Images of desire are constantly in circulation; increasingly it has been the image as well as the artefact that the individual has purchased. The young woman of 1900 who bought a cheap Gibson Girl blouse didn't just buy a blouse; she bought a symbol of emancipation, glamour and success. (*Adorned* 157)

The notion of visual and verbal representations is particularly relevant here. In the context of magazines, the fashions or fashionable goods presented are not tangible, insofar as they are conceptions and images of products. In other words, it is not the dress or the corset which is the object of study; rather, it is the representation of them, the means to make or the invitation to purchase.

In the *Ladies' Home Journal* the majority of these representations of fashions were contained, throughout the 1920s and beyond, in a dedicated "Fashions" department, clearly signposted in the table of contents.⁹⁴ A small announcement, with the heading "An Authority in Fashions", in the January 1920 issue signalled its creation:

As the head of the new Fashion Department to be started in the forthcoming February issue of *The Ladies' Home Journal*, Mr. Harry Collins comes to his task as a recognized authority both at home and abroad in his chosen field. Parisian designers are always ready to give heed to any ideas and suggestions that he may advance, and American fashion leaders look upon his views on all new styles as in the nature of a final decision by the Supreme Court of Fashion. So our readers may

⁹⁴ While advertisements for clothing were present, they were overwhelmingly for accessories, underwear, or children's apparel. Readymade fashions, including coats or suits, appeared at times but infrequently.

unhesitatingly rely upon his judgment. Look for Mr. Collins' Pages next month.

Set at the bottom middle of the page, surrounded by an article titled "The Freedom of Japanese Women", this introduction to the forthcoming change in the magazine suggests an effort both to subtly advertise the future content of the magazine, and also to ensure that the change is well-received by readers.⁹⁵ This small introduction to the change in format is followed by a significantly larger, and far less subtle, "Editorial Announcement" in the same issue which emphasises again Collins' suitability for the role, and also the distinctive nature of the department:

Beginning with the February issue, The Home Journal will make a radical departure in the presentation of fashion to the women of America. In that number Harry Collins, an accepted authority on women's clothes, will present his spring gowns designed by him exclusively for the readers of this magazine. . . . He has held aloof from magazines. Heretofore his services have been available only through the House of Collins, of New York, London and Paris. But, appreciating his genius and what it could be made to mean to the women of America, The Home Journal has prevailed upon him to present his art through its pages.

Exclusivity is mentioned often throughout the announcement, referring both to the designs and the articles—by Collins—which will accompany them. In the endless quest to grow circulations, this is not a particularly unusual claim for a magazine to make. Yet, the solicitation and provision of original designs, unavailable elsewhere, indicates that the magazine was trying to distinguish itself more clearly from its competitors, and position itself at the higher end of the market. "A Word by Mr. Collins", which directly follows the "Editorial

⁹⁵ This technique was extensively employed by the *Canadian Home Journal*, which often used these small spaces more to advertise the content and the magazine itself.

Announcement”, takes great pains to emphasise the uniqueness of the arrangement; stating, “I shall give the first serious treatment of the principles of correct dress in relation to the special needs of American women” (122). Of course, the “American women” being referred to are the implied readers; predominantly conservative, white, and middle-class. Thus what appears to be an inclusive statement is revealed as quite the opposite. His “series of twelve fashion articles” is positioned as fundamental reading for the upwardly-mobile fashion-conscious reader; not only a “post-graduate course in dressmaking” but an assertion of modesty and propriety”.

In the first of the series, “Modern Life and Dress”, Collins adopts a somewhat moralising tone—not unlike that of his editor—through which he communicates his concerns about artifice, lack of taste, and “false originality”:

The good taste of the American woman is sorely tried by such antics. Let *her* not be misled. *The principles of sound taste survive the vagaries of passing fashions*, and the purpose of this series of articles is to redefine and clarify the laws of good taste and their application to modern dress. (211, emphasis in the original)

Taste, situated as “natural”, is placed in opposition to “passing fashions”, defined as “false originality”, and what other authors describe as “eccentricity”.⁹⁶ “In dress, as in life, good taste is the possession of a sense of the natural fitness of things, the feeling of right proportion and of the harmony between details. Good taste is synonymous with sincerity” (211). This definition of taste, the

⁹⁶ Miranda Gill examines the use of this term in her book *Eccentricity and the Cultural Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (2009). She argues, “Eccentricity was one of a range of interlinked adjectives which dominated descriptions of fashion” (63), but that the term was ambivalent and unstable since, “Fashion advocated eccentricity as a key component of modernity, whilst custom prohibited it in the name of tradition” (64).

repetition of notions of naturalness and authenticity, and the generally traditional views espoused throughout the articles imply a moralising intention, although this is something which Collins claims to avoid. In the later “Dress and Character” he states, “It is not my intention to moralize; I am imbued with the love of the beautiful in dress and I perceive that women are beautiful in proportion as they dress in character” (49). In spite of his protestations, his arguments are underpinned by a clear, if reductive, moral scheme, confirmed in his assertion that, “A noble character in ignoble dress arouses pity; a base character in beautiful dress arouses moral indignation” (49). His instruction and advice, then, is unavoidably moralising. This attitude appears to align Collins more closely with nineteenth-century perspectives on fashion. As Elizabeth Wilson comments:

In the nineteenth century fashion had come to be associated almost entirely with women’s clothing, while men’s clothes have since been perceived (inaccurately) as unchanging. Fashion as a mania for change could therefore more easily be interpreted either as evidence of women’s inherent frivolity and flightiness. (“All the Rage” 29)

While Collins is flattering the “American woman” by stating she too is “sorely tried by these antics” (“Modern Life” 211), he is nevertheless applying this logic. Indeed, Collins does rail against the “mania for something new”, which is “deeply rooted in the growing restlessness of our time” (211) and appears, at times, to distinguish between troubling and ostentatious “fashion”, and correct, appropriate and beautiful “modern dress”. At other times, however, he uses the terms interchangeably, presenting a position which is neither clear nor consistent. Yet, this confusion is not his alone.

The tensions rendered explicit in Collins' articles are reiterated in numerous other contributions in the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Elizabeth Sears' "Habits of Fashion" comments of women, "They like to be as well dressed as possible. But while they desire to be well dressed, they are apt to resent being slaves not only to style, but to the whim of the men who create style and who manufacture it for them in concrete form" (65). It is particularly interesting that this article appeared in the same issue as the excited announcement of Harry Collins' new fashion department, and demonstrates well the manner in which magazines often presented conflicting or contradictory information. Like Collins', though, Sears extolls the natural feminine interest in modern dress, but disparages slavish adherence to "style"; makes a clear and explicit distinction between "style" and "good taste"; and situates fashion in a national framework, calling for alternatives to Parisian styles:

Woman can make her own power of choice felt in the world of dress once she sets her mind to it. She has refused, again and again, to be submerged in hoops, tight corsets, high choking collars or trailing skirts. Yet she receives with a trusting faith the statement that we must accept these absurd Parisian models because "we have no American styles." (88)

Addressing the importance of Paris in conceptions of fashion, Anne Hollander comments, "even in America, Paris was looked to as the natural home of real fashion" (117). Yet for both Sears and Collins, Paris represents the detestable aspects of fashion; its transience and absurdity, excessive demands and wasteful expense. This manifests itself in the nationalist rhetoric of both authors' contributions. The opening lines of "Dress and Character" state,

Character in dress implies truth to our surroundings. As a nation we have a most individualistic character. We expand and develop at a rate

beyond the imagination of the Old World. In such a creative atmosphere it is surely a discord to affect “foreignisms,” either in dress, habits or home furnishings. (49)

Dominant nineteenth-century notions here regarding authenticity are deployed in a national context, demonstrating American exceptionalism and applying it to fashion. Both discussions centre on this logic, but also reject utilitarian dressing, dress reform, and unattractiveness, associating them with explicitly feminist attitudes. Thus, both seem to be calling for the creation of a specifically middle-class, relatively conservative mode of dress, with its own styles and fashions, characterised as “American”. Sears challenges readers to look to fashionable American women, as opposed to Paris, and let them lead the way.

Although David Reed asserts that the “employment of a designer to provide exclusive fashions for the readership” was an “eccentric idea” (122), the arguments presented by both Collins and Sears can be seen to follow the logic of Edward Bok’s fashion nationalism project—“American Fashions for American Women”—between 1909 and 1912.⁹⁷ In this period, Bok attempted to reject Parisian influence through a sustained campaign which involved advertising, articles, and a prominent letter to the *New York Times*, “justifying the need for an American response to recent “freakish fashions” from Paris” (Schweitzer 142). While Bok’s crusade garnered much support, it was undermined by the reluctance of department stores and magazines to insult or sever ties with Paris

⁹⁷ Marlis Schweitzer extensively discusses Bok’s intentions and efforts with this project, exploring the both the nationalist and commercial interests which underpinned and eventually undermined the endeavour.

designers, and the relatively underdeveloped production infrastructure.

Primarily though, as Schweitzer states:

the greatest obstacle to American Fashions for American Women was consumer reluctance to abandon Paris. Bok acknowledged this in a 1913 address to Curtis's advertising department. . . . Bok baldly admitted that American Fashions for American Women had failed. He told Curtis admen, "We cannot change things that are fixed in a woman's mind. A magazine cannot reform. It can awaken interests, but it is up to the public to decide. Women must decide the style." (148)

The final statement in Collins' "Democracy and Aristocracy in Dress"—the sixth, and last, of his series of articles—is remarkably similar to Bok's final assertion here: "The future of dress is in the hands of American women" (Jul. 1920 162).

Likewise, the invocation of political terms, such as Bok's detailing of "republican virtue" (Schweitzer 144) and Collins' "democracy", position a distinctive fashion as an important component of American national identity. Indeed, Collins' articles can be read as a second attempt to encourage the readership to favour a specifically American fashion. However, as in 1912, Parisian fashion was not to be banished so easily.

As Faye Hammill and Michelle Smith note,

The assumption that new styles came exclusively from Paris, or at least from Europe, and travelled westwards across the Atlantic, undergoing some adaptation on the way, became deeply ingrained during the nineteenth century, and was still dominant in the 1920s and 1930s. Yet the international trajectories of fashion were becoming more complex during this era. The New York fashion industry was developing rapidly, and transatlantic exchange was increasingly evident in the couture world. (122)

Collins' series, particularly in relation to Bok's efforts, can be viewed as an example of the increasing complexity of transatlantic fashion exchange, in spite

of the fact that it never made it to twelve instalments. Most of the detailed outline of topics and titles, provided by Collins in the January issue seems to have been abandoned, as the corresponding articles never appeared.⁹⁸ After the July article, Harry Collins did provide three additional articles, but these were more traditional fashion articles dealing with practical rather than theoretical aspects of fashion.⁹⁹ His final written contribution¹⁰⁰ came in October 1920, when Mary Brush Williams was quietly, without announcement, introduced to the fashion department.¹⁰¹ From then onwards, she wrote monthly articles titled, "Paris Says...". In spite of protestations from Bok, Collins and Sears, it was clear that fashion nationalism was not, at this point, commercially viable.¹⁰² Yet these efforts do represent challenges to what was perceived to be an outdated privileging of European style, reflecting a desire to break from ideals imposed by the "Old World". The fashion pages are the only area of the *Ladies' Home Journal* where uncertainty or concern are explicitly

⁹⁸ The first three articles bore a fair resemblance to their descriptions, unlike those that followed. "Bugaboos of Fashion" became "The Dress of Yesterday and the Vision of To-Morrow" (May 1920), "Psychology of the American Woman" changed to "The Harmony of the Costume" (Jun. 1920), and "American Woman's State of Mind and Personality" was "Democracy and Aristocracy in Dress" (Jul. 1920). "Mature Woman Whose Spirit is Ever Young", "Enhancing the Human Figure", "Dress for the Younger Generation", "The Lost Art of Millinery", and "The Future of American Fashions" never materialised.

⁹⁹ The comparative simplicity of these articles is demonstrated even in their titles: "The Autumn Silhouette" (Aug. 1920 43), "Colour and Line in New Clothes" (Sept. 1920 66), and "Straight Lines Mark the Winter Mode" (Oct. 1920 52).

¹⁰⁰ Collins continued to contribute designs until January 1921, but did not supply any further written articles.

¹⁰¹ The replacement of Harry Collins with a woman could be read as an attempt to shift the mode of address from authoritative and instructional to aspirational yet friendly. Indeed, Williams' distinctly different tone and long service at the magazine would appear to support this conjecture.

