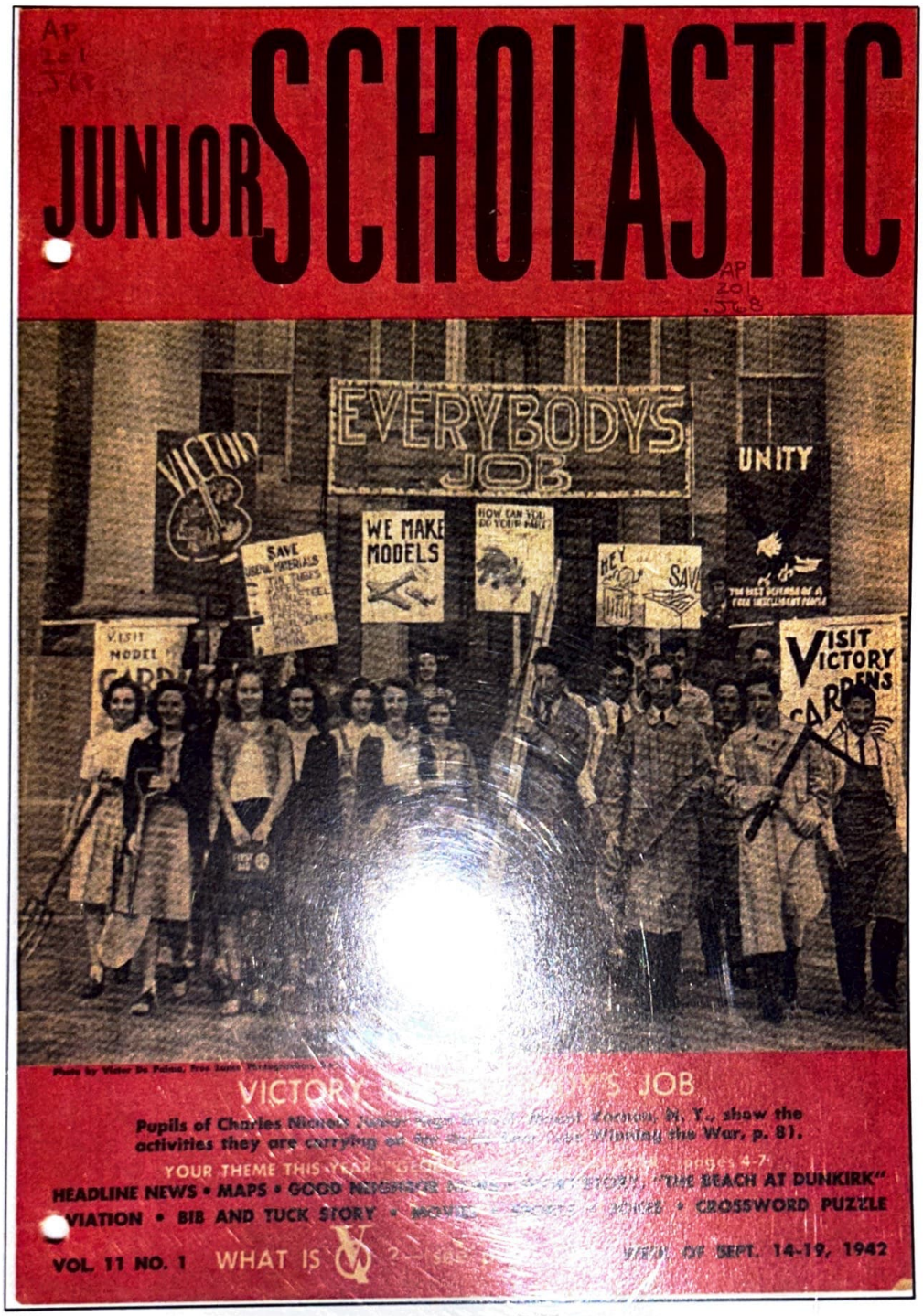
Instilling Patriotism in Our Youth:
Children's Magazines during the Second World War



Abbey Chamberlain

Instilling Patriotism in Our Youth:
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Abbey Chamberlain

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Mentor: Professor Lisa Jacobson

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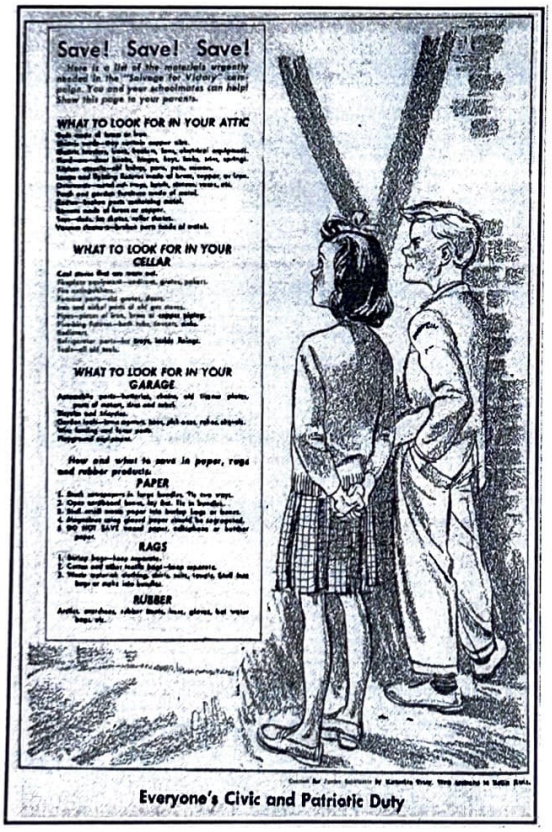

Everyone's Civic and Patriotic Duty

"The Scrappies' Club," a story about children's contributions to the war effort in *Jack and Jill* magazine, captured the changing American home front during World War II. Appearing in November 1943, the six-installment piece by Maud Hart Lovelace presented model wartime activities for young readers.[1] Lovelace portrayed the Scrap Happy Hiking Club as an extension of children's play, characterizing juvenile war work as both entertaining and beneficial to society. Encouraged by their grandfather, the Rogers children and their cousin Carol formed "The Scrappies' Club" to aid the nationwide search for refuse materials necessary for war production. As the children took up their gunny sack in search of scrap metal, they mobilized themselves under a unified cause. Performing their patriotic duty, the four young hikers exemplified the virtue of sacrifice by giving their trolley car clubhouse to the town scrap metal drive.

World War II required the mobilization of an entire nation. Even children's popular culture echoed governmental calls for rationing, scrap collection and the cultivation of family or communal plots, known as Victory Gardens, which eased the demand for rationed foods. The contributions of children deserve greater scholarly attention, as our nation's youth served a vital role in the war effort. Older boys took on greater responsibilities in the absence of adult males, serving in the labor force as clerks and grocers' assistants, while younger children aided the war effort by planting Victory Gardens, collecting scrap metal, and purchasing war bonds. In addition, public schools played an active role in shaping children's home-front reality. The "Schools at War"

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[1] Lovelace, Maud Hart. "The Scrappies' Club." *Jack and Jill*, January 1944- April 1944. The story was "the longest single piece to run in the magazine during its first decade of publication," according to Robert William Kirk, *Earning Their Stripes: The Mobilization of the American Children in the Second World War* (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), 65. Mildred Hark and Noel McQueen, "Citizens of Tomorrow," *Plays: The Drama Magazine for Young People*, April 1942. 67-72. Similarly in this play, patriotic children

program provided children with tangible ties to the war by encouraging their participation in bond drives that oftentimes set specific goals to buy tanks or munitions for the soldiers abroad. The programs to mobilize children gave young citizens a greater sense of control in the midst of tumultuous world events. Children's magazines published between 1941 and 1945 endorsed the expanding roles allotted to juveniles during the Second World War and reinforced the broader national mission to open and unify society by promoting a shared sense of sacrifice.

This paper primarily focuses on how children's periodicals instilled patriotic values and helped to define the generational identity of children who grew up during World War II. While both movies and radio factor into the memories of the majority of home-front children, periodicals addressed a largely middle-class readership who could afford the additional luxury. Patriotic messages in the periodicals helped children cope with the dramatic changes brought on by the war. Although most middle-class families did not experience the same pressure to relocate to war industry centers as did lower-class families, middle-class children still dealt with the departure of fathers, the frustrations of rationing, and the general fears of war. Magazines aimed at young children presented positive depictions of women in the work force even though the mothers of those children were the least likely to seek employment.[2] In addition, children's magazines reinforced traditional gender roles and suburban ideals by characterizing social changes as wartime necessities. In examining the relevant magazines, one can see how middle-class values changed and adapted to the pressures of a total war.

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created a Victory Club and used their recreation time to aid the war effort.

[2] Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women during World War II* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981), 91.

Although magazines employed a variety of formulas for conveying ideas, the emphasis of this paper will be on the fictional works and how their messages relate to those in nonfiction pieces and advertisements. By looking at different facets of children's periodicals and how they relate competing themes of empowerment and reassurance, one can see the societal and economic tensions exerted on the middle class during World War II. As a medium supported by advertising, magazines had to qualify their presentation of thrift and sacrifice. Although children's magazine fiction reaffirmed the importance of volunteerism, conservation, and thrift, advertisers also courted child consumers, tantalizing them with promise of future postwar abundance. Magazines thus extended the concept of temporary sacrifice to the realm of spending.

As the nation faced dramatic social transformations, children's magazine publishers attempted to expand the rights and responsibilities of their young audience while sheltering them within the comforts of tradition and conservative middle-class values. Economic training such as bond drives accelerated the development of the child consumer by linking patriotic thrift to future post-war spending. With changing family structures during the war, children's magazines promoted and sanctioned expanding roles for children in the family economy. America's youth saw examples of how to "make do or do without" in stories where girls prepared healthy meals in their mother's absence and boys did additional handiwork to maintain the home. Despite new duties for patriotic boys and girls, magazines attempted to cast change in a conservative light by emphasizing continuity with the past rather than the transformative nature of such changes. Although World War II empowered children through new opportunities for community participation in the name of patriotic unity, traditional gender and class depictions

remained largely the same, leaving children's magazines with the important task of reconciling forces of change with messages of stability to comfort children on the home front. Children's magazines thus provided children an empowering and reassuring venue through which they could explore what it meant to be a boy, a girl and a patriotic American.

