

JUDGED BY THEIR COVERS:
ROBERT HARRISON'S GIRLIE MAGAZINES, 1941 – 1955

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Graduate School
At the University of Missouri

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Art History

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MAY 2011

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Master of Art History
And hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

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Dedicated to my husband, Vince, who believed in me always, even when I didn't. Your support, encouragement, and love gave me the strength to succeed, and your assistance as an unofficial reader of the thesis is an effort that I deeply appreciate.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people that deserve my thanks for their support and assistance in the completion of my thesis, but the majority of my gratitude goes to my thesis advisor, Dr. Kristin Schwain, Professor of American Art. Thank you for your time and patience throughout our many meetings in the last year. Your kind words and thoughtfulness gave me the encouragement I needed to press onwards when I felt lost amongst the mountains of research. Your expert insight helped me to bring this thesis to a level of sophistication of which I feel proud.

I would also like to thank Dr. James van Dyke, Professor of Modern and Contemporary Art, and Dr. Elisa Glick, Professor of Women's and Gender Studies, for serving on my committee and taking the time to carefully work through the thesis. Your comments and observations were immensely helpful in the completion of this project. As well, your guidance during the research process was enlightening.

The staff of the University Libraries also deserves recognition for their assistance, of which I am grateful.

Finally, I would like to thank the Department of Art History and Archaeology, whose remarkable professors and staff led me to succeed through their enthusiasm and support.

Thank you.

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INTRODUCTION

“Cheesecake”, “pinup”, and “girlie” are terms that arose during the first half of twentieth century to describe sexualized images of scantily clad women. “Cheesecake” entered American slang in 1915. According to one account “cheesecake” got its name when George Miller, a newspaper photographer, spotted the Russian opera singer, Elvira Amazar, just as her ship was departing from New York. Miller then asked Amazar to hike up her skirt a little for a photograph. Later, Miller showed the photograph to his editor who exclaimed, ““Why, this is better than cheesecake!”¹ “Pinup” and “girlie” became an integral part of American language a quarter of a century later.² The term pinup, as it is commonly understood today, was coined in 1941 and gets its name from World War II soldiers who pinned up images of, “women from magazines and snapshots onto their barrack walls, footlockers, plane cockpits, and even fox holes.”^{3;4} The term “girlie” also arose during the World War II era, shortly after “pinup”.

The 1940s were the golden age of the pinup. She appeared on the covers and within the pages of countless mainstream, pulp fiction, and specialty magazines. Pinup calendars, first popularized in the 1910s, continued to flourish. From the mid-1930s

¹ Mark Gabor, *The Pin-up: A Modest History* (New York: Bell Publishing Company, 1972), 23.

² Joanne Meyerowitz, “Women, Cheesecake, and Borderline Material: Responses to Girlie Pictures in the Mid-Twentieth-Century United States,” in *Sexual Borderlands: Constructing an American Sexual Past*, eds. Kathleen Kennedy and Sharon Ullman (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2003), 321.

³ Although the term “pinup” was not coined until the 1940s, I also use the term to refer to similar types of images which predate the term because they are now recognized as part of the genre in scholarship.

⁴ Maria Elena Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls: Feminism, Sexuality, Popular Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 185.

through the mid-1950s, art cards, full color pinup images that were slightly smaller than a postcard, were available in arcade vending machines and sold into the millions. In 1944, the pinup became the lead character of a feature film in the movie, *Pin Up Girl*, starring Betty Grable. The popularity of the pinup during World War II also allowed the genre to find itself represented in unusual places, such as on the noses of military aircraft. Playboy appeared on the scene in 1953, its first issue containing one of the most famous pinup images of the century, the early photograph of Marilyn Monroe titled, *Golden Dreams*. By the mid-fifties, pinup imagery saturated the American media.

The proliferation of the pinup in mid-century America owes a debt to the development of the magazine industry. The mass media is responsible for creating the first idealized representations of women that are now considered precursors of the modern pinup. Illustrations of women featured in mainstream magazines such as *Life*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, and *Esquire* paved the way for more specialized girlie magazines in the 1940s that were wholly concerned with representations of the pinup, both illustrated and photographic.

This thesis is concerned with pinups depicted in popular magazines, but more precisely concentrates on a group of “girlie” serials published by Robert Harrison dating from 1941 until 1956.⁵ These serials all derive from the height of pin-up production and popularity which, not by happenstance, coincided with World War II. As descendants of

⁵ The title states that this study addresses Harrison’s magazines from 1941-1955. Although a few of his publication continued to circulate after this date, I choose to end my examination in 1955 because it was the year that Harrison sold the rights to his publications. Therefore, any issues published after 1955 are the product of another publisher and outside the scope of this investigation.

representations of women from earlier mass circulation magazines, this thesis aims to demonstrate the importance of the representations of women in these girlie magazines that would seem to be little more than ephemera and how they communicate the social changes in mid-century America that accompanied the post-war era.

This project grew out of the need to reestablish the cultural context of the paintings created to grace the magazine covers of Harrison's girlie magazine empire. These magazines are largely considered the epitome of mid-century borderline material, sexualized representations that exceed the boundaries of social decency without reaching the status of pornography.⁶ The original paintings that Harrison commissioned to be reproduced on the covers of his magazines, however, are now celebrated as valuable works of art.⁷ Thus, this thesis considers the cultural values they embody and perpetuate. For example, art historians cringe at the thought of voracious dealers who destroy illuminated manuscripts from the middle ages by dividing up the pages in order to reap a greater profit by selling each page separately. Complete manuscripts reveal more about the time they were made than the individual pages could ever do. Harrison's magazines have suffered a similar fate. By celebrating the original paintings that were mass produced as cover images for Harrison's magazines without considering their intended purpose or contextualizing them within the realm of mass culture the illustrated covers have been metaphorically detached from their contents and elevated to the status of "fine art" or "collectible," thereby discounting their historical

⁶ Meyerowitz, "Women, Cheesecake, and Borderline Material," 320.

⁷ According to the website for Heritage Auction Galleries, a work painted for the February 1947 cover of Harrison's magazine *Beauty Parade* was estimated to sell for between \$6,000 and \$8,000 in 2009.

importance and disregarding their original audience. This thesis argues that the cover illustrations lose a significant part of their cultural value when they are considered separately from their content.

The existing literature on mid-century girlie magazines is scarce and the publications that address Harrison's girlie magazines in particular are limited in quantity and are often intended for a popular rather than a scholarly audience. The publishing house Taschen printed *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* in 1997 with text by Harald Hellman, which focused solely on Harrison's magazines, but the book is chiefly a collection of images. Samuel Bernstein's 2006 book, *Mr. Confidential: The Man, His Magazine & the Movieland Massacre that Changed Hollywood Forever*, tells the story of Harrison's career, but is primarily concerned with his scandal sheet *Confidential*, launched in 1952, and his position as the founder of the modern day tabloid. Bernstein only addresses Harrison's girlie magazines in passing, as a stepping stone to Harrison's most famous creation. This thesis will demonstrate the important role Harrison's girlie magazines played in establishing his career as a publisher and the eventual creation of *Confidential*.

This thesis also aims to establish Harrison's magazines as a continuation of a visual vocabulary, predicated on the female body, created by mass market magazines at the fin-de-siecle, which depended on idealized and typified representations of women to convey ideas and values. In her book, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media*, Carolyn Kitch examines the important role

played by representations of women in the development of the modern magazine. In her epilogue, she briefly addresses the time period in which Harrison's magazines arose:

Between the 1930s and the 1960s, the old stereotypes ... resurfaced fairly intact [during] World War II, when women again entered the work force in significant numbers, media imagery of women was dichotomized into good and bad.

Overtly sexualized imagery made a comeback on the covers of magazines..."

Using Kitch's book as a model, this thesis will reveal that the ancestral roots of the seemingly marginal magazines published by Harrison lie in imagery popularized by the mainstream media during the formation of the modern magazine.

The modern magazine is defined by its affordability, mass circulation, substantial advertising revenue, and mainstream audience.⁸ Although the first American magazine was published in 1741, it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the true modern magazine evolved.⁹ Three major developments spurred enormous growth in the magazine industry: the creation of second-class mailing privileges; developments in illustration; and advancements in print technologies. Second class mailing privileges established by Congress in 1879 helped incite growth in the periodical industry. It gave serial publishers a mailing discount that allowed for a reduction in retail price, which made magazines available to a previously untapped market: the middle class.¹⁰ The invention of the multicolor rotary press in 1893 meant that magazines could publish full color illustrations without depending on laborious and expensive hand engraving and hand coloring, which decreased production costs and allowed for a greater quantity of

⁸ Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1964), 13-14.

⁹ The first American magazine was, *American Magazine, or a Monthly View of the Political State of the British Colonies* published by Andrew Bradford, and followed three days later by America's second magazine, published by Benjamin Franklin. Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 1.

¹⁰ Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 1-14.

illustrations. Additional advances in print technologies, such as timed production scheduling, conveyor systems, and assembly lines, allowed for mass production on a level never before achieved.

The combination of these three factors increased production capabilities and led to the wild success of such famous publications as the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Ladies Home Journal*, and *Life*. For the first time, individual magazines reached circulation figures in the millions, and the mass-market audience attracted advertisers who sought national exposure, thus guaranteeing low cost magazines through their sponsorship.¹¹ The astonishing increase in circulation also meant that publishers and editors began gearing their content towards a mainstream audience in order to ensure sales.¹² The amplification of the magazine's presence and influence in the twentieth century had an undeniably profound effect on American culture. The modern magazine became the first mass media device to offer visual representations to a broad audience, establishing a national way of seeing. The images reproduced on the covers and within the pages of popular magazines in the early days of the century taught Americans how to perceive their world, shaping social conventions and ideals.

When the modern magazine developed in the 1890s, and magazine cover designs first became an important marketing tool, images of the ideal female form proved themselves profitable expenditures. Kitch explains that although "photography

¹¹ For example, the *Saturday Evening Post* increased its circulation from 2,231 in 1897, to 726,681 in 1907, and 1,833,070 in 1917; and during the same time period, its advertising revenue increased from a mere \$6,933 to \$1,266,931 to \$16,076,562. Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 12.

¹² Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 13-14.

was beginning to appear regularly in turn-of-the-century newspapers, the majority of magazines continued to use illustration on their covers because they were dealing in ideals rather than reality.”¹³ Since photography was generally understood as a mode of representing truth and reality in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, illustration was deemed the more suitable medium for depicting fanciful ideals. Kitch continues: “The face of a woman could represent both a specific type of female beauty and a ‘style’ that conveyed model attributes – youth, innocence, sophistication, modernity, upward mobility.”¹⁴ Rather than signifying an actual individual, these idealized images, “conveyed ideas about women’s natures and roles,” and, “stood for societal values,” in the United States.¹⁵

In the early part of the century, stylized female images by particular artists, such as Charles Dana Gibson’s “Gibson Girl”, gained immense fame and became emblems of modern womanhood. (Figure 1) Historian Susan Meyer observes that images found on magazine covers “provided the public with its first image of American ideals... [T]he thousands of immigrants pouring into the country each day would find... prototypes after which they could pattern themselves.”¹⁶ In the early twentieth century, eye-catching magazine covers featuring idealized female images prompted women to emulate the ideology represented in the image and men to venerate the powerful

¹³ Carolyn Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 5.

¹⁴ Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover*, 5.

¹⁵ Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover*, 6.

¹⁶ From the book, *Norman Rockwell’s People*, pg 20, as quoted in *The Girl on the Magazine Cover*. Carolyn Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 7.

female types. To put it simply, media representations of women captured and perpetuated models of modern American womanhood for mass consumption.¹⁷

The idealized female image perpetuated by Charles Dana Gibson at the fin-de-siècle is the definitive precursor to the mid-century pinup. Although the image of the Gibson Girl differs dramatically from the pinup illustrations created for Robert Harrison's girlie magazine fifty years later, it was Gibson's creation that sparked a chain reaction leading to the eventual success of the American pinup girl. The Gibson Girl made her debut in an issue of *Life* published in 1890. Gibson continued to create illustrations of women based on his original drawing for approximately twenty years, until he gave up illustration to concentrate on "serious" art.¹⁸ The Gibson Girl could be comprised of merely a head or bust, or an entire figure, but always maintained the basic features which made her recognizable to the public as the creation of Charles Dana Gibson. The consistent representations of the Gibson Girl, "made her the first visual stereotype of women in American mass media... [and]... Her rapid rise to fame created a blue print for the commercial uses of such a stereotype."¹⁹ In the first decade of the twentieth, the much adored Gibson Girl spawned a host of collectibles and commercial products,

¹⁷ Buszek, *Pin century -Up Grrrls*, 185.

¹⁸ Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover*, 44.

¹⁹ Gibson also illustrated a male companion, the Gibson Man, for his Gibson Girl. The Gibson Man embodied the modern, masculine man. A contemporary newspaper wrote, "It was Gibson's pen which sent mustaches out of fashion and made the tailors pad the shoulders of well-cut coats..." This was in reference to the Gibson Man's lack of facial hair and brawny shoulders. This suggests that men also emulated magazine images. Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover*, 40.

including china, silverware, pillowcases, chairs, tabletops, matchboxes, ashtrays, scarves, and wallpaper.²⁰

The Gibson Girl established a model for representing the ideal woman that later illustrators appropriated and adapted overtime, which eventually resulted in the prototypical midcentury pinup girl. Following Gibson, the primary artists responsible for the cultivation of the pinup over the first half of the twentieth century were Harrison Fisher, Howard Chandler Christy, James Montgomery Flagg, Coles Phillips, George Petty, and Alberto Vargas. The illustrations produced by these artists were featured in mainstream, mass circulated magazines, demonstrating the centrality of the female form in popular culture and the mainstream appeal of Harrison's girlie magazines.

Robert Harrison, born Max Harrison on April 14, 1904, was the fourth child and only son of Benjamin and Paula Harrison, Eastern Europeans who immigrated to the United States in the final decade of the nineteenth century and settled in New York City. Although he never finished high school, Harrison displayed a natural aptitude for business even at a young age. At nine, Harrison rented umbrellas at the exit of a subway station during a storm; at twelve he developed his first publication, a guide to roadside inns and services for travelers.²¹ After dropping out of school and working at a variety of advertising and journalism jobs, Harrison began working at the Motion Picture Herald in 1935. Studio public relation agencies frequently sent cheesecake photographs to the offices of the Motion Picture Herald and Harrison secretly began to collect them. He

²⁰ Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover*, 41.

²¹ Samuel Bernstein, *Mr. Confidential: The Man, His Magazine, & the Movieland Massacre that Changed Hollywood Forever* (New York: Walford Press, 2006), 21-22.

developed his first girlie magazine, *Beauty Parade*, in 1940 using these illegally obtained photographs. Harrison's boss at the Motion Picture Herald was Martin J. Quigley, creator of the Movie Picture Production Code, which set austere guidelines for movie censorship from 1934 until 1968. When Quigley learned of Harrison's plans for *Beauty Parade*, he fired the entrepreneur immediately.²²

The first issue of *Beauty Parade* was published in October 1941. (Figure 2) In the early days of publication, the magazine was run entirely out of the small apartment Harrison shared with his sister Helen and her family. An issue of *Beauty Parade* sold for 25 cents - significantly more than *Life* magazine which cost only 10 cents per issue in 1941. *Life* magazine, however, made the switch from illustrated to photographic covers the previous decade, significantly lowering production costs. In addition, *Life* magazine qualified for second class mailing rates, while the post-office constantly challenged the right for girlie magazines, such as *Beauty Parade*, to receive the discount. The retail price of *Life* magazine rose steadily to 15 cents in 1946 and 20 cents in 1948, while *Beauty Parade* maintained at 25 cents per issue. Published until 1956, *Beauty Parade* was Harrison's longest running girlie magazine.

Beauty Parade, with the slogan, "The World's Loveliest Girls", established the model for all of Harrison's magazines. The magazines featured vibrantly illustrated pinup covers encasing pages of black-and-white pinup photographs and photostories accompanied by droll commentary. The striking cover images, which featured leggy bombshells and a bold color palette, aimed to catch the eye of consumers at the

²² Bernstein, *Mr. Confidential*, 24-26.

newsstand. Although similar pinups appeared on competing publications, no other publication presented the pinup in the same unique format that Harrison chose to use, thereby distinguishing his magazines from his competitors. Indeed, no other girlie magazine of the era achieved the success and longevity of Harrison's magazines.

Harrison introduced his own unique contribution to the pinup world with the photostory. A photostory ranged from two-to-four pages in length and was based on the burlesque tradition of integrating sexuality and humor. A typical example, titled "Trunk and Disorderly," with the subtitle "She went on a Hinge," involves a woman wearing sexy lingerie struggling to open and then close a large trunk.²³ (Figure 3) This four-page photostory features ten panels, each accompanied by a comical caption such as, "Still playin' with that lock, baby? On you it locks good!" The model contorts her body into a myriad of improbable positions to flaunt her figure. This study will demonstrate that the improbable, the bizarre and the ridiculous present themselves as a common theme throughout Harrison's publications, both on and between the covers, reflecting Harrison's interest in the burlesque.