¹⁰² Allison Matthews David comments of *Vogue* in the interwar period that "While it maintained privileged ties to Europe, it also began to embrace more populist understandings of 'authentic' American taste and style in dress" (14).

displayed regarding national identity, whereas in the *Canadian Home Journal* fashion is one of the very few areas where Canadian national identity is not vigorously promoted.¹⁰³

If the United States was ill-equipped to challenge European influence, it stands to reason that Canada was even less so and the *Canadian Home Journal* reflects this. Articles which address fashion or clothing—beyond the regular and expected fashion pages—are few and far between. When they do appear, they consistently serve to reinforce restrained attitudes which champion practicality over style. One notable example of this is Canadian author Nellie McClung's brief article, "The Morality of Clothes", which appears in the November 1920 issue.¹⁰⁴ Placed in the centre column, with a black border separating it from the surrounding fiction, it begins by describing an "unfortunate remark" regarding velvet made by the author in a shop. This results in the saleslady providing an "unmistakable reproof", stating that black velvet "is not good this year". The column continues:

From that I fell to thinking of the Morality of Clothes. Clothes are thoughts made manifest. The history of womankind has always been written in their clothes. . . . Women will never be free until they are free from the bondage of dress. Fine raiment, silk linings, ornamentation, seed pearls, embroideries, have cause more women to sin than poverty or passion. This will never be eradicated, any more than the thirsty man's predilection for cold water. But it can be changed.

¹⁰³ This statement is true of the 1920s, although as Hammill and Smith point out, later Canadian periodicals did make efforts to position the promoted fashions as Canadian interpretations (123).

¹⁰⁴ McClung is widely regarded as one of the most prominent of Canada's first-wave feminists, although she subscribed to what could be described as maternal feminism. For more on McClung and her status among feminists see Janice Fiamengo's "A Legacy of Ambivalence" (2002).

“Dress”, in its more elaborate or luxurious manifestations, is positioned as both a constraining and nefarious force, explicitly linked to immorality and “sin”. As in Collins’ articles, it is not dismissed; rather, it is asserted as unavoidable and essential, a communicator of character and identity. While this argument employs the rhetoric of women’s liberation and freedom, its reliance on nineteenth-century notions of moral dress is confirmed later in the column with overt references to artifice and deception:

How can we expect men to respect women when the women show by their dress that they do not respect themselves; for the women who dress indecently confess their poor opinion of themselves, in the honest ways of life, and admit by their costume that they have to descend to the grosser plane in order to be attractive. Unable to charm the beholder by legitimate means, they lower the standards to the level of the animals.

“Indecent” dress and artificial “costume” are contrasted with honesty and an implied naturalness, against the background of thoroughly traditional gender roles. Oddly, the women who wear these unacceptable styles are portrayed as both manipulative and animalistic, two traits which would appear to be mutually exclusive. The alternative offered is of “wholesome”, “working clothes”, affiliating morality with practicality and stating, “It is no longer considered a fine, ladylike thing to be idle, but, rather, a disgraceful condition”. This renegotiates the ideal of femininity, disparaging idleness and elaborate display and encouraging practicality and hard work. Appropriate clothes are therefore asserted as an important method of displaying these venerated traits and although Canadian identity is not openly discussed, it is implied through these traits. Whilst contributions such as these were not common throughout

the title, the attitudes presented here correspond with the practical and concise nature of the fashion pages.

When compared to the *Ladies' Home Journal*, the fashion pages of the *Canadian Home Journal* contained more in the way of practical advice on styles and patterns than discussion of a national fashion. Throughout the period, the fashion advice altered in format from longer articles in the early 1920s, to an unsigned regular column titled "Dress" in the middle of the decade, culminating in a variety of articles after 1928. The earlier articles were consistently written by Charlotte M. Storey and dispensed a range of advice on fashion and style,¹⁰⁵ including "Millinery and Wraps Luxurious and Becoming" (Oct. 1920) and "About Furs and Fur Fashions" (Nov. 1922). At times they referred to wider concerns or discussions regarding fashion, as in the former which begins:

What is there about that subtle thing called *Fashion*, that commands the interest of every normal woman, whether she live in the Metropolis or the remotest prairie home? Why is it that every woman, no matter how little attention she may pay to her attire, resents being called *old-fashioned*? Why should the imputation carry reproach with it?

Initially, this article appears fairly philosophical in its questioning; raising fashion as a mysterious force both for urban and rural women and probing the reasons for its influence. Yet in the next line it abruptly returns to the subject presented in its title, stating,

¹⁰⁵ On occasion these articles diverged from this format, such as "Queen Mary Presents Festal Robes to the Royal Ontario Museum" (Jan. 1921 32) which includes a brief reference to the "Canadian Women's Designers Club". These exceptions, however, were rare.

This is a formidable trio of questions that would take pages to answer, so we shall leave them with you to think about, and urge our pen to hasten on and write of other things such as fur and cloth wraps and millinery, of which there is much to tell.

The questions demonstrate an awareness of the contentious nature of fashion but the following paragraphs assert it as an important interest, the attention to which is more pressing than the questioning of it. The article continues to present advice on appropriate styles and trends, relying on frequent references to Paris to legitimate its claims, and stating “Individuality in dress is becoming a fixed objective with women who study the art of dressing well. . . . But the velvet hat is supreme, Paris says so” (52). The references here to individuality are common throughout both titles, but individuality was an ambiguous term, presented at times as a desirable trait, and at others as one which should be avoided. Here the term is constrained by adherence to the fashion dictates of Paris. Individuality is desirable, but only insofar as it does not oppose Parisian trends.

Hammill and Smith comment, “In Canadian magazines, discourses of cosmopolitanism and exoticism were strongly inscribed in the reporting and marketing of fashion” (118). This is evident throughout the fashion advice, in spite of its changing format. The November 1926 “Dress” column provides somewhat of a shopping tour, firmly centred on Paris: “With the advent of nipping winter winds the tidings that Paris favours muffs will be welcome news. . . . In one of the shops is a Cossack inspired turban of gray baby lamb, smartly set off by a red feather gardenia” (71). The implication that these are Parisian

shops lends a sense of authenticity to the advice, which continues to mention numerous other “fashionable shops” (71) and the clothing being sold. For the readers of the *Canadian Home Journal*, who would have predominantly made rather than bought their clothes, this article presents a form of what Lorna Stevens and Pauline Maclaren call the “shopping imaginary”, “the imaginary shopping spaces which women’s magazines create” (283).¹⁰⁶ Creation of such “dreamworlds” (282) allows for the promotion of the patterns presented on the fashion pages, which were often explicitly positioned as European. For example, the pattern pages which appear between the two pages containing the “Dress” article in this issue are titled, “French News on Dolman Sleeves and the Horizontal Line” (74).

¹⁰⁶ Stevens and Maclaran focus on contemporary magazines, but include a heuristic account of the history of women’s magazines and their commonalities with early twentieth-century examples.

*French News On Dolman Sleeves
And The Horizontal Line*

1106 - Sporty look, with Dolman sleeves and wide shawl collar. Front opening draped. Matching knee length, the Paris look. With matching skirt and shoes.
For waist, 27, take 28; bust, 34, take 35; hips, 42 to 44 inch. Price, \$12.50.

1107 - Coat with shawl collar, lined with fur and 40% wool. The shawl collar may be slightly draped in front. Side slits, close fitting. Inset sleeves, matching. Skirt to knee, 27, take 28; bust, 34, take 35; hips, 42 to 44 inch. Price, \$12.50.

1108 - Two Piece look, having a slip on blouse and a skirt. Blouse with 40% wool, 40% rayon. Skirt with 40% wool, 40% rayon. Blouse to the waist, 27, take 28; bust, 34, take 35; hips, 42 to 44 inch. Price, \$12.50.

1109 - Straight line look for women and young girls, with long or short coat or dress. 40% wool, 40% rayon. For coat, 27, take 28; bust, 34, take 35; hips, 42 to 44 inch. Price, \$12.50.

1110 - Another two piece look, with matching blouse and skirt. Blouse with 40% wool, 40% rayon. Skirt with 40% wool, 40% rayon. Blouse to the waist, 27, take 28; bust, 34, take 35; hips, 42 to 44 inch. Price, \$12.50.

1111 - Another two piece look, with matching blouse and skirt. Blouse with 40% wool, 40% rayon. Skirt with 40% wool, 40% rayon. Blouse to the waist, 27, take 28; bust, 34, take 35; hips, 42 to 44 inch. Price, \$12.50.

1112 - Another two piece look, with matching blouse and skirt. Blouse with 40% wool, 40% rayon. Skirt with 40% wool, 40% rayon. Blouse to the waist, 27, take 28; bust, 34, take 35; hips, 42 to 44 inch. Price, \$12.50.

1113 - Another two piece look, with matching blouse and skirt. Blouse with 40% wool, 40% rayon. Skirt with 40% wool, 40% rayon. Blouse to the waist, 27, take 28; bust, 34, take 35; hips, 42 to 44 inch. Price, \$12.50.

1114 - Another two piece look, with matching blouse and skirt. Blouse with 40% wool, 40% rayon. Skirt with 40% wool, 40% rayon. Blouse to the waist, 27, take 28; bust, 34, take 35; hips, 42 to 44 inch. Price, \$12.50.

These are Butterick Patterns. If your local dealer cannot supply these patterns, send direct to The Butterick Publishing Co., Order Dept., 403 Wellington St. West, Toronto.

Figure 29 "French News on Dolman Sleeves..." fashion feature. Canadian Home Journal Nov. 1926

The magazine form allows the creation of a Paris-centric “dreamworld”, through which the inaccessible garments in the fashionable shops of Paris, described in the advice, are linked to the obtainable styles presented as patterns. This connection is furthered with the patterns representing some of the trends discussed in the “Dress” column, such as the turban-like hat pictured on the top right of the page. Similarly, imaginings of shopping are encouraged with the image of the two women walking and holding gifts on the top right. The pattern pages therefore fall into the liminal category of advertorial, between advertising and editorial content, particularly through these links with other content. Yet they were still advertising a product, produced by a company. The company interestingly was not European, but rather American.

Throughout the decade, patterns were provided by American companies which cited Toronto offices; Pictorial Review until August 1923, Standard Designer until October 1926, and finally Butterick Pattern Company. The presentation of American fashions in a Canadian publication is perhaps not unexpected. The fashions were certainly not produced in Canada, so inevitably had to be imported from somewhere. The implications of this are interesting though, particularly in the case of the Butterick Pattern Company. Established in 1863 by Ebenezer Butterick, the company produced magazines with the express mission of advertising its patterns. These early magazines included *The Ladies' Quarterly Review of Broadway Fashion* and *Metropolitan Monthly*, which were merged in 1873 to create *The Delineator*. As Kathleen Endres and Therese Lueck comment, “*The Delineator* was a magazine of ‘American Fashion’ for the

world and one of the 'Big Six' women's magazines in the fin de siècle period" (58). *The Delineator* was one of the *Ladies' Home Journal's* direct competitors and, as Mary Ellen Waller-Zuckerman points out, one of its major influences: "Butterick Company influenced Curtis Company in terms of product content (forcing inclusion of the patterns female customers desired), expansion of product line, and in showing Curtis the advantages of a widely developed system of agents selling the magazines" (108). In this way, *The Delineator* can be seen to be influencing both the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal*, demonstrating the interconnectedness of the early mass-market magazine industry. A full-page feature in the November 1926 issue of the *Canadian Home Journal*, titled "A World Wide Pattern Service", announced the monthly inclusion of Butterick Patterns, but the nationality of the company was obscured. No mention is made of the United States; instead, the advert states,

The sales of Butterick patterns at the Butterick Shop at 27 Avenue de l'Opera, Paris, France, are greater than the sales of any pattern in any other store in the world. For more than half a century Butterick Patterns have been established at 175 Regent Street, London, England, and the Butterick Shop has become to Londoners and others a landmark as well as a synonym for the best in fashion.

Of course, the Butterick Pattern Company did have international offices, and certainly none of the information being presented is untrue, but the decision to position these patterns as originating from Europe implies that this would matter to readers. Alternatively, it could have been the case that the magazine was unwilling to include explicit links to American industry, given the nationalist aims of the publication. Regardless, this example renders explicit the extent of cross-border and transatlantic fashion exchange.

Fundamentally, the aesthetic ideal the readers of the *Canadian Home Journal* were being encouraged to emulate was not Canadian in origin, nor did it claim to be. But it was presented as a specifically Canadian interpretation of the fashionable standards set elsewhere, and this was increasingly the case in later decades.¹⁰⁷ Compared to the *Ladies' Home Journal*, however, this was not explicit or vigorous fashion nationalism. Yet, to some extent, the provision of nationally-specific ideals of dress was one way in which fashion was cemented as an appropriate, and encouraged, interest. As seen in Collins' and Sears' articles in the *Ladies' Home Journal* and McClung's in the *Canadian Home Journal*, these titles negotiated between nineteenth-century concerns regarding morality and authenticity and encroaching twentieth-century modernity. Appropriate fashion, as presented by these magazines, can be understood as a series of compromises or middle-grounds; between frugality and excess, between North America and Europe, and between nineteenth- and twentieth-century values. Both titles presented negotiation, albeit through aggressive fashion nationalism on the part of the *Ladies' Home Journal* and subtle national interpretation for the *Canadian Home Journal*. While the process and results were not without tensions, mediation of these binaries allowed fashion to be positioned as a worthwhile, if not essential, middle-class feminine interest in both of these titles.

¹⁰⁷ Hammill and Smith comment, "The Canadian magazines place a particularly strong emphasis on the need to be selective, not only to avoid eccentricity but also to adapt Paris and New York fashions so that they suit both the Canadian environment and the person who will wear them" (123), although this refers more closely to the period from the 1930s onwards.

