ALSO BY SUSAN STRASSER

Never Done: A History of American Housework
For my father, with love and thanks
The consumer role demanded trust in manufacturers and belief in the words on their labels. For all their statements of support for retailers, manufacturers had to win consumer trust away from the storekeeper in order to build that level of confidence. One advertising company claimed in 1913 that this had already been accomplished in New York. In small towns, the ad explained, grocers and customers related with “friendly intimacy and the ‘what do you recommend’ attitude... the grocer is sometimes your neighbor and often your trusted friend of years’ standing.” In New York, on the other hand, “he is usually regarded as an institution that tries to make all the profit he can out of your trade. In New York City people put their trust in the manufacturer.”

The advertisement exaggerated. Many New Yorkers patronized ethnic merchants who resembled the small-town grocer. And many had come to the city from smaller towns and from the countryside, both in America and in Europe. Like small-town Americans, these people had been raised on goods produced at home and by people they knew, or at least personally recommended by trusted advisers. In New York as elsewhere, manufacturers had to build trust on many levels: confidence in their companies, in their products, and in the market, and belief in the new ways of life that the new goods of mass production symbolized and created.

ANTHROPOLOGIST MARY DOUGLAS AND ECONOMIST BARON ISHERWOOD, attempting to define consumption in a way that could apply to any human culture, maintain that “consumption starts where market ends. What happens to material objects once they have left the retail outlet and reached the hands of the final purchasers is part of the consumption process.” Seen this way, the creation of modern American consumer culture involved not only introducing new products and establishing market demand for them, but also creating new domestic habits and activities, performed at home, away from stores and outside the marketing process. People who had never bought corn flakes were taught to need them; those formerly content to buy oats scooped from the grocer’s bin were informed about why they should prefer Quaker Oats in a box. At the same time, they learned how packaged breakfast cereals fit modern urban lifestyles, suiting people seeking convenience, punching a time clock, and not in need of the calories of a country breakfast. Patrons of photographers and barbers, along with people who had never been photographed and men who had never shaved, had to be told how to incorporate cameras and safety razors into their lives by integrating picture-taking and shaving into their habits and routines.
The advertising industry that planned and coordinated these lessons underwent a substantial transformation at the end of the nineteenth century. Newspapers and magazines had published paid commercial messages since colonial times, but most had printed them in separate sections full of closely packed small ads, like classified advertising today; usually these simply informed potential customers that goods were available. By the turn of the century, new, mass-circulation magazines and newspapers were supported by advertising revenues and designed to highlight the ads—to function as advertising media. Advertisements grew in size, and their use of white space embraced new design principles. According to some contemporary advertising practitioners and to many historians of the subject, the new

In nineteenth-century magazines, advertisements for national brands such as Sapolio, an extremely popular and widely advertised scouring soap, appeared on dense pages of advertising like this one, from Harper’s, 1870.

Waltham Watches.

Patent

"GLOVE-FITTING"

The Most Popular Curbet ever introduced into the American Market.

The strongest proof of the excellence and popularity of this Curbet is found in the numerous attempts to palm off worthless imitations as the genuine Imperial "Glove-Fitting." We therefore call special attention to our stamp, and trade-mark, which are always to be found on each Curbet, and without which none are genuine.

W. B. A.

All infringements of Patent, or of our copyrights in name "Glove-Fitting," will be prosecuted.

Artwork contributed to a larger change: the goals of advertising shifted from an emphasis on providing information to an attempt to influence buyers by any means possible.

The change began during the 1870s, when Scribner’s and Harper’s instituted new practices, offering relatively low rates to advertisers who bought whole pages. Cyrus H. K. Curtis, publisher of the Saturday Evening Post, went a step farther when he founded the Ladies’ Home Journal in 1883 and set subscriptions at fifty cents per year; Godey’s Lady’s Book, until then the leading American women’s magazine, cost six times as much. Within five years, the Journal displayed more than twice as much advertising as any other women’s magazine, and by 1900, Curtis boasted to advertisers that it reached a million subscribers. At about the same time, newspapers following the lead of publishers Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst sought an even broader audience, daily reaching large numbers of people of all classes. Most cities supported several papers, competing for the public with their comics, features, and pictures, and competing as well for advertising. Their low fixed rates encouraged the use of large spaces, and fostered the layout of the modern newspaper.