After the success of *Beauty Parade*, Harrison launched the serials *Eyeful*, *Titter*, *Wink*, *Whisper*, and *Flirt* based on the same format and with very little variation. In fact, cover images as well as interior photographs were often reused in different magazines.²⁴ Some of the serials became progressively more focused on sadism, masochism and fetishism over time, while others retained less controversial pinup

²³ This photostory comes from the June 1946 issue of *Eyeful*. Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

²⁴ Bernstein, *Mr. Confidential*, 31.

imagery. In addition, the influence of the burlesque tradition on Harrison's magazines, most evident in the photostories, eventually began to decline and instead turned towards the format of the scandal sheet, a trend that evolved due to changing tastes in the postwar era. The serial *Eyeful*, for example, launched in 1943, originally ran with the slogan, "Girls, Gags & Giggles", emphasizing the burlesque humor featured in the magazine. Eventually, however, *Eyeful's* slogan changed to, "Glorifying the American Girl," demonstrating an attempt to alter its image. Generally, in addition to the photostories, the magazines included letters to the editor, playful pinups, jokes and humorous limericks, and comical photo articles. With the serial *Wink*, first published in 1944, Harrison introduced a new feature. In the late of 1940s, *Wink* began running reprints of John Wille's serial comic strip, "Sweet Gwendoline"; a bondage saga about the immoral Sir d'Arcy. The serial was originally published in Willie's magazine, *Bizarre*, but the inclusion of "Sweet Gwendoline" in *Wink* gave the comic strip an expanded audience and a new life. The serial *Whisper*, published by Harrison from 1946 until 1958, initially took the same form as the rest of Harrison's girlie magazines, but eventually began to mirror *Confidential* as features on celebrity gossip became the magazine's primary focus in the 1950s. Eventually, facing multiple lawsuits, decreased circulation, and enlivened anti-obscenity campaigns, Harrison was forced to sell his girlie magazine empire fifteen years after its inaugural publication.

This thesis demonstrates that even material culture objects that appear socially marginal, such as Harrison's magazines, provide valuable insight into the society responsible for their production. The chapters examine Harrison's girlie magazines in

terms of cover, content, audience and reception in order to demonstrate the important role these magazines play as a cultural document, conveying changes in social ideas as it relates to the representation of women in the World War II and immediate post-war eras. The cover illustrations of Harrison's magazines, for example, were predicated on a visual language developed in the first half of the century that established an idealized depiction of feminine beauty. This demonstrates the perpetuation of the idealized female type throughout the first half of the century. In addition, the fact that the pinup reached the height of its popularity in the 1940s suggests that societal expectations of femininity and womanhood mirrored this influx. The inclusion of burlesque and fetish themes in Harrison's magazines represents an attempt to attract readers by focusing on controversial subjects popular in mainstream media. Harrison ultimately succeeds with this model in his magazine *Confidential*. Finally, evidence shows that Harrison's publications had a broad audience that included both male and female readers and also demonstrates the variety of critical as well as celebratory perspectives of these magazines that existed in the 1940s.

COVER GIRLS AND THE PINUP EQUATION

The cover of the October 1946 issue of *Beauty Parade* by the artist Peter Driben represents the type of pinup imagery that graced the covers of Robert Harrison's mid-century girlie magazines. (Figure 4) The image features a long-legged beauty with flowing, golden locks of hair, azure eyes, ruby lips, and a sparkling smile, wearing little more than high heels and stockings. She wears a revealing bodice that laces up the front and a wide brimmed black hat. Peculiarly, the figure sits poised in a purple hat box, which calls attention to the commoditization of women that occurs in pinups. The magazine and the woman are both available for purchase. The colors the artist chose for this cover image are as bold and as shocking as the woman that they animate. The background is a bright, sunshine yellow which contrasts markedly with the figure's jet black and candy apple red attire. A hint of shadow to the right of the hat box and the figure's right foot gives the only indication of three-dimensional space within the sunny backdrop.

There is an element of performance present in this image that repeatedly manifests on the covers of Harrison's magazines in different ways. In this image, the pinup is set in a dynamic pose that communicates her awareness of an audience. In fact, like many of the pinups featured in Harrison's publications, she makes direct eye contact with the viewer. In addition, although the pinup is modeling a hat in the image, the wide brimmed black hat appears significantly larger in diameter than the box. Thus, the

presence of the hat merely complicates, rather than explains, why this woman is sitting in a hat box, and the acute angle at which the woman's legs extend up out of the box, and away from her torso, is so extreme as to make it appear as though she is broken into two pieces; her buxom upper body and her shapely legs. Furthermore, the lack of shadow is evocative of stage lighting, where multiple light sources nearly obliterate the possibility of cast shadows; further enhancing the performative nature of this image. The vivid, unspecified background, the inconsistent size of the hat and hat box, and the irregularity of the pinup girl's pose removes the image from reality. She appears to exist in a theatrical realm that includes only her and the beholder; her appearance is only limited by the artist's imagination and the requirement that she entice the buyer's sense of longing and desire.

The idealization of the female body on the covers of Harrison's magazines becomes apparent in examining pinup illustrations by the artist Earl Steffa Moran, who illustrated the first ten covers of *Beauty Parade*. Comparing Moran's illustrations to the photographs of the models who posed for the images demonstrates a clear alteration of reality. In one comparison, he endows the bosom of a young blonde model for a calendar illustration, with several extra cup sizes. The model pretends to cook and poses in a strapless, cropped white dress and chef's hat. (Figures 5 & 6) Another calendar image by Moran, of the model Marie Wilson, again demonstrates the idealization of the female form rather than a realistic depiction. (Figures 7 & 8) In the illustration, Wilson's limbs appear thinner and elongated, her pose is streamlined, and the illustration has a light and airy feeling, while the photograph appears heavy and grounded. Instead of

depicting Wilson as she actually was, Moran formulated the most ideal version of the model to create an illustration that conveyed more than just allure or beauty, but also contemporary ideas surrounding female sexuality.

The idealism present in the pinup illustrations by the artists working for Harrison is an overarching theme exhibited on nearly every cover of Harrison's girly magazines and stems from earlier idealized depictions of women in the mass media, beginning with the Gibson Girl. In 1915, American composer and lyricist, Irving Berlin, wrote the song, "The Girl on the Magazine Cover," about a young man whose ideal woman existed solely on the cover of a magazine.²⁵ The magazine industry had long relied on images of women as one of its most powerful marketing tools for driving sales. The changing representations of women in the media, in turn, point to significant changes in cultural attitudes towards gender and sexuality. This chapter will demonstrate the influence of previous modes of representing female stereotypes in modern magazines on Harrison's publications by looking at mainstream magazines, pulp fiction, and movie magazines.

After Charles Dana Gibson abandoned his career in illustration, Harrison Fisher and Howard Chandler Christy continued to develop the image of the American girl for the mass culture industry. The changes made by these two illustrators resulted in a new American girl type whose influence can be seen on the covers of Harrison's magazines. Although Gibson addressed the tension between the sexes during the first wave of feminism in many of his illustrations, the Gibson Girl appeared fundamentally Victorian in her dress and disposition. The "Fisher Girl" and "Christy Girl," popular until the 1920s,

²⁵ Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover*, 5.

carried on Gibson's representation of an American girl type, but imbued their girls with more modern character. The Fisher Girl and Christy Girl were active in their contemporary society and on various magazine covers they could be seen going to college, playing sports, riding in cars, out in nature, or working with tools, among many other activities.²⁶ (Figures 9 & 10) The Fisher girl's features are softer than those of the Gibson Girl, and her facial expression simultaneously has an air of coquettish sexuality and wholesomeness, in contrast to the Gibson Girl's pretentious high society appearance. The Christy girl also possessed the same down-to-earth nature that characterized the Fisher Girl and their independent, carefree demeanor also resembled that of the flapper, a modern woman of the 1920s. Fisher and Christy's mode of representation introduced a playful character absent in the earlier Gibson Girl and prevalent among later pinup imagery. Among Harrison's cover girls, the influence of the Fisher Girl and the Christy Girl most clearly manifests in the depictions of pinup girls who engage in activities on the cover of *Beauty Parade*, including one that features a girl sledding, and another that shows a pinup attempting to mount a bewildered horse as well as those on the cover of *Flirt*, especially the October 1952 issue that portrays a pinup girl riding a toy horse and twirling a lasso. (Figures 11-13)

In contrast to the playful, good-natured Fisher Girl and Christy Girl, the female type perpetuated by James Montgomery Flagg and Coles Phillips was the vamp. Vamp derives from the title of a poem by Rudyard Kipling, made into a silent film in 1915,

²⁶ Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover*, 44.

“about a woman who sucks the spirit out of a man by refusing to return his love.”²⁷

Produced during the same time period as the Fisher Girl and Christy Girl, the “Flagg Girl” and the “Phillips Girl” were not only enticing, they were also dominating. These Girls reflected the growing power of women who were petitioning for the right to vote and who had been granted sexual agency via the propagation of Freudian psychoanalysis. The Flagg Girl and Phillips Girl thus provided an image of womanhood that threatened traditional gender power dynamics. The cover of *Life* magazine from August 22, 1911, illustrated by Cole Phillips, depicts a beautiful woman seated in the center of a large web, from which dangle four helpless men who are caught in her trap. (Figure 14)

According to Kitch, the point of these images is, “that if women gained control in the bedroom or at the ballot box, American manhood would suffer,” but more significantly, these images addressed a complexly shifting society whose qualms went beyond gender relations.²⁸ Despite social apprehensions embodied by the Flagg Girl and Phillips Girl, the vamp image continued to flourish in the mass media, and eventually became a common mode of representing pinups on the covers of Harrison’s magazines.

Epitomized on Harrison’s magazines by an alluring representation of Eve holding the forbidden fruit, and a blonde bombshell who bares her breasts as she leans over to manipulate two men in the form of marionettes, the vamp image thrived in the 1940s. (Figures 15 & 16)

²⁷ Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover*, 60.

²⁸ Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover*, 68.

The illustrations of women put forth by Gibson, Fisher, Christy, Flagg and Phillips in the first quarter of the twentieth century established a visual formula that would continue to be developed through the Great Depression era, and into World War II, by George Petty and Alberto Vargas in *Esquire* magazine. Launched in October 1933, *Esquire* began as a quarterly, oversized glossy magazine that sold for fifty cents per issue. First issue sales so greatly exceeded expectations that when the second issue was published in January 1934, it had already changed to a monthly publication. For its first decade of publication, *Esquire* was characterized by its impressive bylines, which included Ernest Hemingway, Ezra Pound, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and D. H. Lawrence, among others. *Esquire* was also interspersed with cartoons based on smoking-car humor, and the illustrated pinup girls of George Petty.²⁹

In the 1930s, the “Petty Girl” became as recognizable as the Gibson Girl had been in her heyday.³⁰ (Figure 17) The Petty Girl initially developed as part of *Esquire*’s cartoon panels, accompanied by witty one-liner captions comparable to those found in Harrison’s magazines in the following decade. In 1939, however, *Esquire* began to feature the Petty Girl in centerfolds and eventually minimized the narrative content until it became an empty white slate whose primary focus was the illustrated image. The Petty Girl was a cheerful beauty, depicted in various states of dress and undress, who rarely addressed her voyeur audience.³¹ Not surprisingly, due to its popularity, many of

²⁹ Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 275-276.

³⁰ The popularity of George Petty and his pin-up girls inspired a movie, *The Petty Girl*; a comedy released in 1950 starring Robert Cummings and Joan Caulfield.

³¹ Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls*, 202-203.

Harrison's magazine covers utilized the Petty Girl model; using bright, solid-color backdrops to emphasize the curvaceous features of the partially dressed female figure. In contrast to the Petty Girl, however, Harrison's Girls were equally as likely to address the viewer outright as they were to disregard their spectators, but in either case, a girl on the cover of one of Harrison's magazine was aware of her audience.

By 1940, George Petty's success in *Esquire* led him to demand greater compensation from the magazine and his advertising commissions, thereby prompting *Esquire* to seek out a more affordable replacement, which they found in Alberto Vargas. (Figure 18) A column published in the January 11, 1941 issue of the *New Yorker* described the Varga Girl as "faultless in limb and shaping, curved with strange magics [sic]," in reference to the figure's unrealistic, idealized proportions.³² In her book, *Pin-Up Grrrls: Feminism, Sexuality, Popular Culture*, Maria Elena Buszek compares Vargas's pinups to Jean Auguste Ingres's *Grand Odalisque*:

Like Ingres's career-long disfigurement of the human figure in the name of sensual pleasure (his famous *Grande Odalisque* prominently featured three extra vertebrae in her seductively exposed back), Vargas embellished freely upon his renderings of the female body in order to exaggerate their sensuality. The Varga Girls' impossibly long legs ran derriere-lessly into their waists; their ample breasts spread irrationally far across their chests; their doll-like and fetishistically detailed feet teetered on pumps rendered with equally lavish attention; and even eighteenth-century period drag clung to their bodies like the wet peploi of Hellenistic marble goddesses.³³

³² Petty received \$1500 per image in 1941, whereas Vargas earned a weekly salary of \$75 working for *Esquire*. Vargas was in no place to negotiate salary. In addition to the difficulty of finding work during the Great Depression, the Hollywood studios had blacklisted him for participating in unionized walkouts. *Esquire* nicknamed the artist Varga in an effort to distance him from association with fascist-leaning Brazilian President Getulio Vargas. The moniker was owned by *Esquire*, not Vargas. Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls*, 203-204

³³ Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls*, 205.

The Varga Girl's impractical proportions fostered her idealized image, which is directly linked to the unrealistic depictions of women often found on the covers of Harrison's girlie magazines, including the pinup sitting in a hatbox from the October 1946 issue of *Beauty Parade* described at the beginning of this chapter. The Varga Girl epitomized glamour and, "began more closely resembling the strong, sexual icons [Varga] painted in the pre-Code era than the comical nude with a narrative that had by then marked *Esquire's* illustrated women."³⁴ Only two months after the publication of Vargas's initial illustration for *Esquire*, the magazine published the first of eight Varga Girl calendars, which sold more copies than any other calendar in the world issued that year.

Beyond mere inspiration, the illustrated pinups featured on the covers of Harrison's girlie magazines were often directly modeled after earlier pinup covers from pulp fiction magazines popular in the 1930s and movie magazines that date back to the 1920s. Pulp fiction magazines, originating in 1896, descended from nineteenth century dime novels and were named for the rough wood pulp paper on which they were printed. The publisher Frank Munsey decided to take the content of a dime novel and turn it into a serial because, unlike individual publications, serials were eligible for second class mailing rates. Pulp magazines came in a variety of themes, including adventure, romance, detective, science fiction, and western; each one accompanied by

³⁴ Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls*, 204.

a striking cover image.³⁵ Although the images portrayed on the covers of the pulps were wide ranging in subject matter, many of them featured pinup girls in some capacity.

The earliest covers of Harrison's magazine *Whisper*, introduced in 1946, reflect the heritage of pulp fiction magazines. Unlike the rest of Harrison's magazine covers, the pinup girls on the first few issues of *Whisper* were featured within a narrative setting, evocative of magazines covers from pulp fiction serials such as *Spicy Detective* and *Private Detective Stories*. *Whisper's* April 1946 cover illustration, for example, is reminiscent of the June 1937 cover of *Private Detective Stories*, both of which feature a blonde pinup being attacked by a man with a bladed weapon. (Figures 19 & 20) While the previous comparison demonstrates the influence of pulp fiction magazines, further examples from the pulp, *Silk Stocking Stories*, reveal the irrefutable connection between pulp fiction cover illustrations and Harrison's magazines.

The serial, *Silk Stocking Stories*, published from 1936 until 1939, specialized in pinup covers. Peter Driben, who illustrated more of Harrison's magazine covers than any other artist, painted for a variety of pulps during the 1930s, including *Silk Stocking Stories*, with his first pinup cover published on the October 1934 issue of *Tattle Tale*.³⁶ A survey of the cover images created by Driben shows that he not only continued to work in the same style for Harrison's magazines as he had for the earlier pulp fiction serials, but that he also recycled entire compositions.

³⁵ Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*, 306-307.

³⁶ Charles G. Martignette and Louis K. Meisel, *The Great American Pin-Up* (Los Angeles: Taschen, 2002), 172.

The similarities between the covers of the October 1937 issue of *Silk Stocking Stories* and Driben's illustration for the November 1952 issue of *Whisper* makes evident the artist's reuse of his compositions. (Figs. 21 & 22) The earlier *Silk Stocking Stories*' cover features a reclining pinup girl resting on a large yellow cushion, with her right arm folded up beneath her head and her left arm daintily holding a telephone to her ear. She has a pleasant grin on her face, which suggests that she is enjoying her phone conversation. She wears a scanty red dress with a small black bow on her bosom, and red and black high heels with black stockings held up by garters. Her knees are pulled in to her chest, allowing the skirt of her dress to slide down, revealing a hint of her ruffled yellow panties. In comparison to the 1952 *Whisper* cover, the similarities between the two illustrations are striking. Lounging in an almost identical pose, on what appears to be an identical pillow, the *Whisper* pinup gazes out at the viewer, mouth agape. There is no telephone in her hand, and instead, her fingers rest upon the apple of her left cheek. In addition, the intermediary between the viewer and the image is removed by the absence of the telephone and is replaced by the depiction of the figure through a keyhole shape, which underscores the voyeuristic quality that both images share. The *Whisper* pinup also wears some sort of red dressing gown with a black bow; however, her bow is slightly larger and is part of a black sash that wraps around her waist; seemingly the only thing keeping her robe from flying open. She wears fashionable black high heels and her stocking clad legs are decorated with tiny black polka dots. Her partially open garment allows for hint of her white lace panties to come into view. The unmistakable similarities of the two pinup illustrations demonstrate that Driben would

rework his compositions to create new illustrations. This is not surprising when one considers that during the height of their popularity, Driben's pinup illustrations appeared on the covers of as many as six magazines each month, challenging the artist's ability to constantly invent original works.³⁷ To cite another example, it is apparent that Driben also reworked a 1939 cover of *Silk Stocking Stories* for the August 1951 cover of *Flirt*; suggesting that Driben likely made a regular habit of reworking compositions. (Figures 23 & 24)

In addition to reusing his own compositions, Driben also appropriated the cover illustrations of other artists. The cover image for *Silk Stocking Stories*' September 1937 issue, by an unidentified artist, and the November 1950 issue of *Beauty Parade* are nearly identical in composition.³⁸ (Figures 25 & 26) Driben would have been exposed to the work of other artists who were working for the same publications, and thus, it may be unsurprising that he mimicked the work of his colleague in an illustration for Harrison's magazines thirteen years later. Perhaps more unexpected, however, is the direct influence the popular movie magazine, *Film Fun*, had on Driben's pinup girls.