Historiography

Foremost among previous studies of children on the World War II home front is William M. Tuttle, Jr.'s *"Daddy's Gone to War."* Like many scholars studying this period, Tuttle had personal ties to his research as he faced the departure of his father during the war. While Tuttle initially structured his book as a purely psychological analysis of children, he later added elements of oral history, which captured the individual voices that truly made up the American home front. Based on more than 2,500 responses to his request for children's home-front memories, the study reflected a wide range of experiences. Viewing gender as the most important variable in determining children's wartime experiences, Tuttle's discussion of war play provided a key example of persistent gender divisions. The nature of war games in a large part adhered to traditional characterizations of male virility and female nurturing as young boys fought evil Nazis and girls assumed roles as nurses or victims.[3] Although noting the impacts of gender throughout, Tuttle organized his study around chronological age and developmental stages, which he believed to be the most overlooked variable shaping children's war

[3] Tuttle, 138-39.

experiences.[4] In studying developmental psychologists such as Jean Piaget, Sigmund Freud and Erik Erikson, Tuttle came to see age, culture, and history as interdependent forces shaping childhood development. Tuttle concluded, for example, that younger children, whose fathers departed for the war before concrete memories could be established, experienced greater long-term consequences than children who knew their fathers before the war began.[5] His work depicted the mobilization of children as an effort to help children cope with the transformations of war, especially the absence of fathers, uncles and brothers. Looking at children's magazines, my study explores the ways in which publishers aided children's understandings of wartime sacrifice. Tuttle also stressed the role that schools played in shaping patriotic values. He argued that because school-aged children are cognitively ideal receivers in their stage of development, they were susceptible to the wartime propaganda that bombarded them in both schools and popular culture.[6]

Robert William Kirk's study *Earning Their Stripes* explored efforts to instill patriotism in children between six and thirteen years of age.[7] Like Tuttle, Kirk found that certain memories remained with "veteran[s] of the children's war"[8] into adulthood. Scrap metal drives, movies and rationing seem pervasive in the memories of most people who grew up on the American home-front. Although oral histories provide great insight into an earlier era, one must take into account the nostalgia that often accompanies the reflections on previous periods. Studs Terkel composed an oral history that reflected a

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[4] Tuttle, iv.
[5] Tuttle, 237.
[6] Tuttle, 118.
[7] Robert Wm. Kirk. *Earning Their Stripes: The Mobilization of American children in the Second World War* (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), 2.

general consensus that Americans viewed the Second World War as "The Good War."[9] Philip D. Beidler directly assessed the character of World War II in American memory, as he discussed which aspects of the war were most enduring. Rather than simply accepting memories as a description of the home-front reality, Beidler acknowledged and studied the biases that nostalgia carries in oral histories. By looking at postwar depictions, Beidler explored the "complex and durable popular-culture representations of the war," which he saw as the result of the "commodifying of wartime myth."[10]

While Beidler took a skeptical approach to the study of World War II remembrance, Natsuki Aruga simply avoided the complications of memory by utilizing survey responses from the war period in his dissertation. The study contrasted the public and private concerns of children on the home-front. In comparing personal responses to a private survey with articles written by children in high school newspapers, Aruga observed that children presented more patriotic interests in public than in private. Aruga found that behind the rhetoric of unity, middle-class youth were preoccupied with entry into social clubs at Berkeley High School.[11] He also saw increases in children's employment as a result of economic necessity and desire as opposed to any particular patriotic callings.[12] Unlike Tuttle and Kirk, Aruga stressed the continuation of social divisions, as residents of Berkeley, California illustrated an unrelenting concern with raising one's individual status despite messages of unity that pervaded popular culture.

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[8] Kirk, 2.

[9] Studs Terkel, *"The Good War:" An Oral History of World War Two* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984).

[10] Philip D. Beidler, *The Good War's Greatest Hits: World War II and American Remembering* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 3.

[11] Natsuki Aruga, "Continuity during Change in World War II Berkeley, California as Seen through the Eyes of Children" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1996), 57-93.

[12] Aruga, 197-272.

Lawrence R. Samuel examined the bond drives of World War II to illuminate transformations in American national identity. His study showed how the egalitarian character of the drives bridged social and racial lines. Samuel examined the "Schools at War" program, which adapted various disciplines—including mathematics, English, theater, art and music—to explain how purchasing defense stamps fostered thrift, sacrifice and unity in young citizens.[13] By presenting American identity as inherently tied to consumer society, Samuel's research underscores an important element of our culture which the United States government and popular culture could use in an effort to foster patriotism for the duration.

The extensive study of gender issues during the war, such as Karen Anderson's discussion of women and traditional family roles, provides a framework for understanding concepts of gender in the lives of children. Anderson examined centers of war production that oftentimes exemplified home-front transformations. While she found the potential for female liberation in their employment, Anderson stressed the continued centrality of domestic and family life, which left women with duel responsibilities.[14] In examining children's magazines, my study will address the presentation of women in both public and private roles, which guided young readers' understanding of female responsibilities. D'Ann Campbell also addressed women's roles during the war. She noted the inherent difficulties of using Rosie the Riveter as a representative icon of women during the war. Campbell encouraged closer examination of female homemakers, who were still the majority of American women. Campbell observed the added wartime

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[13] Lawrence R. Samuel, *Pledging Allegiance: American Identity and the Bond Drive of World War II* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1997), 35.

[14] Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women*

burden in accomplishing traditional tasks, which did not receive the same validation as paid employment.[15] Her study supplies an alternative interpretation to looking at women's contributions, viewing them not only in the public sphere but also the domestic. The transformations in gender roles for women provide a structure to examine the changing expectations for girls.

Many scholars have looked at children's literature and its role in socializing American youth. Gail Schmunk Murray argued that during World War II, literature reflected an idealized realism, using specific regions and the past as stable settings for narratives that were free from the complications of war.[16] Murray also discussed how during World War II authors addressed principals of democracy and unity through adolescent sports stories, conveying the importance of responsibility and cooperation without directly referencing the war.[17] Cornelia Meigs presented a broad survey of children's literature. Reaching similar conclusions as Murray about the literary focus on America's regional settings and cultural history, Meigs noted that these avenues allowed authors to avoid the atrocities of World War II. Kathy Vandell's dissertation "examines children's historical fiction as a mechanism of cultural transmission."[18] Vandell contends that historical fiction aspired to demonstrate the strong democratic tradition that America was defending. Such messages paralleled those seen in other sources of literature studied by both Murray and Meigs. By looking at trends in literature, children's periodicals can

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during World War II (Westport, CT.: Greenwood, 1981) 3, 5.

[15] D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1984), 4.

[16] Gail Schmunk Murray, *American Children's Literature and the Construction of Childhood* (New York: Twayne, 1998), 147-152.

[17] Murray, 167-168.

[18] Kathy Scales Vandell, Ph.D., "The everlasting if: American national identity in children's historical fiction, 1865-1965" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland College Park, 1991), abstract.

be examined for similarities and differences from the literary norm, especially in regard to fiction.

James Marten examined children's magazines during the Civil War in an effort to understand the ways in which publishers "sought to cultivate principles designed to ensure order and social responsibility."[19] His research will serve as a point of reference to which one can compare the periodicals of the 1940's, gaining a greater understanding of the social transformations caused by war and the passage of time.

The Magazines

Historians of childhood have recognized children's periodicals as an important medium for the dissemination of wartime propaganda. During the Civil War, historian James Martin found that magazines like *Our Young Folks* and *The Little Corporal* attempted to comfort children and provide them with an increased understanding of national events.[20] The pressures of war drove the need to help young readers comprehend wartime transformations. Acknowledging the juvenile desire to aid and understand their nation in war, publishers adapted traditional formulas to explain current trends. *The Little Corporal* utilized military rhetoric when addressing young readers, and in so doing, the magazine catered to the children's fascination with soldiers, refocusing its content to validate children's wartime contributions.[21] The same pattern is evident during World Wars I and II, when magazines and other organizations recruited children to assume public roles outside their traditional spheres. *Junior Scholastic*, which targeted "Upper Elementary Grades and Junior High School" students, was one such magazine. Used in

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[19] James Marten. *Lessons of War: The Civil War in Children's Magazines* (Wilmington: A Scholarly Resources Inc., 1999), xii.

[20] Marten, 119.

schools as a teaching device, the publication focused heavily on current events and "echoe[d] the values, tone, and content of its older, well-established parent"[22] publication, *Senior Scholastic* (1920-). "The editorial program of *Junior Scholastic*," outlined in the September 13, 1943 *Teacher's Edition*, sought "to clarify the pattern and moves of the war, to preview vistas of the postwar world and to bring to our readers a better understanding of the peoples of all nations."[23] Through both fiction and non-fiction, *Junior Scholastic* grappled with difficult issues in spite of the editors' continued desire to shield children from fear. Such concerns are evident in the educational recommendations of the January 11, 1942 *Teacher's Edition*, which stated that "[a] recital of the full facts about Nazi outrages in Poland might, we believe, have a harmful effect on the personalities of *Junior Scholastic* pupil readers. So much horror is simply not for boys and girls."[24] *Junior Scholastic* exemplified the changing approaches to education during the war, as the schools established a central role in mobilizing America's youth for home-front service. Functioning primarily as an educational tool, *Junior Scholastic* reflected national and international concerns created by the Second

1. Junior Scholastic advertisement, *Junior Scholastic* (September 1942), 5.

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[21] Kelly, 278.

[22] Kelly, 242.

[23] *Junior Scholastic*, "Junior Scholastic Offers Broad Reading Program," 13 September 1943, 1-T.

[24] *Junior Scholastic*, "'Poland' is Problem in Teaching War Facts," 11 January 1942, 1-T.

World War.