Even the immigrants who did not read American newspapers and magazines saw billboards, probably the oldest of advertising media. During the decades after 1880, new systems offered advertisers and their agents better control over signposting; regional and national outdoor advertising firms began to guarantee that posters would actually be put up and kept up for the amount of time paid for. Poster lithography made it possible to reproduce color images on a scale and in numbers never before seen, while electric signs made the nighttime as commercially viable as the day. These new technologies enabled advertisers to create billboards so intrusive that they provoked public controversy about the use of visual space for commercial purposes.

While reformers campaigned against billboards on public property, advertisers extended their use of publicly visible but privately owned space. Sapolio inaugurated streetcar adverti-
ing on New York's horse-drawn cars in 1884; for years the characters and jingles on its "Spotless Town" placards provided distraction for public-transit passengers. Artemas Ward, the trade-journal editor and copywriter who directed that Sapolio campaign, eventually set up one of several competing streetcar advertising firms that by the end of the century could place standardized cards simultaneously in thousands of trolleys, in cities all over the country.

As the nature of the media changed, advertising agencies introduced new services. For decades after the Civil War, they had functioned as space brokers: agents bought blocks of space in newspapers and magazines, and sold them to advertisers who created and designed their own ads. At the turn of the century, many agents began to hire artists and copywriters and to offer clients coordination with the agencies that handled outdoor and transit advertising. The most advanced agencies conducted campaigns—carefully planned maneuvers, often entailing rudimentary market research—and handled sampling and other nonprint promotions.

Increasingly, agents operated as self-conscious advertising professionals. By 1906, enough of them had gathered around Madison Square for Printers' Ink to pronounce it the "new hub of the advertising universe." The magazine itself promoted professional consciousness, as did local advertising men's clubs and leagues in major cities. In 1907, seventeen local organizations had joined the Associated Advertising Clubs of America. Within a few more years, advertising agents and advertising managers for manufacturers and publishers could join a number of national organizations that promoted advertising and provided legislative lobbying, employment bureaus, speakers, and clipping and information services for their members.

Advertising men used language that described market competition as war and the market as a battlefield. The American publicity director for Lever Brothers, Ltd., which operated the world's largest soap factory in England, spoke of "invading America" with Lifebuoy soap. His "first step was the construction

This Sapolio advertisement from the Hamsworth Self-Educator Magazine, 1907, shows the turn-of-the-century changes in design and space policy.
Charles Austin Bates introduced comprehensive planning in the early 1890s, asking prospective clients to fill out a "symptom blank," a series of questions designed to provide him with a complete understanding of the business. By 1905, Earnest Elmo Calkins and Ralph Holden had prepared a complete marketing plan, illustrated with graphs, charts, and sketches of magazine advertisements and window displays. Bates found clients hostile to his questionnaire, and Calkins and Holden never presented their plan to the Gillette company, for which it had been made, but within another decade, campaigns like the one for Crisco revealed the advantages of careful planning.

The most effective campaigns encouraged new needs and new habits, not by creating them out of whole cloth, but by linking the rapid appearance of new products with the rapid changes in all areas of social and cultural life. Buying behavior depended on new behavior at home and in the workplace, which manufacturers and their advertising agents consciously promoted in their emphasis on new product categories. "The problem was to sell the Soup Idea," a Campbell's representative wrote in the early 1920s about the company's first advertising twenty years before. That idea was bolstered by changes in American work schedules, by the introduction of other new convenience foods, and by gas and electric stoves and hotplates that could be used one burner at a time. "Copy policy has been designed to create reader interest and a distinct Campbell's individuality through the famous Campbell's Kids and the jingles," the spokesman continued; "simultaneously the ceaseless propaganda for soup-eating continues."

Colgate and the Florence Manufacturing Company, maker of the Prophylactic, the first widely advertised toothbrush, taught people to brush their teeth. A Colgate spokesman called his company's early advertising "pioneer work . . . in teaching the public the habit of caring for the teeth," while Prophylactic said "it has been our aim to educate the American people to keep their teeth and mouths clean." Both companies published booklets explaining dental hygiene, available through the mail and
handed out at fairs and exhibitions. For Colgate Ribbon Dental Cream, introduced around 1905 and specifically formulated to eliminate “the old druggy taste” of previous dentifrices, a wide sampling campaign was designed to show “people who had never brushed their teeth and children who found it difficult to acquire the habit” that toothpaste could taste good.