Launched in July of 1915, *Film Fun* printed stories about new movies, actor biographies and an abundance of images. The earliest issues of the serial featured cover illustrations depicting well known actors like Charlie Chaplin, but by the early 1920s it

³⁷ Martignette and Meisel, *The Great American Pin-Up*, 172.

³⁸ Based upon a stylistic analysis, it is clear that the September 1937 cover illustration for *Silk Stocking Stories* is not the work of Driben. It may have been illustrated by the artist Cardwell S. Higgins, who is known to have created other illustrations for the serial, but thus far I have been unable to confirm the identity of the illustrator.

had already switched to pinup style covers. *Film Fun* continued to feature pinup covers, most of which were painted by artist Enoch Bolles, until the end of the magazine in September of 1942.

In comparing the early pinup covers of *Film Fun* to those from Harrison's girlie magazines in general, and Peter Driben's illustrations in particular, the influence of the earlier material becomes apparent. A *Film Fun* cover from April of 1928, for example, which features a woman wearing a red coat with a fur stole, appears to be the thematic inspiration for Driben's February 1951 cover illustration for *Wink*. (Figures 27 & 28) The *Film Fun* pinup hikes up her knee length green dress as she tramps through the snow. Created nearly a quarter of a century later, Driben's figure is more revealing (she has hiked up her dress to the point that her garters are visible) and her pose differs from her pinup predecessor, but the essence of the composition remains intact. The same correlation is present in a *Film Fun* issue from December 1934 and Driben's November 1952 cover for *Beauty Parade*; each of which feature a blonde pinup wearing a sexy police woman costume. (Figures 29 & 30) The two illustrations differ in mood, however, as the *Film Fun* pinup girl is depicted with an expression of cool composure, as she rides off the right side of the magazine cover on her cherry red motorcycle, and appears serious and perhaps threatening in comparison to the *Beauty Parade* pinup, which appears more comical. Additionally, the *Beauty Parade* pinup, while wearing ankle strap stilettos, holding a small stop sign, and flashing the viewer a toothy grin, is infantilized by being placed on a push scooter instead of a motorcycle.

A final example emphasizes the commonality of female “types” in media imagery and demonstrates *Film Fun*’s continual influence on Harrison’s magazine cover illustrations. A May 1933 issue of *Film Fun* features a blonde showgirl pinup in a tuxedo inspired costume with a top hat, cane, and high heels. (Figure 31) This cover image appears to be the direct inspiration for Driben’s November 1953 illustration for *Beauty Parade*, whose pinup girl wears a comparable tuxedo inspired outfit. (Figure 32) In addition, both pinups gaze out at the viewer with toothy smiles rimmed with ruby lips, and both wear their top hats tilted down in a playful gesture over one side of their face. The repetition of this theme on the magazine covers shows the importance of the performance aspect of pinup illustrations.

There are innumerable comparisons that could be made to demonstrate the compositional influences of earlier magazine covers on Harrison’s illustrated pinup covers, particularly those by Driben. The pinup riding a toy horse, which can be identified as a continuation of the type of girl propagated by Fisher and Christy, for example, could also be argued to be a modified version of the February 1936 cover illustration for the pulp fiction magazine *Stage and Screen Stories*. (Figures 33) The variety of comparative explanations demonstrates that a pinup culture visual language was already in place when Harrison conceptualized his girlie magazines. The abundance of cover images from Harrison’s magazines that show a clear compositional relationship with earlier publications demonstrates the prevalence of the visual language developed by illustrators in the first quarter of the century. By the 1940s, the pinup vocabulary had

refined down to its most basic elements, in which particular poses, expressions, and themes became the most representative of the genre.

PERFORMANCE AND SCOPOPHILIA

In a 1954 issue of *Beauty Parade*, Harrison published a photo spread titled, “Strippin’ Pippin,” which features photographs of a burlesque dancer named Terry Jean who strips down to fringed underpants and a pair of pasties. (Figure 34) The page text exclaims:

A new blonde tornado has the boys at the burleycue strainin’ their eyes as she does her stuff! Terry Jean, known as the Bundle of Beauty, has the statistics to merit the title! She’s 5’2”, weighs a bare 105 lbs., but has 36” bust ‘n hips! This torrid torso-tosser from Memphis prefers dark-haired men who are very masculine – even rough!

The black and white photographs were arranged in the cut and paste method that Harrison traditionally used in his magazines.³⁹ The “blonde tornado” exudes sexuality in her voluptuously styled curls and dark lipstick, as she shakes, shimmies, and strips across the stage. On the right hand side of the spread, in the background, between the dancing legs of two separate images of Terry Jean, sits a male audience member whose gaze fixates on the dancer’s bared body. The male figure is a representation of the implied voyeurism present in all of Harrison’s magazines.

The pleasure of looking, or scopophilia, is a predominant theme in Harrison’s magazines. All of his images are similar in their focus on spectacle, performance, and audience. Pinup models (as well as the illustrations) often address the viewer with direct eye contact like stage performers would their audience. The often ridiculous costumes

³⁹ Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

and scenarios highlight the constructed nature of the spectacle and encourage visual consumption. A 1949 photo spread from *Wink*, for example, features a “key-utie” named Dreena Howell who wears only stockings, six-inch heels, and a keyhole shaped cutout over her torso. (Figure 35) This seemingly inverts the popular keyhole motif by covering the body instead of revealing it. The placement of the keyhole shape is still responsible, however, for directing the viewer’s gaze; determining what can and cannot be seen, and the cutout key that she holds provides a mechanism for imagining the penetration of the keyhole and thereby the penetration of Dreena as well. Likewise, Terry Jean in the “Strippin’ Pippin” photo spread is presented on a stage, indicating that she is performing. The audience member in the background reinforces Terry Jean’s position as an object for visual consumption and parallels the voyeuristic role of the viewer of the magazine, thereby legitimizing the viewers pleasure in looking at the photo spread.

The “Strippin’ Pippin” photo spread exemplifies the inspiration Harrison drew from the burlesque theater in the creation of his girlie magazine empire; however, the influence of the burlesque show on Harrison’s magazines was not limited to photographic representations of the striptease. The impact of the burlesque show on these publications permeates the magazine imagery; from cover illustrations of glamorous showgirls on stage or in dressing rooms, to the inclusion of characters and themes commonly found in burlesque, such as the sultan’s harem and racial caricature.

Harrison’s girlie magazines were unique among pinup magazines of their day in the way they featured photographic representations of controversial themes and

achieved long lasting serial circulation. His inclusion of burlesque, sadomasochistic, and fetishistic themes, despite the legal troubles that they sometimes brought with them, demonstrates Harrison's interest in depicting taboos and his desire to challenge sexual and social barriers. An examination of the primary image types featured in his magazines reveal something of the mindset of the audience who consumed Harrison's girlie magazines throughout the 1940s and into the early 1950s. This chapter aims to accomplish two goals: to trace the genealogy of the distinctive photographic content of Harrison's magazines and to address the underlying social conditions that explain their popularity. More specifically, it examines the tension inherent in these stories: strong women who are the subject of a voyeur's gaze.

The influence of burlesque on Harrison's publications is palpable not only in the interior pages of the magazines, in the photo spreads, photostories, and pinup photographs, but also in the illustrated pinup girls that grace the covers of the magazines. Although the influence of burlesque on the cover illustrations is primarily confined to the striptease, whereas the interior imagery displays a broader scope of inspiration, this chapter will demonstrate that interior photographic images and the exterior illustrated images primarily used the same visual language stemming from the American burlesque.

The American burlesque show arose at the end of the nineteenth century, inspired by European musical burlesque theater performances that traveled to the United States. The earliest burlesque performance in America, Lydia Thompson's British

Blondes, came from London and debuted on September 28, 1868.⁴⁰ American variations sprang out of these European shows. The American burlesques began performing on traveling circuits but later developed into stationary theaters.⁴¹ American burlesque shows consisted of slapstick and satiric skits, dancing chorus girls reminiscent of the Folies Bergère in Paris, and the “hootchie-kootchie,” which evolved into the striptease once the concept of disrobing was introduced.⁴² The striptease, as an exposition of nudity, became a customary aspect of burlesque theater in the 1920s and became the primary mode of performance in the following decade. Striptease performances were common before the 1920s, but the women only stripped down to opaque tights or one-piece body suits known as union suits. According to historian Robert C. Allen, the display of nude female flesh beginning in the 1920s was a final effort by the burlesque theaters to revitalize interest in the decaying performance genre that was suffering financially due to competition from motion picture palaces, which offered a less expensive form of entertainment. Ironically, the introduction of the full strip led to the demise of burlesque, as anti-obscenity authorities began to close down the theaters that offered the racy spectacle.⁴³

License Commissioner Moss began shutting down the burlesque theaters in Harrison’s hometown of New York in 1937 by banning strip shows, but the genre had

⁴⁰ Robert C. Allen, *Horrible Prettiness: Burlesque and American Culture* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 8.

⁴¹ Irving Zeidman, *The American Burlesque Show* (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1967), 12.

⁴² Zeidman, *The American Burlesque Show*, 13.

⁴³ Allen, *Horrible Prettiness*, 8, 244.

already made its impact on the entrepreneur.⁴⁴ In addition, the proliferation of novels and movies regarding burlesque culture in the early 1940s may have influenced the degree to which Harrison focused his publications on burlesque themes. In 1941, the same year Harrison published the first issue of *Beauty Parade*, the famous burlesque dancer Gypsy Rose Lee (born Louise Havoc) released her first book, *G String Murders*. Demonstrating a popular fascination with the burlesque, *G String Murders* was one of the best selling novels the year of its release and two years later was made into the film, *Lady of Burlesque*.⁴⁵

In the early twentieth century, burlesque also featured, “nondancing disrobing acts,” that involved scenarios that functioned as a “pretext for voyeurism.” It also showcased a version of the striptease that evolved from the “Hootchie-Kootchie,” which included situations like getting ready for bed, bathing, and changing clothes.⁴⁶ The placement of pinups in Harrison’s magazines within these voyeuristic circumstances is evident in both the illustrated cover images and the photographic pinups in the interior of the publications. The cover of the September 1949 issue of *Beauty Parade* depicts a yawning pinup, with her flowing brunette hair tied back in ribbons to prepare for bed, wearing a short sleep shirt that barely covers her bottom or contains her bosom; its side slit reveals her hip and its low two-button stance allows for optimum cleavage. (Figure 36) An interior pinup photograph in an issue of *Beauty Parade* dating from the same

⁴⁴ Zeidman, *The American Burlesque Show*, 167.

⁴⁵ Liz Sonneborn, *A to Z of American Women in the Performing Arts* (New York: Facts of File, Inc., 2002), 123.

⁴⁶ Allen, *Horrible Prettiness*, 244.

year, and possibly the same issue, features a brunette woman wearing a costume similar to the one in the illustration in a photo spread titled, "Stolen Glances." (Figure 37) Like the cover illustration, the model wears a revealing, stripped night shirt and high heels. Instead of yawning to indicate that she is going to bed, however, the model puckers her lips to blow out a candle. A similar pinup photograph was also published in a 1949 issue of *Flirt* as part of a photo spread titled, "Retiring Misses: Ready for beddy, these glamorous pajamazons are sure to widen YOUR peepers." (Figure 38) There are also clear depictions of women bathing, such as the May 1950 cover of *Whisper*. (Figure 39) This cover illustration shows a blond pinup talking on the phone while taking a bubble bath, framed within Harrison's signature voyeuristic keyhole shape.

The theme of undress is more commonly represented, however, in the depiction of women wearing bathing suits or undergarments, who are often fiddling with the knots and straps that keep the garment from falling off, as seen on the Fall 1945 cover of *Wink*. (Figure 40) A similar representation can be found in a 1950 issue of *Eyeful*, in which a grinning pinup model poses in a bikini made of bandanas. (Figure 41) She is holding an undone end of her bikini bottom in each hand as if she had just untied it, revealing a hint of her hindquarters. A photo spread titled, "Caught in the Act!" from a 1954 issue of *Eyeful* exemplifies the voyeurism present in these images of undressing inspired by the burlesque tradition. (Figure 42) Featuring the tagline, "Quick! Sneak a peak at what these dazzlin' dolls are doin', buster!" the spread presents four different pinups caught in the act of adjusting their undergarments, one of which is entirely topless, although seen from behind. Three of the four pinups address the viewer with a

smile, while the fourth, identified in the caption as Donna Lee, raises her eyebrows and puckers her lips in an expression of surprise as she catches her bra strip slipping down her right shoulder. According to the caption, however, this is a playful act on the part of Donna and is rather a performance of surprise to enhance the scopophilic effect for the viewer rather than a genuine expression of surprise. Furthermore, each photo is transposed on to a keyhole shape, signifying the voyeuristic act of visually consuming their images. The July 1951 cover of *Whisper* echoes this photographic representation of women dressing. (Figure 43) The illustrated pinup in this image has also been caught in the act of dress and undress and her facial expression resembles that of the fourth pinup in the photo spread, communicating a feeling of surprise. There is also a sign in the background of the image that indicates the setting for this illustration is a dressing room, signifying that this pinup is also employed as a model or showgirl, like the models pictured in the photo spread. The keyhole motif is also present in her image, as *Whisper* used the theme in the design of all its cover illustrations from 1948 until 1953.

Striptease was not the only burlesque component that Harrison incorporated into his magazines. Other burlesque elements commonly found in Harrison's publications include puns, slapstick, circus style acts such as juggling and animal training, the sultan's harem, racial caricature. Even the keyhole motif frequently used by Harrison was an element of burlesque comedy.⁴⁷ Puns are present on nearly every page of the

⁴⁷ Examples of the keyhole motif in burlesque include skits in which an older man and much younger bride are on honeymoon in a hotel and other characters peek through the keyhole to see if the old man possesses the stamina required to consummate the marriage. Zeidman, *The American Burlesque Show*, 206-207.

magazines. A five-panel photostory from a 1953 issue of *Eyeful* featuring slapstick humor and titled, “The YANKS are coming!” for example, shows an amusing depiction of a visit to the dentist. (Figure 44) In this scene, a dental assistant named Peggy, untrained in the science of dentistry, tries to care for the oral problems of a patient named Margie, who is faced with a variety of ridiculous treatment options, including a claw hammer. Each panel is accompanied by a caption, which are used to incorporate puns into the photostory. The panel in which Peggy confronts Margie with a hammer features the caption, “Peggy’s only trying to hammer home her point, that’s all!!” The puns also serve to introduce phallic innuendo, enhancing the erotic character of the photostory.

Circus inspired acts that were common in early burlesque and later adopted as a motif for Harrison’s girlie magazine are clearly evident in two separate photostories. A photostory titled, “Swing it Lady,” from a 1942 issue of *Beauty Parade*, features a pinup named Trixie juggling Indian clubs while standing in a myriad of awkward positions. (Figure 45) The page text readily admits that the true spectacle is not Trixie’s juggling act but Trixie herself, stating:

We know you won’t be able to keep your eye on the clubs, so let’s admit right now that Trixie has two of the trickiest gams we’ve ever seen, and a smile that sends us out of the world. Swing it, Trixie, you’re a hot melody in motion – and you’re in the groove! Benny Goodman may be the king of swing, but you’re the queen!

A second photostory titled, “Leopard Lady,” from a 1946 issue of *Wink* features Bedelia, “the bravest gal who ever stepped behind the bars of a leopard’s cage.” (Figure 46) Dressed in lingerie with high heeled boots, a plumed helmet, and a cape, Bedelia

pretends to tame a stuffed leopard. Humor is introduced into the second half of the photostory when it is revealed that the brave leopard tamer is terribly afraid of mice and she locks herself in a cage in order to escape an illustrated mouse.

The sultan's harem appears in Harrison's magazine as an exotic guise for the exposition of the female body, but at times the theme is radically marginalized in favor of focusing on the images of the women. As Irving Zeidman explains in his book, *The American Burlesque Show*, by the 1930s, "the big attraction was the girls, not the comedians." Indeed, the girls are also the main attraction in Harrison's magazines. A two-page sultan's harem photo spread from an early 1950s issue of *Beauty Parade* presents fifteen overlapping pinups girls who are only identified as a harem by a small illustration of a stereotypically depicted Arabian sultan with the caption, "How many honeys can you find in this harem? If you can't spot at least a dozen, you'd better run – do not walk – to the nearest eye doctor!" (Figure 47) A more direct example of a sultan's harem photostory is titled, "Up in Cleo's Room," and features the famous pinup model, Bettie Page, from a 1953 issue of *Eyeful*.⁴⁸ (Figure 48) The photostory presents the scenario of the harem girl, Cleo, bathing and getting dressed in a room where she has forgotten to close the shades, and has thus attracted the gaze of a peeping tom named, Abdul-el-Jerque. In this photostory, the focus still remains on the pinup girl, although the costuming of both characters communicates the Arabian theme.

⁴⁸ Bettie Page got her start modeling for Harrison's magazines in 1951. Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines*, n.p.

Although Harrison's magazines were unique in their particular configuration and presentation of burlesque themes, they were not the first or only magazines to adopt them for publication. The theme of the sultan's harem can also be observed in other publications of the same era. *Esquire* magazine, for example, often featured illustrations of sultans and harem girls. An illustration from the January 1936 issue of *Esquire* depicted four scantily clothed harem girls on an auction block, with a sultan figure approaching from the left side of the illustration and fondling one of the girls. The illustration's caption states, "Please do not handle the merchandise," which directly refers to the commoditization of women in the image. (Figure 49) *Esquire's* presentation of this theme differs from Harrison's not only in that it is an illustration instead of a photograph, but also because these sorts of cartoons were only one facet of *Esquire's* publication format, which was heavily rooted in fiction stories; whereas Harrison's magazines were foremost pictorial publications.⁴⁹

Racial or ethnic caricature is a commonly used motif for both male and female characters depicted in Harrison's magazines. The racial caricature of male figures in the magazines range from Persian, such as those represented in the sultan's harem scenes, to Mexican. A photostory from a 1952 issue of *Eyeful* shows a Mexican bandit named Pedro bested by a clever pinup who uses her feminine wiles to distract the bandit in order to capture him and collect the reward of 5000 pesos offered on his wanted poster. (Figure 50) Once she distracts Pedro with her dancing, she kicks him to the

⁴⁹ Tom Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture 1900-1950* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 213-214.

ground, pulls out a gun, and exclaims, “Stick ‘em up, you border rat! I’ve got you covered!” The humor of the scene is accentuated by the fact that the pinup girl manages to accomplish all of this while wearing only a strapless bikini, high heels, and a sombrero. Where was she hiding that gun? In addition, the conquering of the Mexican man by the American pinup serves as an image of nationalism during the Cold War, in which the pinup represents the United States and its ability to defeat its enemies.