Makeup

Whilst an interest in fashion, albeit appropriate fashion, was demonstrably positioned as a valuable feminine interest throughout the 1920s, makeup and cosmetics were decidedly more troubling for the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* in the 1920s. The difficulty presented can perhaps be best understood along class lines. Magazines like *Vogue* were quicker to embrace makeup as an acceptable feminine interest. An article in the May 1920 issue of *Vogue*, titled "On Her Dressing-Table", explicitly addresses makeup, carrying the subtitle, "The Correct Use of 'Make-up' Gives That Elusive Touch of Artificiality Which But Enhances a Charming Woman's Charm" (94).

Artificiality, here, is separated from deception and presented as beneficial. The article asserts a modern change in attitude:

Even the most conservative and prejudiced people now concede that a woman exquisitely made up may yet be, in spite of seeming frivolity, a faithful wife and a devoted mother. Like eating and speaking and dressing, making up has well-bred and vulgar possibilities. The woman who is innately tasteful will not powder to extreme nor daub her lips with a too vivid crimson. The crudities of a whitewashed face upon which the color flares out like the spots on a clown's cheeks, appear to her in their true character, discordant, jangling. Conspicuous make-up goes hand in hand with other vulgarities. (94)

Through identification with ideal domestic characters, makeup is positioned as a completely acceptable interest, with tensions only arising through misuse.

Makeup is positioned as neutral, placed alongside other acceptable activities, for women of a higher class who can be trusted to use it tastefully. The reader of *Vogue*, whilst here positioned as the "faithful wife" and "devoted mother", is distinct from the readers of the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home*

Journal due to her relatively secure social position. For the aspirational readers of the latter titles, makeup, artifice, and vanity were diametrically opposed to the middle-class values championed elsewhere in the titles as facilitators of upward mobility. In their mediation between the traditional¹⁰⁸ and the modern, both titles demonstrated a conflicted attitude towards makeup.

The magazine form demands consideration of the representation of beauty both in relation to advertisements and throughout other forms of content. In advertisements, beauty was positioned as important and achievable through consumption. In articles, women's appearance and, to use Barton Currie's phrase, "the importance of beauty" was a frequent topic. In the fiction, while the heroines were modest, they were certainly depicted as beautiful, if not in the fiction itself then usually by the accompanying illustrations. Beauty saturated the magazines, championed throughout the editorial and commercial content, even while explicit advertisements for makeup were minimal and the acceptability of makeup was hotly contested. Therefore, an examination which provides both quantitative and qualitative analysis is necessary, in order to establish how idealised beauty was constructed in these titles, the extent to which this normalised the use of makeup, and whether or not this was nationally specific. This section, then, will begin with an overview of the commercial presentation of beauty and makeup in each title, before moving on to consider their representation in editorial content, first in the *Ladies' Home*

¹⁰⁸ As discussed in Chapter Two, traditional views on beauty as a signifier of moral purity jarred with modern, increasingly superficial and flexible notions of beauty.

Journal and then in the *Canadian Home Journal*. The primary aim of this section is to consider the changing attitudes towards beauty and makeup in the context of these titles, examining the manner in which each title mediated between traditional and modern ideals of femininity, and the extent to which this was enabled by the magazine form.

Table 5 – Number of advertisements for beauty products and makeup (per issue)

<i>Ladies' Home Journal</i>					
	1920	1922	1926	1928	Overall
Beauty products	20	21.5	23.5	24	22.25
As % total ads	12.38%	11.88%	12.53%	12.44%	12.31%
Of these makeup	4.5	5	7	5.5	5.5
As % total ads	2.79%	2.76%	3.73%	3.73%	3.04%
<i>Canadian Home Journal</i>					
	1920	1922	1926	1928	Overall
Beauty products	10	14	18.5	22	16.13
As % total ads	10.05%	12.61%	14.02%	18.18%	13.91%
Of these makeup	1	2.5	3	3.5	2.5
As % total ads	1.01%	2.25%	2.27%	2.89%	2.16%

As table 5 shows, the number of advertisements for beauty products¹⁰⁹—as a proportion of the total advertisements in each issue—remained relatively consistent in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, with beauty products at an average of

¹⁰⁹ Beauty products, here, are defined as any product which positions as its primary benefit an improved appearance. This includes products such as shampoo, toothpaste, soap, perfume, talcum powder, cleansing creams, moisturisers, and makeup. For more detail on the assigning of categories, see the account of methodology in Chapter One.

12.31% of the advertisements featured. Although the number of advertisements featuring makeup¹¹⁰ increased slightly over the period, this remained a relatively low proportion of total advertising content. Meanwhile, examination of the *Canadian Home Journal's* advertisements shows a marked increase in the proportion of advertisements for beauty products over the period, from 10.05% in 1920 to 18.18% in 1928, while the representation of makeup showed a less significant increase. Considering the number of advertisements for beauty products and makeup as a percentage of the total number of advertisements in each issue demonstrates that, overall, beauty products and makeup were proportionally represented at a similar level in the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* in this period. While there is a slight increase in the commercial representation of makeup, these figures alone are not enough to suggest that commercial promotion of makeup was the sole cause of its increasing acceptability. Similar results are apparent when considering the proportion of page space dedicated to these types of advertisements.

¹¹⁰ Makeup advertisements are defined as any advertisement which makes mention of a makeup product, including face powder, rouge, lipstick, and eyelash tint, among others. These are considered here as a subcategory of beauty products, because advertisements often presented brief, small mentions of these products within larger advertisements for non-makeup beauty products. This point will be discussed in greater detail later.

Table 6 – Page space of advertisements for beauty products and makeup (per issue)

<i>Ladies' Home Journal</i>					
	1920	1922	1926	1928	Overall
Beauty products	12.94	13.31	16.94	12.41	13.90
As % total ad space	12.28%	14.58%	14.97%	10.99%	13.15%
Of these makeup	3.06	2.25	3.94	2.88	3.16
As % total ad space	2.91%	3.01%	3.48%	2.55%	2.99%
<i>Canadian Home Journal</i>					
	1920	1922	1926	1928	Overall
Beauty products	3.56	4.61	6.04	8.70	5.54
As % total ad space	11.39%	14.13%	12.09%	18.35%	14.29%
Of these makeup	0.06	0.88	1.11	1.84	0.97
As % total ad space	0.20%	2.68%	2.53%	3.89%	2.51%

As shown in table 6, the proportion of page space dedicated to the advertisement of beauty products was similar in both titles; the *Ladies' Home Journal* with 13.15% and the *Canadian Home Journal* with 14.29% on average for the period. Again though, proportionately speaking, a marked increase in the representation of makeup is observable in the *Canadian Home Journal* throughout the period, while the *Ladies' Home Journal* remained relatively

consistent. What this content analysis demonstrates most clearly is that while there was not a dramatic increase in the representation of beauty products, beauty was a consistent and significant commercial interest for both titles. Consideration of specific examples of advertisements augments this analysis, providing insight into the ways in which the growing American cosmetics industry¹¹¹ and wider discourses of beauty may have directly and indirectly encouraged the use of makeup.

The burgeoning American beauty industry was experiencing rapid growth in the early twentieth century. As Richard Corson comments, “In 1923 the factory value of cosmetics and perfumes in the United States was more than \$75,000,000 (£31,250,000), an increase of 400 percent in ten years” (466) and in 1928 American cosmetics manufacturers spent, “more than 16 million dollars (nearly 7 million pounds) in advertising their products, making them the third largest industry in the country in volume of magazine advertising” (490). For the American and Canadian magazine industries, whose commercial model hinged on advertising revenue, the significance of these figures cannot be overstated. As shown in table 2, the proportion of advertisements remained relatively consistent in both titles, 12-14% of the total number of ads per issue. Advertisements from this industry, therefore, represented a considerable amount of advertising revenue for both titles. With this in mind, it is arguably the case that the commercial growth of the beauty industry, encouraged by

¹¹¹ It is worthwhile reiterating, here, that the vast majority of advertisements for beauty products which appeared in the *Canadian Home Journal* were placed by American companies.

endorsements from upmarket titles like *Vogue*, and its manifestations in the form of advertisements contributed to the shift in attitudes towards cosmetics seen in the mass-market titles.

November, Nineteen-Twenty. 61



Brings Beauty while You Sleep

Confidently you face the searching light of the morning sun, knowing that the tired lines of the previous day have been softened and subdued by Pompeian NIGHT Cream.

This improved cold cream brings, while you sleep, the beauty of a soft, youthful skin. Pompeian NIGHT Cream is for sale at all druggists at 50c and \$1.00 a jar.

Other popular Pompeian toilet preparations are the 60c Pompeian DAY Cream (vanishing), which removes face shine; Pompeian BEAUTY Powder (60c), a powder that stays on; Pompeian BLOOM (60c), a rouge that won't crumble; Pompeian MASSAGE Cream (60c), and Pompeian FRAGRANCE (30c), a talcum with an exquisite new odor. Clip the coupon now.



Marguerite Clark Art Panel and Samples

Miss Marguerite Clark posed especially for this 1921 Pompeian Beauty Art Panel, entitled "Absence Cannot Hearts Divide." The rare beauty and charm of Miss Clark are faithfully reproduced in delicate colors in this Art Panel. Size, 28 x 7 1/2 inches. Price, 15c. Samples of the three Instant Beauty preparations, Pompeian Beauty Powder, Pompeian Day Cream, and Pompeian Bloom, sent with the Art Panel. Also samples of Pompeian Night Cream and Pompeian Fragrance, a talcum. All for a dime (in coin). Please clip coupon now.

Guarantee

The name Pompeian on our package is your guarantee of quality and safety. Should you not be completely satisfied, the purchase price will be gladly refunded by The Pompeian Company, or Cleveland, Ohio.

THE POMPEIAN COMPANY
 1 Wyandotte Ave. Walkerville, Ontario, Canada



"Absence Cannot Hearts Divide"

"Don't Envy Beauty—Use Pompeian"

THE POMPEIAN COMPANY
 1 Wyandotte Ave., Walkerville, Ontario, Canada
 Send me 1 sample of each of the three Instant Beauty Art Panels, Beauty Powder, Pompeian Day Cream, and Pompeian Bloom, and 1 sample of Pompeian Night Cream and Pompeian Fragrance, a talcum, and 1 sample of Pompeian Beauty Powder, all for a dime (in coin). Please clip coupon now.

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____ State _____
 Zip _____

Figure 30 Pompeian advert. *Canadian Home Journal* Nov. 1920



Paint by
Percy Cookson,
Boston, 1922



Combination Cream
Jonteel, for making
a soft, beautiful
skin. 50¢ net price
Apr. 25c

COMBINATION CREAM Jonteel

A New
Beautifying
Treatment

Try This Today

FIRST: Cleanse face and throat thoroughly with a good cold cream.*

Second: Before removing cream, gently pinch face all over. This will bring superfluous oil out of pores and help circulation. Don't pinch so hard that it burns.

Third: Remove cream with a soft face cloth wrung out of very hot water.

Fourth: While skin is still moist, apply Combination Cream Jonteel with finger-tips. Pat the skin gently, especially under chin. Occasionally dip finger-tips into warm water—lastly into cold. Notice how cool and refreshed this cream makes your face feel. Notice how eagerly the skin drinks it up. Notice how velvety smooth it leaves the flesh.

Fifth: When cream is thoroughly absorbed, lightly apply Face Powder Jonteel. Add a touch of Rouge Jonteel where color is needed.

That's all there is. It will take only a few minutes, but an hour in a "beauty parlor" could not make you look fresher or younger. And you'll have found out what a wonderful beauty for Combination Cream Jonteel is.

Thousands of beautiful women are using Combination Cream Jonteel daily, to beautify and heal the skin, to protect it against weather. They invariably use it before powdering, for it leaves such a uniform surface for the powder to cling to, and it keeps powder from lodging in the pores to clog and form blackheads or pimples.

Stop at the nearest Rexall Store and take home a jar of Combination Cream Jonteel. Don't put it off and forget—do it today.

Sold exclusively by the 3000 Rexall Stores, of the United States, Canada, and Great Britain.

Jonteel Beauty Requisites—Perfumed with the Costly New Odor of 26 Flowers

*Cold Cream Jonteel, 50c
Talc Jonteel, 25c

Soap Jonteel, 25c
Manicure Set Jonteel, \$1.50

Other Jonteel, for the toilet, \$1.50
Other Jonteel Concentrate, \$3.00

(In Canada, Jonteel prices are slightly higher)

How to use Face Powder and Rouge Jonteel



Face Powder Jonteel, 50c

Take great care, always to use the right shade of powder. Its weight is light powder gives a softness, natural effect. Face Powder Jonteel comes in three natural shades—Pink, Blue, and Brunette. Never apply powder directly to the skin or make it cling with pores. Always use cream first. Use women use less of powder to night powder, throwing them away after use, a puff with, and is apt to collect germs.