One Colgate booklet, *ABC of the Teeth*, ended with an ad for other Colgate products and an offer for the company’s pamphlet *How to Shave Yourself*, available for a two-cent stamp. The Hapgood Sales Company, maker of the Razac safety razor, offered *The Face of the Well-Groomed Man*, with chapters on “How to Prepare the Face for Shaving; How to Shave; Simple Massage; Care of the Skin; Why the Barber makes Wrinkles.” Gillette warned of “the dangers that men often encounter who allow their faces to come in contact with brush, soap and barber shop accessories used on other people.” “Nobody knows your face as well as you do,” the company asserted. “Nobody else can take as good care of it.” Urging men to establish a daily product-using routine, the headline of one 1909 ad in *Town and Country* declared frankly, “You Ought to Shave Every Morning.”

The Gillette razor, as this advertisement put it in text displayed below a portrait of King Gillette, “is not a mere device. It is a public service with a personality back of it.” Gillette was indeed a personality, well known as a utopian thinker who wrote for influential radical magazines, and who in 1894 had published *The Human Drift*, which denounced competition and celebrated centralization as a natural human tendency. Before he invented the disposable razor blade that made him rich, Gillette had worked as a salesman, traveling first for Sapolio and later for a bottle-cap manufacturer. He remained eccentrically and simultaneously dedicated to making money and to societal perfection, developing his social theories in a series of books written during power struggles in the rapidly expanding business that bore his name. By the end of his life he had lost control of the company and much of his personal fortune, but his picture and signature continued to appear on razor-blade wrappers until the introduc-
Shave Yourself
with the “Gillette”

Compact? Rather! So much so that when you travel you will hardly miss the corner of the dress suit case in which you tuck away your razor.

There is concentrated in this little device of mine a great deal of science. It has taken over 600 operations to bring a Gillette Razor set to its perfect state. I don’t know of a single thing about it to-day that can be improved. It is loaded to the muzzle with perfection, and the minute you take it out of the box it is ready to go to work for you—no honing—no stropping.

Over a million users will attest how well it does its work. A twist of the handle enables you to have as light or as close a shave as you may desire. You cannot scratch or cut yourself with it.

When you use my razor you are exempt from the dangers that men often encounter who allow their faces to come in contact with brush, soap and barber shop accessories used on other people.

As good things, the “Gillette” has many imitators. Some of them have been advertising enough to steal some of the many good points possessed by my razor. All of them together, however, do not possess the merits of the “GILLETTE” as it stands perfected to-day.

When you buy a safety razor get the best—the “GILLETTE.” It will last you for the rest of your life. It is not a toy—it will always give you complete satisfaction.

The double-edged, flexible blades are so inexpensive that when they become dull you throw them away as you would an old pen.

King Gillette

An Ideal Holiday Gift

The Gillette Safety Razor set consists of a triple bevelled blade; 11 double-edged blades in a large leather case, packed in a velvet-lined leather case, and the price is $5.00 at all the leading specialty, drug, cutlery, hardware and sporting stores.

Combination Sets from $4.50 to $50.00

Ask your dealer for the “GILLETTE” today. If substitutes are offered refuse them and write us at once for our booklet and free trial offer.

GILLETTE SALES CO.
248 Times Building, New York City

Satisfaction Guaranteed

New Products, New Habits

In the 1960s, King Gillette reigned in the land of myth and symbol, as renowned as Betty Crocker and the Green Giant. This colorful character spoke frankly and directly in the text of early Gillette advertisements. After 1908, the diamond-and-arrow trademark joined the battery of company symbols, while the portrait was relegated to a cameo. Within a few years, full-page advertisements without the founder’s picture showed the mark of a new and more modern art director, and a new sort of didacticism. A series of ads during the summer and fall of 1910 pictured groups of men who could not patronize barbers—sailors, railroad travelers, outdoorsmen. The men in these ads actually taught readers how to shave, demonstrating the “sliding or

Gillette explicitly taught shaving lessons in its advertising. This was one of a series of 1910 ads in Town and Country that showed men using the proper strokes.

You can have an object lesson in the use of the Gillette on any sleeping car in America. Most men who travel on the train use the Gillette. They shave quickly—with no stropping, no honing—shave smoothly and clean all the corner, with no danger from the burn or motion of the car.