In contrast to male racial caricatures in Harrison’s magazines, racial or ethnic caricatures enacted by women are usually of Native Americans or French maids. The photo spread titled, “Tom Tom Tempo” from a 1950 issue of *Flirt*, shows a pinup dressed up like a Native American, wearing what appear to be animal hides and a feather headdress.⁵⁰ (Figure 51) She dances vigorously across the page in an interpretative style and the page text warns the viewer:

Hang on to your scalps, gents! Anita Collins is swinging into her Tom Tom Tempo, or Hopi Hop. Swing it, sweet Sioux!... Head for the stockade, men, the Injuns are coming! Heading the war dance is Anita Collins, big chief of Broadway’s whoopee wigwams. If this is what our Early Settlers saw, no wonder they decided to stay! It’s a wild and whirling stomp like the Blackfeet used to do, only now its strictly Hotfeet. How do you like it, Paleface? Has it got you whooping for more?

The other commonly depicted female caricature is the French maid. This caricature was performed by Bettie Page in a photostory titled, “...what the French maid saw!” from a 1955 issue of *Beauty Parade*, in which she spies on the lady of the house, who is undressing, through a keyhole. (Figure 52) This once again illustrates the centrality of

⁵⁰ The theme of pinup as Indian princess is also present in the illustrated cover imagery, as evidenced by the cover of the January 1951 issue of *Beauty Parade*.

voyeurism in Harrison's magazines. The captions take liberty with proper spelling in order to illustrate an exaggerated French accent, stating:

If Madame comes out of ze boudoir and catch naughty Marie (Betty Page) peeping through ze keyhole, zere weel be new job open for somebody! It's ze scandal of Paree ze way Marie peek on her curvey boss, Gaby Bleu of ze Folies Bergere!

Flirt also introduced an illustrated version of the caricature in a reoccurring segment titled, "Diary of a French Maid," which utilized the same play on language as the *Beauty Parade* photostory. (Figure 53)

This chapter has demonstrated that the voyeuristic nature of Harrison's magazines manifests in multiple ways, most obviously in the use of the keyhole motif but also in the presence of a secondary figure who shares the viewer's voyeur perspective. In these instances the voyeuristic qualities of the images are taken to such an extreme that they appear self-reflexive. For instance, the 1955 photostory from *Beauty Parade*, "...What the French Maid Saw!" featuring Bettie Page, depicts an act of voyeurism within itself. The viewer of the magazine enjoys consuming the image of Bettie Page as she voyeuristically gazes upon another woman through a keyhole. The second woman is represented in a way that mimics the keyhole motif that Harrison used on the cover of *Whisper*, as well as throughout the interior pinup images of all of his magazines, thereby revealing the voyeuristic act of the reader. In this scenario, while Bettie Page is still subject to the gaze of the viewer, she also becomes the active beholder.

Although burlesque themes were represented in Harrison's magazines on the magazine covers as well as in the pinup photographs, photo spreads, and photostories; the fetishistic and sadomasochistic themes that eventually became one the main features of Harrison's magazines never manifested on the covers. In addition, although they differ in inspiration, these fetishistic and sadomasochistic themes offer the same voyeuristic pleasures as the burlesque themes. Harrison's magazines shifted towards a more fetishistic, sadistic, and masochistic mode after Edythe Farrell, an employee of Harrison and former editor of *The Police Gazette*, a magazine initially launched in the early nineteenth century which is considered the grandfather of the modern day scandal sheet, introduced him to German psychiatrist Richard von Krafft-Ebing's, *Psychopathis Sexualis*.⁵¹ Originally published in 1886 and translated into English and released in the United States for the first time in 1893, *Psychopathis Sexualis* is a scientific text that aimed to distinguish between healthy sexual behavior and sexually deviant behavior. Krafft-Ebing defined normal, healthy sexual behavior as a procreative, hetero-sexual relationship and deviant behavior as a form of mental illness. Notably, *Psychopathis Sexualis* was responsible for familiarizing many Americans with the term "hetero-sexual."⁵²

Fetishistic imagery saturated Harrison's girlie magazines. Fetishism is most commonly represented in the lingerie, stockings, and high heels worn by the majority of pinups that appear in the magazines, as well as the occasional corseted pinup or pinup

⁵¹ Bernstein, *Mr. Confidential*, 30.

⁵² Jonathan Ned Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality* (New York: Dutton, 1995), 21.

with exceptionally long hair. The letters to the editor section titled, "Correspondence Corner: Beauty Parade's General Posed Office," from a 1948 issue of *Beauty Parade* published four letters, each addressing fetishistic and sadomasochistic modes that illustrate Harrison's audience's interest in these themes. The letters on the right requested more images of women wearing boots and "long-haired lovelies," while the letters on the left called for more dominating "savage" women and slave girls. Each letter was accompanied by a companion pinup photograph. (Figure 54)

Fetishism is also prominent in photostories which involve women wrestling and women being spanked. A photostory titled, "Thin-Up Girl: A special massage with all the fats and figures," from a 1946 issue of *Titter* represents both of these fetishistic modes in nine panels. (Figure 55) The scenario involves a pinup who visits a massage parlor to help shed some pounds. The masseuse's rough treatment of the client leads to an all out brawl, complete with hair pulling. The photostory ends with the masseuse bent over the knee of her client who is preparing to wallop her with a rolling pin.

In Harrison's magazines, sadomasochism most commonly presents in the form of pinup photographs of helpless beauties bound in chains or fierce femme fatales wielding whips, like those seen in the letters to the editor section of the 1948 issue of *Beauty Parade*. The captive, chained pinups feature titles such as, "Jailed Venus," "Bound to Thrill," and "Surrender," and are described by their captions as portraying the difficult role of a slave girl. (Figure 56) One caption states:

Abject misery and suffering are etched strongly on the delicate features of Agnes Dane, who depicts a slave-girl upon an ancient auction block. Like the unhappy lovelies of old, Agnes assumes the pose of fearful surrender.

Often the captions include comments that suggest the success of the model in performing such a dramatic role in the magazine will lead to acting jobs on stage or in film. This is evident in the pinup titled, "Jailed Venus," which states:

This streamlined image of enslaved loveliness is June Raymond, golden haired model who a la lamour, sinks to her shapely knees, lifts her graceful hands and pleads for mercy. June's enactment of an imprisoned siren, begging for release is so enchantingly dramatic as to stamp this 19-year-old lovely as a likely candidate for stage and screen conquests.

The whip wielding women are portrayed as amazons, with titles such as, "Bold Beauty," "Fantastic Fury," and "Fearless Femme." (Figure 57) The accompanying captions focus on the strength and dominance of the women, such as:

Nothing can frighten nor weaken this dominant damsel who grips fast a trusty whip with which she can easily vanquish her foe. So all-powerful is this amazing amazon that all cringe in fear as she makes her triumphant tour thru the torrid jungle.

The presence of sadomasochism in Harrison's magazines was accentuated by the reproduction of the comic strip, "Sweet Gwendoline," within the pages of *Wink*. The comic featured both dominating and dominated women. (Figure 58)

The most curious aspect of Harrison's sadomasochistic pinups is the emphasis the captions place on conveying that the women are performing a role; that they are acting. In photostories inspired by traditional burlesque performances like, "The Yanks are Coming," "Leopard Lady," and "Stolen Glances," each model is acting a part in order to provide some type of pleasure for the viewers of the magazine, but their status as actresses or models is not directly referenced. The captions accompanying the

sadomasochistic images, however, emphasize the woman's role as actress, directly referring to the performative nature of the pinups.

The reason for this distinction is unknown. It is possible that Harrison may have placed a special signification of performance on the sadomasochistic images because they were among the most controversial images in his magazines. Constantly faced with the threat of censorship, Harrison may have hoped that by associating these images with performance and dramatic acting they would be less likely to upset the censors. One of the letters published in the letters to the editor section of the 1948 issue of *Beauty Parade*, however, suggests that there was a popular notion that a dominant woman was strictly fantasy and thus an especially talented actress was required to convincingly play the part. Signed with the moniker, "Slave to Beauty" the writer from Pottsville, Pennsylvania comments:

You are right when you say it takes a woman of great theatrical ability to adequately enact the role of a dominant woman. This is a part that calls for (1) physical strength and ferocity so she really looks like she stepped out of the jungle, (2) a savage expression that shows she means business, and (3) a pose where you can see her determination and desire to dominate.

In addition to the whip wielding women, there are other examples of dominating women that manifest more characteristically in the tradition of the femme fatale rather than the savage. In these images, the female characters control the male characters and often make fools of them. A photostory from a 1953 issue of *Beauty Parade* titled, "The Spider and the Guy!" is based off of the nineteenth century poem "The Spider and the Fly" by Mary Howitt. (Figure 59) The entire text, written in rhyming verse, expresses the utter helplessness of the man to the woman/spider's desires, stating:

The Spider, tall and tempting, set her eyes upon the Guy! And first he knew she had him hooked, 'n' hangin' high and dry! His name was Jeb, and in her web the dopey clown did fall! Now he's caught, and though he fought, he ne'er gets out at all!

The text also provides a warning to the reader:

So heed this tale, stranger, and save yourself headaches and tears! You ain't no match for a Spider if she's one o' those wily dears!

The image of woman as a luring spider recalls the 1911 *Life* magazine cover illustrated by Cole Phillips discussed in chapter one. In 1911, representations of the vamp or femme fatale in the media were often linked with insecurities regarding women's suffrage. Likewise, this similar image in *Beauty Parade* is indicative of underlying social insecurities in mid-century America.

The appearance of the femme fatale in Harrison's magazines was related to post-World War II insecurities regarding female sexuality. Elaine Tyler May explains in her book, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, that, "in the postwar era, female sexuality continued to represent a destructive and disruptive force."⁵³ During the 1930s and 1940s, sexually attractive women were often referred to as bombshells, knockouts, or dynamite, which demonstrated, "the increasing recognition of female sexuality as powerful and explosive."⁵⁴ Indeed, the atomic bomb dropped over the Bikini islands was named, Gilda, after the femme fatale character played by

⁵³ Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1988), 110.

⁵⁴ May, *Homeward Bound*, 110.

Hollywood sex icon Rita Hayworth in a film of the same name released in 1946.⁵⁵ There was a national desire to contain female sexuality and all types of “sexual depravity” that were believed to threaten the American way of life.⁵⁶ Some experts charged that increased levels of promiscuity and prostitution (and therefore sexual disease, as well) were directly related to an increased number of women in the workforce. In addition, some believed that career women threatened the destruction of the American race by not staying home to raise children.⁵⁷

It was thought, however, that, “as with other potentially explosive forces in postwar America, the female bombshell could be ‘harnessed for peace’ within the home.”⁵⁸ Likewise, it was believed that nuclear technology, which caused tremendous destruction during World War II, could be harnessed by man through the, “taming of the atom,” which would lead to an improved quality of life. Society attempted to “tame” women in the same way. No longer knockouts or bombshells, women were given new unthreatening pet names: chicks, kittens, and bunnies.⁵⁹ The women in Harrison’s magazines, however, were never tamed, as they continued to represent types of women that were seen as potentially destructive to the American way of life. It is possible that the sexual exhibitionism of Harrison’s pinups contributed to the eventual decline of the publications. A letter to the editor written by Alfredo M. from San Diego, California, published in one of Harrison’s magazine commented:

⁵⁵ Susan Ware, *Notable American Women: A Biographical Dictionary Completing the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 282.

⁵⁶ May, *Homeward Bound*, 94.

⁵⁷ May, *Homeward Bound*, 99-100.

⁵⁸ May, *Homeward Bound*, 112.

⁵⁹ May, *Homeward Bound*, 112.

You may think when you're kidding some dumb guy being taken in by a wily dame, you're being funny. Well, for your information, there's more truth than poetry in these stories and pictures. Three times in a row now I've made a sap out of myself – with the help of some girl I though was the sweetest thing in the world. I made the very mistakes you caution men about, so I guess I only have myself to blame. Where can I escape these scheming females?

These post-war insecurities, coupled with the unique source material that largely inspired the format of Harrison's magazines, demonstrate the intersection of ideas that occurred in the 1940s and 1950s regarding female sexuality.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR AND ADVERTISEMENTS

Dear Editor,

As a Southern gentlemen who is proud of his knowledge of women and horses, let me congratulate you on the choice specimens of the fair sex whose pictures you publish in "Titter." Their beauty is a joy to behold and it takes me back in nostalgic memory to the lovely girls of my own youth long ago.

Col. Wayne B., Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Editor,

You don't print enough pictures of gorgeous girls wearing tightly laced corsets. Maybe a lot of your readers don't like them, but you are disappointing ME, I can tell you! PLEASE, Mr. Editor, more pictures of shapely damsels, laced until they can scarcely breathe. There is NO substitute for this essential beauty aid! More corsets!

Marvin R., Denver, Colorado

These quotes come from the "letters to the editor" sections of two different issues of *Titter*. Col. Wayne B. and Marvin R. represent the heterosexual male readers that comprised the primary target audience of Harrison's publications. Letters from male readers often applaud the work of the editor or make requests for certain types of photographs that satisfy the reader's desire. In his book about Robert Harrison, *Mr. Confidential: The Man, His Magazine, and the Movieland Massacre that Changed Hollywood Forever*, Samuel Bernstein claims that, "the brilliant thing [Harrison] did was to take the perspective of the average Joe... Most of the male models in his girlie mags (apart from himself of course) were nerds, giving his readers a secure place in whatever fantasy or fetish was being explored." There are a number of photostories in Harrison's magazines, however, that depict a scenario in which the female character gets the best of the male character in a way that, it could be argued, threatens masculinity and

questions the identity of the audience. In addition to the photostories, cheesecake photographs, photo spreads, and illustrations found in Harrison's magazines, the letters to the editor and advertisements are important components that reveal clues regarding the identity of the audience and the attitudes propagated by Harrison's magazines in mid-century America. This chapter will demonstrate that the audience demographics of Harrison's magazines were more complex than one might expect. In fact, in the 1940s, so called "men's magazines" attracted both male and female readers. *Esquire*, for example, which featured the subtitle, "The Magazine for Men," was defended by female witnesses in a 1946 Supreme Court case in which the Post Office attempted to revoke *Esquire's* second class mailing privileges based on the magazine's sexually suggestive content.⁶⁰

Through an examination of the advertisements and letters to the editor found in Harrison's magazines it becomes apparent that, like *Esquire*, his magazines also appealed to a certain female audience. Three separate audiences emerge: women who appear to have worked as models or showgirls in fields related to the pinup industry, other women whose responses range from critical to celebratory, and the heterosexual male target audience.⁶¹ As men's magazines that prominently featured cheesecake photographs, the appeal of Harrison's publications to a female audience may not appear evident. Their presence, however, is encoded within the pages of the magazines themselves. The existence of a female audience is not surprising when one considers

⁶⁰ Meyerowitz, "Women, Cheesecake, and Borderline Material," 326-327.

⁶¹ It is important to note that a lesbian or bisexual female audience for Harrison's magazines may have existed as well, but is outside the scope of this study.

that an increasing obsession with beauty culture in the first half of the century made women a primary consumer of the female image. The advertisements that target women in these magazines sell products directly related to beauty culture, which encourage women to alter their bodies in different ways to become more appealing to the opposite sex. This continues the theme of performance seen on the magazine covers, pinup photographs and photostories through to the female audience who consumed these images. Some of the female readers also performed the role of pinup girl themselves.

Examples of industry women in Harrison's audience are present in both advertisements that targeted women and the letters to the editor. For these women, Harrison's magazines may have functioned as a useful career tool. Young women starting out in the business could read feedback from the male readers in the letters to the editor section and study the poses of their peers in the pinup photographs (including the legendary Bettie Page) to help them land their next job. Frequently featured in the magazines were advertisements for "Stage Undies," which featured a checklist with items for purchase and mailing instructions. The ad offered opera hose, strip panties and strip brassieres (with or without rhinestones), strip sequin breast cups, can-can garter belts and can-can mesh elbow gloves, leotards, dance belts, and rhinestoned g-strings with optional matching fringed brassieres. These are items that a woman employed in the modeling or burlesque industry would likely consider essential work wear.

The existence of a female audience consisting of women who worked in the modeling or showgirl industry is further supported by a variety of letters published in Harrison's magazines. In a letter about newcomers in the modeling field, Pat H., a model from New York City, wrote, "I think it's high time some of these little girls who want to be models got one thing through their cute heads – that modeling is hard, demanding work, and it's no bed of roses the way some of them seem to think." She presents modeling as challenging and competitive work where any edge on the competition would prove beneficial. In 1948, Judy K. wrote to *Flirt* in regards to a similar article that discussed, "how spanking is used to settle spats between girls in shows and sorority houses." Apparently, Judy, a show girl, took the magazine's advice and touted the success of the technique. She explains:

Another girl in the same show I am in got some foolish idea about trying to cut me out with the fellow I'm going with. Now that's something I never stand for! I told her to lay off [sic], and when she kept making a play for my boy-friend, I used the old-fashioned palm technique, dealing punishment off the hand, and I discovered that it's a way to settle spats so that they stay settled!

In addition to female readers who worked in an industry related to pinups, evidence shows that other types of women comprised the audience as well.