Face Powder Compact
Jonteel, 50c

A charming, barely firm of pink which is daily growing ever paler. The dainty box, containing a jar of powder and a puff, also makes an purse or bag. Think, think, and be sure. Also a fascinating one dark, especially for daytime use. "Gentle"



Rouge Jonteel, 50c

Select your shade with care and apply it sparingly and the shade is natural, youthful color will be given. Rouge Jonteel comes in four shades—Light, Medium, and Dark—and is chosen that suit woman's face and the hands perfectly with her complexion. Use where color would come naturally. Study your face. On the cheeks apply the rouge gently down to a diagonal line across. Touch tip of chin and bridge of nose. Smooth over the cheeks with the same motion of eye side motion.

Eye-brow Pencil Jonteel, 25c
Lip-Stick Jonteel, 25c

Figure 31 Jonteel advert. Ladies' Home Journal Apr. 1922

Beginning with examples which directly encourage the use of makeup, the advertisements above—one for Pompeian Night Cream, published in the November 1920 issue of the *Canadian Home Journal*, and another for Jonteel Combination Cream, from the April 1922 issue of the *Ladies Home Journal*—demonstrate the relative subtlety of makeup advertising at the beginning of the decade. These tended to subsume the more controversial makeup products under a banner for a more acceptable product: the Pompeian Night Cream advertisement contains a brief reference to “Pompeian Bloom” rouge in the text, and the Jonteel Combination Cream advertisement includes a smaller column featuring makeup products. In the case of the Jonteel advertisement, the heading of the column positions the advertisement as informative, telling readers “How to Use Face Powder and Rouge” (176). The ad instructs the reader to, “Take great care always to use the right *shade* of powder”, warning that “In sunlight, too light a powder gives a ridiculous, unbeautiful effect” (176). Of course, this is not a problem with this product, the ad informs the reader, as it comes in three shades. The advice for rouge follows a similar pattern, “Select your shade with extreme care, apply it sparingly, and the illusion of natural, youthful color will be perfect” (176). This evocation of the natural is common in makeup advertisements from the early 1920s. There is an admission that the result is an “illusion”, but the effect appears natural. Importance, here, is placed on appearing beautiful rather than being beautiful, and it occurs without moral quandary. This advertisement, and numerous others, exemplify a distinct ideological shift. As discussed in Chapter Two, Joan Shelley Rubin describes this in the context of the middlebrow as a shift from “character” to “personality” (24-

25) while Russell Belk and Richard Pollay describe it in the context of consumer culture in terms of the changing conception of what constitutes “the good life” (887). In both cases, it is the superficial or material that matters, as opposed to the internal or the spiritual. That said, the enduring importance of the “natural” implies that this remained a negotiation between traditional and modern values.

In addition to Pompeian, numerous other American brands advertised in the *Canadian Home Journal*. The dominant presence of American beauty adverts in a Canadian publication can be seen as evidence of the commercial privileging of specifically American ideals of beauty. In the early twentieth century, America’s domestic beauty industry exported “the emergent American look – visible in the Gibson Girls and the New Woman [which] conveyed an image that was natural, youthful, healthy and wholesome” (Peiss 102). Many of the American advertisements present in the *Canadian Home Journal* also appeared in the *Ladies’ Home Journal*. Broadly speaking, advertisements such as these ran in American, then Canadian magazines unchanged, demonstrating that beauty products were promoted to the disparate American and Canadian target markets in the same way and suggesting that American companies simply saw the Canadian market as an extension of the domestic. One such company was that of Elizabeth Arden, whose advertisements demonstrate that even within the beauty industry makeup was a contentious issue. Her salon, and the company it spawned, advertised in the *Canadian Home Journal* in addition to numerous American periodicals, including the *Ladies’ Home Journal*.

Although she was in fact Canadian, born in Toronto as Florence Nightingale Graham, Elizabeth Arden never referred to herself as such (Woodhead 55). Her company was specifically American, as were its advertisements. They often capitalised on a sense of authenticity through Arden herself, stating, “Elizabeth Arden is in personal touch with you” (*CHJ* Jan. 1929), or “Elizabeth Arden is Real!” (*CHJ* Oct. 1929). Yet Arden did not consider her products to be of a similar nature to makeup, as advertisements from the *Ladies’ Home Journal* carrying titles such as “Cosmetics Can Neither Cure or Conceal Your Skin Blemishes” (*LHJ* Nov. 1927) and “Make-up is a Cheap Makeshift” (*LHJ* Sept. 1927) demonstrate. The latter advises,

A healthy skin has no blemishes to conceal . . . The natural texture of a well cared for skin is lovelier than cosmetics or art can make it. Among smart women, a revulsion against make-up grows more and more apparent. Powder is used to protect the skin, but sparingly used, and in a shade to match the complexion perfectly. Rouge, only when fatigue or illness makes it necessary, and never permitted to show. A few minutes’ scientific care each morning and night, according to the method of an Elizabeth Arden Treatment, will keep your skin so lovely you will have no need to resort to artifice. (62)

Here, the advertisement places the featured products in direct opposition to makeup, drawing on thoroughly traditional views to make its point. Yet through association with scientific method, the treatments are positioned as thoroughly modern, therefore offering a negotiation between traditional views and the performance of modernity. The claim that there is an increasing “revulsion against makeup” seems wishful, considering the determined commercial growth

of the industry.¹¹² Nevertheless, the addressing of makeup in the title and the following discussion of makeup—powder and rouge, products not made or marketed by Elizabeth Arden in the 1920s—demonstrates the extent to which makeup had moved into the mainstream. In its attempt to convincingly argue the case against makeup, the advert confirms that there was a considerable case for it, thus engaging in discourses of beauty which, arguably, indirectly normalise the use of makeup.

Engagement with discourses of beauty in this manner—and the oscillation between promotion and vilification of makeup—can also be seen in other types of content in the magazines. Beginning with the *Ladies' Home Journal*, this is evident in numerous articles addressing feminine appearance. In addition to replacing Harry Collins as the *Ladies' Home Journal's* authority on fashions, Mary Brush Williams occasionally contributed articles on beauty. One such article, titled “Exit the Vamp—Enter a New Type of Beauty”, appeared in the November 1921 issue and begins with an outline of upper-class trends in makeup:

The vampire belongs to history. The boulevards wave no more with her long languid veil, nor droop with her sad feather. There has been a new development in make-up. The type is no longer modelled on the whitewashed clown with painted slits for eyes and mouth. The tint is now the one that used to prevail in American insect powders, salmon pink and heavy. It demands rouge for the cheeks that used to be so ghastly white. The hair has changed from red to golden yellow. The type is still unhealthy, but altered to the pleading, *malade*-like Camille, who is wronged and suffers. (26)

¹¹² Peiss notes that by the late 1930s, in spite of protestations from Elizabeth Arden and Helena Rubenstein among others, “The “temporary” beauty business’, as Arden disdainfully called the trade in makeup, had won” (107).

Discussion of both of these trends is presented with apparent distaste; the “vamp” is outlined in morose terms, from her “languid veil” to her “sad feather”, while the new type is more girlish, but pathetically so. The association of the pink tint with insect repellent or poison encourages disgust toward the makeup. These two archetypes are positioned as opposites, but neither is considered remotely appropriate. The main body of the article focuses on hairstyles, before turning to the topic of youth at which point France and the United States are brought into opposition. Speaking of “the French”, Williams states, “They say that only a young nation like ourselves—and their tone sounds as if they were patting us—could concern itself with the worship of an evanescent youth” (26). In invoking the idea of a patronising France, Williams defends the quest for a youthful appearance and goes on to use it to foreground discussion of the American beauty products in comparison to the French:

As for the quality of the ingredients, the American label is the badge of purity. The French clamor for our cold creams, and our rouge is so infinitely better that the French are always asking me if I cannot get them some. Our make-up is designed to produce the look of naturalness, while these people are forever striving to be artificial, and their preparations do not always assist the skin. (26)

Makeup is here positioned as acceptable, but only if it is American. Comments on the quality of the products, of the American production as “the badge of purity” echo the language of advertising copy, and build trust in American beauty products. Placed in a magazine which carried a substantial quantity of advertisements for American beauty products, assertions such as these are significant and demonstrate an attempt to reconcile traditional values and commercial interests.

A later article by Mary Brush Williams, “How to Look Artificially Natural” (Sept. 1925), again asserts the difference between attitudes of Paris, “that most knowing of cities, where Nature’s stock is quoted low and artificiality mounts to a premium” (114), and the United States. The oxymoronic title demonstrates the renegotiation of values, reframing artifice as a term which, if not neutral, is certainly less objectionable. American cosmetics are still discursively constructed as aiding natural beauty, but discussed far more overtly: detailing appropriate shades and application procedures, and encouraging experimentation. The advice asserts that Williams herself uses cosmetics:

I feel quite proud of myself to be able to announce one little point over and above any discovered by my young friend. She did not know what to do with that lighter shade of rouge. I do. Use it as a foundation—if you are not very, very fair or very, very dark—then rub over it the shade you judge most suitable for you, with the tint inclining toward a coloring darker than your skin. (114)

This explicit discussion of rouge, of tried-and-tested methods, and the pride taken by the author in her skill in this area evidence the increasing acceptance of makeup in the *Ladies’ Home Journal*. Although the discussion included mentions of cosmetics beyond rouge, these were not encouraged so readily:

The trouble about lip rouge is that it throws all the rest of your coloring out of proportion. If you leave the rest of your face natural, lip rouge makes you look deadly pale. And if you put on make-up to balance it, you are too artificial to suit even the college boys, who usually don’t like things too simple. (114)

Lipstick is cited as problematic, resulting in looking “too artificial”, an unfortunate outcome which is focalised through the male gaze. As with fashion,

the aspirational ideal demonstrated a negotiation, this time between the honestly natural and the overtly artificial.

These negotiations and shifts in attitudes towards the morality of limited makeup use can be seen also in the *Canadian Home Journal*. There is, however, arguably a greater disjunction between the commercial and editorial content than in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, given the fact that the majority of adverts for beauty products or makeup were American. The regular beauty column—"Through the Looking Glass" by "Vain Jane" until 1923, "The Vanity Box" by "Prim Rose" until 1928¹¹³—consistently focused on home-made remedies and natural cosmetics in the first half of the decade. Aside from advertisements for American beauty products, this column was the only beauty advice. Yet even here, the use of makeup was proving an unavoidable subject. Of course, overly conspicuous makeup is still thoroughly undesirable, as the September 1922 "Through the Looking Glass" column confirms, "Let no one think that we are advocating the lavish use of powder or rouge or that we are not advocates of soap and water". Limited use of these products however, to achieve apparently natural results, no longer carries the full weight of nineteenth-century concerns about deception. Naturalness is still positioned as the ideal here, and a focus on the natural was arguably more pronounced in the *Canadian Home Journal* than

¹¹³ Given these pseudonyms, it is difficult to establish who the author of these regular columns was or, indeed, if it was one author as opposed to several staff writers taking turns. There are certainly marked similarities in both style and content between "Through the Looking Glass" and "The Vanity Box", suggesting that it was either the same author or staff writers who had received particularly prescriptive instructions for the column.

in its American equivalent. As discussed in depth in Chapter Two, the columns consistently began with reference to the seasons, weather and nature, associations which were often continued throughout. Even in the same column which mentions makeup, nature and natural remedies are championed with Prim Rose reminding readers that, “April rain is just as beneficial to the human complexion as it is to the daffodils and violets. A walk in the spring rain will do you all the good in the world and will add to the softness and brightness of the skin as the ill-named beauty parlour can never accomplish” (22). The derisive comments about the beauty parlour imply scepticism about mass-marketed beauty, a mistrust that perhaps relates to the fact that the burgeoning beauty industry was American in origin and scope. Yet, throughout the 1920s, makeup is increasingly included in the beauty column.

In the April 1927 “The Vanity Box”, Prim Rose explicitly mentions makeup in a discussion of mirrors:

Do not entirely rely on your mirror. . . . Looking glasses are usually, luckily, far from flattering, and you look better out of them than in them, but this only adds a danger to make-up. Your rouge and liquid powder are sometimes greatly toned down in the mirror. Then you come out into sunlight, or a very strong artificial light, your make-up greatly intensified, with disastrous results to the feelings of your admirers. (22)

Makeup is positioned as a potential problem, something which can easily derail the reader’s efforts to attain beauty. Yet this open discussion of “rouge and liquid powder” confirms that the products themselves are no longer subject to immediate immoral associations. Through discussion of mirrors, Prim Rose presents the importance of viewing and critiquing the self. Much like Mary

Brush Williams, *Prim Rose* frames the potential “disastrous results” in relation to the male gaze, encouraging the reader to apprehend herself through that lens, and reinforcing the performative nature of appearance. This links with feminist conceptions of the image of woman as a construction. As Jane Gaines comments of filmic representation of women,

As this argument goes, the image is a product of culture in several senses at once—as it has been industrially manufactured, as it has been pieced together according to aesthetic rules pertaining to lighting, gesture, and composition. (1)

Gaines’ point speaks to the fractured nature of the woman as image, a conception which has significant ramifications for the fractured nature of the feminine self within an increasingly visual culture, where women are encouraged to consider themselves in a visual context. The mirror, in both the editorial and commercial content, was a repeating symbol within the mass-market magazines of the 1920s.

Advertisements from the American beauty industry, presented in both titles, often depicted idealised women regarding their reflections, as in the following examples: from left to right, Florient Talc; Woodbury Soap; and Watkin’s Mulsified Coconut Shampoo.