The content of *Jack and Jill* magazine differed dramatically from that of *Junior Scholastic* due to its younger audience, primarily ages seven to twelve, and its context for consumption. [25] Not designed for education but for entertainment, the magazine presented fictional shorts interspersed with hands-on activities. *Jack and Jill*, founded by the Curtis Publishing Company in 1938, filled a market left unaddressed by other Curtis publications such as *The Saturday Evening Post* and *Ladies Home Journal*. The appeal was evident in *Jack and Jill*'s astounding circulation figures, as "the new magazine very soon reached over half a million, and profits averaged $200,000 to $250,000 annually."[26] With the onset of World War II, the presentation of current events in this magazine reflected the complex relationship between middle-class Americans and the necessities of "fighting" on the home front. Publishers attempted to mobilize children by depicting young characters who were contributing to the war effort, while they still tried to curb wartime fears by maintaining continuity in its depictions of family and community. The editorial preference for "modern over historical fiction and realism over fantasy"[27] lent itself to depictions of contemporary issues, as seen in the six-part series "The Scrappies Club," set on the United States home front.

American Girl and *Boys' Life*, published respectively by the Girl Scouts and the Boys Scouts, were also important children's magazines. Tracing their roots to World War I, the Boy Scouts saw earlier contributions as models for their current wartime

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[25] Kelly, 226.
[26] Kelly, 225.

activities.[28] With the 1942 "membership almost four times as great as our membership in the early days of the first World War,"[29] Editor James E. West aspired to achieve the same degree of mobilization in World War II. The magazine, which appealed primarily to nine-to-fifteen-year old boys, tied masculinity directly to the development of future soldiers and virile leaders. The content of *Boys' Life* neglected, however, to address contemporary issues such as dating and delinquency, and reverted to the past for both its characters and settings.

Like *Boys' Life*, *American Girl* arose from the need for a publication to unify the growing scout organization. The first issue of *The Rally,* predecessor to *American Girl,* appeared in October of 1917. Originating during World War I, the magazine promoted home-front activities much like those in the 1940's. After the First World War, the magazine added the fictional literature, advice columns, and increased advertisements to develop a wider appeal to all American girls. During World War II, when *American Girl*'s circulation reached 200,000, the magazine reminded readers of its earlier efforts to support home-front mobilization. In the 25th anniversary issue, *American Girl* reflected on parallels to the past, stating that "the magazine printed a call from President Wilson to help the Red Cross (and it sounds today like a call from President Roosevelt). The Food Administration (sounding like the present rationing boards) congratulated the Girl Scouts on their work in conserving food."[30] Consciously building on prior actions, the organization hoped to use tradition to garner support for the sacrifices of war.

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[27] Kelly, 227.

[28] James E. West, "Strong—For America," *Boys' Life*, February 1942, 10-11.

[29] James E. West, "The Editor Speaks: 'Treasure Hunt,'" *Boys' Life*, August 1942, 3.

[30] Mildred Adams, "Candles on Our Cake," *American Girl*, October 1942, 6.

Empowering Youth through Home-Front Contributions

Patriotic messages pervaded American society during World War II, affecting politics, economics and society. As a source of popular culture, children's magazines attempted to both advance new ideas and keep up with the changing times. In an effort to mobilize all members of society, the U.S. government developed programs that required children's participation. However, the success of such programs relied heavily on various forms of popular media to reinforce government messages. Magazines conveyed the importance of wartime measures to children. Although the proposed activities served practical needs, to a large extent, the government and publishers envisioned such activities as means of unifying the nation. Historian Lawrence R. Samuel has noted this trend in relation to bond drives, stating that "the primary purpose of the 'Schools at War' program was not to generate revenue but to give the youth of America a lesson in democracy and citizenship."[31] The expanding home-front duties allowed children to reevaluate their position in society and what it meant to be a patriotic American.

By collecting scrap metal and cultivating Victory Gardens, children worked alongside their neighbors to provide the raw materials needed for war. These activities opened up community interactions as children traveled door-to-door, taking a more vested interest in the actions of those around them. Magazine articles recognized readers who successfully motivated community members to contribute to the scrap drives. In fiction, children also saw positive examples of how educated youths could contribute to society. Armed with information about what goods were rationed and what scrap

materials the government needed, children could assist their family and neighbors in fulfilling home-front duties. While patriotic activities attempted to broaden the child's domain, magazines were aptly positioned to reflect such greater demands placed on young community members. With shared responsibilities, the entire nation was asked to band together, helping one another to achieve their ends. In the context of the Second World War, publishers provided children with suggestions for personal contributions. Rather than merely benefiting the war effort, these proposals were intended by publishers to empower children and give them a sense of control and participation in the world events. In the *Teacher's Edition of Junior Scholastic*, guidelines for presenting the "gigantic Victory effort" emphasized that "In making these [wartime] sacrifices, pupils can show true courage and patriotism."[32] Encouraging educators to valorize the support of young Americans, magazines provided another form of positive reinforcement for patriotic children.

By constantly drawing parallels between the battlefront and the home front, publishers shaped their rhetoric to appeal to the juvenile fascination with the heroic soldier. The mass exodus of fathers, brothers, and uncles through the draft or voluntary enlistment dramatically changed the composition of families and home-front communities as a whole. As historian William Tuttle explains, "During the war, nearly one family of every five—18.1 percent—contributed one or more family members to the armed forces."[33] While school-aged children understood the value of soldiers' contributions, they aspired to make an equally important impact. A May 1942 puzzle,

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[31] Samuel, 34.
[32] *Junior Scholastic*, "Sixty Thousand Planes—Pp. 4, 5," 9 February 1942, 1-T.
[33] Tuttle, 31.

appearing in *Jack and Jill*, encouraged children to see the cause and effect relationship of their actions. The opening jingle—"My brother Bill went in the Navy today/ To do his share for the U.S.A./ And here at home we take part too./ This puzzle tells the things we do."—led the young reader to conclude that "I help the sailors, and soldiers in camps/ by using my money to buy D E F E N S E S T A M P S."[34] By presenting children's contributions in direct relation to fighting the war, publishers took full advantage of social changes and tapped into the readers' desire to assist those on the battlefields. Soldiers appeared throughout all children's magazines and provided male role models for young readers who were forced to endure the visible absence of men throughout their communities.

Fictional literature oftentimes relied on military figures to serve as a voice of reason, reflecting the continued need for home-front mobilization in their absence. Stories, which generally depicted all able-bodied men as members of the military, used the reappearance of soldiers on furlough or in letters to express appreciation for children's efforts. Providing a framework for children to understand the larger implications of their actions, the grateful soldier reaffirmed the value of even the smallest contributions. "For Lack of a Nail," appearing in the October 1942 issue of *Plays: The Drama Magazine for Young People*, centered around the reading of a soldier's letter that inspired adults and children alike to rededicate themselves to the national cause. The play showed an average family, who despite their outwardly patriotic efforts, hoarded rationed tires, sugar, and nylons, but still without malice. Only after hearing a soldier explain how "sugar and rubber and all sorts of things like that are beginning to have a special meaning to all of us

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[34] *Jack and Jill*, "Puzzle Jingle," May 1942, 37.

[fighting abroad]," did the family see the error in their ways and recognize that each of their actions played a vital role in ending the war and returning to normalcy.[35] The soldier equated these rationed goods to "life and death, and, more that that...Victory," but he willingly accepted his duty because "Everything we're fighting for, everything we believe in—it's all right there on Cedar Street [where the soldier grew up]."[36] William M. Tuttle, Jr. conveyed the importance of soldiers' letters in maintaining the connections between the home-front and battlefront activities, noting that many letters emphasized shared family responsibilities. Additionally, as the play depicted, letters were able to reach entire families who gathered together to hear correspondences read aloud. Even neighbors had a shared interest in personal reports from those fighting abroad.[37] In the absence of fathers, fictional messages of fatherly advice would have appealed to children by giving them direction for their efforts and in turn, a sense of control over the war's outcome.

Advertisements also applied this approach, justifying personal sacrifice in light of the sacrifices being made abroad. In 1943, the initial enthusiasm for home-front programs began to wane as Americans felt victory was eminent.[38] This mentality required the government, publishers and advertisers to reenlist Americans in their efforts for the duration. To do so, in February 1943, *Boys' Life* ran an advertisement contributed by the Magazine Publishers of America, which captured the harsh realities of war (fig. 2).

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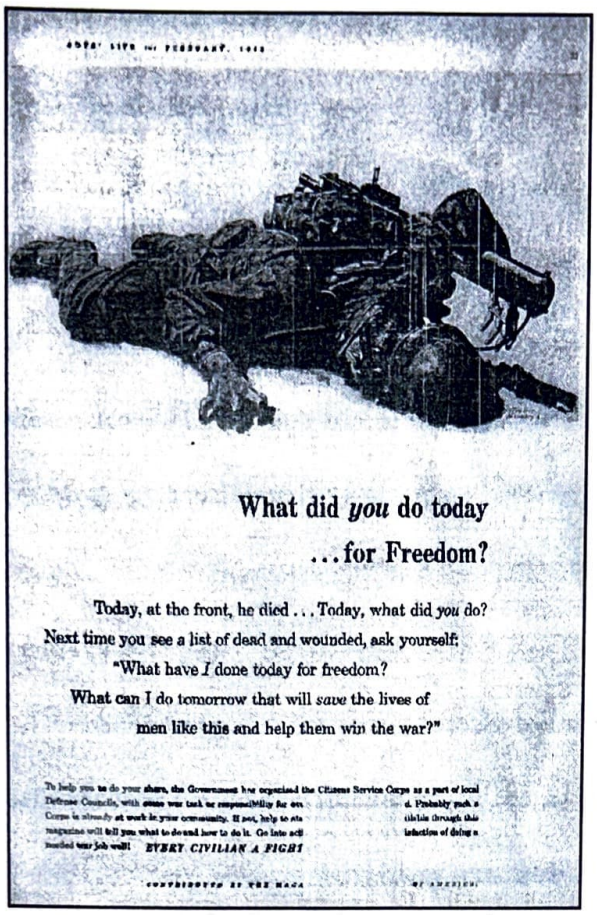
[35] Marie Baumer, "For Lack of a Nail," *Plays: The Drama Magazine for Young People*, October 1942, 66. Similarly, in "Rubber Won't Stretch," a soldier on leave provided a model for one family, explaining why he preferred to walk rather than drive or take up valuable space in public transportation. *Plays: The Drama Magazine for Young People*, "Rubber Won't Stretch," November 1943, 73-75.