Comments from female readers vary dramatically in their attitude towards Harrison's material. In a 1949 issue of *Titter*, letters from three different women were published that responded to an article about men spanking their wives and girlfriends that appeared in a previous issue. Mrs. Charles L.M. from Chicago and Pamela B.T.L. from Toronto were in favor of spanking, stating, "Of COURSE women must be punished," and, "I could NEVER love a man who didn't take me across his knee and

soundly spank me when I need it (which is often). My husband not only takes a hairbrush to me now – but he did when he was courting me. That’s his privilege.” Louise Barr from New York City dissented, “Why the very idea! Me allow a husband or boyfriend to wallop me with a hairbrush across thin panties? ... I could NEVER love a man who’d spank my bottom!” In addition to letters prompted by the appearance of particular articles, women also wrote to Harrison’s magazines in response to letters from other readers and social misconceptions. A letter from Karen C. from Spokane, Washington, confronted comments made by men in previously published letters to the editor. Karen writes, “I see by your letters that men hate to be kept waiting when they call for their dates... but it’s maddening for a girl, too, to have her boyfriend waiting out in the living room, eyeing his watch like a timekeeper while she pretties up!” In the same issue, Mag L. from York, Pennsylvania expresses her frustration with the unrealistic expectations of the opposite sex, stating:

I get spitting mad when I hear men spouting off all the time about what THEY expect from women. Men are such dopes! They want a girl to be beautiful, witty, intelligent, cultured, understanding, a good sport, a good dancer, a good cook, housekeeper, budget-wise, and blessed with a figure like Venus. If they really expect to find all those virtues in one girl, heaven help them! Take it from a gal that knows, there’s no such animal!

The colorful nature of many of these letters may lead one to doubt their authenticity. To prove or disprove the legitimacy of these letters would be a difficult if not impossible undertaking, and regardless if they are real or not, their placement in the magazines represents Harrison’s attempt to reach a female audience in addition to a male

audience. The presence of advertisements which specifically target women further validates the existence of a female audience for Harrison's magazines.

As one may expect, advertisements directed solely at a male audience occupy the majority of the ad space, but those aimed at a specifically female audience or towards both sexes are prevalent enough to suggest that the advertising industry recognized the importance of the female readers as well as the male readers of Harrison's magazines. Like the letters to the editor, there are those advertisements which suggest the female audience was composed mainly of models and showgirls, such as the ads for "Stage Undies." There are other advertisements, however, that specifically target women and are more similar to those found in women's magazines today. This may indicate a more mainstream female audience. The products featured in these ads include fragrances guaranteed to make a man fall in love with the wearer, self-help books on unwanted hair removal, and bust augmentation cream. All of them speak to the popular ideas of beauty culture in mid-century America. In addition, advertisements that appealed to the interests of both sexes offered books on how to lose weight as well as special weight loss gum, tablets to help the unattractively skinny gain weight, serum to combat hair loss, pyramid schemes that offered free clothing to readers who would also commit to selling the garments, sex guides for couples, and dating clubs.

The possibility of a mainstream female audience for Harrison's magazines is reinforced in Maria Elena Buszek's book, *Pin-Up Grrrls: Feminism, Sexuality, Popular*

Culture. Buszek provides persuasive evidence for the popularity of pinup culture among the female American population in the 1940s. During World War II, the pinup became an image of patriotism. Not only did soldiers fill their bunks with images of pinup girls, but the U.S. government commissioned pinup artists to create glamorous images of women to use in recruitment campaigns aimed at women.⁶² This method of recruitment was also present in war imagery featuring the Christy Girl during World War I, but was aimed at the enlistment of men rather than women, who were encouraged to consider their role in the war effort as, “the world’s mother.”⁶³ (Figure 60) During World War II, however, the government used images by pinup illustrators to target the female population and persuade them to join the war effort. One such poster featured bust portraits of two glamorous, Varga Girl-esque, pinups recruiting women to be cadet nurses. (Figure 61)

The involvement of the United States in World War II also had a profound effect on the position of women in society, both professionally and emotionally. As thousands of men were sent overseas to serve their country in the armed forces, women were obligated to do their part by taking jobs that men had left vacant. As a consequence, many women faced sexual harassment or exploitation from their male peers in the sex-integrated workplace, which compelled women to develop tactics for deterring or avoiding their aggressors and forced them to confront their own sexuality. The social changes spurred by the war introduced an opportunity for women to reinvent

⁶² Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls*, 219.

⁶³ Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls*, 219.

themselves, and, “as an icon for the active, desiring, and desirable woman, the pin-up girl fit the bill as a template through which these women might represent their reinvented selves.”⁶⁴

In the 1940s, the terms “patriotutes” “khaki-wackies,” “victory girls,” and “goodtime Charlottes” developed to describe women who were sexually audacious. The terms refer primarily to women recruited by the United Service Organization (USO), founded by President Roosevelt in 1941, which “recruited young women to entertain male troops through morale-boosting performances overseas and in homefront facilities for soldiers on leave – serving homemade food, sponsoring dances, and planning outings – where older women served as temporary moms and young women served as temporary sweethearts.”⁶⁵ It was considered the patriotic duty of American women to show their support for the troops. That support began to manifest in a sexual sense as women became more independent via an increased presence in the workforce, which challenged traditional gender roles and bestowed the female population with greater confidence to explore the meaning of their gender and their relationship with the opposite sex. Buszek explains, “In this environment, where sexually active young ladies were no longer necessarily ‘tramps,’ but ‘victory girls,’ women constructed new and positive ways of publicly expressing and representing their sexual agency.”⁶⁶ In addition, recruitment posters sponsored by the government appear to have bolstered the pinup

⁶⁴ Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls*, 215-218.

⁶⁵ Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls*, 217.

⁶⁶ Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls*, 217.

as a model for American women rather than promoting more traditional and conservative examples, further encouraging young women to parade their rediscovered identity as agents of sexual desire.

Buszek presents a model for understanding pinup culture that, while intriguing, contradicts the second-wave feminist scholarship. In her 1975 essay, “Visual Pleasure and the Narrative Cinema,” the renowned feminist scholar, Laura Mulvey, links the oppression of women to the way that the female body is depicted. According to Mulvey, the scopophilic, “active/male” viewer projects his fantasy on to the image of the “passive/female” object. Certainly, the images present in Harrison’s magazines can easily be labeled as objectifying; their voyeuristic tendencies blatantly present in the continuous use of the keyhole motif that was used for framing pinup photographs as well as in the cover illustrations for *Whisper*. Mulvey addressed pinups in her essay, stating, “Woman displayed as sexual object is the leitmotiv of erotic spectacle: from pinups to striptease... she holds the look, plays to, and signifies male desire.”⁶⁷ In this relationship, woman stands as the bearer of meaning while man is the maker of meaning. The desiring pinups described by Buszek can thereby be understood as a projected male construction. Mulvey explains that objectifying images of women are encoded with a “to-be-looked-at-ness,” and therefore, if women in the 1940s adopted the pinup as a model for reinvention they would, in effect, highlight their own to-be-

⁶⁷ Laura Mulvey, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” [excerpt] in *Art in Theory: 1900 – 1990: an anthology of changing ideas*, eds. Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1993), 967.

looked-at-ness. There is a sense, however, in which women have learned to find pleasure in self-objectification. Buszek demonstrates this in her discussion of homemade pinups made by young women in the 1940s that appear to have been used for personal consumption, or for the enjoyment of a female group, as well as those given to male sweethearts. (Figures 62 & 63)

Despite the idealization of the illustrated pinup, such as the unnaturally proportioned Varga Girl, women found something in pinup imagery with which they could identify, offering an explanation for the popularity of the pinup girl with a mainstream female audience. As Buszek explains, “during World War II the pin-up would come to serve as an increasingly acceptable ideal for women’s sexual self-expression.”⁶⁸ In fact, a quarter of Alberto Vargas’s fan mail came from women, who wrote to express their support for his work and to request advice on pursuing a career as a pinup artist, but mainly to ask how they might emulate the style of the Varga Girl.⁶⁹ In addition to Vargas’s fan mail, *Esquire*, the key publication of the artist’s career, offers further evidence to indicate the popularity of the pinup subject with the general female population.

Esquire, the self-proclaimed, “Magazine for Men,” was popular among American women in the 1940s and establishes a precedent for understanding the presence of a female audience for Harrison’s lesser known magazines. According to a reader-poll

⁶⁸ Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls*, 220.

⁶⁹ Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls*, 222.

published the same year that the Varga Girl first appeared in the magazine, approximately seventy-five percent of *Esquire's* subscriptions were read by women, who indicated that the illustrations were their favorite part of the magazine. In addition, many of the letters published in "The Sound and the Fury," *Esquire's* letters to the editor section, were from women readers, often written to remind the editor that the magazine's broad audience included women.⁷⁰

While the pages of *Esquire* alluded to its female readership, the existence of a female audience for pinups was brought to the national stage in 1946 with the U.S. Supreme Court case, *Hannegan v. Esquire*. The case began in the early 1940s, when the Postmaster General, Frank C. Walker, began rejecting second-class mailing privileges for various borderline magazines whose contribution to the public good he found questionable, and in 1943 Walker withdrew *Esquire's* discounted mailing privileges.⁷¹ The Post Office declared that, "*Esquire* included matters of 'obscene, lewd, and lascivious character,'" and particularly took exception with the "Varga girls." The hearings began shortly after *Esquire's* discounted mailing privileges were revoked, and appeals continued until the case reached the U.S. Supreme Court three years later. In the hearings, *Esquire* brought in two female witnesses to demonstrate the mass appeal and acceptable nature of the magazine's content. One of the witnesses, Edith B. Cook, a child welfare activist from Connecticut, articulated that she viewed the images in

⁷⁰ Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls*, 220-221.

⁷¹ In 1948, the United States Postal Service threatened to revoke the second class mailing privileges for all of Harrison's magazines. Bernstein, *Mr. Confidential*, 44.

Esquire as representative of the progress of society since the repressive Victorian era. In addition, Cook believed that the images could no longer be considered immoral because of their prevalence in everyday life and their similarities to such public sights as an art gallery, beach, or lingerie advertisement.

Esquire's second female witness, Rae Weissman, a social worker on the New York City Committee of Mental Hygiene, addressed the images under scrutiny as aesthetic creations. Her testimony suggested that the Varga Girl should be seen as a testament to female beauty rather than obscene renditions of the body. Stating that she found the images, "pleasing to the eye," Weissman argued that attractive images such as the Varga Girl were better than, "the ugly and grotesque drawings that some of the artists produce." Cook and Weissman's testimonies gave presence to a female population that was openly accepting of the propagation of pinups and erotic imagery.⁷²

A female witness was also called to testify on the behalf of the Post Office, the feminist, Anna Kelton Wiley. Wiley argued that the images in *Esquire* were, "degrading and depressing to women," and worked against the aspirations of the women's movement, but not for reasons one might expect in regards to more recent feminist scholarship. Rather than claim that the Varga Girl and other images in *Esquire* damaged women by objectifying them for the male gaze, Wiley maintained that, "images of seminude women debased women because they implied that women, 'gained their point by chicanery and the lure of sex,' ... To suggest that women used sex in the public

⁷² Meyerowitz, "Women, Cheesecake, and Borderline Material," 326-328.

realm detracted from the fight for equal rights because it implied that women advanced themselves differently, and less honorably, than men.”⁷³ This position, however, while condemning the Varga Girl as an anti-feminist hussy, also bestowed the pinup girl with personal agency. The pinup was not a victim of the voyeuristic male gaze; rather, she was an active, desiring subject with the ability to lure men. Thus, while Wiley’s testimony proves that not all women enjoyed pinups, it also demonstrates the existence of a variety of women with differing perspectives regarding sexual expression in mid-century America, some of whom enjoyed pinup imagery themselves.

Hannegan v. Esquire highlights the variety of perspectives held by women in mid-century America regarding the positive and negative aspects of pinup imagery. While some women considered them a threat to the feminist agenda, others felt that the similarities between pinups and other common scenes and images found in everyday life remove the possibility that pinups could be considered immoral and obscene, as they were now a reflection of mid-century America. In addition, many women exhibited an artistic appreciation for pinups. The broad audience for pinup imagery demonstrated in this chapter illustrates that pinups were not solely objectified images consumed by the male gaze. Pinups were images of interest for many Americans, of both sexes, that held different meanings for different visual consumers.

⁷³ Meyerowitz, “Women, Cheesecake, and Borderline Material,” 328.

THE END OF AN EMPIRE

As evidenced by the preceeding chapters, both male and female readers in the 1940s and 1950s could turn to Harrison's magazines as a source for contemporary ideas regarding beauty and femininity. Indeed, Americans still turn to magazines to define these ideas, as demonstrated by the 1997 Boyz II Men song, "Girl in the Life Magazine" and Chris Brown's 2007 R&B song, "Picture Perfect," which exclaims, "You might've seen her on every cover of every magazine; But can't nobody get her but me." The lyrics of these songs demonstrate the enduring power of the representations of women reproduced in magazines that began with the Gibson Girl. Indeed, the pinup remains an iconic symbol of mid-century America, largely for her proliferation in mass culture, and especially in magazines.

In the 1940s, Harrison's magazines aided the diffusion of pinup imagery in American culture. Although Harrison's publications did not achieve the impressive circulation figures of mainstream magazines like *Life* or *Esquire*, they were the longest running pinup magazines of their day. It was Harrison's ability to detect popular trends in the media and to incorporate them into his magazines, as well as his knack for featuring controversial material, that continued to sell subscriptions until the mid-1950s. As Kitch demonstrated in her book, however, as the American idea of womanhood changed so did representations of women in the mass media. After World War II ended, society no longer had a need for the powerful pinups that sustained

American troops over seas and encouraged American women on the home front that Harrison prominently featured in his magazines. Although this thesis largely deals with where these magazines came from, the conclusion aims to address what happened in the 1950s that caused Harrison to sell off his girlie magazines.

The reason for the end of Harrison's reign as the king of the girlie magazine is the subject of much speculation, and there seems to be no clear and simple answer to explain why his pinup magazines were discontinued. In Harrison's girlie magazines, the letters to the editor appear to indicate a primarily satisfied audience, so why was Harrison forced to sell his magazines in 1955 and leave his successful girlie magazine empire behind? It appears that a variety of events occurred, culminating in 1955, which resulted in Harrison selling his magazines. The various reasons for this outcome include: the innumerable lawsuits Harrison faced to combat anti-obscenity campaigns and for alleged libel in his most successful publication, *Confidential*; the rise of the cult of celebrity; the popularization of television; competing men's magazines; and changes in attitudes towards the representation of gender and sexuality in the immediate postwar era.

Harrison's girlie magazines began to suffer from loss of revenue in the late 1940s. This business trouble largely arose from continual allegations from the United States Postal Service that his publications were pornographic, which repeatedly removed Harrison's magazines from mailing shipments. In order to satisfy the regulations of the post office Harrison needed to limit the controversial imagery that made his magazines popular. In response to this option Harrison replied, "It may be

mailable, but it aint' salable!"⁷⁴ Foreseeing the end of *Beauty Parade* and its sister publications, Harrison came up with *Confidential*, a scandal sheet that "Tells the Facts and Names the Names," as its tagline read.

Harrison's inspiration for *Confidential* came from his experience working at the *New York Graphic* as well as the popularity of The Kefauver Committee Senate hearings in March 1951. The Kefauver Committee Senate hearings, held in New York and televised nationally, were an eight-day investigation into the mob organization allegedly run by Frank Costello, in which more than fifty witnesses testified. In that month, more television sets were purchased than in the previous fifteen months combined. An article in *Life* magazine commented on the hearings, "Never before had the attention of the nation been riveted so completely on a single matter."⁷⁵ In the hearings, Harrison recognized the potential in creating a magazine that concentrated on providing scandal stories to the public and he released the first issue of *Confidential* in 1952.

The introduction of the television also contributed to the rise of the cult of celebrity. *Confidential* fed off of the public's fascination with Hollywood stars by publishing scandal articles about Lucille Ball, Frank Sinatra, Malene Dietrich, and Sammy Davis Jr., among many others. Although Harrison sold *Confidential* in 1957, its successful model kept it in publication under various owners into the 1970s, whereas his girlie magazines did not survive.⁷⁶ Harrison's girlie magazines lacked the connection with

⁷⁴ Bernstein, *Mr. Confidential*, 44.

⁷⁵ Bernstein, *Mr. Confidential*, 48.

⁷⁶ Harrison sold *Confidential* after coming to a settlement following a 1957 trial in which Harrison faced multiple counts of indecency and libel. A stipulation of the settlement required that he refocus the

celebrity culture that made *Confidential* and other newcomers to industry popular.

Harrison's black and white pinup photographs, for example, could not compete with the new celebrity focused men's magazine, *Playboy*, whose first issue, released in 1953, featured a full color centerfold of Marilyn Monroe. Consequently, Harrison's girlie magazines lost their niche audience. It is doubtful that anyone of these factors singularly would have brought an end to Harrison's girlie magazine empire, but the combination proved fatal.

content of the magazine off of Hollywood. Douglas O. Linder, Famous Trails, "The *Confidential* Magazine Trial," University of Missouri – Kansas City School of Law, <http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/confidential/confidentialhome.html>.



Figure 1: Charles Dana Gibson, *The Eternal Question*, ca. early 1900s. Reproduced in: Carolyn Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), Figure 2.2.



Figure 2: Earl Moran, *Beauty Parade*, October 1941. Reproduced at: "Beauty Parade," Galactic Central, accessed March 20, 2011, http://www.philsp.com/mags/beauty_parade.html



Figure 3: Photographer unknown, "Trunk and Disorderly," *Eye*, June 1946. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.



Figure 4: Peter Driben, *Beauty Parade*, October 1946. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997) n.p.



Figure 5: Photographer unknown, Earl Moran painting and his model, ca. 1955. Reproduced in: Charles G. Martignette and Louis K. Meisel, *The Great American Pin-Up* (Los Angeles: Taschen, 2002), Page 288.