Figure 32 Colgate advert. *Canadian Home Journal* July 1920



Figure 33 Woodbury Soap advert. *Ladies' Home Journal* June 1920



Figure 34 Watkin's Advert. *Ladies' Home Journal* July 1920

These illustrations of self-inspection were emphasised by repeated textual references to mirrors and critiquing of the visual self. In her discussion of the “Dear Mab” beauty columns in Canadian title *Chatelaine*, Jane Nicholas states that the advice,

reinforced a popular discourse that encouraged self-scrutiny on an intensely detailed level and reinforced the idea that women were to study their bodies through a male lens, thus encouraging the co-opting of an intensely misogynistic scopic regime in order to promote further corporal discipline. (“Beauty Advice” 73)

Women were consistently depicted as appearing, being looked at both by men and by themselves, reinforcing appearance as an essential part of modern femininity. This can be observed also in the advice given in the *Canadian Home Journal*; in Prim Rose’s discussion of mirrors and male perspective in the August 1927 column; and even more acutely in her January 1929 article titled, “Bolstering Up Wobbly Resolutions With a Good Looks Creed”.

Addressing how to be “fashionable this New Year”, Prim Rose states,

To keep in with the changing mood of the mode, milady must check up on herself and more than ever keep strict account of the pound of flesh that must be added here and subtracted there, the setting of her hair this way, and the lipstick applied just that way if she is going to belong to the *impeccable* this 1929. (36, emphasis in original)

Self-scrutiny and self-discipline are paramount here, and the overt and non-judgemental mention of lipstick represents a significant shift in attitude from the earlier beauty columns. Makeup, here, is included as part of the required routine for “impeccable” appearance, thus positioned as an essential technique of display for appearing modern and beautiful. In the centre of this page, separated from the surrounding text, is a statement carrying the subtitle, “I Resolve - - To Be Progressively Beautiful in 1929”. This is followed by a list of resolutions:

to give strictest attention to the triflingest details of personal grooming. to do at least one thing every day to improve myself personally to keep a health and beauty schedule which nothing shall keep me from following for I believe that beauty—and when I say beauty I mean physical radiance which comes from constant attention—is actually attainable and worth having. (36)

These resolutions demonstrate a distinct departure in the manner in which beauty is positioned within the *Canadian Home Journal*. Whereas beauty, previously, had been an acceptable interest only insofar as it was based on a natural aesthetic and did not overtake other feminine interests; here, the pursuit of beauty is privileged above all other interests. It demands rigour and discipline. The list ends with the assertion, “I am going to see that I have the right beauty preparations that are my special individual needs” (36), explicitly

positioning consumption as a required element of this quest for beauty, in a manner that was not seen in previous beauty columns. The language and tone of the column—in its contrast with the previous offerings attributed to Prim Rose—suggests either that this is a different author, or that a different style has been requested of the author. There are numerous possible explanations for this shift. This could have been a response to the styles used by competitors, both from the United States and within Canada, or an attempt to appeal to an audience who were now more familiar with the growing American beauty industry. Regardless of the reasons behind this change, however, what is crucially important is that appearance is privileged above all else here, with beauty positioned as an aspect of self-improvement and makeup positioned as an integral element.

The representation of makeup as an acceptable technique of display is evident also in issues of the *Ladies' Home Journal* from the late 1920s. In an article in the September 1927 issue, the same issue as Elizabeth Arden's advertisement "Make-Up is a Cheap Make-Shift", the actress Lynn Fontanne writes,

I have seen women fail to be beautiful, fail to be successful and fail to get what they most ardently desire, who might have had it all if only they would sink their prejudices. . . . If she would only make up her face to give it character—to express animation which would sustain her real physical beauty—her success would be assured. (30)

Fontanne acknowledges moral objections to makeup but positions them as prejudices, implying that notions such as these are out-of-date and at odds with modernity. Taking a position diametrically opposed to that of Arden, her view of makeup goes beyond neutrality, positioning it as an essential element of

feminine appearance. The presentation of these contradictory opinions reveals both the plurality of voices and opinions afforded by the magazine form, and the way in which idealised appearance was negotiated and renegotiated within its pages. Fontanne goes on to question the residual moral issues with makeup: “We don’t think it insincere to dress the figure beautifully. Why should it be to dress one’s face?” (30) This question exposes the logic behind the increasing acceptance of makeup: it had been co-opted into the discourse of fashion.

Conclusions

Throughout the period of the 1920s, the face and the body were brought into closer alignment, a shift noticeable earlier in the slick fashion magazines than in those aimed at the middle classes. Referring to attitudes presented in *Vogue*, Peiss comments,

“No two things are more closely allied” than a woman’s “fashions and her cosmetics,” stated *Vogue*’s beauty editor, but this was a strategic alliance, not an eternal truth. In the nineteenth century, beauty culture had touted timeless principles of enhancing appearance, and makeup was fashion mainly to the fast social elite and daring working-class women. In the 1920s and 1930s, manufacturers and consumers alike increasingly perceived the face as a style, subject to fashion trends and fads. (130)

As demonstrated, these trends were certainly not absent from the *Ladies’ Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal*. This shift towards the “face as a style” can perhaps be best understood, to return to Liz Conor’s argument, in the context of the “spectacularization” of the Modern Woman, in that “Modernity’s visions of women became part of women’s self-perception as modern” (8). Both the *Ladies’ Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* assembled aspirational images

of women, through both textual and visual content, and these arguably constituted the “visions of women” referenced by Connor. Thus, the imagined readership was invited to view these modes of appearance as modern, aspiring to and emulating them in order to engage in the successful performance of modern femininity. Through the varied advice and advertisements, the magazines emphasised ideals relating to modern feminine appearance, but also positioned these ideals as achievable through thoughtful and informed consumption of both fashions and makeup.

It is clear that over the course of the 1920s, in the context of these magazines, makeup was increasingly located as an element of the modern woman’s fashionable appearance. The notion of “naturalness” was gradually altered, no longer associated with a lack of makeup and artifice, but rather with the superficial appearance of the natural. Of course, overly conspicuous makeup was still contested in terms of its propriety, but emphatic and automatic associations with immorality no longer blighted the makeup products themselves. Skincare and beauty practices that emphasised caring for or subtly enhancing natural beauty were readily accepted and encouraged in both titles but these came to include makeup. These attitudinal shifts and the creation of a safe middle-ground of beauty practice—between soap and water and problematic paint—contributed to the growth of the American beauty industry. As Peiss comments, “Turn-of-the-century beauty culture had emphasized a discipline of skin care that would supposedly lead to lasting beauty, but it was the growing emphasis on rouge, lipstick, and mascara that increasingly spurred

the industry's development" (107). Arguably, the mass-market magazines played a crucial role in this process, insofar as they provided a space where conflicting commercial and moral interests could be presented simultaneously, encouraging a renegotiation of values and ideals. Inevitably, as the industry grew so did its share of the advertising space; normalising makeup through increasing visibility.

Makeup was brought in line with fashionable discourse, and placed alongside shifts in acceptable fashion, through an association with "individuality". In his preface to "Dress and Character", Harry Collins addresses originality in fashion, stating,

Someone has defined beauty as a state of mind, but I like to think of it as an expression of character. Thought is the prompter back of the stage, but conduct acts. Character reflects soul, and dress reflects character. A dress is your novel, your poem, your painting, composed by you and bearing the message of yourself. (49)

This excerpt demonstrates overlapping conceptions of beauty and display, of character and appearance, and in terms of its spiritual language associates closely with nineteenth-century conceptions of the face as a place where character is communicated. In its association with artistic products, Collins not only reveals beauty as a construct, but also as a communicator of identity and self. Thus in the construction of beauty, character is displayed. The sharp moral lines between the body and face had been blurred; a process which did not happen instantaneously but occurred before and throughout the 1920s. Enabled largely by the provision of spaces in which the bounds of acceptability could be negotiated and renegotiated, this ideological shift was arguably

indebted to women's magazines and department stores. Informed by both cultural and commercial factors, then, making-up and dressing-up both were positioned as appropriate and encouraged feminine activities.

The role of increasing consumption was arguably instrumental in this ideological shift. Throughout the magazines, consumption was presented as a solution to a myriad of problems and it would therefore seem reasonable to assume that this logic should also apply to feminine appearance. Indeed, both titles encouraged their imagined readers to adopt fashionable appearance as one of their priorities, gave practical and commercial advice on appearance, and provided spaces in which the acceptability of fashionable interest could be negotiated. An understanding of the representations of fashion and makeup in the magazines as negotiations accounts for the divergent, and at times contradictory, content. Indeed, the contradictory content becomes an essential part of this function of the magazine; establishing standards of acceptability between practicality and frivolity, between selflessness and vanity, between nineteenth-century morality and encroaching twentieth-century modernity. These middle-grounds are not fixed and can be altered through the negotiations occurring in the magazine, as seen in changing fashions and decreasing disapproval of makeup. In the main, these points apply to both titles.

There are, however, some marked differences in the way each title pieced together its idealised versions of feminine appearance. The fashion pages in the *Ladies' Home Journal* displayed a distinct attempt at fashion nationalism,

attempting to establish an American as opposed to European fashion. While the efforts of Harry Collins, for example, were, like those of Edward Bok, viewed as failures, they contribute to a discourse on American fashion nationalism which was ultimately successful; a distinctive and successful American fashion industry did come into its own in the 1930s and 1940s.¹¹⁴ In the 1920s, however, the fashion pages of the *Ladies' Home Journal* are the only area of the title where uncertainty on national identity was regularly rendered explicitly. Conversely, the fashion pages of the *Canadian Home Journal* are one of the very few departments where English Canadian identity is not energetically encouraged. While the fashion contributions did make reference to appropriateness of the fashions for Canadian readers, the fashions were not Canadian and were not positioned as such. The fashionable ideal which was presented by the *Canadian Home Journal* was based on selections and interpretations of fashions from elsewhere, reframed as Canadian-appropriate. Similarly, given that it had been adopted into fashionable discourse, makeup too represented fashions which came from elsewhere.

There were hardly any Canadian beauty products in the 1920s, a period when the American beauty industry was flourishing. The inclusion of advertisements for American beauty products in the *Canadian Home Journal* could initially be seen to imply the positioning of an American form of beauty as the ideal. Yet, when considered alongside the regular beauty columns "Through the Looking

¹¹⁴ For more see Rebecca Arnold's *American Look: Fashion and the Image of Women in 1930's and 1940's New York* (2008).

Glass” and “The Vanity Box”, this demonstrates an implicit interpretation of styles similar to that of the fashion content. Through the interaction of these different forms of content, beauty trends are from elsewhere but reviewed through a Canadian lens. While makeup remained, at times, intensely problematic for the *Ladies’ Home Journal*, a similar congruity in terms of nationalism is evident when it comes to beauty products, seen most notably in Mary Brush Williams privileging of American over European beauty products. Interrogation of the representations of appearance in each title, then, demonstrates the nationally-specific ways in which each title handled makeup and fashion. Although seemingly disparate, in terms of their acceptability, both makeup and fashion were techniques of display, of growing importance in the burgeoning consumer culture. Through negotiations within the magazines, and as a result of both commercial and editorial interests, fashion and makeup were increasingly positioned as worthwhile activities for the imagined audience of each magazine. Yet the modes and levels of engagement with fashion and makeup remained circumscribed by domesticity and nationalism.

Conclusion

In the first place, this magazine, as a whole, stands for and expresses through its printed pages the highest ideals of womanhood—culture, refinement, education. . . . [It] will give any woman, even though her reading be limited to this one magazine, splendid assistance in her natural vocation of building that greatest of institutions, the Home.

- *Ladies' Home Journal*, March 1922

The appeal of the *Canadian Home Journal* lies primarily in the facts that it is devoted to the interests of the home, and that it is thoroughly Canadian.

- *Canadian Home Journal*, June 1926

As James Mussell comments, “The logic of print is repetition, and of all print genres it is the serial that embodies this most fully” (“Repetition” 345). These two excerpts, included at the start of my Introduction, are representative of the intentions and interests championed by the *Ladies Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal*, repeated throughout each issue of the 1920s and beyond. The primacy of “ideals of womanhood” and “interests of the home” remains apparent throughout. Indeed, the two are crucially interlinked. Yet this perhaps implies a level of fixedness in ideals and aims which is challenged by closer interrogation of each title. While the idealised version, and vision, of femininity presented to the readership remained the aspirational modern housewife, this ideal was not static and presented contradictions to be negotiated as often as it did a blueprint for self-improvement. The deployment of the ideal can be seen to mask, but certainly not efface, some of the contradictions, threats, and anxieties which modernity presented to middle-class femininity. To push this line of thinking slightly further, it may be the case that this was the underlying purpose of the women’s magazine: to reinforce an accepted and acceptable femininity. Even if this was true, this was not the

women's magazine's only function. To return to Caroline Levine's use of the concept of "affordances", these magazines can be regarded as products which afford multiple, at times unexpected, uses and functions. Perhaps the most notable of these are the ways in which each title provided a space for the negotiation of accepted and acceptable performances of femininity.