A bridge tender on the Canadian Pacific acquired a three-days’ growth of beard. Despite was written on his face. A kindly old gentleman loaned him a Gillette—and received the united thanks of two good bearders.

Men who travel much become very practical. They go in efficiency—get down to necessities.

Gillette explicitly taught shaving lessons in its advertising. This was one of a series of 1910 ads in Town and Country that showed men using the proper strokes.

Tours and travelers are the staunchest advocates of the Gillette. It would be interesting to know how many thousand Gillettes are sold every year through their example and recommendation.

Be progressive. Keep a Gillette on your home washstand—take it with you when you travel. Spread around some of the Gillette samples. Wear the smile of the man who can shave without stropping or honing. Life is brighter when a clean face is an every morning habit.

Standard Set $5. Gillette Blades 50c, and $1.60

King Gillette
Most Adaptable of All Razors

NOTE THE ANGLE STROKE

This stroke that you use with the Gillette is a matter of individual preference. The big fact is that the razor is adjustable to any face or any beard.

Many a Gillette user with a wavy beard prefers the sliding or angle stroke.

Once your should steer the way for you. One thing is sure—the Gillette is the most adaptable of all razors—the most responsive. It does what you want it to do the way you want it done. Easy, close, quick, and free. No stinging; no shaving; no having.

You can buy a standard set at $1.00; a pocket set at 50c; and a razor and blade set at 50c. There are ten razor cases and twenty four blades, $1.00; 6 double-edge blades, 30 cents.

Write and we will send you information.

Gillette Sales Company, 80 W. Second Street, Boston.

The first of the shaving-lesson advertisements, from Town and Country.

New products, new habits

successful that within four years dozens of manufacturers offered safety razors, most encountering more production problems than difficulties selling their stock.

One of these manufacturers, P. C. Sherman, who had turned down an opportunity to invest in Gillette, hoped to make up for this error by starting the company that produced the Sterling safety razor and running it on the principle that “A safety razor is a broad, democratic proposition.” Advertising the five-dollar Sterling not to Gillette’s upscale market segment but in magazines addressed to a broader audience, he claimed that his product would pay for itself with the barber’s fees it saved. It was sold not in stores but through the mail, on the installment plan. Applicants could get a razor free on approval if they sent letters of reference, which the company actually followed up. (“If J. Pierpont Morgan were to write in person, . . . no inquiry would be needed,” Sherman admitted.) This extensive relationship with customers through the mail continued even after payment. The company guaranteed that it would “keep the blades sharp, free of cost, forever.”

Gillette, in contrast, prided himself on and attributed the success of his razor to “the idea of producing a blade . . . that would be so cheap to manufacture that its cost to the consumer would permit of its being discarded when dull, thus avoiding the annoyance and difficulties of stropping and honing.” His company created relationships with stores that not only sold his razor but also his blades. The Gillette razor, in other words, made money not only from the consumer’s initial five-dollar purchase but from his continuing investment in blades. King Gillette’s biographer claims that the seed of his idea had come from William Painter, his boss at the bottle-cap company, who had invented the crimped, cork-lined tin bottle cap and was earning $350,000 a year in royalties. Painter’s central advice to Gillette was to conceive another disposable product.

People who could not save enough money to buy a Gillette could still aspire to one. Razors and many other costly products were available as premiums to those who accumulated enough wrappers and coupons from the chewing gum, soap, and to-
bacoo products that they could afford. Two hundred and fifty United Cigar Store certificates—the number issued with $62.50 worth of merchandise, or 1,250 nickel cigars—could procure a five-dollar Gillette in 1909. Premium catalogues also offered such turn-of-the-century high-tech leisure goods as stereoscopes, phonographs, and cameras, which, like razors with disposable blades, required additional purchases beyond the initial investments: stereoscope slides, phonograph records, film, and developing services or equipment.