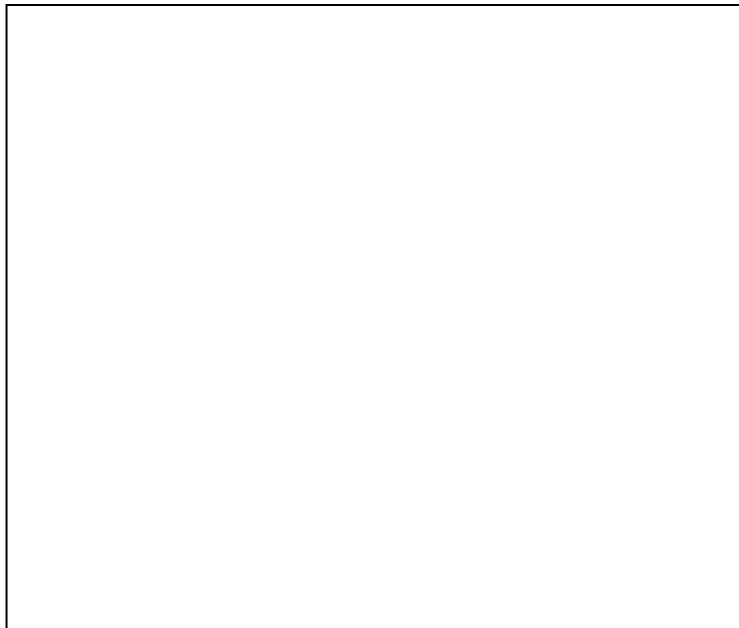


Figure 6: Earl Moran, calendar, 1956. Reproduced at: "July 1956 Earl Moran Pin Up Calendar BBQ," Bid Start, accessed March 20, 2011, <http://collectibles.bidstart.com/July-1956-Earl-Moran-Pin-Up-Calendar-Blond-BBQ-/17538888/a.html>



Figure 7: Earl Moran, model posing for calendar illustration, date unknown. Reproduced at: "Earl Moran Marie Wilson Black White Photo Model Shot," Ebay, accessed March 20, 2011, http://cgi.ebay.com/ws/eBayISAPI.dll?ViewItem&_trksid=p4340.l2557&item=180630830727&nma=true&rt=nc&si=8cDTNwITRU.Fes5IFoK5CxixesmQ%253D

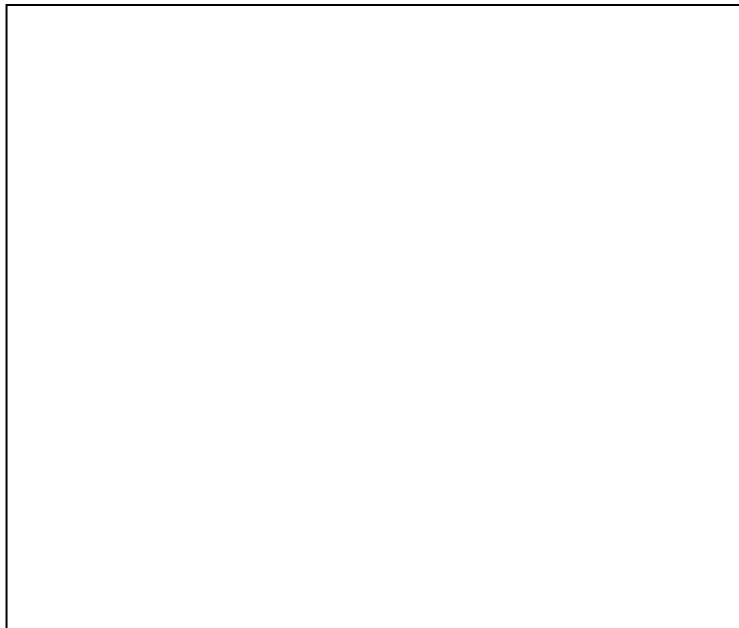


Figure 8: Earl Moran, untitled calendar illustration, date unknown. Reproduced at: "Earl Moran Marie Wilson Black White Photo Model Shot," Ebay, accessed March 20, 2011, http://cgi.ebay.com/ws/eBayISAPI.dll?ViewItem&_trksid=p4340.l2557&item=180630830727&nma=true&rt=nc&si=8cDTNwITRU.Fes5IFoK5CxixesmQ%253D

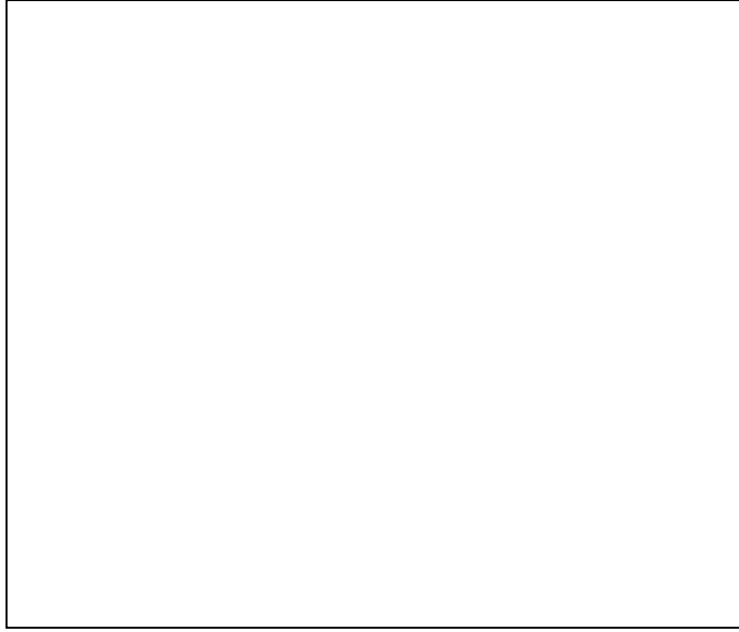


Figure 9: Harrison Fisher, *The Ladies' Home Journal*, June 1913.
Reproduced in: Carolyn Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), Figure 2.7.

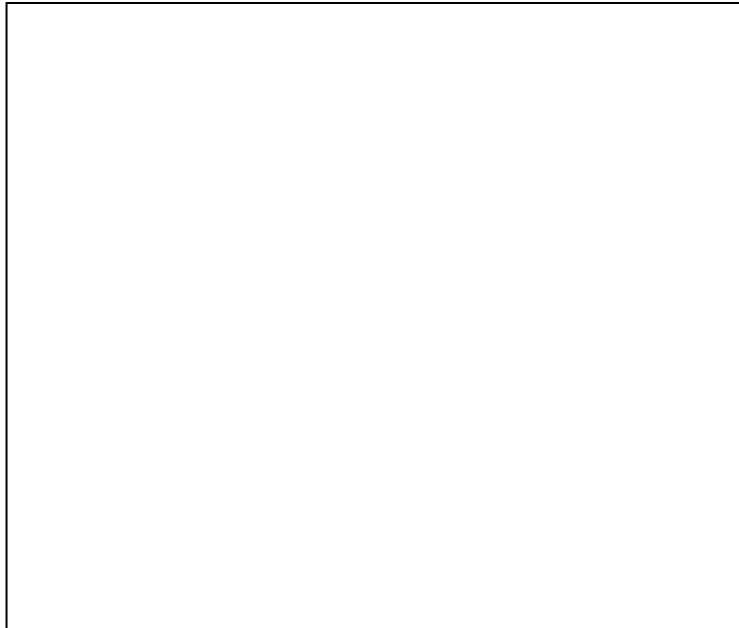


Figure 10: Howard Chandler Christy, *Motor*, November 1923.
Reproduced in: Carolyn Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), Figure 2.9.

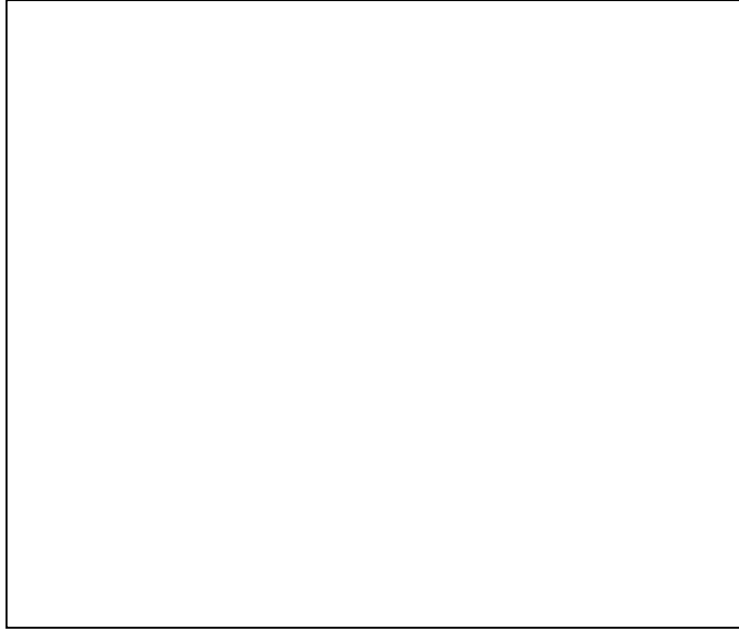


Figure 11: Peter Driben, *Beauty Parade*, March 1953.
Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie
Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.



Figure 12: Peter Driben, *Beauty Parade*, May 1953. Reproduced
at: "Beauty Parade," Galactic Central, accessed March 20, 2011,
http://www.philsp.com/mags/beauty_parade.html

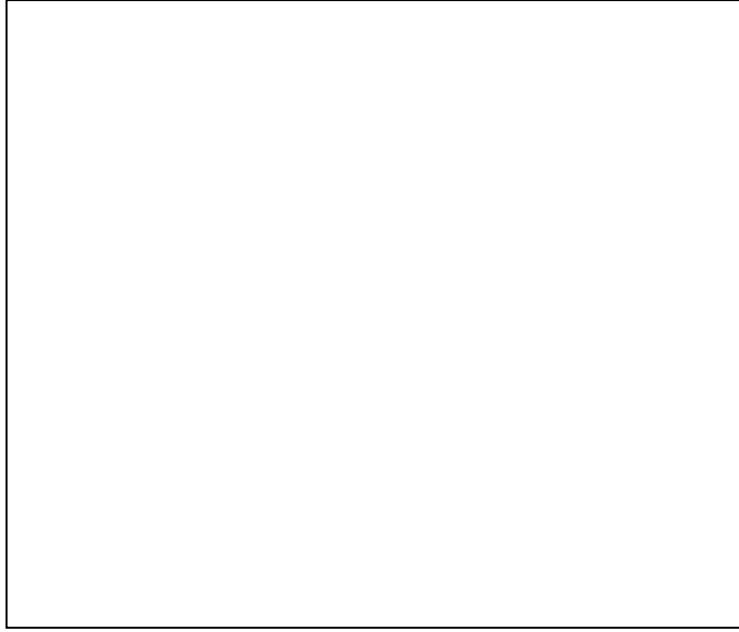


Figure 13: Peter Driben, *Flirt*, October 1952. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

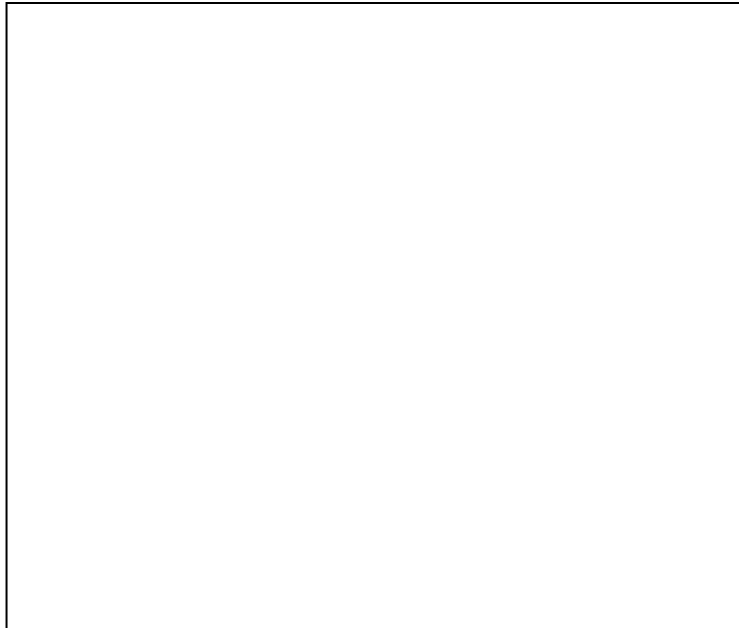


Figure 14: Coles Phillips, "Net Results," *Life*, August 24, 1911. Reproduced in: Carolyn Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), Figure 3.4.

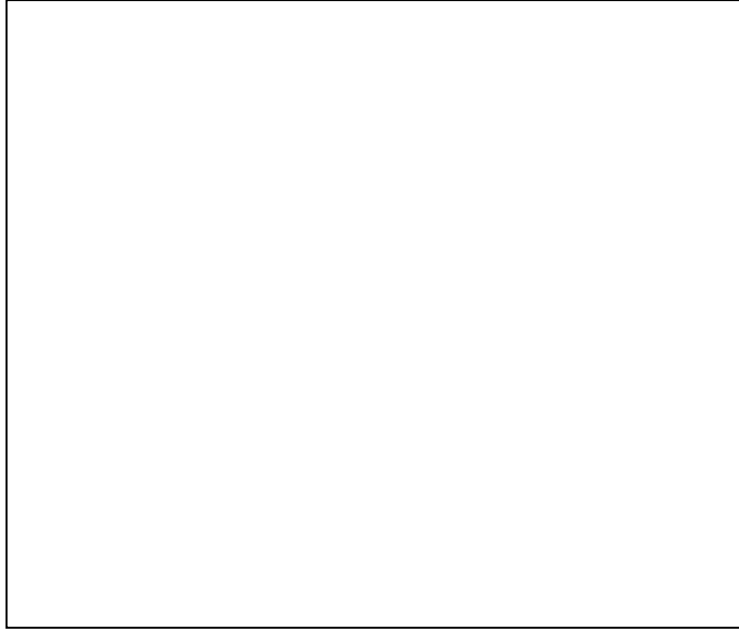


Figure 15: Peter Driben, *Flirt*, January 1949. Reproduced in:
Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain:
Taschen, 1997), n.p.

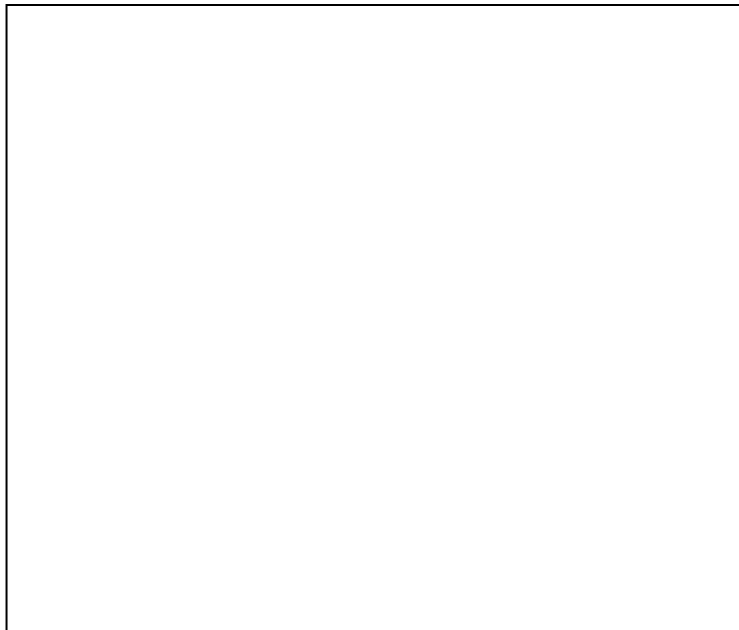


Figure 16: Peter Driben, *Flirt*, February 1953. Reproduced in:
Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain:
Taschen, 1997), n.p.

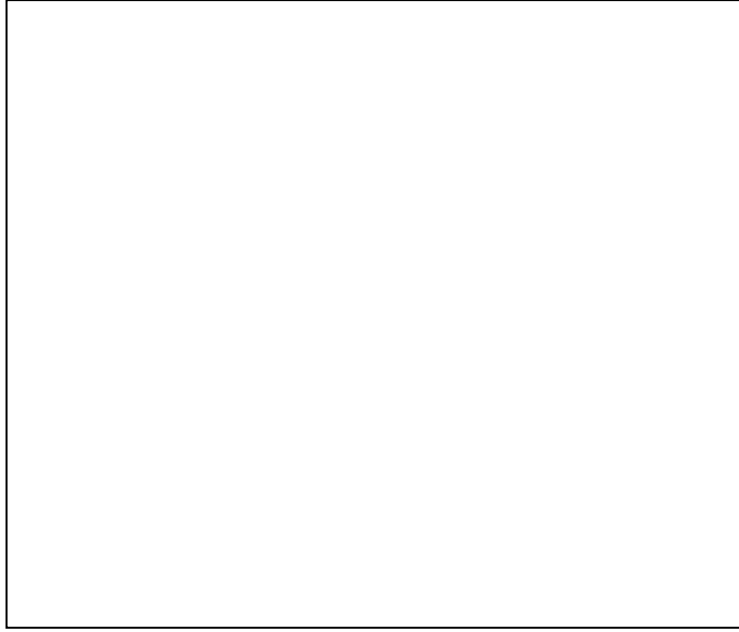


Figure 17: George Petty, pinup, ca. 1933 – 1956. Reproduced in: Charles G. Martignette, and Louis K. Meisel. *The Great American Pin-Up* (Los Angeles: Taschen, 2002), Figure 674.



Figure 18: Alberto Vargas, pinup, ca. 1940 – 1946. Reproduced in: Charles G. Martignette, and Louis K. Meisel. *The Great American Pin-Up* (Los Angeles: Taschen, 2002), Figure 852.