Throughout this study, the variety of ways in which these titles negotiated between competing ideologies and interests have been rendered apparent. Indeed, their inbetweenness is perhaps one of their most characteristic traits. Both publications were aimed at upwardly-mobile middle-class women and marked by their engagement with discourses of self-improvement. As discussed in Chapter Two, potential self-improvement was offered in terms of lived experience and appearance: the internal, including character and identity, and the external, including beauty and fashion. The self-improvement offered, in both forms, most often represented a mediation between the traditional and the modern: between nineteenth-century morality and early-twentieth-century materialism, between restraint and desire, between practicality and leisure, and between simplicity and luxury.

It is most helpful to understand the content of each magazine as falling somewhere along a spectrum between these pairs of opposing poles. This takes into account the conflicted nature of much of the magazine content, but also shows how—in occupying the middle section of these spectrums—the magazines provided a space in which the acceptable bounds of femininity could

be negotiated. The magazine form, particularly as a multi-authored text, provided multiple voices and opinions. This, combined with the seriality of the form, allowed for constant negotiation and slight alteration from month to month and year to year.

An understanding of these magazines in this way accounts for certain shifts in attitude throughout the period, most evident at the end of the decade: such as the increasing acceptance of make-up and modern beauty practices, the move towards a more friendly editorial voice in the *Ladies' Home Journal*, and increased attention to leisure in the *Canadian Home Journal*. These magazines, of course, were not created in a vacuum and should be considered as being informed by a culture which was increasingly focused on the visual and based around consumption. Yet they were also an integral part of this culture in that they were, to return to Carolyn Kitch's comment, the "first truly mass medium" (6). The negotiations which took place within their pages were between conflicting, or at least incongruous, ideals and also between the different types of content. The interaction at the level of page and issue between the commercial and editorial content, as discussed throughout this work, demonstrates one of the ways in which the magazine functioned as a space of negotiation.

The commercial content echoed the language and visual style of the editorial content, making use of conventions and tropes that had been established by the magazines: "As one advertising writer put it, 'if the editorial "dyes its whiskers

green,” then the advertisers should do the same” (Marchand 103). Yet through editorial decisions on placement, the editorial content was often emphasised by related advertisements. Trends in advertising photography also influenced the cover images and other illustrations throughout the titles. With this in mind, as Jennifer Scanlon comments, “the magazine as a whole complicates the question of who mocked whom” (“Thrift” 298). The differing forms of material contained in the magazine clearly influence and shape each other, and this interconnectivity extends also to the dominant themes presented in the magazines.

In structuring this thesis, I have separated out the dominant themes common to both titles for discussion in different chapters, in order to make the wealth of material manageable. It has, however, proven difficult to tease these strands apart, this challenge indicating how closely these themes are linked.

Circumscribed by the notion of self-improvement, the domestic and fashionable ideals presented are alternately shaped, restrained, and altered by each other.

The housewife, although focused on her family and household, must engage with fashion and beauty in order to be considered modern. In the context of the increasing visibility of women in the modern scene—encouraged by technological advancements in photography, film and the magazines themselves—appearance is arguably positioned as more important than ever.

That said, this interest in fashion and beauty must always be in accordance with the role of homemaker, mother, and wife. These themes come together in both the commercial and editorial content, where the imagined audience is

encouraged to aspire to and emulate the modern fashionable housewife. This is not to say that they came together neatly. In fact, the tensions they generated contributed to the negotiations and renegotiations which took place within the pages of the magazines. This is, generally speaking, true of both titles. Yet comparative consideration of the two highlights significant differences in the ways in which each title engaged with these themes, constructed their imagined audience, and outlined their specific idealisations of femininity.

One of the primary aims of this research was to engage in an extended comparative study of American and Canadian mass-market magazines. The *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* were, in their respective countries, among the most successful and enduring women's magazines in the early twentieth century. It is worth reiterating here that this research does not claim that these titles are representative of all American or Canadian magazines, but instead seeks to understand how these specific examples operated, how they negotiated their varied interests, and the extent to which this was nationally specific. In doing so, this work has been guided by the question of genre; are these two magazines part of the same genre in different national contexts or are they contained within the genres of American women's magazines and Canadian women's magazines respectively? It is readily apparent that both publications can be considered to use the same form, that is to say they share "configurations and arrangements which organize materials in distinct and iterable ways no matter what their context or audience" (Levine 13). The magazine form is part of what makes these two titles appear so

similar, albeit superficially. They both display the characteristic features of the form: ephemerality, self-renewal, collaboration, and commerciality. Again, following Levine's argument, magazines are both enabled and constrained by their form. For example, the form enables construction of the audience as readers, consumers, and citizens but is often constrained by its commercial underpinning. Genre, meanwhile, refers to "An ensemble of characteristics, including styles, themes, and marketing conventions [which] allows both producers and audiences to group texts into certain kinds" (Levine 13). The *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal* certainly shared styles and themes, yet I would argue that there are sufficient differences between the two, in the way in which form and genre came together in the titles, to warrant their designation as distinct—but not unrelated—genres. As shown in this study, these two titles often functioned in different ways, making use of the same form and similar themes but in ways which were nationally specific.

The display of Canadian and American forms of nationalism certainly influences this distinction. In the case of the *Canadian Home Journal*, this is particularly evident in the vigorous promotion of Canadian fiction, culture, and identity in much of the editorial content, while the commercial and fashion content was largely American in origin. The *Ladies' Home Journal*, somewhat conversely, champions nationalism explicitly in the fashion pages and some articles, and for the most part tacitly in the commercial content. Through comparative examination, the explicit nation-building emerges as perhaps the defining aspect of the *Canadian Home Journal*; a defining trope of the Canadian women's

magazine as a genre. It reaches all aspects of the magazine, and is rendered more noticeable—rather than undermined by—the American advertising which appeared in the magazine. Meanwhile, consumerism emerges as the dominant characteristic of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. Imagined audiences were consistently encouraged in the direction of domestic charm, variety and leisure, positioned as achievable through consumption. Indeed, consumption was tacitly constructed as an aspect of successful femininity and Americanness. The aspirational modern housewife constructed as the ideal in each title arguably encapsulates the distinction between these magazines, and Canadian and American women's magazines more generally. While the Canadian title was informed by a legacy of pioneer femininity, maternal feminism, and practicality, the American was largely constructed in accordance with modern consumption practices, increased leisure time, and upward social mobility.

These genre-based distinctions could be considered somewhat arbitrary. After all, does it matter if we ascribe these titles separate genres? If used only as a descriptor, it probably does not, but if used as a framework for thinking about these complex texts I would argue that it does. These genres are practical in that they acknowledge that American and Canadian magazines, in spite of their seeming similarity, functioned in distinctly different ways. This is not to imply that the Canadian women's magazine was not indebted to American models, but it is an oversimplification to class it as merely derivative. Given that the print cultures of the United States and Canada were, and remain, clearly connected there is much to be gained from a comparative consideration of American and

Canadian magazines. Indeed, the same could arguably be said of the print cultures of Britain and the United States, of Australia and Canada, and of Canada and Britain, to name but a few pairings. Cross-national comparison demands engagement across disciplines, pushing beyond conventional disciplinary silos. As Maria DiCenzo comments of her experience working at the intersection of numerous areas within periodical studies, “I am struck by how much repetition and how little crossover there is, in spite of how similar the objects of study” (21). Given the methodological value of a cross-national approach, it is surprising that it has been so little used.

While this study has focused on titles aimed at white, middle-class, Anglophone audiences, this cross-national approach to magazines offers potential applications to a far wider range of publications. This mode of study renders the respective particularities of the American and Canadian more explicitly, bringing into sharper focus the way each navigated its competing interests, constructed its imagined audience, and deployed idealised versions of femininity. This is aided substantially by a cross-disciplinary approach, which brings together literary perspectives and ways of reading with aspects of consumer culture theory. This methodology takes into consideration the somewhat contentious dual nature of the magazine, as both collaborative literary text and commercial product, proposing that both aspects are vital to the understanding of magazines. This thesis is in line with the approach outlined by Sean Latham and Robert Scholes, in that it takes into account how “modern literature and the arts are connected to the culture of commerce and

advertising and to social, political and scientific issues of the time” (517). In a number of ways, this research has underlined some significant gaps in magazine scholarship, particularly in a comparative context.

While modernist little magazines and Victorian periodicals are comparatively well established as objects of study within the growing field of periodical studies, the same is not yet true of mass-market magazines. Canadian titles have been particularly neglected. Scholarship on the *Ladies' Home Journal* is far more plentiful than research on the *Canadian Home Journal*, especially in relation to the period of the 1920s which was of crucial importance to Canadian titles.

Close engagement with this underexplored text is one of the ways in which this research makes a substantial original contribution to existing scholarship.

Additionally, in the provision of content analysis figures for the advertising in the *Canadian Home Journal*—alongside a new sample of the *Ladies' Home Journal*—this thesis offers a resource for future work on these titles, together with methodological suggestions for approaching other publications. As more magazine material is rediscovered, digitised, and made available, it is essential that scholars working in the field of periodical studies develop approaches which allow for the examination, interrogation, and understanding of these complex and multifaceted texts. This thesis offers one such approach, which takes into account the varied functions of the magazine, and can be applied to the wealth of regional and national publications which deserve scholarly attention.

At the heart of this work is an exploration of the manner in which the intended readership of each title was constructed. The imagined audiences of both magazines were predominantly white, Anglophone, and middle-class, firmly associated with relatively traditional gender roles. Yet analysis of the construction of these audiences says just as much about who they were not intending to address. They were not seeking the attention of working-class, non-white, or immigrant women. They were also not attempting to court upper-class socialites or fashionable but controversial flappers. Of these two very general groups, the former raises more interesting questions to be addressed by future research. The aspirational nature of both the *Canadian Home Journal* and *Ladies' Home Journal* make it likely that they would both have been read by women of lower socioeconomic status. Additionally, given that they represented relatively cheap and readily available reading material, it is not inconceivable that recent immigrants to both Canada and the United States would have used these magazines as guidebooks to aid to cultural assimilation.

There is evidence in the magazines—in the commercial content at least—to suggest that this was the case, as noted by Alys Eve Weinbaum et al. in their commentary on Pompeian advertising in the late 1920s. These adverts, which began to feature “a range of acceptable ethnicities and thus ethnic ‘looks,’ or ‘skin types’” from “Dresden China Blonde” to “Spanish ‘Creole Beauty’” (45), mobilized “the idea of a mixed nation” (45). Both the *Canadian Home Journal* and *Ladies' Home Journal* regularly featured Pompeian adverts. Arguably then,

cultural assimilation is presented as achievable to the immigrant woman through commodity consumption. As William Katerberg comments, when immigration resumed after World War One “negative assessments of immigrants and their impact on public life” (506) once again flared up. As a result, “both federal governments reevaluated their immigration policies. The United States closed its doors to immigrants while Canada temporarily restricted immigration and then reluctantly encouraged it in response to a perceived need for agricultural and industrial laborers” (506). Given the differing attitudes to and policies regarding immigration in Canada and the United States, a comparative consideration of Canadian and American mass-market magazines could develop more nuanced understandings of the role played by these texts within the context of immigration, proto mass culture, and national identity.

Research based on an even-handed comparison between Canadian and American cultural products goes some way to addressing what Gillian Roberts and David Stirrup have described as “the US-centric model” of scholarship, which “often insert[s] Canada into a pre-existing American Studies framework that, even as an attempt to redefine disciplinary boundaries, fails to take Canada into account” (3). This project, in being the first comparative study of Canadian and American mass-market magazines is careful not to subordinate Canadian magazines to their American counterparts. Instead, I assert the value of both, their interconnectedness but also their crucial difference and individuality which are rendered in greater detail when brought into dialogue. This work has

demonstrated that while the *Ladies' Home Journal*, and American magazines more generally, enjoyed far greater circulation numbers and were more commercially successful, this certainly does not preclude a useful comparison with those published in Canada. I hope to have challenged the unflattering assumption that Canadian magazines are merely derivative of American titles, indicating the ways in which the *Canadian Home Journal* made use of models which were developed south of the border to fulfil a set of interests and aims which were, at times, highly distinct from those of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. To return to Patrick Collier's assertion, "the periodical is valuable simply because it exists—because it once performed some desirable functions for some number of people" (109). With this in mind, both the *Canadian Home Journal* and *Ladies' Home Journal* performed a wide range of functions: for their readers, their publishers, their contributors, and the nations in which they were produced. These functions were not always compatible, and often led to tensions—discernible at the level of the page, the issue, and the decade—which had to be negotiated and renegotiated. It is in this respect where their value is perhaps most apparent, as collaborative texts, cultural artefacts, and commercial products which contributed substantially to constructions of domesticity, consumerism, and nationalism.