[36] Baumer, 66.

[37] Tuttle, 42-43.

[38] Perry R. Duis, "No Time for Privacy: World War II and Chicago's Families," in *War in American Culture: Society and Consciousness during World War II*, ed. Lewis A. Erenberg and Susan E. Hirsch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 33. Paul D. Casdorph, *Let the Good Times Roll: Life at Home in America during World War II* (New York: Paragon House, 1989), 78-79.



2. The Magazine Publishers of America advertisement, *Boys' Life* volume (February 1943), 23.

Accompanying the illustration of a dead soldier, the advertisement challenged readers to ask themselves "What can I do tomorrow that will *save* the lives of men like this and help them win the war?"[39] By assigning young readers personal responsibility to the troops fighting for American freedom, publishers encouraged children to assume a more powerful role in society that extended beyond the sheltered domestic environment of carefree play. Although the ad appeared in *Boys' Life*, whose readers were generally older than those of other children's magazines, it captured an important wartime transition in children's social standing. In asking for their participation in fighting a home-front battle through scrap collection or bond purchases, publishers now required children to grapple with the realities of war. These expectations helped draw children into the larger community, empowering them with new responsibilities that could help the soldiers abroad.

Just as the children's magazine *Little Corporal* had done in World War I, the magazines of World War II used military rankings to recognize children's contributions.

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[39] The Magazine Publishers of America advertisement, *Boys' Life* (February 1943), 23.

Junior Scholastic's "Model Aircraft Project" persuaded children to build model planes, which would help air-raid wardens to identify both friendly and enemy planes. By implementing a reward system reliant on "ranks [which] correspond to those of the Navy's officers,"[40] the project encouraged children to strive for recognition of their achievements. Magazines cited both names and numbers of outstanding contributors to motivate children through competition. When the "Model Aircraft Project" noted that only four boys had achieved the top rank of Admiral Aircraftsman after building 50 models,[41] other readers could view this as a challenge to demonstrate their own patriotism.

Schools applied the same approach by rewarding those who made exceptional efforts during bond drives. *Junior Scholastic*, as an extension of school programs, played a role in linking children to the battlefront. The "Winning the War" series presented a wide variety of ways for children to aid the war effort, but equally important was the recognition of other children's contributions. A December 1943 headline in the series read "Boy, 11, Scrap Champ, Collects 800,000 Lbs." After collecting a daily average of 6,000 pounds of scrap metal, the boy traveled to various schools to motivate others to contribute in scrap drives.[42] With an army jeep as the mode of transportation, the speaking tour organized by a New Orleans newspaper exemplified how popular media attempted to connect the children's activities and fighting abroad. Meant to motivate other children to action, the tour also functioned as a reward for the Scrap Champ, whose efforts provided the metal used to build such jeeps as the one in which he rode. Through

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[40] *Junior Scholastic*, "Aviation...Models for Victory," 4 January 1943, 12.

[41] *Junior Scholastic*, "Aviation...Models for Victory," 12.

such imagery, children could envision their contributions in relation to the guns and tanks needed for the troops.

Junior Scholastic built on the comparison between scrap materials and the finished weapons of war by providing text and visuals in the "Winning the War" articles. An October 1942 issue even included "a table showing the amount of rubber used in various military articles [and] by using the table, [children were encouraged to]… figure out what military articles could be made from the amount of rubber *you bring in.*"[43] This created a systematic approach for children to visualize their individual roles in the war effort. The article also suggested that children look at their contributions in relation to their school and community in an effort to understand the national benefits of home-front unity. Because total costs and figures of the war would be lost on children, magazine publishers chose to engage children directly by depicting the war in accessible terms. By presenting young readers with the image that one old flat iron could be made into 2 steel helmets or 30 hand grenades, children were given a way to understand their role in the war effort. [44]

In *Jack and Jill*'s "The Scrappies' Club," the author, Maud Hart Lovelace, conveyed the broader context for activities such as the children's scrap metal collection. After encountering a training paratrooper on their scrap hike, the children saw directly how home front activities benefited the fighting soldiers. The meeting justified Cousin Carol's separation from her mother, who worked in a distant defense plant making

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[42] *Junior Scholastic*, "Winning the War," 7 December 1943, 10.

[43] *Junior Scholastic*, "Winning the War: Scrap Rubber," 5 October 1942, 4.

[44] *Junior Scholastic*, "Winning the War: Scrap Iron and Steel," 23 September 1942, 4.

parachutes like those used by the soldier.[45] The Rogers children, whose father served in Australia, longed for his return, a feeling with which many American children could identify. Although the children's grandfather offered the family stability by reassuring them that "Wars always end," the absence of fathers and mothers left psychological implications with American children further adding to their desire to aid soldiers in any possible way.[46] The sacrifices of children were justified as wartime necessities, willingly endured out of patriotic duty (fig. 3).

3. Meg Wohlberg, "Pictures of the Scrappies," *Jack and Jill*, April 1944, 26-27. Paper dolls of the Scrappies' Club characters appeared alongside the story's conclusion.

By believing in the urgency of their war efforts, children often bought wholeheartedly into the rhetoric of home-front mobilization. "'My greatest fear," a home-

[45] Maud Hart Lovelace, "The Scrappies' Club," January 1944, 34.
[46] Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 30-48.

front girl recalled, "was that I would forget my money some Friday [for war bonds] and cause some cog in the war machine to slip.'"[47] By enlisting "the boys and girls of Uncle Sam's new junior army…to do the salvage job,"[48] magazines presented children with greater responsibilities as active citizens. Although fiction addressed the issue in a lengthier format, oftentimes simply the repeated reference to a "junior army" could mobilize children behind America's cause. Magazines both reflected and drove wartime activities, leaving a lasting impact on children who came to see their contributions as imperative. In a time of social change, publishers, as well as government and school officials, saw the need to unify children behind the national cause.

Community Contributions

To fulfill the home-front duties, magazine publishers encouraged children to assist their neighbors by assuming new roles and also old positions left vacant by men and women who served in the war or war industries. As the country experienced labor shortages, the government and other social institutions enlisted children to fill the voluntary ranks on the home-front. Through these expanded roles, young readers saw new opportunities to play a vital role in uniting their communities. The *Boys' Life* editorial section clearly articulated how patriotic readers should aspire to contribute to the war effort. Providing uniform goals for Boy Scouts each month, the organization successfully mobilized readers to collect scrap metal and rubber, cultivate Victory Gardens, and

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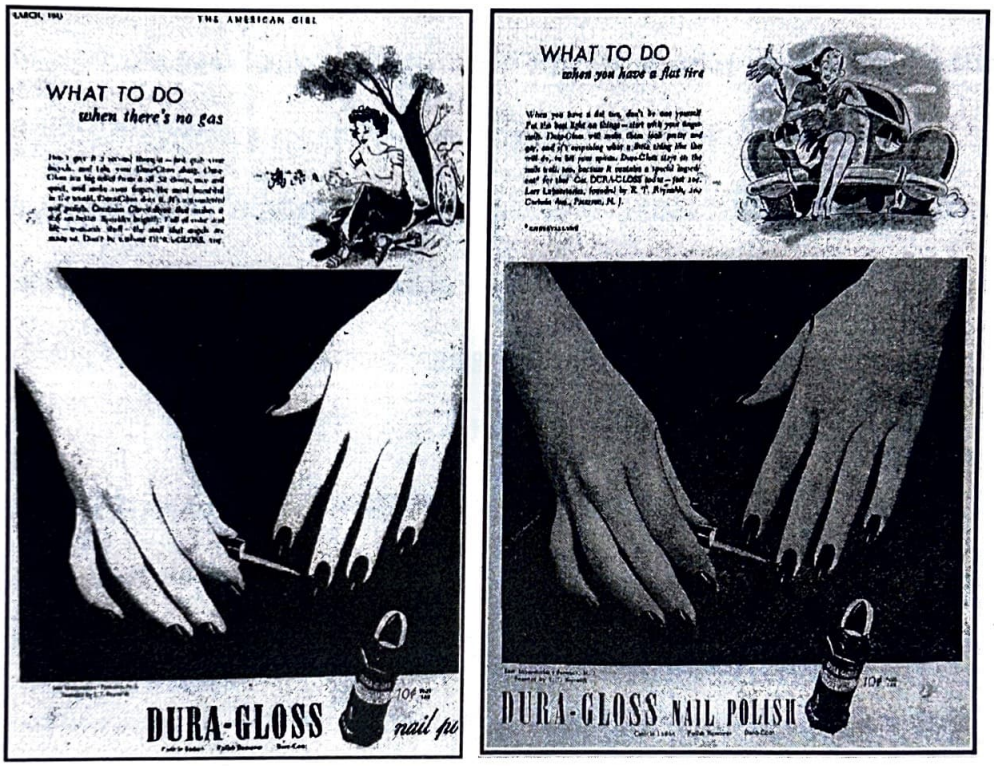
[47] Tuttle, 125.

[48] *Junior Scholastic*, "Winning the War: Get in the Scrap," 21 September 1942, 4.

generally "Be Prepared."[49] During salvage campaigns, wartime children opened up American homes by encouraging and helping neighbors to sort through unwanted items that could be used for the war effort. Gardens fostered community cooperation in food production. Perry R. Duis noted that late expansion of home-front gardening was encouraged in response to serious food shortages that spoiled the 1944 holiday season.[50] Just as the scrap drives had done at the beginning of the war, Victory Gardens provided an avenue for children to demonstrate their patriotism (fig. 4). Voluntary work gave children new opportunities to assist their communities during the war.



4. Dura-Gloss advertisement, American Girl (March 1943), 31; Dura-Gloss advertisement, American Girl (September 1943), 27. After the creation of synthetic rubber, the government no longer needed to collect or ration rubber. Soon after, Victory Gardens became the primary mobilizing activity on the American home front.