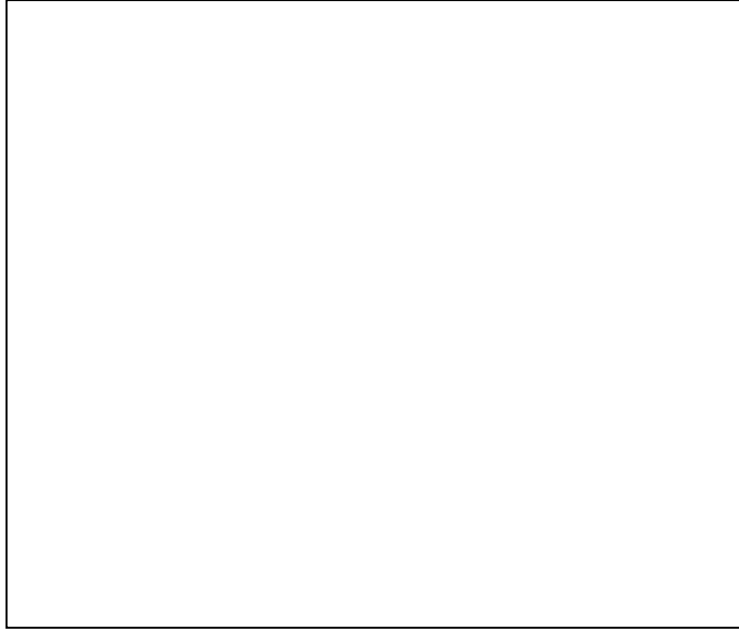


Figure 19: Peter Driben, *Whisper*, April 1946. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.



Figure 20: Artist unknown, *Private Detective Stories*, June 1937. Reproduced at: "Beauty Parade," Galactic Central, accessed March 20, 2011, http://www.philsp.com/mags/private_detective.html



Figure 21: Peter Driben, *Whisper*, November 1952. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.



Figure 22: Peter Driben, *Silk Stocking Stories*, October 1937. Reproduced at: "Silk Stocking Stories," Galactic Central, accessed March 20, 2011, http://www.philsp.com/mags/silk_stocking_stories.html



Figure 23: Peter Driben, *Silk Stocking Stories*, 1939. Reproduced at: "Silk Stocking Stories," Galactic Central, accessed March 20, 2011, http://www.philsp.com/mags/silk_stocking_stories.html



Figure 24: Peter Driben, *Flirt*, August 1951. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.



Figure 25: Artist unknown, *Silk Stocking Stories*, September 1937. Reproduced at: "Silk Stocking Stories," Galactic Central, accessed March 20, 2011, http://www.philsp.com/mags/silk_stocking_stories.html



Figure 26: Peter Driben, *Beauty Parade*, November 1950. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.



Figure 27: Artist unknown, *Film Fun*, April 1928. Reproduced at: "Film Fun," Scoop Scoop, accessed March 20, 2011, <http://www.scoopscoop.com/archive/FilmFun1.htm>



Figure 28: Peter Driben, *Wink*, February 1951. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.



Figure 29: Artist unknown, *Film Fun*, December 1934.
Reproduced at: "Film Fun," MagazineArt.org, accessed March 20, 2011,
http://www.magazineart.org/main.php/v/moviestvradio/filmfun/?g2_page=6



Figure 30: Peter Driben, *Beauty Parade*, November 1952.
Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.



Figure 31: Artist unknown, *Film Fun*, May 1933. Reproduced at: "Film Fun," Scoop Scoop, accessed March 20, 2011, <http://www.scoopscoop.com/archive/FilmFun1.htm>



Figure 32: Peter Driben, *Beauty Parade*, November 1953. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.



Figure 33: Artist unknown, *Stage and Screen Stories*, February 1936. Reproduced at: R. A. Burley," Field Guide to Wild American Pulp Artists, accessed March 20, 2011, <http://www.pulpartists.com/Burley.html>



Figure 34: Photographer unknown, "Strippin' Pippin," *Beauty Parade*, 1954. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

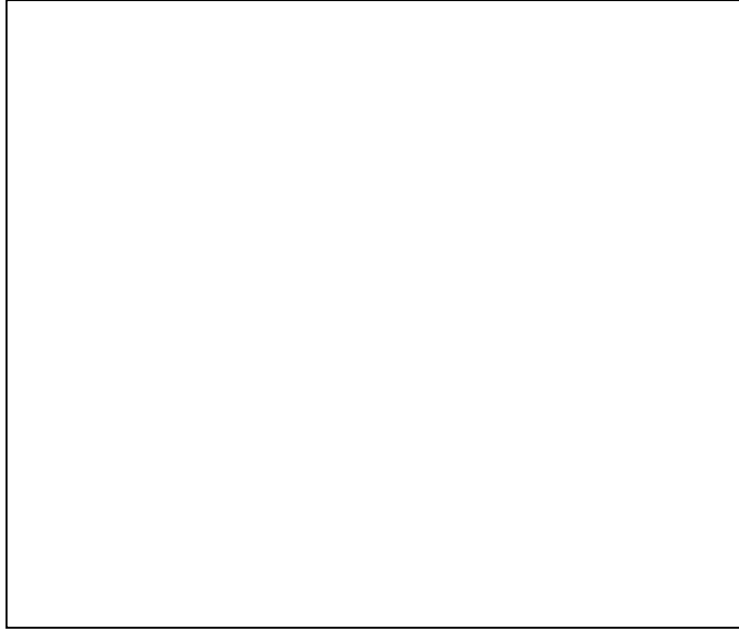


Figure 35: Photographer unknown, "Tempting Thriller," *Wink*, 1949. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.



Figure 36: Peter Driben, *Beauty Parade*, September 1949. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.



Figure 37: Photographer unknown, "Stolen Glances," *Beauty Parade*, 1949. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.



Figure 38: Photographer unknown, "Retiring Misses," *Flirt*, 1949. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

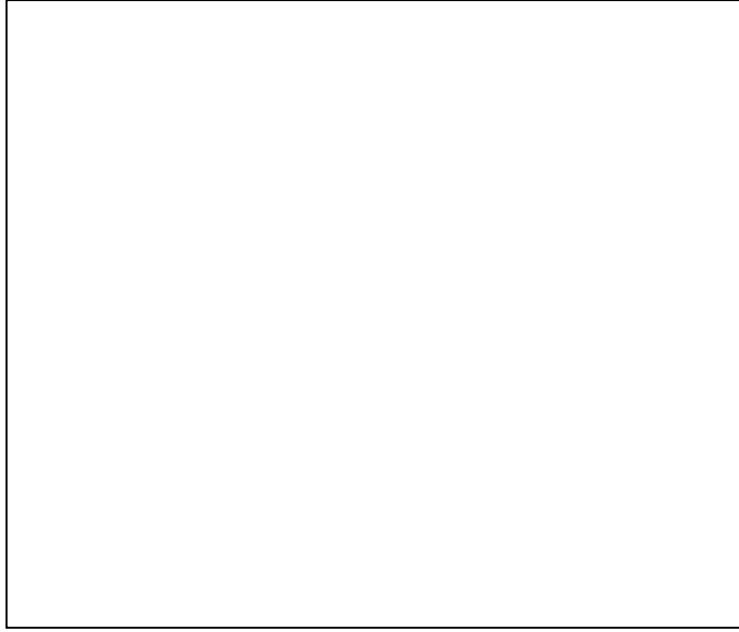


Figure 39: Peter Driben, *Whisper*, May 1950. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

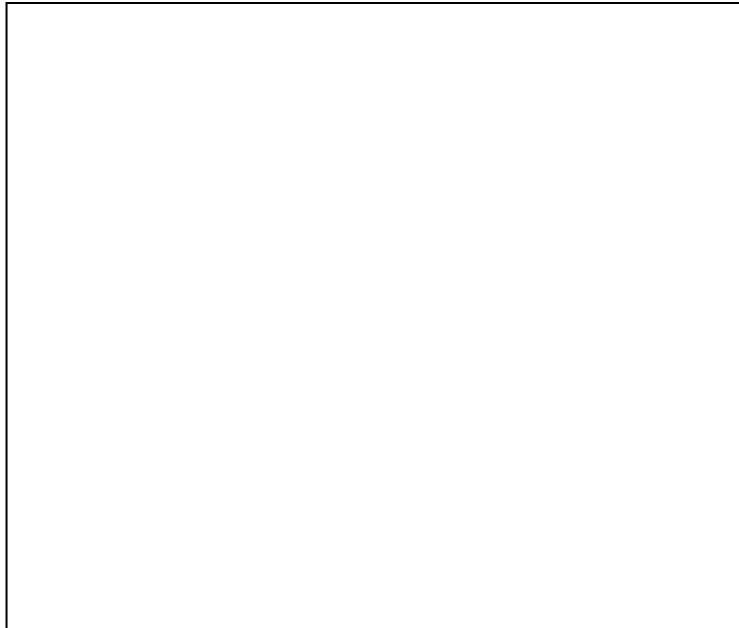


Figure 40: Peter Driben, *Wink*, Fall 1945. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

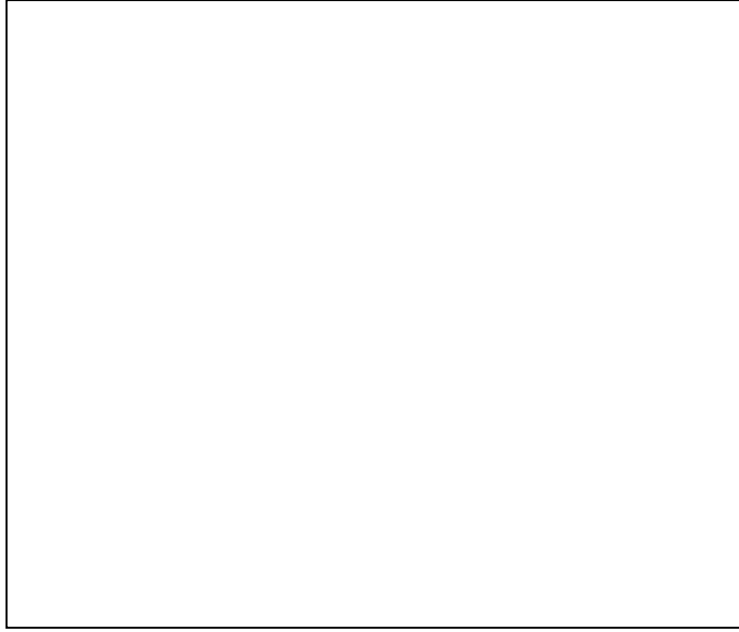


Figure 41: Photographer unknown, pinup, *Eyeful*, 1950.
Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.



Figure 42: Photographer unknown, "Caught in the Act," *Eyeful*, 1954. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

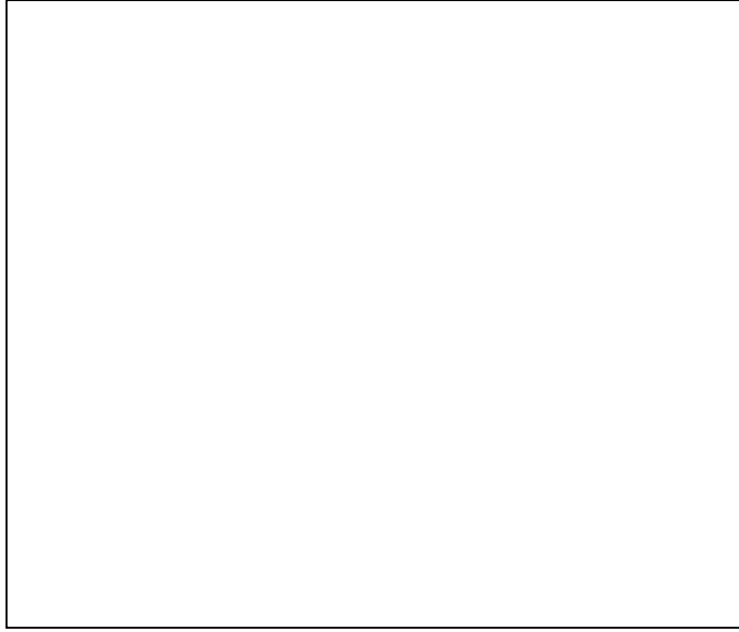


Figure 43: Peter Driben, *Whisper*, July 1951. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.



Figure 44: Photographer unknown, "The Yanks are Coming!" *Eye-ful*, 1953. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

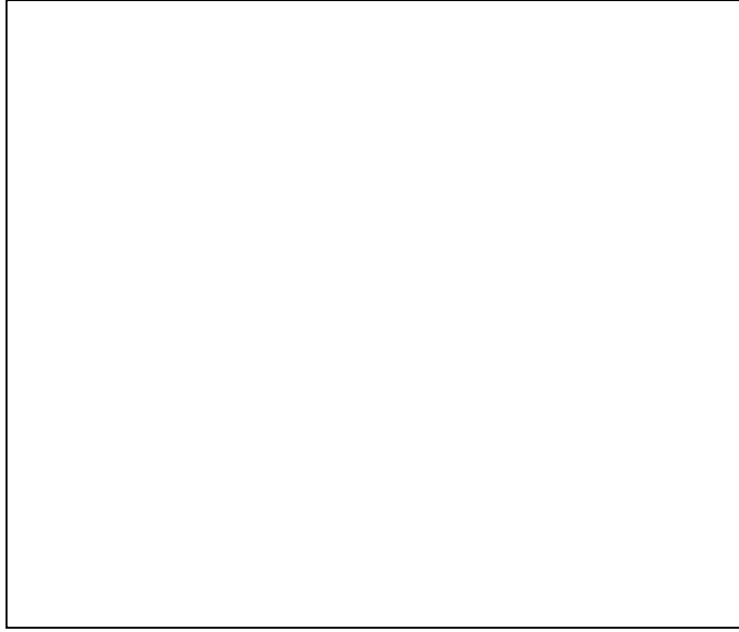


Figure 45: Photographer unknown, "Swing it Lady," *Beauty Parade*, 1942. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

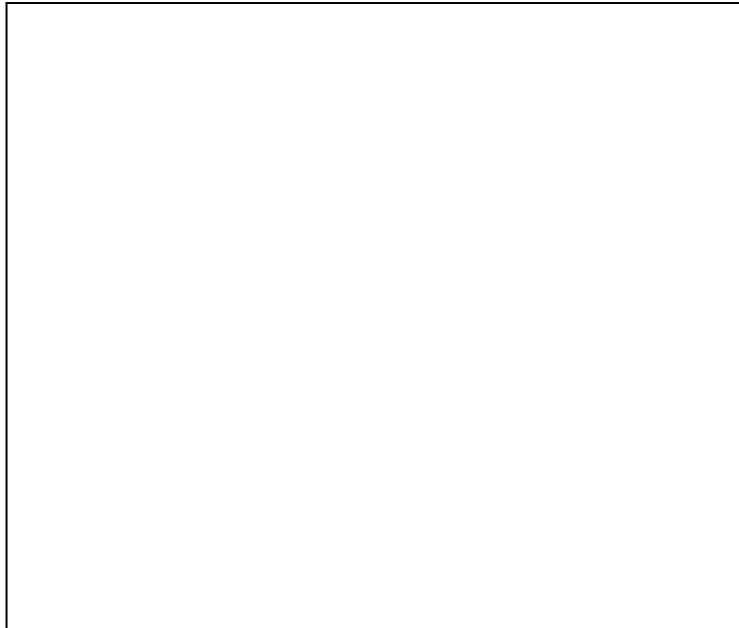


Figure 46: Photographer unknown, "Leopard Lady," *Wink*, 1946. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

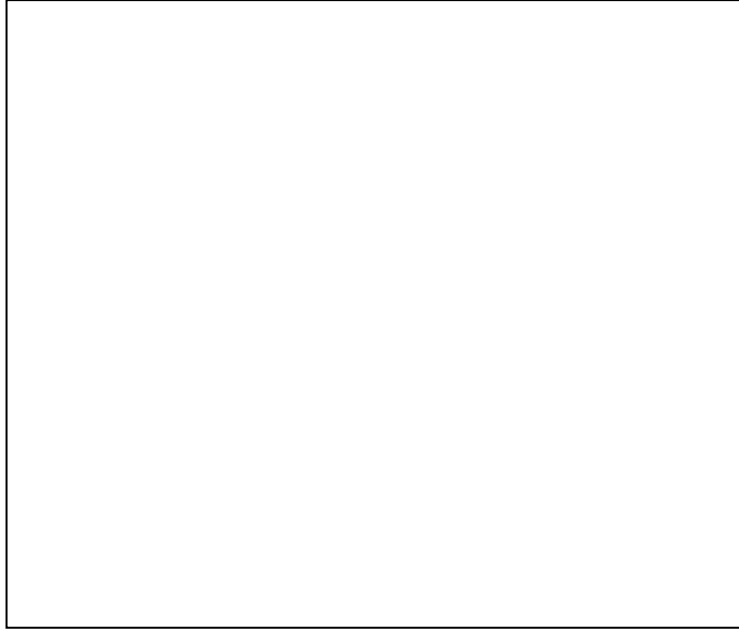


Figure 47: Photographer unknown, harem scene, *Beauty Parade*, ca. 1950. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

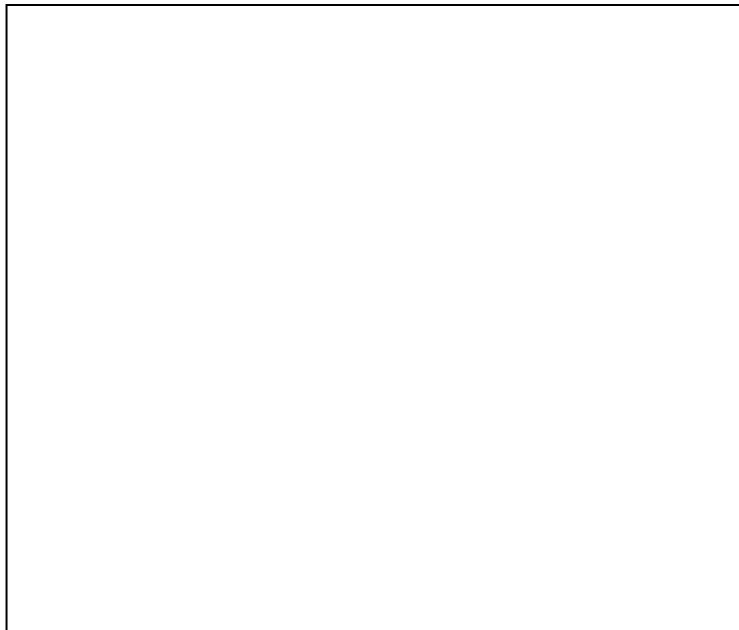


Figure 48: Photographer unknown, "Up in Cleo's Room," *Eyeful*, 1953. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

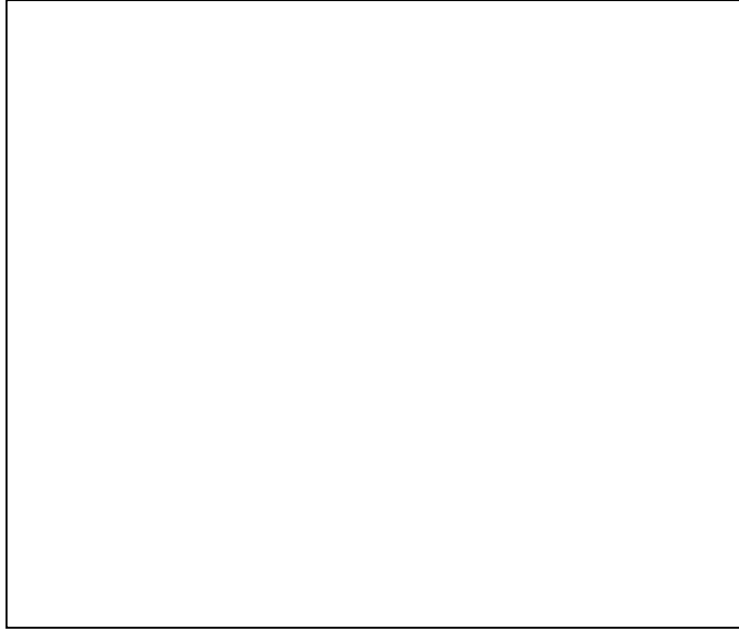


Figure 49: E. Simms Campbell, sultan cartoon, *Esquire*, January 1936. Reproduced in: Tom Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture 1900-1950* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2000), Page 215.