In part because of the profit to be made from turning amateur photography into a frequent habit, Eastman Kodak advertising taught perhaps the most explicit lessons on incorporating new products into modern life-styles. In the pages of the “better” magazines, the company courted men who wore ties and women who employed servants; during the early 1920s, a spokesman reported that Kodak had never used streetcar advertising and rarely employed billboards, two media generally used to attract the working classes. Much of the promotion was directed at young adults who took European vacations, boys who skied, and other adventurers. In 1893 Kodak published a booklet with advertising matter at the back, The Kodak at the North Pole, a reminiscence of a recent Greenland expedition by a real adventurer, Admiral Robert Peary, who did not actually claim to reach the Pole until 1909. “There are no Game Laws for those who hunt with a Kodak,” the company reminded more modest explorers in a 1905 advertisement, proposing an activity in the wilderness for prosperous urbanites who bought their meat from the butcher. “The rod or the gun may be left out, but no nature lover omits a Kodak from his camp outfit.”

At the same time it appealed to outdoor adventurers, Kodak established its place in the prosperous home. “The big idea behind the selling of Eastman Kodaks,” an advertising writer pointed out in 1922, “is that every man can write the outline of his own history, and that the outline will be a hundredfold more interesting if it is illustrated.” The development of that idea—or, more accurately, of the idea that every woman should create

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**NEW PRODUCTS, NEW HABITS**

If it isn’t an Eastman, it isn’t a Kodak.

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Bring your vacation home in a KODAK

Add to the after-delights of your holiday with pictures of the people, the places and the sports you are interested in. Every step easy by the Kodak System.

Kodaks, $5.00 to $108.00. Brownies, $1.00 to $9.00.

EASTMAN KODAK CO.
Rochester, N. Y.

This advertisement, from *Town and Country* in April 1905, was drawn by noted illustrator Edward Penfield, when printing techniques still prevented Kodak from using photography in its advertising.
that history for her family—can be seen in a series of Kodak Christmas advertisements from 1904 through 1910. The company advertised throughout the year, but at Christmas, the Kodak could serve two special purposes, functioning as a desirable gift and recording the family celebration for posterity.

In 1904, "A Christmas Morning" (A) defined the photo opportunity to potential camera-owners who might not recognize it, provided a visual image of a woman taking photographs, and suggested cameras both as gifts and as tools for a family chronicle. The next year (B), the company offered more detailed directions, proposing "Kodaks on the tree" as gifts, and recommending things to photograph—the tree, the baby, the grandmother, the party. Soon the mounting pile of pictures became the basis of larger projects: the family photo album (C) and the library of memory books of which it was part, one for each child to be started at birth. "Make Kodak your family historian," the Rochester, New York company told magazine readers in December 1910.

Without saying in words that picture-taking was so easy a child could do it, the text addressed that issue (D). "Unless you are already familiar with Kodakery," it read, coining a noun form that
At Home with THE KODAK

Make Kodak your family historian. Start the history on Christmas day, for the Kodak is filled with moving pictures and little girls and boys at play. Make everybody happy with a Kodak this year—

Unfortunately did not catch on, "you will find the making of home portraits much simpler than you imagine." Those still intimidated by the technicalities of camerawork might obtain At Home with the Kodak, a free book about home portraiture, available by mail or at Kodak dealers. Like many manufacturers of new products, Kodak addressed consumer resistance and apprehension.

The L. E. Waterman Company, which began its business in the mid-1880s and estimated that it sold 85 percent of the fountain pens in America by the early 1920s, faced two sources of resistance: the personal nature of its product and the possibility of leaky pens. This company placed a strong emphasis on courting and training salespeople at the store that handled its pens, through advertisements in the trade media, letters to retailers, and booklets on salesmanship. Waterman competed with the hundreds of combinations of penholders and steel pen points that individuals could choose to fit their hands and their writing styles. "Men often get married to their pen, and it is well that they do," the company told retail clerks in Waterman Ideal Salesmanship (1902), a hardbound book with many engraved illustrations printed on glossy paper. "A certain pen action and that one only will suit them. But pens are as different as individuals, and just as there is a wife for every man, if he will patiently look for her, so, only with no trouble at all in the finding, there is a Waterman Ideal Fountain Pen that will suit every taste and every habit in pen action." The clerk was to assume the trouble; he was told to keep a complete stock of the various barrels and points, watch customers closely as they tried them out, ask them many questions about their writing, and patiently suggest point after point and barrel after barrel until the match was made.