Appendix: Content Analysis of Advertising from the *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Canadian Home Journal*

This content analysis is based on the May and August issues of each title from 1920, 1922, 1926, and 1928. In order to gain the fullest understanding of the commercial content in relation to the magazine as a whole, both the number of advertisements and the page space occupied were recorded. In the case of the latter, the basic unit of measurement is the page. The page space is therefore represented as a proportion of the individual page, rather than a measurement of actual size, allowing for an accurate comparison of the larger *Ladies' Home Journal* and smaller *Canadian Home Journal* which is unaffected by the alterations in page size that occurred in both titles. Each advert was counted and assigned one of twenty-three subcategories, which were then arranged under three main categories: "Home", "Appearance", and "Lifestyle". Each advertisement was coded according to the category which fitted it best, involving in some cases a qualitative judgement. For example, some advertisements for toothpaste positioned themselves primarily as aiding appearance and were therefore assigned to the "Beauty products" category. Other toothpaste advertisements, however, presented the product as a hygiene product—emphasising health benefits—and were therefore assigned to the Health and Hygiene category. One category was assigned to each product, according to the attribute which was primarily being marketed to the consumer. The only exception in this regard is in the category of "Beauty products". Given that makeup was often marketed within advertisements for other beauty

products, and that discussion of makeup forms a significant part of Chapter Four, an additional subcategory of “Of which makeup” was added to the “Beauty products” subcategory.

Canadian Home Journal (May 1920)	No. of ads	% of total	Page space	% of total
HOME				
Food - prepared	11	10.48	2.56	7.14
Food - ingredients	11	10.48	4.38	12.18
Cleaning	9	8.57	4.28	11.92
Furniture and décor	7	6.67	5.25	14.62
Appliances	9	8.57	2.10	5.84
Health and hygiene	12	11.43	2.19	6.09
Homeware	4	3.81	0.25	0.70
HOME TOTALS	63	60.00	21.00	58.49
APPEARANCE				
Fashion - homemade	1	0.95	0.25	0.70
Fashion - accessories	5	4.76	2.56	7.14
Fashion - readymade	2	1.90	1.25	3.48
Beauty products	8	7.62	3.56	9.92
(of these makeup)	1	0.95	0.06	0.17
APPEARANCE TOTALS	16	15.24	7.63	21.23
LIFESTYLE				
Motoring	2	1.90	2	5.57
Travel	2	1.90	0.19	0.52
Entertainment	6	5.71	1.03	2.87
Finances	2	1.90	0.06	0.17
Children's goods	4	3.81	0.69	1.91
Men's goods	3	2.86	1.75	4.87
Work and education	3	2.86	0.31	0.87
Photography and film	2	1.90	1	2.78
Stationery	1	0.95	0.25	0.70
Stores and mail-order	0	0.00	0	0.00
Magazine	0	0.00	0	0.00
Cigarettes	1	0.95	0	0.00
LIFESTYLE TOTALS	26	24.76	7.28	20.28
OVERALL TOTALS	105	100.00	35.91	100.00

<i>Canadian Home Journal</i> (Aug. 1920)	No. of ads	% of total	Page space	% of total
HOME				
Food - prepared	10	10.64	5.5	20.63
Food - ingredients	4	4.26	2.5	9.38
Cleaning	5	5.32	2.72	10.20
Furniture and décor	4	4.26	0.75	2.81
Appliances	6	6.38	1.41	5.28
Health and hygiene	13	13.83	1.97	7.39
Homeware	2	2.13	0.09	0.35
HOME TOTALS	44	46.81	14.94	56.04
APPEARANCE				
Fashion - homemade	3	3.19	0.22	0.82
Fashion - accessories	3	3.19	1.75	6.57
Fashion - readymade	1	1.06	0.06	0.23
Beauty products	12	12.77	3.56	13.36
(of these makeup)	1	1.06	0.06	0.23
APPEARANCE TOTALS	19	20.21	5.59	20.98
LIFESTYLE				
Motoring	3	3.19	1.5	5.63
Travel	1	1.06	0.25	0.94
Entertainment	4	4.26	1.47	5.51
Finances	1	1.06	0.09	0.35
Children's goods	11	11.70	0.63	2.34
Men's goods	0	0.00	0	0.00
Work and education	5	5.32	0.25	0.94
Photography and film	1	1.06	1	3.75
Stationery	2	2.13	0.5	1.88
Stores and mail-order	0	0.00	0	0.00
Magazine	2	2.13	0.19	0.70
Cigarettes	1	1.06	0.25	0.94
LIFESTYLE TOTALS	31	32.98	6.12	22.98
OVERALL TOTALS	94	100.00	26.65	100.00

<i>Canadian Home Journal</i> (May 1922)	No. of ads	% of total	Page space	% of total
HOME				
Food - prepared	10	8.06	4.69	11.61
Food - ingredients	3	2.42	0.44	1.08
Cleaning	14	11.29	5.41	13.39
Furniture and décor	18	14.52	6.75	16.72
Appliances	11	8.87	3.25	8.05
Health and hygiene	13	10.48	3.25	8.05
Homeware	6	4.84	1.25	3.10
HOME TOTALS	75	60.48	25.03	62.00
APPEARANCE				
Fashion - homemade	5	4.03	1.66	4.10
Fashion - accessories	4	3.23	1.50	3.72
Fashion - readymade	0	0.00	0	0.00
Beauty products	12	9.68	4.84	12.00
(of these makeup)	4	3.23	1.69	4.18
APPEARANCE TOTALS	21	16.94	8	19.81
LIFESTYLE				
Motoring	4	3.23	2.38	5.88
Travel	4	3.23	1.19	2.94
Entertainment	1	0.81	0.13	0.31
Finances	3	2.42	0.63	1.55
Children's goods	2	1.61	0.38	0.93
Men's goods	0	0.00	0	0.00
Work and education	5	4.03	1.06	2.63
Photography and film	1	0.81	0.5	1.24
Stationery	1	0.81	0.5	1.24
Stores and mail-order	0	0.00	0	0.00
Magazine	7	5.65	0.59	1.47
Cigarettes	0	0.00	0	0.00
LIFESTYLE TOTALS	28	22.58	7.34	18.19
OVERALL TOTALS	124	100.00	40.37	100.00

Canadian Home Journal (Aug 1922)	No. of ads	% of total	Page space	% of total
HOME				
Food - prepared	6	6.12	2.34	9.42
Food - ingredients	1	1.02	0.25	1.01
Cleaning	9	9.18	3.63	14.57
Furniture and décor	3	3.06	0.31	1.26
Appliances	6	6.12	2.53	10.18
Health and hygiene	19	19.39	3.78	15.20
Homeware	1	1.02	0	0.00
HOME TOTALS	45	45.92	12.84	51.63
APPEARANCE				
Fashion - homemade	7	7.14	1.53	6.16
Fashion - accessories	2	2.04	0.63	2.51
Fashion - readymade	0	0.00	0	0.00
Beauty products	16	16.33	4.38	17.59
(of these makeup)	1	1.02	0.06	0.25
APPEARANCE TOTALS	25	25.51	6.53	26.26
LIFESTYLE				
Motoring	2	2.04	0.75	3.02
Travel	2	2.04	0.75	3.02
Entertainment	3	3.06	0.69	2.76
Finances	3	3.06	0.5	2.01
Children's goods	7	7.14	0.34	1.38
Men's goods	0	0.00	0	0.00
Work and education	7	7.14	0.41	1.64
Photography and film	1	1.02	1	4.02
Stationery	1	1.02	1	4.02
Stores and mail-order	0	0.00	0	0.00
Magazine	2	2.04	0.06	0.25
Cigarettes	0	0.00	0	0.00
LIFESTYLE TOTALS	28	28.57	5.50	22.11
OVERALL TOTALS	98	100.00	24.87	100.00

<i>Canadian Home Journal</i> (May 1926)	No. of ads	% of total	Page space	% of total
HOME				
Food - prepared	16	10.46	4.34	8.31
Food - ingredients	9	5.88	3.91	7.47
Cleaning	12	7.84	7.31	13.99
Furniture and décor	18	11.76	7.69	14.70
Appliances	11	7.19	3.97	7.59
Health and hygiene	15	9.80	4.09	7.83
Homeware	5	3.27	4.03	7.71
HOME TOTALS	86	56.21	35.34	67.60
APPEARANCE				
Fashion - homemade	10	6.54	1.84	3.53
Fashion - accessories	6	3.92	2.38	4.54
Fashion - readymade	0	0.00	0	0.00
Beauty products	21	13.73	6.59	12.61
(of these makeup)	3	1.96	1.78	3.41
APPEARANCE TOTALS	37	24.18	10.81	20.68
LIFESTYLE				
Motoring	2	1.31	1.5	2.87
Travel	4	2.61	1.14	2.15
Entertainment	1	0.65	0.5	0.96
Finances	1	0.65	0.13	0.24
Children's goods	11	7.19	0.25	0.48
Men's goods	0	0.00	0	0.00
Work and education	2	1.31	0.06	0.12
Photography and film	1	0.65	0.5	0.96
Stationery	0	0.00	0	0.00
Stores and mail-order	0	0.00	0	0.00
Magazine	8	5.23	2.06	3.95
Cigarettes	0	0.00	0	0.00
LIFESTYLE TOTALS	30	19.61	6.13	11.72
OVERALL TOTALS	153	100.00	52.28	100.00

Canadian Home Journal (Aug. 1926)	No. of ads	% of total	Page space	% of total
HOME				
Food - prepared	17	15.32	8.94	25.27
Food - ingredients	4	3.60	1.56	4.42
Cleaning	6	5.41	3	8.48
Furniture and décor	5	4.50	2.75	7.77
Appliances	6	5.41	1.47	4.15
Health and hygiene	20	18.02	5.94	16.78
Homeware	1	0.90	0.06	0.18
HOME TOTALS	59	53.15	23.72	67.05
APPEARANCE				
Fashion - homemade	2	1.80	0.09	0.27
Fashion - accessories	0	0.00	0	0.00
Fashion - readymade	0	0.00	0	0.00
Beauty products	16	14.41	4	11.31
(of these makeup)	3	2.70	0.44	1.24
APPEARANCE TOTALS	18	16.22	4.09	11.57
LIFESTYLE				
Motoring	2	1.80	1.5	4.24
Travel	4	3.60	0.88	2.47
Entertainment	2	1.80	1.5	4.24
Finances	1	0.90	0.13	0.35
Children's goods	1	0.90	0.25	0.71
Men's goods	0	0.00	0	0.00
Work and education	7	6.31	0.59	1.68
Photography and film	2	1.80	0.53	1.50
Stationery	1	0.90	0.06	0.18
Stores and mail-order	0	0.00	0	0.00
Magazine	14	12.61	2.13	6.01
Cigarettes	0	0.00	0	0.00
LIFESTYLE TOTALS	34	30.63	7.56	21.38
OVERALL TOTALS	111	100.00	35.37	100.00

<i>Canadian Home Journal</i> (May 1928)	No. of ads	% of total	Page space	% of total
HOME				
Food - prepared	14	9.46	6.66	10.97
Food - ingredients	5	3.38	1.87	3.09
Cleaning	14	9.46	5.91	9.73
Furniture and décor	12	8.11	8.41	13.85
Appliances	7	4.73	4.06	6.69
Health and hygiene	19	12.84	4.56	7.52
Homeware	9	6.08	4.28	7.05
HOME TOTALS	80	54.06	35.75	58.91
APPEARANCE				
Fashion - homemade	9	6.08	1.78	2.94
Fashion - accessories	2	1.35	1	1.65
Fashion - readymade	0	0.00	0	0.00
Beauty products	23	15.54	9.59	15.81
(of these makeup)	2	1.35	1.25	2.06
APPEARANCE TOTALS	34	22.97	12.37	20.39
LIFESTYLE				
Motoring	6	4.05	5.5	9.06
Travel	5	3.38	1.44	2.37
Entertainment	2	1.35	0.75	1.24
Finances	0	0.00	0	0.00
Children's goods	3	2.03	0.53	0.88
Men's goods	1	0.68	0.25	0.41
Work and education	4	2.70	0.34	0.57
Photography and film	1	0.68	1	1.65
Stationery	1	0.68	0.13	0.21
Stores and mail-order	0	0.00	0	0.00
Magazine	10	6.76	1.63	2.68
Cigarettes	1	0.68	1	1.65
LIFESTYLE TOTALS	34	22.97	12.56	20.70
OVERALL TOTALS	148	100.00	60.68	100.00

Canadian Home Journal (Aug. 1928)	No. of ads	% of total	Page space	% of total
HOME				
Food - prepared	11	11.70	3.81	11.16
Food - ingredients	2	2.13	1.25	3.66
Cleaning	2	2.13	1.09	3.20
Furniture and décor	0	0.00	0	0.00
Appliances	5	5.32	1.75	5.12
Health and hygiene	20	21.28	7.81	22.87
Homeware	2	2.13	0.16	0.46
HOME TOTALS	42	44.68	15.88	46.48
APPEARANCE				
Fashion - homemade	4	4.26	0.28	0.82
Fashion - accessories	0	0.00	0	0.00
Fashion - readymade	0	0.00	0	0.00
Beauty products	21	22.34	7.81	22.87
(of these makeup)	5	5.32	2.44	7.14
APPEARANCE TOTALS	25	26.60	10.53	30.83
LIFESTYLE				
Motoring	4	4.26	3.5	10.25
Travel	5	5.32	1.19	3.48
Entertainment	1	1.06	0.25	0.73
Finances	0	0.00	0	0.00
Children's goods	5	5.32	0.75	2.20
Men's goods	0	0.00	0	0.00
Work and education	4	4.26	0.25	0.73
Photography and film	1	1.06	0.5	1.46
Stationery	0	0.00	0	0.00
Stores and mail-order	0	0.00	0	0.00
Magazine	7	7.45	1.31	3.84
Cigarettes	0	0.00	0	0.00
LIFESTYLE TOTALS	27	28.72	7.75	22.69
OVERALL TOTALS	94	100.00	34.16	100.00