Figure 50: Photographer unknown, "Belle from Mexico," *Eye*, 1952. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

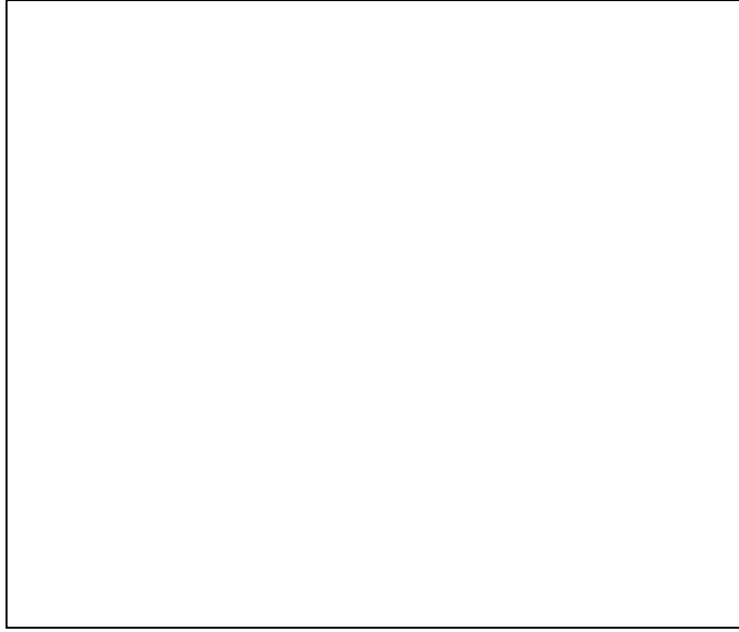


Figure 51: Photographer unknown, "Tom Tom Tempo," *Flirt*, 1950. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

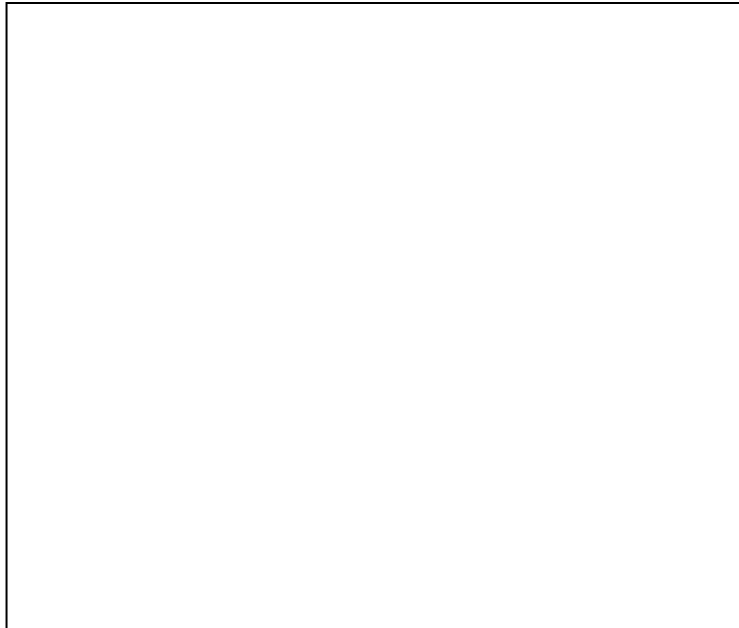


Figure 52: Photographer unknown, "...what the French maid saw!" *Beauty Parade*, 1955. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

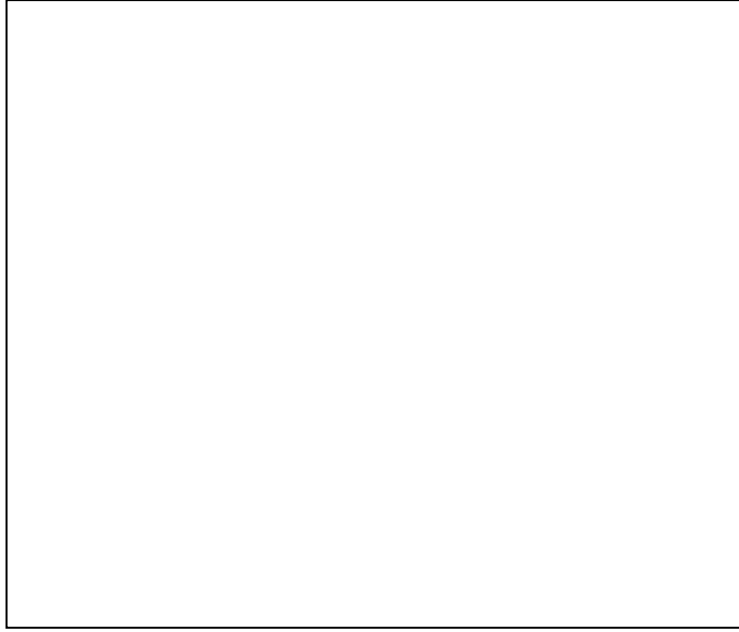


Figure 53: Artist unknown, "Diary of a French Maid," *Flirt*, 1953. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.



Figure 54: Photographer unknown, "Correspondence Corner," *Beauty Parade*, 1958. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.



Figure 55: Photographer unknown, "Thin-Up Girl," *Titter*, 1946. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.



Figure 56: Photographer unknown, "Bound to Thrill," *Titter*, 1947. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

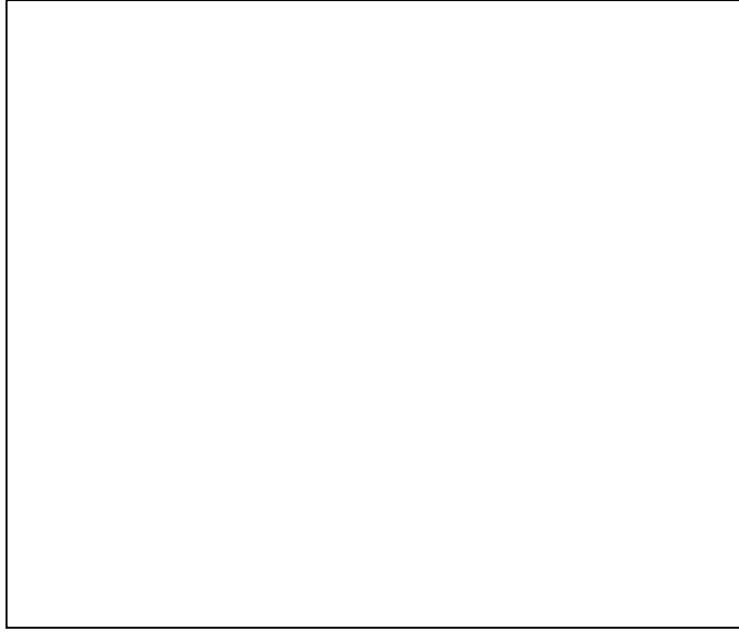


Figure 57: Photographer unknown, "Bold Beauty," *Wink*, ca. 1947. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

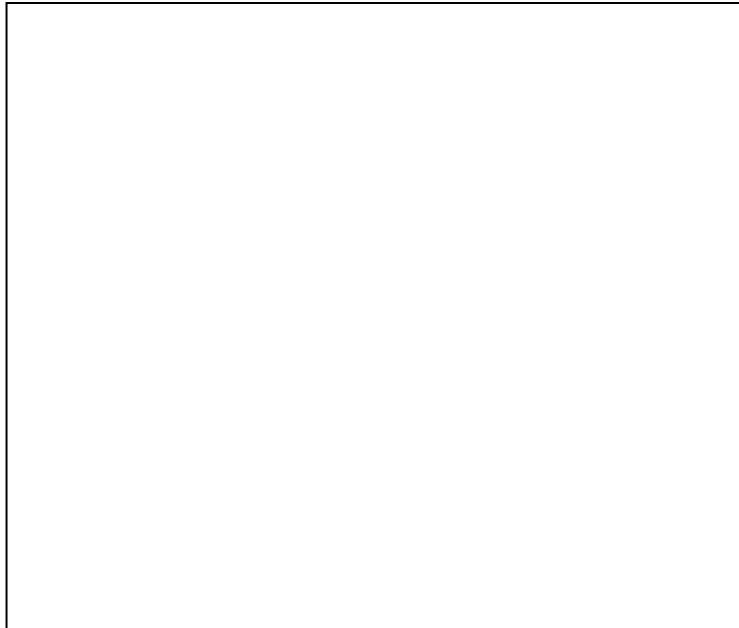


Figure 58: John Willie, "Sweet Gwendoline: Eighth Episode," *Wink*, 1948. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

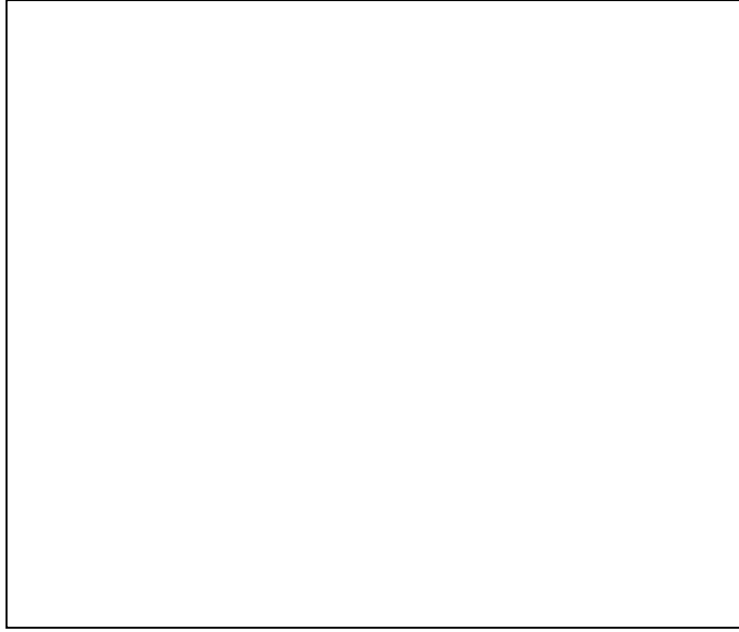


Figure 59: Photographer unknown, "The Spider and the Guy!" *Beauty Parade*, 1953. Reproduced in: Harold Hellmann, *The Best of American Girlie Magazines* (Spain: Taschen, 1997), n.p.

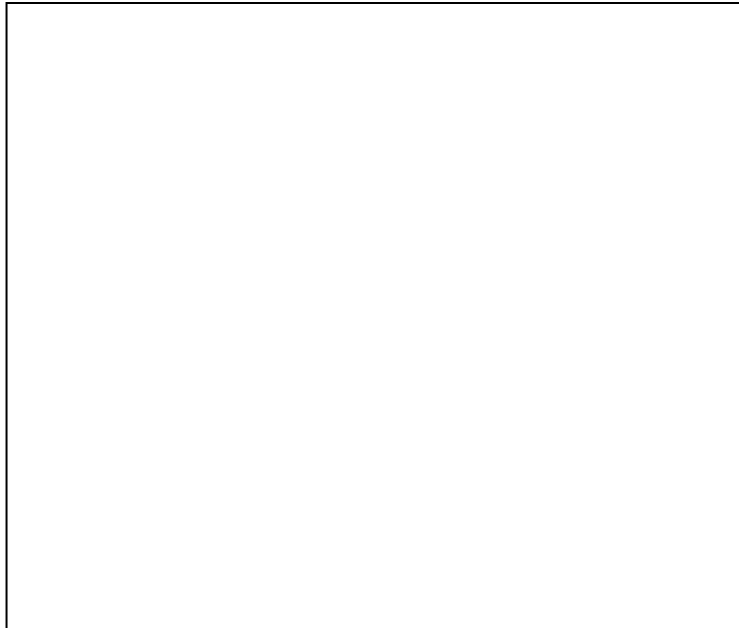


Figure 60: Howard Chandler Christy, *Gee I Wish I Were a Man*, World War I poster. Reproduced in: Carolyn Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), Figure 5.8.

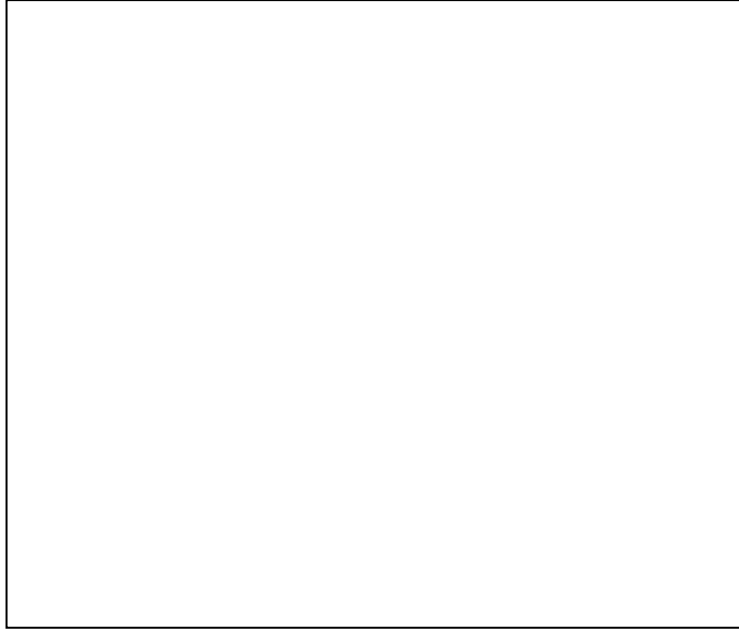


Figure 61: Artist unknown, *Be a Cadet Nurse*, World War II poster, 1944. Reproduced in: Maria Elena Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls: Feminism, Sexuality, Popular Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), Figure 60.



Figure 62: Photographer unknown, pinup from group outing, 1947. Reproduced in: Maria Elena Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls: Feminism, Sexuality, Popular Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), Figure 65.

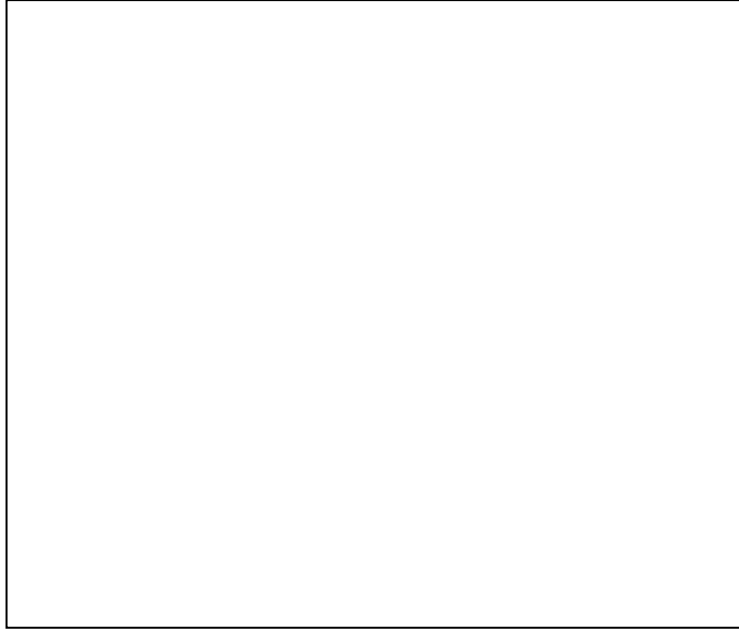


Figure 63: Photographer unknown, group portrait, 1947.
Reproduced in: Maria Elena Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls: Feminism, Sexuality, Popular Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), Figure 64.

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