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[49] James E. West, "The Editor Speaks: 'Treasure Hunt,'" *Boys' Life*, August 1942, 2.; James E. West, "The Editor Speaks: Your Victory Garden," *Boys' Life*, May 1942, 2.; James E. West, "The Editor Speaks: Carry on to Victory!," *Boys' Life*, February 1943, 2.;

[50] Duis, 34.

The May 1942 introduction of Miss Vincent, a reoccurring fictional character in *Jack and Jill*, captured the ever-expanding role for children in community mobilization.[51] Although depicted as an old lady, Miss Vincent's modern mentality encouraged children to see their contributions as equally important to those of adults. Welcoming the neighborhood children to her home, Miss Vincent worked alongside them to create a Victory Garden that was both fun and beneficial to the war effort. Rather than only benefiting herself, Miss Vincent envisioned a "War Garden" that would "grow enough food so that … [some of the residents in the] neighborhood won't have to buy the things the soldiers should be having." In the context of the war, magazines reinforced the pressure to compromise individual privacy to help the national cause,[52] as Miss Vincent did, using her private property for the public good. Although the garden replaced "Miss Vincent's beautiful ball diamond," the children soon realized that working in the garden was "not just ordinary fun like hollering 'Not it' or playing ball, but extraordinary fun." Drawing parallels between maintaining a garden and fighting a war, Miss Vincent enlisted the children's help. "The boys did all the spraying. The bugs were enemy troops…The sprayer was a Tommy gun, and with this weapon the boys destroyed millions of the enemy and won battle after battle." Here too, we see the appearance of military ranks being assigned as rewards for exceptional effort, as "the boy who picked the most potato bugs each day was General the next day, and commanded the troops."[53] The *Jack and Jill* stories featuring Miss Vincent underscored the importance of children to the home-front effort by treating the children's contributions as equal to those made by

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[51] E. Lane, "Miss Vincent Goes to Washington," *Jack and Jill*, May 1942, 2-7.

[52] For more on how privacy was compromised in communities during World War II, see Duis, "No Time For Privacy: World War II and Chicago's Families," 20-23.

the rest of society.

Magazines encouraged children to assume jobs outside of the home in an effort to cope with the labor shortages across the United States. Although Natsuki Aruga argued that in reality children took jobs out of economic necessity or desire, children's magazines attempted to forward an idealistic interpretation of the social transformation.[54] While presenting boys and girls as clerks and babysitters, publishers often focused on how the community benefited from children's services. When girls watched neighborhood children, mothers could attend additional Red Cross meetings. By working in grocery stores, boys filled the vacancies left by those fighting abroad. [55] Rather than focusing on the individual economic gains of the children, magazines characterized new jobs as patriotic and benefiting the national cause.

In a February 1943 issue of *Junior Scholastic*, the author of "Bib and Tuck" addressed the growth of children's paid labor by portraying Tuck with a job at the grocery store. In "Pass the Nutrition," a new job provided Tuck with an opportunity to benefit his community by guiding their grocery purchases. With his sister Bib's assistance, Tuck learned the nutritional value of the foods he sold, which allowed him to pass such knowledge on to the neighborhood women who were planning family meals. With national rationing of certain foods, Tuck supplied the women with valuable information about adequate nutritional replacements, which were not limited by government sanction and helped maintain healthy family diets. While Mr. Cobb, the grocery store owner, rewarded Tuck with a pay raise for his efforts, the story implied more far-reaching results.

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[53] E. Lane, "Miss Vincent's Fun Garden," *Jack and Jill*, May 1943, 31-33.
[54] Aruga, 128-132.
[55] Gay Head, "Bib and Tuck: The Whiz Kid," *Junior Scholastic*, 16 March 1942, 10-11; Gay

Mr. Cobb taught Tuck that "the power of suggestion is a great thing in salesmanship."[56] By achieving these ends Tuck proved himself to be a powerful player in shaping his community.

Educating Future Citizens

Magazine publishers, especially those at *Junior Scholastic*, emphasized personal education as one's foremost patriotic duty. Foreshadowing the international scope of the postwar world, magazines and schools attempted to provide children with the information they needed to become successful citizens in the future. Children's school attendance provided a valuable illustration of American democracy at work. As soldiers fought for freedoms abroad, education served as a valuable means of preserving the same principles at home, namely the freedom of thought. Deviating from the World War I message of 100% Americanism, government officials encouraged a greater acceptance of American diversity. To these ends, *Junior Scholastic*'s presentation of international customs and traditions helped forward greater tolerance of multiculturalism both at home and abroad. By appealing to different ethnicities, World War II forwarded a broader sense of unity in the United States. *Junior Scholastic* reflected the importance of international diversity by defining patriotism as the "love of country, and devotion to the welfare of one's country without harm to the well-being of other nations."[57] This definition can be viewed as a response to the discriminatory practices of Nazi fascism. American government and media, in turn, made a concerted effort to emphasize ethnic hegemony as central to the

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Head, "Bib and Tuck: First Aid," *Junior Scholastic*, 9 November 1942, 12-13.

[56] Gay Head, "Bib and Tuck: Pass the Nutrition!" *Junior Scholastic*, 15 February 1943, 10-11.

[57] *Junior Scholastic*, "Let Pupils Make Up 'Statesman's Dictionary,'" 14 February 1944, 1-T.

WINNING THE WAR

VQ ENROLL NOW!

"What's your VQ?"

This question is important to every pupil who wants to help win the War for Freedom in which our nation is now engaged.

A good VQ means that you are doing your part as an alert citizen, who knows what this war is about. It means that you have an intelligent knowledge of a citizen's duties, in this all-out struggle for Victory.

A poor VQ means that you are lagging behind and must increase your efforts.

What is the meaning of the letters VQ? They stand for Victory Quotient.

Your IQ (Intelligence Quotient) is a measure of your intelligence. Your VQ is also a measure. It measures your knowledge about the war effort.

In order to help pupils increase their VQ, this magazine has organized the VQ Corps. Its motto is "Knowledge for Victory."

Every pupil who enrolls in the VQ Corps receives a membership card, pictured at the bottom of this page (colors not shown—card is red, white, and blue). To join, you must make application through your teacher. Your membership card will be signed by your teacher, and the editor.

VQ Corps members will test their knowledge each week by the Victory Quiz. In order to make a good score, you must study the news, the Winning the War article (this page), and the Theme Article on "Geography of Global War."

Now look at the back of the card, pictured below. There are spaces for you to keep a record of your score each week, and your average VQ each month. If your monthly VQ is satisfactory, your teacher will give you a red, white, and blue VQ Award Stamp, to paste on your card.

If you fail to receive an Award Stamp one month, you can try again the following month. There are spaces for September, October, November, December and January.

Pupils of Charles Nichols Junior High School, Mount Vernon, N. Y., study a global map to increase their knowledge and understanding of the war.

Front and back of VQ membership card

5. *Junior Scholastic*, "Winning the War: VQ Enroll Now!" 14 September 1942, 8.

United States democratic system. *Junior Scholastic* echoed Franklin D. Roosevelt's broad interpretation of international rights. Like his Four Freedoms speech—which articulated essential human rights as being the freedom of speech, worship, want and fear—the definition provided by *Junior Scholastic* lent itself to an expanded concept of national "well-being." In an effort to create greater international understanding, *Junior Scholastic* introduced the theme series "Geography of Global War" in September 1942, which served as an educational tool to inform young citizens about national values throughout the world. The series conveyed the ideology and interests of each nation, relating such information to America in an effort to create identifiable characterizations.[58]

In 1942, *Junior Scholastic* launched the VQ Corps as a new feature providing

[58] *Junior Scholastic*, "Geography of Global War," 14 September 1942, 4-7.

children with a patriotic program which met the demands of educators (fig. 5).[59] With the motto "Knowledge for Victory," the feature challenged every pupil to become an alert citizen, who both knew his/her duties and understood the larger war effort. A "Victory Quotient," compared to the IQ measure of intelligence, instead measured knowledge through weekly Victory Quizzes, focusing on *Junior Scholastic*'s news, "Winning the War" articles and the "Geography of Global War" theme series.[60] By providing enrolled students with a membership card, teachers and publishers worked together to create an added sense of unity on the home front. Mobilizing children to become more patriotic and educated about the war and world events, the VQ Corps drew over 104,239 pupils in 3,280 classes into its ranks during the first year.[61] In the teachers' edition, publishers pressed teachers to sign up for the free kit immediately, citing how the program increased children's interest in the war. As popular media portrayed children as the future, children's magazines attempted to educate children about the changing world and their role in it.

Magazines attempted to convey that freedom of thought was intrinsically tied to the American definition of democracy. In the play "Testing Ground for Democracy," the value of education was clearly articulated through international comparisons. A young boy from Germany praised the United States, observing that in "Here [in America] the mind is trained and sharpened. Here the power to think — that power which raises us

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[59] The report published in *Junior Scholastic* reinforced the belief that "It is therefore essential to provide the youth now in school with the information and to cultivate in them the attitudes that will enable them to act intelligently as citizens of the world community." Commission for the Study of the Organization of Peace, "The Challenge to the Schools," *Junior Scholastic*, 15 March 1943, 4-T.

[60] *Junior Scholastic*, "Winning the War: VQ Enroll Now!" 14 September 1942, 8.

[61] *Junior Scholastic* Advertisement, *Junior Scholastic*, 13 September 1943, 4-T.

above the animal is trained."[62] The rhetoric in the play reinforced this message by giving children a sense of power in their actions, claiming that education is "the greatest single weapon in the world," allowing young citizens to think for themselves.[63] Throughout this play, publishers emphasized the importance of educating children for the future, reinforcing the strength of the American freedoms in comparison to enemy nations. After the German boy explained that in his country "the body is the thing they educate," rather than the mind, one American student concluded that the German was "lucky you got out before Old Adolf got his hands on you and trained you to be food for cannons, a cog in the State wheel."[64] Echoing this message, a *Boys' Life* article "After the War, What?" extolled the value of studying sciences for a society to progress. The author argued that "one of the reasons this war is being fought is that the Fascist nations believe that progress is finished." In critiquing "Hitler and the Japanese Militarists" for believing that "the wealth of the earth is fixed and that they haven't got their share," the article stressed the value of a "*production* economy," which relies on educated citizens, over a "*predatory* economy" which depends on military might rather than creative innovation.[65] Magazines promoted education as the most constructive patriotic activity for children to undertake, fostering American individuality and freedoms.