Customers who found pens that fit might still resist the product because they did not believe that any fountain pen would work consistently without leaking. In its instructions to clerks, Waterman justified their suspicions: the pens apparently did not work consistently without leaking except with careful and time-consuming attention. The company insisted, however, that if certain "simple conditions" were not "violated" the ink would flow as ceaselessly as the Hudson River, and urged salespeople to maintain their stock well enough to prove this, by keeping each pen clean and filled, ready to write. The "simple conditions" required keeping the entire display so clean "that no one would have a suspicion that there was any ink within a thousand miles until the nibs of the pen touch the paper." "Anything with ink in it must be treated respectfully," the company warned, "not gingerly by any means but just respectfully, with a due
stores, and stationers who sold Watermans with gaily decorated folders imprinted with the retailer’s name, illustrating the complete line of Waterman pens. This “most acceptable Christmas present” whose “quality, beauty, and unfailing reliability are lifelong reminders of your thoughtfulness” was priced from less than three dollars to over twenty-five, a range broad enough to accommodate many pocketbooks, but still very expensive for working-class people. Like Gillette and Kodak, therefore, Waterman did most of its consumer-magazine advertising in the “better” publications and addressed the copy to the prosperous. Vacation-season ads informed consumers that they could buy Watermans at “leading stores in every resort in the world,” and listed addresses for company-run stores in foreign cities. “Plan now for your summer writing.” Waterman entreated Town and Country readers in 1911, “and save the bothers of indoor-writing and the dip, dip, dip of the hotel pen.”

The fountain pen’s particular advantage, especially salient for travelers, was that it permitted people to write anywhere; this modern product extended opportunities for an activity that people had pursued for thousands of years. Safety razors and box cameras, too, promoted greater mobility; now men could shave while traveling; now photography could emerge from the studio. In various ways, such devices helped define modern lifestyles. The camera offered a completely new way of viewing the world; even the intimacies of domestic life could now be framed and stylized according to the new conventions of the amateur snapshot. Both the camera and the razor replaced the personal service of professionals with purchased products, to be operated by their owners; like shopping itself, shaving and picture-taking had once been accomplished in public places, in the context of face-to-face relationships. And all of these products were widely available: nearly everybody could afford corn flakes and cigarettes, and even expensive fountain pens and cameras could be had by the provident savers of soap wrappers. Large numbers of people adopted modern life-styles, duplicating the new habits of their neighbors.

Historians have pointed to the celebration and promotion of
Some companies celebrated their products' modernity. This Waterman advertisement, from *Town and Country*, 1914, celebrates technological achievement and its part in saving time, an important element of modern life.

modernity in the advertising of the 1920s. Their evidence suggests that the transformation of culture, from ideas and lifestyles based on local relationships and regional manufacturing to those contingent on mass production and a national market, took decades. Yet that transformation was well on its way before World War I, activated in part by the products themselves. In promoting those products, manufacturing companies in this earlier period were often direct in stressing modernity as an advertising theme. Other companies put a strong emphasis on converting the population to the modern ways of mass production and factory-made goods, using images that ranged from fanciful to factual and inviting the public to observe mechanized processes.
Some literally celebrated the "mass" in "mass production," bragging about the size of their output and the enormous quantities they distributed, and insinuating that everybody was buying their product. "Shipped in Train Loads," Quaker Oats boasted in a half-page ad in Munsey's Magazine in 1895. "Has the largest sale of any Cereal Food in the World." Some companies hung signs on the trains and on the cars: "The largest single shipment of one brand chewing gum ever made," Wrigley's told the folks along the Illinois Central line between Chicago and Sioux City before Christmas of 1905, "all for C. Shenkberg," a wholesale grocer. The Sioux City Journal informed its readers that the car contained 60,000 boxes, which occupied "2,500 cubic feet of space, one solid mass of chewing gum." Waterman boasted that the factory it opened in 1910 would produce "A Million a Year," and mounted a major campaign using that phrase as a theme, coordinating color spreads in the leading national Sunday supplements, window cards for retail display, and a luncheon at the new facility, with two thousand invited guests who included dealers and Waterman agents.