<i>Ladies' Home Journal</i> (May 1920)	No. of ads	% of total	Page space	% of total
HOME				
Food - prepared	32	16.67	24.75	20.00
Food - ingredients	12	6.25	9	7.27
Cleaning	15	7.81	10.75	8.69
Furniture and décor	10	5.21	6.5	5.25
Appliances	25	13.02	10.5	8.48
Health and hygiene	7	3.65	4.25	3.43
Homeware	7	3.65	3.5	2.83
HOME TOTALS	108	56.25	69.25	55.96
APPEARANCE				
Fashion - homemade	10	5.21	5.5	4.44
Fashion - accessories	21	10.94	11	8.89
Fashion - readymade	6	3.13	4	3.23
Beauty products	19	9.90	11.75	9.49
(of these makeup)	1	0.52	0.5	0.40
APPEARANCE TOTALS	56	29.17	32.25	26.06
LIFESTYLE				
Motoring	4	2.08	4	3.23
Travel	0	0.00	0	0.00
Entertainment	6	3.13	5.5	4.44
Finances	0	0.00	0	0.00
Children's goods	11	5.73	7	5.66
Men's goods	0	0.00	0	0.00
Work and education	0	0.00	0	0.00
Photography and film	4	2.08	4	3.23
Stationery	2	1.04	1.25	1.01
Stores and mail-order	1	0.52	0.5	0.40
Magazine	0	0.00	0	0.00
Cigarettes	0	0.00	0	0.00
LIFESTYLE TOTALS	28	14.58	22.25	17.98
OVERALL TOTALS	192	100.00	123.75	100.00

<i>Ladies' Home Journal</i> (Aug. 1920)	No. of ads	% of total	Page space	% of total
HOME				
Food - prepared	21	16.03	17.5	20.14
Food - ingredients	12	9.16	9.06	10.43
Cleaning	11	8.40	9	10.36
Furniture and décor	8	6.11	5.5	6.33
Appliances	15	11.45	10.5	12.09
Health and hygiene	2	9.16	7	8.06
Homeware	9	6.87	5.5	6.33
HOME TOTALS	88	54.32	64.06	61.41
APPEARANCE				
Fashion - homemade	9	6.87	3.25	3.74
Fashion - accessories	6	4.58	2.5	2.88
Fashion - readymade	7	5.34	2.94	3.38
Beauty products	21	16.03	14.13	16.26
(of these makeup)	8	6.11	5.63	6.47
APPEARANCE TOTALS	43	26.54	22.82	21.88
LIFESTYLE				
Motoring	3	2.29	2.25	2.59
Travel	1	0.76	0.25	0.29
Entertainment	6	4.58	5	5.76
Finances	0	0.00	0	0.00
Children's goods	11	8.40	6.5	7.48
Men's goods	0	0.00	0	0.00
Work and education	7	5.34	0.44	0.50
Photography and film	2	1.53	2	2.30
Stationery	1	0.76	1	1.15
Stores and mail-order	0	0.00	0	0.00
Magazine	0	0.00	0	0.00
Cigarettes	0	0.00	0	0.00
LIFESTYLE TOTALS	31	19.14	17.44	16.71
OVERALL TOTALS	162	100.00	104.32	100.00

<i>Ladies' Home Journal</i> (May 1922)	No. of ads	% of total	Page space	% of total
HOME				
Food - prepared	20	9.52	12.69	11.98
Food - ingredients	10	4.76	6.03	5.69
Cleaning	17	8.10	11.19	10.56
Furniture and décor	23	10.95	9.47	8.94
Appliances	12	5.71	5.66	5.34
Health and hygiene	11	5.24	4.72	4.45
Homeware	13	6.19	7.25	6.84
HOME TOTALS	106	50.48	57	53.81
APPEARANCE				
Fashion - homemade	15	7.14	5.41	5.10
Fashion - accessories	15	7.14	6.91	6.52
Fashion - readymade	9	4.29	4.06	3.83
Beauty products	28	13.33	15.72	14.84
(of these makeup)	8	3.81	4.38	4.13
APPEARANCE TOTALS	67	31.90	36.47	34.42
LIFESTYLE				
Motoring	0	0.00	0	0.00
Travel	1	0.48	0.13	0.12
Entertainment	3	1.43	1.31	1.24
Finances	0	0.00	0	0.00
Children's goods	16	7.62	5.22	4.93
Men's goods	1	0.48	0.03	0.03
Work and education	7	3.33	1.03	0.97
Photography and film	5	2.38	2.25	2.12
Stationery	1	0.48	1	0.94
Stores and mail-order	2	0.95	1.25	1.18
Magazine	1	0.48	0.25	0.24
Cigarettes	0	0.00	0	0.00
LIFESTYLE TOTALS	37	17.62	12.47	11.77
OVERALL TOTALS	210	100.00	105.94	100.00

<i>Ladies' Home Journal</i> (Aug. 1922)	No. of ads	% of total	Page space	% of total
HOME				
Food - prepared	23	15.13	12.91	16.84
Food - ingredients	8	5.26	6.06	7.91
Cleaning	12	7.89	8.72	11.38
Furniture and décor	8	5.26	3.25	4.24
Appliances	8	5.26	3.91	5.10
Health and hygiene	17	11.18	8.91	11.62
Homeware	12	7.89	5.28	6.89
HOME TOTALS	88	57.89	49.03	63.99
APPEARANCE				
Fashion - homemade	7	4.61	3.09	4.04
Fashion - accessories	16	10.53	7.22	9.42
Fashion - readymade	5	3.29	0.84	1.10
Beauty products	15	9.87	10.91	14.23
(of these makeup)	2	1.32	1.125	1.47
APPEARANCE TOTALS	43	28.29	22.06	28.79
LIFESTYLE				
Motoring	2	1.32	1.5	1.96
Travel	0	0.00	0	0.00
Entertainment	3	1.97	1.09	1.43
Finances	1	0.66	1	1.31
Children's goods	2	1.32	0.44	0.57
Men's goods	0	0.00	0	0.00
Work and education	11	7.24	0.44	0.57
Photography and film	1	0.66	1	1.31
Stationery	1	0.66	0.06	0.08
Stores and mail-order	0	0.00	0	0.00
Magazine	0	0.00	0	0.00
Cigarettes	0	0.00	0	0.00
LIFESTYLE TOTALS	21	13.82	5.53	7.22
OVERALL TOTALS	152	100.00	76.62	100.00

<i>Ladies' Home Journal</i> (May 1926)	No. of ads	% of total	Page space	% of total
HOME				
Food - prepared	30	13.33	21.5	16.03
Food - ingredients	8	3.56	5.38	4.01
Cleaning	16	7.11	13	9.69
Furniture and décor	23	10.22	11.38	8.48
Appliances	19	8.44	9.16	6.83
Health and hygiene	24	10.67	11.91	8.88
Homeware	10	4.44	4.88	3.64
HOME TOTALS	130	57.78	77.19	57.56
APPEARANCE				
Fashion - homemade	6	2.67	2.44	1.82
Fashion - accessories	15	6.67	9.75	7.27
Fashion - readymade	1	0.44	1	0.75
Beauty products	29	12.89	21.56	16.08
(of these makeup)	6	2.67	3.13	2.33
APPEARANCE TOTALS	51	22.67	34.75	25.91
LIFESTYLE				
Motoring	11	4.89	10.25	7.64
Travel	3	1.33	0.41	0.30
Entertainment	2	0.89	2	1.49
Finances	3	1.33	1.38	1.03
Children's goods	14	6.22	4.38	3.26
Men's goods	0	0.00	0	0.00
Work and education	5	2.22	0.84	0.63
Photography and film	1	0.44	1	0.75
Stationery	3	1.33	1.53	1.14
Stores and mail-order	0	0.00	0	0.00
Magazine	2	0.89	0.38	0.28
Cigarettes	0	0.00	0	0.00
LIFESTYLE TOTALS	44	19.56	22.16	16.52
OVERALL TOTALS	225	100.00	134.10	100.00

<i>Ladies' Home Journal</i> (Aug. 1926)	No. of ads	% of total	Page space	% of total
HOME				
Food - prepared	20	13.33	17.75	19.25
Food - ingredients	7	4.67	4.75	5.15
Cleaning	11	7.33	8.63	9.35
Furniture and décor	16	10.67	9.66	10.47
Appliances	4	2.67	1.13	1.22
Health and hygiene	27	18.00	14.78	16.03
Homeware	3	2.00	0.28	0.30
HOME TOTALS	88	58.67	56.97	61.77
APPEARANCE				
Fashion - homemade	3	2.00	0.63	0.68
Fashion - accessories	12	8.00	8.19	8.88
Fashion - readymade	3	2.00	0.69	0.75
Beauty products	18	12.00	12.31	13.35
(of these makeup)	8	5.33	4.75	5.15
APPEARANCE TOTALS	36	24.00	21.81	23.65
LIFESTYLE				
Motoring	8	5.33	8	8.67
Travel	0	0.00	0	0.00
Entertainment	1	0.67	1	1.08
Finances	0	0.00	0	0.00
Children's goods	4	2.67	0.5	0.54
Men's goods	0	0.00	0	0.00
Work and education	10	6.67	0.94	1.02
Photography and film	2	1.33	2	2.17
Stationery	0	0.00	0	0.00
Stores and mail-order	1	0.67	1	1.08
Magazine	0	0.00	0	0.00
Cigarettes	0	0.00	0	0.00
LIFESTYLE TOTALS	26	17.33	13.44	14.57
OVERALL TOTALS	150	100.00	92.22	100.00

<i>Ladies' Home Journal</i> (May 1928)	No. of ads	% of total	Page space	% of total
HOME				
Food - prepared	34	14.35	26.94	20.01
Food - ingredients	15	6.33	10.69	7.94
Cleaning	23	9.70	14.5	10.77
Furniture and décor	18	7.59	11.66	8.66
Appliances	11	4.64	7.53	5.59
Health and hygiene	23	9.70	12.88	9.56
Homeware	14	5.91	9.13	6.78
HOME TOTALS	138	58.23	93.31	69.31
APPEARANCE				
Fashion - homemade	15	6.33	3.75	2.79
Fashion - accessories	19	8.02	8.81	6.55
Fashion - readymade	3	1.27	0.78	0.58
Beauty products	34	14.35	17.06	12.67
(of these makeup)	9	3.80	4.5	3.34
APPEARANCE TOTALS	71	29.96	30.41	22.59
LIFESTYLE				
Motoring	5	2.11	5	3.71
Travel	3	1.27	0.25	0.19
Entertainment	2	0.84	0.63	0.46
Finances	1	0.42	0.03	0.02
Children's goods	5	2.11	1.78	1.32
Men's goods	0	0.00	0	0.00
Work and education	7	2.95	0.81	0.60
Photography and film	0	0.00	0	0.00
Stationery	3	1.27	0.41	0.30
Stores and mail-order	1	0.42	1	0.74
Magazine	1	0.42	1	0.74
Cigarettes	0	0.00	0	0.00
LIFESTYLE TOTALS	28	11.81	10.91	8.10
OVERALL TOTALS	237	100.00	134.63	100.00

<i>Ladies' Home Journal</i> (Aug. 1928)	No. of ads	% of total	Page space	% of total
HOME				
Food - prepared	19	12.75	15.34	16.84
Food - ingredients	11	7.38	8.75	9.61
Cleaning	15	10.07	9.03	9.91
Furniture and décor	15	10.07	9.75	10.70
Appliances	4	2.68	3.25	3.57
Health and hygiene	20	13.42	10.97	12.04
Homeware	2	1.34	2.13	2.33
HOME TOTALS	86	57.72	59.22	65.01
APPEARANCE				
Fashion - homemade	6	4.03	3.47	3.81
Fashion - accessories	8	5.37	5.31	5.83
Fashion - readymade	2	1.34	0.53	0.58
Beauty products	14	9.40	7.75	8.51
(of these makeup)	2	1.34	1.25	1.37
APPEARANCE TOTALS	30	20.13	17.06	18.73
LIFESTYLE				
Motoring	6	4.03	6	6.59
Travel	0	0.00	0	0.00
Entertainment	3	2.01	3	3.29
Finances	0	0.00	0	0.00
Children's goods	1	0.67	0.03	0.03
Men's goods	0	0.00	0	0.00
Work and education	13	8.72	2.06	2.26
Photography and film	1	0.67	1	1.10
Stationery	6	4.03	0.47	0.51
Stores and mail-order	2	1.34	2	2.20
Magazine	1	0.67	0.25	0.27
Cigarettes	0	0.00	0	0.00
LIFESTYLE TOTALS	33	22.15	14.81	16.26
OVERALL TOTALS	149	100.00	91.09	100.00

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