Periodical fiction also reflected the value of education as contemporary children were often depicted in a school setting. Attending Jefferson Junior High, the fictional

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[62] Mary Flaten, "Testing Ground for Democracy," *Plays: The Drama Magazine for Young People*, May 1942, 53.

[63] Flaten, 51.

[64] Flaten, 53-54. Through the eyes of a fictional Jewish German boy, Junior Scholastic also attempted to convey the importance of America's unique freedoms in Emma Gelders Sterne, "A Refugee Boy Discovers America: A Flag for Hans," *Junior Scholastic*, 12 January 1942, 10-11.

[65] Wheeler McMillen, "After the War, What?" *Boys' Life*, September 1943, 40.

brother and sister duo, in *Junior Scholastic*'s "Bib and Tuck," served as a model for children without lecturing to them. A September 1943 story addressed the importance of education in creating future job opportunities. Although it began simply with students recounting how they spent their summer, working at the Red Cross and collecting scrap metal, on the first day of class, the tale took a more serious turn as the teacher noted that her work at the airplane plant employment office opened her eyes to the large number of manual laborers who could not read or write. Talking personally with Tuck after class, the teacher reminded him and the *Junior Scholastic* readership of the opportunity and value of education.[66] Non-fiction also supported these claims, as captured in *Junior Scholastic*'s American Education Week feature.[67] Under the slogan "Education for Victory," the magazine cited an official government statement, which noted "The first duty of school youth is to go to school. They must be well prepared for citizenship and service to the nation."[68] After reading claims about the importance of education for young patriots, students could have assumed that attending school aided the war effort to the same extent as collecting scrap metal or buying bonds. The U.S. Commissioner of Education, John W. Studebaker, was quoted as saying that "the most important work pupils can do is school work."[69] Although he acknowledged the national wide labor shortages, Studebaker reaffirmed patriotic students should understand that they best serve their nation by attending school as opposed to taking a job. Publishers reinforced the image of education as a means of empowerment for children, leading to contributions in the future.

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[66] Gay Head, "Bib and Tuck: School Daze," *Junior Scholastic*, 13 September 1943, 14-15.

[67] *Junior Scholastic*, "This is Education Week: 'Education for Victory" is the slogan,'" 8 November 1943, 3.

[68] *Junior Scholastic*, "This is Education Week: 'Education for Victory" is the slogan,'" 3.

[69] *Junior Scholastic*, "This is Education Week: 'Education for Victory" is the slogan,'" 3.

With the expanding role of schools in shaping children's extracurricular activities, the wartime changes opened new areas of society for children. *Plays: The Drama Magazine for Young People* emerged in September 1941 as a school-year publication devoted to bringing drama to schoolchildren. The creation of *Plays* itself reflected the transformation already underway in schools as they became larger and more encompassing social institutions. The growth of progressive education in public schools coincided with a rise in liberal arts, which encouraged the development of "'the whole child,' including personality, social skills, emotional growth and creativity." The progressive approach attempted to close "the gap between home and school" by incorporating "real life experiences" in education.[70] The expanding fields of art provided the Office of Education and the Office of War Information the opportunity and structure to shape young patriots during the war. Beginning in February 1942, *Plays* magazine introduced a new section designed to boost home-front morale. "Plays for Victory" reflected a concerted effort by the publishers to present issues pertinent to the changing home-front environment while holding "firm in the belief that the present defense of our nation and the survival of democracy depend upon the full cooperation of all our citizenry."[71] Schools hoped to develop a greater national awareness in children by presenting them with an educational program that celebrated American freedoms and values.

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[70] Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 117.

[71] *Plays: The Drama Magazine for Young People*, "A Statement from the Publishers of Plays," January 1942, i.

Patriotic Thrift

Economically, children also acquired greater freedom and personal responsibilities during the war. Through the purchase of war bonds, young citizens demonstrated their patriotism by investing in America's future. The bond drives marked an expansion in children's public roles while private saving and thriftiness helped families cope with additional wartime needs. By encouraging children to defer consumer gratification until the war's end, magazines challenged kids to consider the larger scope of individual actions. Since the government expected all citizens to help curb inflation brought on by the economic upswing, adults and children alike faced the realities of conservation and thrift. Advertisements prepared by the War Advertising Council appeared in both adult and children's magazines, advocating that Americans "Use it up, Wear it out, Make it do, Or do without."[72] By extending the same warnings about inflation to children, advertisers acknowledged the expanding influence of young consumers who were also benefiting from wartime job opportunities. The wartime advertisements encouraged young readers to "Keep Prices Down!" by warning them "If you're making more money…WATCH OUT!"[73] Laying the groundwork for postwar consumerism, magazines also presented children with models of competent spending in line with war rationing. Encouraged to buy only the items they needed, children learned that wartime inflation would raise "prices of things up and up and up [and] instead of paying $10 for a dress we're going to pay $15 [and] instead of $5 for a pair of shoes we're going to pay $8."[74] These practical examples captured how wartime products

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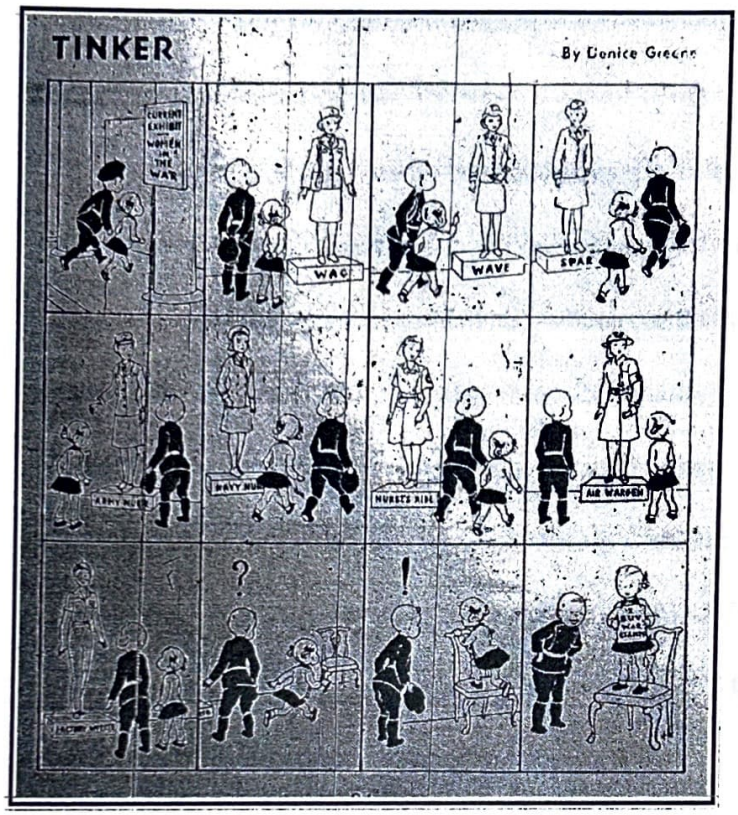
[72] Magazine Publishers of America Advertisement, *American Girl* (August 1943), 2.
[73] Magazine Publishers of America Advertisement, 2.
[74] Magazine Publishers of America Advertisement, 2.

became more expensive simply as a result of greater wartime demands. The examples also reinforced the importance of saving for the future, when technological advances made during the war would improve goods in the consumer market. Although the American economy became more prosperous, the complications of domestic budgetary issues still plagued families, and continuing prewar trends, children were developing into more central figures in household discussions. Growing economic sway empowered children in both the community and home, as the desire for home-front unity redefined social relations.



6. Denice Greene, "Tinker," *Jack and Jill*, November 1943, 24. The comic strip acknowledged the expanding roles of women during World War II, and humorously portrays a young girl assuming her rightful position in the exhibit since she contributed to the war effort by purchasing war bonds.

School bond drives not only generated a monetary profit, but they also unified the nation under a common cause. The "Schools at War" program, beginning in September 1943, provided economic training that the Treasury Department and Office of Education felt would foster thrift, sacrifice and unity—all valuable characteristics for America's young citizens.[75] The program

[75] Samuel, 35.

effectively enlisted school-aged children to purchase war stamps as educators adapted their curricula to fulfill wartime needs. Catering to their young audience, magazines attempted to convey the extent and importance of children's bond purchases. In Maud Hart Lovelace's "Rubber Boots for Bob," one boy's grandmother helped him draw the parallel between his bond purchases and the war effort. Looking over the War Stamps Book, his grandmother noted that each stamp had a picture of a man with a gun, and "That man is doing the same thing you are doing when you buy stamps…He is defending democracy."[76] Placing children's economic contributions on par with the sacrifices made by soldiers encouraged young readers to envision a more central role for themselves in the nation-wide war effort (fig. 6).

Rather than dealing with abstract figures, publishers provided children with understandable parallels between their home-front efforts and fighting front. Articles supplied tangible illustrations to children, whose dollars were equated with munitions, tanks, and even Liberty Ships. As discussed above, *Junior Scholastic*, working alongside the schools, creating a program that empowered children by linking their monetary contributions to the unified war effort. Featuring stories about how top-selling schools earned such privileges as naming Liberty Ships, *Junior Scholastic* and other children's magazines gave young Americans a sense of belonging to the larger society and war effort.

The magazines created a place for children in the current war effort, which, like previous wars, heavily relied upon economic support from citizens. In the first "Victory Play" of *Plays* magazine, children learned not only about how their monetary

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[76] Maud Hart Lovelace, "Rubber Boots for Bob," *Jack and Jill*, August 1942, 9.

contributions helped the war but how historically "Money is the weapon with which weapons are made."[77] This claim by a military captain resonated with the fictional characters as he argued that "In this war, every single American—man, woman, child is really 'in the army.'"[78] The story supported these abstract notions with statistical facts. The children calculated for themselves the impact of 30 million public school students contributing $3 million a week with the purchase of only one ten-cent stamp each per week.[79] By tying economic participation to the war effort, magazines encouraged children to feel they were serving alongside soldiers and nurses.