Many other companies showed off their factories and the equipment they used to produce their goods, illustrating buildings, machines, and workers in their advertising. Typical pictures appeared in the four corners of an ad for Baker's cocoa published in the Ladies' Home Journal in 1899—"Mill No. 1" (an exterior view of a solid brick factory building), "Chocolate Machine" ("Capacity, 10,000 lbs. daily," with three aproned workers striking wooden poses), "Breakfast Cocoa Mill Room" (dozens of identical shiny machines reeding to the vanishing point), and "Wrapping Baker's Chocolate" (similarly reeding women workers, seated at tables doing handwork). Such illustrations, one Printers' Ink writer asserted in 1910, gave the public "an idea of stability. . . . There the factory stands, a most tangible and conclusive proof of the advertiser's ability to cope with demand. . . . Every reader of normal psychology must feel that here is a concern anchored to one spot by the weight of capital invested in national equipment. Suspicions of irresponsibility, of 'fly-by-night' policies, are allayed before they are born."

Food companies used their factories to allay suspicion not about the firm so much as about the products, inaugurating factory tours so that people could see for themselves the conditions under which food was processed and packaged. By 1907, 100,000 annual visitors toured the Shredded Wheat Company of Niagara Falls, New York, the "factory with a thousand windows," invited by the company in the fine print of magazine advertisements. As one of the "Wonders of Niagara, Scenic and Industrial," the building was said to compare to the falls in its massive dimensions; a 1903 flyer detailed the 3,000 tons of steel, 4 million bricks, 10 tons of putty, 300 miles of electric wire, and 35 tons of paint that had been used in construction—though this list accounted for only 844 of the windows. A 1915 souvenir
WALTER BAKER & CO. Ltd.

Baker's Chocolate
The pure product of selected cocoa beans, to which nothing is added, and from which nothing is taken away. Celebrated for more than a century as a delicate, nutritious and thirst-forming beverage. Best plain chocolate in the market for cooking purposes.

Dusted in blue wrapper, with yellow label on the front and trade-mark on the back.

Vanilla Chocolate
Unequaled for smoothness, delicacy and flavor. Much used now at receptions and evening parties in place of tea or coffee.

Good to eat, good to drink, and good for cooking.

The most healthful and invigorating food for bicyclists, tourists and students.

Dusted in white paper, tied with colored ribbon, trade-mark on the front.

BREAKFAST COCOA

From which the brown of tea has been removed, hence less tannic and alkaline. This plain, pure cocoa imparts a warm, pleasant, soothing, and soothing flavor to water and milk. It is delicious, wholesome, invigorating, easily digested, and absolutely safe for infants, as well as the general health.

Put up in 1 oz. packets. One packet makes a cup.

This Baker advertisement, from the Ladies' Home Journal, 1899, offers typical illustrations of factory buildings, workers, and machines.

NEW PRODUCTS, NEW HABITS

"IT'S ALL IN THE SHREDS"

The Home of SHREDDED WHEAT
NIAGARA FALLS, N.Y.

SHREDDED WHEAT—The cleanest and purest of all cereal foods, made in the cleanest grain cleaning and bolting factory in the world.

Shredded Wheat factory-tour souvenir postcard, 1907.

postcard informed visitors' correspondents that their friends and relatives had spent their honeymoons and vacations viewing machinery that baked over 2 million Shredded Wheat biscuits a day.

Other companies pursued an opposite image-making strategy, illustrating promotion materials with pixylike characters and implied the "magic" of mass production. According to What a Cake of Soap Will Do, published before 1895, Procter and Gamble adopted illustrator Palmer Cox's well-known Brownies and impressed their "mystic power" into service collecting cottonseed and coconuts, manufacturing Ivory soap, and distributing it to every house in the land. The elves who made Post Toasties even took care of the packaging, shouting and laughing as they painted cartons with a picture of a cozy fireplace scene, in Tale of the Toastie Elfin's, a pamphlet published in 1914.

Other companies admitted that they produced their goods with machines, but used elin characters in their promotion. Jell-O hired Rose Cecil O'Neill, whose Kewpies—the Smurfs of
Illustrator Palmer Cox's Brownies, familiar to readers of late-nineteenth-century magazines, were shown manufacturing Ivory soap in an illustrated poem that appeared in Procter and Gamble's What a Cake of Soap Will Do. Many companies used such images of pixies and elves, intimating that mass production was like magic and contrasting with other companies' use of factory images in advertising.