The success of bond drives hinged on pressure from the government and school institutions as well as the media and peer groups. Purchasing bonds became a primary way to demonstrate one's patriotism. William Tuttle noted that developmentally schoolchildren were "ideal receptors," who bought wholeheartedly into the United States' wartime propaganda.[80] This fact intensified children's devotion to activities such as bond drives. Both individual and peer pressure left poorer children socially disadvantaged because they could not always afford to purchase stamps.[81] A recreation bulletin issued by the National Recreation Association warned Americans about the hazards of using competition as a motivating force for children. Citing "children… who steal money from one another to buy defense stamps" as an example of how competition fostered unhealthy behavior, the Association acknowledged the pressures that children had to face when

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[77] Bernard J. Reines, "You Can Count on Us," *Plays: The Drama Magazine for Young People*, February 1942, 67.

[78] Reines, 67.

[79] Reines, 67.

[80] Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 118.

[81] Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 118.

demonstrating their national loyalty.[82]

Although individually children's contributions were limited, viewed collectively, their investments had a far more substantial impact. Fiction supported these empowering assertions, which school bond programs hoped to foster and also provided children with additional models for patriotic behavior. Helen Vostaka's narrative in *Plays*, "The Piggy Bank Helps Uncle Sam," stressed how even the smallest economic contributions could help the war effort. Just like children themselves, Nickie Nickel, Nellie Nickel, and Peter Penny, initially, felt that their actions were trivial and did not have larger repercussions on the country. The author challenged young readers to envision themselves and their stamp purchases as important on a broader scale. Davy Dime, the fictional voice of reason, encouraging each "poor little nickel" to "join another 'poor little nickel' and together… all the millions of War Stamps in the United States could work together to help win the war."[83] Bonds served as a means to unify the home front, giving children the opportunity to demonstrate patriotism in a similar fashion to their elders, who were also being asked to invest in the war effort.

While World War II publishers cast saving as patriotic, children's magazines published during the Great Depression instead viewed spending as one's patriotic duty. Responding to President Herbert Hoover's call for spending to revitalize the American economy during the Depression, children's magazines illustrated that "a dollar spent was worth more than a dollar saved in a deflationary economy,"[84] according to historian Lisa

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[82] Stan Cohen, *V for Victory: America's Home Front during World War II* (Missoula, Montana: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, Inc., 1991), 229.

[83] Helen Vostatka, "The Piggy Bank Helps Uncle Sam," *Plays: The Drama Magazine for Young People*, May 1943, 71.

[84] Lisa Jacobson, *Raising Consumers: Children and the American Mass Market in the Early*

Jacobson. Jacobson's study of the developing child consumer in the early twentieth century provides an important contrast to messages of thrift and saving that appeared during World War II. Driven by wartime fears of inflation, the national push for patriotic saving manifested itself in many of the same forms as the presentation of spending during the Depression. Jacobson cited "one such ad, placed in a 1932 issue of *Boy's Life*;" the "Timid Dollar" realized that because prices were low, he could benefit from "'wonderful values' at the marketplace and came home 'looking like a dollar-and-a-half."[85] When compared to the World War II advertisements announcing the economic losses brought about by wartime purchases in spite of inflation, both models emphasized the importance of getting the largest return on one's dollar. Vostaka's "The Piggy Bank Helps Uncle Sam" encouraged young readers to lend their money to Uncle Sam out of patriotic duty in addition to individual gain. While helping soldiers defend democracy abroad, children could collect interest on their bond investments. In turn, with the resumption of consumer production at the war's end, readers could once again envision spending that was free from wartime inflation.

As "one Treasury official called 'a payroll savings plan in embryo,'"[86] the Schools at War program continued to emphasize thrift as had earlier school savings programs.[87] However, during World War II, popular media depicted wartime saving as being directly tied to postwar spending. Magazines reflected the schools' messages, still encouraging regularity, above all else, in children's stamp purchases. But by amending the rationale for saving, propaganda encouraged Americans to engage in the growing consumer culture

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Twentieth Century, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 87.

[85] Jacobson, 87-88.

[86] Samuel, 36.

as soon as industries could revert to domestic production. In 1944, the government furthered such characterizations of the economic horizon by allowing many manufactures to partially revert to the production of consumer goods.[88] By training students to delay purchases, schools hoped to develop savvy spenders for the future. Yet, in the interim, media encouraged citizens to restrict their purchases to wartime essentials and bond investments. After expressing how even the smallest bond purchase helped the war effort, Vostaka's play depicted the coins postponing their use on recreational purchases until after the war. In stating, "Uncle Sam is just borrowing the money," the author framed thrift as a temporary sacrifice for the greater national good.

In December 1943, the "Puzzle Jingles" that appear in *Jack and Jill* addressed "Postwar Plans" in a lighthearted manner. The jingle—"When the war is over,/ You know what I would like?/ To buy a lot of metal toys/ And a two-wheeled B I K E"—encouraged young readers to see the end of the war in consumer terms. The puzzle goes on to describe the materialistic desires of the father, mother and baby brother—"My father wants to get a car,/ The Slickest ever seen./ 'Won't it be fun to fill 'er up,'/ He says, 'with G A S O L I N E .' My Mother joins our plan/ And Says that everybody knows/ The first thing ladies want to buy/ Is lots of Nylon H O S E . My baby brother doesn't know/ About the war at all, But when it's over he will get/ A nice big rubber B A L L ." While all the consumer goods cited were in short supply during the war, home-front children and families could identify with these particular wishes in addition to more extensive plans for postwar spending.

Magazines highlighted the technological advances made during the war and tied

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[87] Jacobson, 56-92.

them to new and improved consumer goods that would be available afterward, further driving desires for postwar consumerism. Advertising for the future helped make temporary sacrifices more palatable for the public, who were encouraged to delay purchases in order to get a larger return later on their dollars by investing in bonds for the duration and avoiding unnecessary purchases at inflated costs. During the 1943-44 school year, *Junior Scholastic* introduced a new feature, "Miracles Ahead," which focused on how wartime innovations would benefit all Americans.[89] The series reflected the nation's forward-looking outlook, envisioning wartime innovations that could revolutionize everyday activities in the United States. Even earlier in the war, *Junior Scholastic* included a feature on "What's New in Science." In an effort convey the long-term benefits of "Inventions for Victory," one article stated "Because of shortages of metal and other vital materials, U.S. scientists are developing many substitutes—synthetics…They are not only for war use, but also for use in our daily lives after Victory."[90]

However, for the duration of the war, magazines promoted saving as an important responsibility of patriotic citizens. Publishers attempted to provide children with examples of how to adapt their current lifestyles during the war to avoid sacrificing all personal luxuries. In *Junior Scholastic*'s "Bib and Tuck" series, the children played a greater role in managing their home. As their mother attended Red Cross meetings and the economic and political pressure of the war distracted their father, Bib and Tuck

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[88] Duis, 36.

[89] *Junior Scholastic*, "Miracles Ahead!" 13 September 1943, 8-9. Topics included Plastics and Synthetics (13 September 1943, 8-9), Rubber (20 September 1943, 8-9), Textiles (27 September 1943, 6), Glass (4 October 1943, 6), Paper (11 October 1943, 8), Wood (18 October 1943, 9), Metals Go to War (25 October 1943, 8), Homes of Tomorrow (8 November 1943, 8), Inside Homes of Tomorrow (15 November 1943, 4), We Go Rolling Along (29 November 1943, 6), A-Flying We Will Go (6 December 1943, 8), Your "Air Flivver" (13 December 1943, 6), Electronics (24 January 1944, 8).

[90] *Junior Scholastic*, "What's New in Science: Inventions for Victory," 30 November-5 December


BIB and TUCK

DOLLARS AND SENSE

BILLS—bills—bills!" Pop unloaded a pocketful of papers on the living room table. "That grocery bill looks like we'd been feeding the Army—all under this roof! Whew! I'd just like to go away somewhere and sleep through the first of every month!"

"Say, Pop, if you could let me have a dollar—" Tuck began.

7. Gay Head, "Bib and Tuck: Dollars and Sense," *Junior Scholastic*, 4 May 1942, 10.

assumed new responsibilities, helping their family cope with additional wartime burdens. In the May 4, 1942 issue, Bib updated her dress with a new ribbon rather than simply buying a new frock, and Tuck fixed a broken latch in hopes that his father would allow him to buy a new radio with the money he saved by making the repair himself (fig. 7).[91] Rather than making outright demands for new consumer goods, Bib and Tuck negotiated compromises that did not deviate from the idea of wartime thriftiness.

The author of "Bib and Tuck," Gay Head, also presented similar messages of child empowerment in the *Scholastic* series "Boy Dates Girl" during the Great Depression, as noted by historian Lisa Jacobson.[92] Although the wartime "Bib and Tuck" series placed a greater emphasis on savings, Head captured a transformation in family relationships that spanned the economic downturn of the Great Depression and the World War II economic boom. By illustrating a more central role for children in the family economy, the two series dealt with the complications of children's growing consumer desires, which required a reevaluation of family budgetary issues. The September 27,

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1942, 14.

[91] Gay Head, "Bib and Tuck: Dollars and Sense," *Junior Scholastic*, 4 May 1942, 10.

[92] Jacobson, 80.

8. Tangee Natural advertisement, *American Girl* (February 1943), 39.

1943 installment, "Bib and Tuck: Home Sweet Home," provided a model for readers to solve family problems democratically. Although the children soon realized how much the family budget had to cover—"food, shelter, clothing, health, education, and recreation," the inclusion of Bib and Tuck in the dialogue exemplified the important changes already underway.[93]

Similarly, Walter Hackett's "For the Duration" exemplified the greater freedom of choice that parents allotted to their children. In the story, Tom demonstrated personal autonomy by determining how he would spend his summer earnings from the grocery store. Trusting his judgment, Tom's mother abstained from telling the boy how the money should be spent. Choosing to purchase War Bonds with the money he set aside for a family ski trip, Tom's patriotic behavior was intended by the author to serve as a model for others, accepting wartime sacrifices along with the rest of the nation.[94] The growing role of children in shaping personal and family economic decisions received additional push under wartime pressures. However, the

[93] Gay Head, "Bib and Tuck: Home Sweeter Home," *Junior Scholastic*, 27 September 1943, 11-12.