their day—were the subject of her illustrated poems, published regularly in Good Housekeeping, and, reproduced as dolls, created a sensational fad. The mischievous Kewpies illustrated advertising and lightened the tone of Jell-O's recipe booklet, which had previously featured pictures of the six domestic scientists who created the recipes. The Campbell Kids, Kewpies in human form, could likewise be obtained as dolls. Sunny Jim, an old-man version of a Kewpie with an identical topknot, served as a trademark character for H-O Force, a wheat-flake cereal. Created by leading advertising agent Earnest Elmo Calkins, he appeared in antic predicaments in books like Through Foreign Lands with Sunny Jim (thirty-six pages, available for four coupons cut from the box, or ten cents in stamps). He dispensed sunny wisdom ("a
recipe for being happy’ by living in the present) in a book of Force recipe suggestions that went through at least two million-book editions. Unfortunately for the company, the Force advertising served as an early example of clever promotion that won public attention without increasing sales. “Everybody talked about Sunny Jim,” veteran copywriter Helen Woodward wrote in her memoirs, “but nobody connected him with Force.”

Sunny Jim and the Campbell Kids lived in a land of trademark characters that experienced a population explosion around 1900. Curiously, many of their compatriots represented not modernity but traditional wisdom. Characters like the Quaker Oats Quaker, dressed for business in a bygone era, intimated a connection between new products and the presumed integrity of previous times. A number of companies gave advice through old-women characters representing traditional wisdom and old-fashioned comforts, beginning with the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company’s Grandmother, a trademark as early as the 1880s. Her portrait and her testimonial to A & P’s tea and coffee (“my solace through life”) appeared on the backs of collectable cards lithographed with pictures of flowers; in cameo, she may be seen on page 223. Some of her colleagues spoke directly to the issue of modernity. “Times have changed,” Jell-O's white-haired, white-capped, and bespectacled “Aunt Em'ly” told Ladies’ Home Journal readers in 1912. “Pie twice a day was all the style when I was a girl... Now there isn’t one of the children that doesn’t like JELL-O better than pie, and I must say I’m glad of it. Pie is dreadful hard on stomachs.” At Thanksgiving dinner, when...
pie was essential, digestion could be aided by using Crisco, endorsed by Grandma herself in a 1916 advertisement. The makers of cleaning products such as Colgate’s and Old Dutch Cleanser similarly traded on traditional stereotypes of clean old-country Netherlanders, dressed in traditional costume.

The white caps worn by Dutch girls, grandmothers, and servants signified cleanliness, and that image blurred with reality at the Heinz plant in Pittsburgh, where many young women acted the part of “The Girl in the White Cap.” Alone in a drawing on a souvenir postcard, surrounded by bowls of vegetables, she packed one bottle; together at the factory, her counterparts produced thousands. They dressed in uniforms and worked under surveillance by the public taking the famous Heinz factory tour, which attracted 20,000 visitors annually at the turn of the century.

Many more people availed themselves of Heinz hospitality at the Heinz Ocean Pier in Atlantic City. Until it was destroyed by a hurricane in 1944, this building, extending almost nine hundred feet into the ocean, was one of three such enclosed structures in Atlantic City and the only one that stayed open all year. About 15,000 people a day used its facilities at the height of the season, sitting in the sun parlor, taking advantage of the rest rooms, and writing home on free postcards showing scenes of the pier and of the Pittsburgh factory. The pier displayed the Heinz collection of artworks and curios, including busts of Socrates and Shakespeare, an Egyptian mummy, a pair of nine-foot elephant tusks, and many large paintings. A demonstration kitchen offered samples of Heinz products; a company representative delivered a lecture illustrated with stereopticon slides that offered views of the main factory and its workers. Naturally, none of these images revealed the strain from low piece-rates, seasonal overtime, and fast-paced machines that resulted in an average tenure of less than two years among both skilled and unskilled workers in Pittsburgh’s canneries.

Obscuring the realities of industrial work, the factory images that manufacturers propagated helped to create a new attitude towards factories and mass production in general. That attitude
Two public relations images of the Heinz "Girl in the White Cap." At left, a souvenir postcard, one of many available at the factory in Pittsburgh and at the Heinz Ocean Pier in Atlantic City. Below, a photograph of real workers doing the same task, filling bottles with a grooved stick.

contributed to the making of a new material culture: new products, new relationships between the makers of goods and the people who used them, and new daily routines. Positive images of goods and factories not only improved sales but helped the development of new attitudes towards manufacturers, reinforcing the trademarks themselves. For individual marketers, however, the primary goal was not to promote mass production but to sell goods. In service to that goal, they developed new principles, based on the concept that a market was a malleable entity.