[94] Walter Hackett, "For the Duration," *Plays: The Drama Magazine for Young People*, January 1943, 57-64.

transformation dates back to the Depression, as children negotiated for greater consumer say.

Although the war idealized personal sacrifice, advertisers attempted to characterize their products as wartime essentials, which still adhered to dominant messages of thrift. A lipstick advertisement in *American Girl* hooked young readers who could identify with the headline— "More Busy Mother…War Busy Daughter" (fig. 8). The ad claimed "Now that you're both busy with wartime duties… in addition to your day-to-day activities…you *need* the *long-lasting* smoothness of our new SATIN-FINISH Tangee Natural Lipstick."[95] In so stating, advertisers hoped to justify the purchase of such a product as being essential to any girl who volunteered on the home-front. Additionally, the inclusion of the term "long-lasting," helped young girls validate their purchase as being a savvy one because the product will not need constant replacement as other brands might. This advertisement supported the same messages of saving that appeared in fiction such as Marie Baumer's play, "For Lack of a Nail," which negatively depicted a girl who accumulated many tubes of lipstick.[96] Although magazines rationalized continued consumer purchases that advertisers characterized as necessities, hoarding unneeded goods and making frivolous consumer choices were still framed in a negative light.

Non-fiction features also ventured to help children adjust to the sacrifice of material goods during World War II. *Jack and Jill*'s continued inclusion of paper dolls and activities took on new meaning in light of the wartime rationing. Toys virtually disappeared on the American home-front as the government collected metal and rubber

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[95] Tangee Natural advertisement, *American Girl* (February 1943), 39. Italics are my own.

for the war effort.[97] Although wooden toys served as a substitute, *Jack and Jill* hoped to entertain children with toys and activities relevant to the war effort.

American Girl made an effort to continue providing girls with fashion advice despite wartime thrift. In much the same way as the fictional character Bib updated her clothes, publishers of *American Girl* encouraged readers to either alter existing outfits or make their own clothing. Advertisements and articles advocated that readers craft their own apparel, which became apparent through the inclusion of numerous ads for clothing patterns.[98] Magazines also discouraged children from buying ready-to-wear pieces, which war production left in greater demand due to the limited supply of consumer goods. Additionally, an *American Girl*'s article specifically addressed how "just because your clothes budget may be slimmer this year of war does not mean that your wardrobe need be slimmer, too, or less attractive. The girl with clever fingers and a sense of style can 'crochet her own' and put the pennies she saves into defense stamps."[99] By encouraging make-your-own fashions, publishers did not neglect the importance of image, despite wartime thrift, but reinterpreted the ways in which girls could remain fashionable. In November 1942, an *American Girl*'s article on "How to keep yourself and your possessions in apple-pie order" clearly aligned itself with other messages of thrift by stressing the importance of maintaining ones belongings to avoid unnecessary replacement costs.[100] By "making do" with limited wartime resources, children faced limitations on their spending, which were justified by patriotism.

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[96] Baumer, 63-68.
[97] Cohen, 222.
[98] *American Girl* advertisement, *American Girl* (November 1942), 32.
[99] *American Girl*, "Crochet Your Own!" March 1942, 30.
[100] Helen Hatcher, "Glamour Drill," *American Girl*, November 1942, 30.

Messages of thrift bombarded children in both schools and magazines in an effort to foster wartime patriotism and economically sound citizens. The *Teachers Edition of Junior Scholastic* encouraged educators to emphasize how "Pupils should feel that they are *actively sharing in the national effort* when they sacrifice rubber, woolens, aluminum, cars, sugar, and dozens of other everyday commodities."[101] Also, even though thrift education dated back to earlier school banking programs, magazines during World War II linked saving and spending. By presenting greater opportunities for consumption in the postwar environment, publishers used such characterizations to justify wartime sacrifice and rationing. Framing thrift as a primarily patriotic activity, children's magazines continually reassured readers of the value of their contributions to both democracy and the soldiers fighting abroad. The periodicals were able to capture how War Bond Drives empowered children with a new found sense of community participation, while children also demonstrated thriftiness individually, aiding their families with new wartime responsibilities.

9. U.S. Government Printing Office, 10 Cent Stamp Album, 1942. This stamp album, belonging to my grandmother, has accompanied me through the writing process. Optimistically, it is my muse.

[101] *Junior Scholastic*, "Sixty Thousand Planes—Pp. 4, 5," 1-T. Italics are my own.

Reassurance in the Durability of Tradition

During the war, children's magazines tempered the dramatic social changes by emphasizing the ways in which traditions remained intact. As magazines faced the difficult task of helping children cope with the realities of war, publishers attempted to provide a balance between both empowering and reassuring messages. By focusing on the similarities to existing social customs, publishers hoped to temper depictions of wartime change in order to diminish the effect on young children. The visible absence of men in contemporary fiction forced authors to depict other family or community members in traditional male roles such as caretaker and breadwinner. However, by acknowledging the centrality of war in such arrangements, magazines provided a comforting mechanism through which children could contextualize the transformations of World War II. Publishers also attempted to make wartime sacrifices more palatable by characterizing change as impermanent. As a result, children could expect that when the war ended, prewar societal roles would be restored. By emphasizing both the traditional aspects and the temporary nature of wartime changes in society, children's magazines reassured children through comforting imagery in line with middle-class ideals.

To some degree, the various formats of children's fiction reached the same ends by creating models for patriotic activities and morality. In *Jack and Jill*, the short stories, or "tiny tales," for the youngest audience drew primarily from myths and fairy tales. This decision by publishers allowed for the presentation of ideal morals and activities, while protecting children from the harsh realities of war. The use of historical fiction in each of the magazines reflected an alternative way of approaching lessons in morality. By

avoiding modern settings, the authors could depict courageous activities without inciting children's fears about current events. Both *Boys' Life* and *Plays: The Drama Magazine for Young People* continually used this format, particularly drawing on the American Revolution as an ideal situation for both fictional adults and children to demonstrate valor and good will. The play "A Guide for George Washington" told the story of one young boy who seized the opportunity to help Washington cross the Delaware.[102] The character in the play assumed great risk and responsibility during the Revolutionary War which young readers could look to as a heroic tale of patriotism and relate it to their personal efforts on the home front during World War II.

In contemporary stories, settings followed a generally consistent framework. Although urban settings appeared in some works, the literature typically glorified suburban space as the quintessential family environment. These close-knit communities became even more important during World War II. The wartime upheavals of towns and cities across the country contributed to nostalgia for traditional community structures. About 15 million civilians relocated to different counties between December 7, 1941 and March 1945.[103] The development of industrial boom towns created a dramatically diverse group of migrants. However, these factory production centers did provide some sense of unity for the inhabitants, as they labored together in hopes that their temporary sacrifices would bring future security.

The same sentiment of temporary sacrifice for the nation served as an important theme throughout the children's magazines. The absence of men on the home-front

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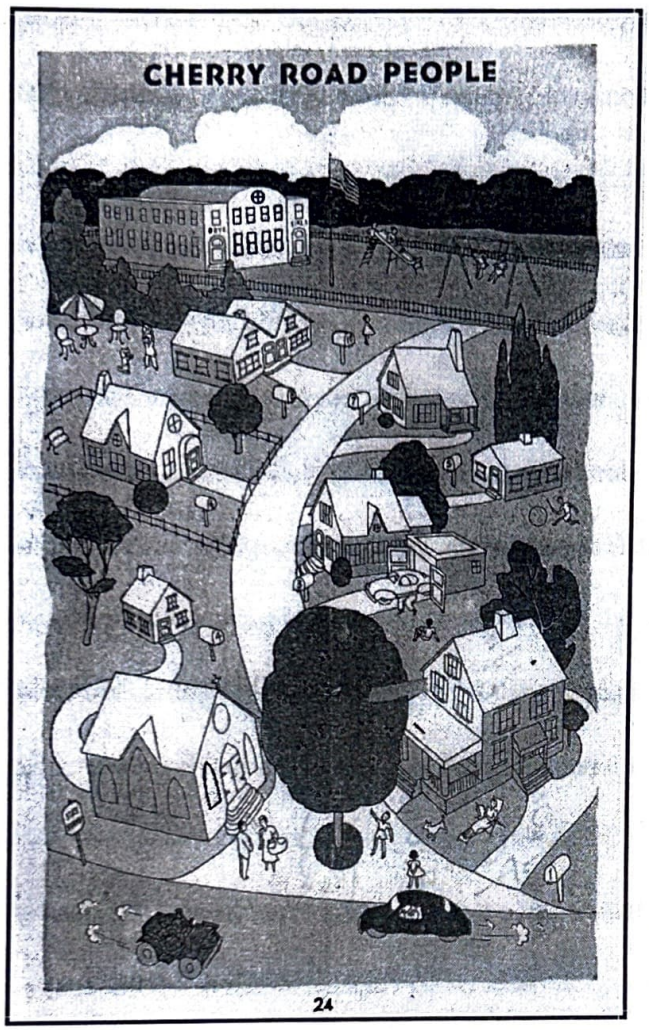
[102] Leslie Hollingsworth, "A Guide for George Washington," *Plays: The Drama Magazine for Young People*, January 1942, 38-51.

[103] William M. Tuttle, Jr., "America's Home Front Children," in *Children in Time and Place*, ed.

required older boys to take up greater responsibilities in both family and community space. Boys often became the central male figure in their household, filling in for their fathers who fought abroad. Women as well as older boys assumed new jobs and positions that were once filled by men outside of the home. As approximately one family in every five had one or more family members serving in the armed forces, Americans had to restructure their social expectations and relationships for the duration of the war.[104]



10. Weldon Bailey, "Cherry Road People," *Jack and Jill*, May 1943, 24.

Community played an increasingly central role in family life as home-front unity helped citizens cope with the additional pressures of war. William Tuttle notes that "unlike the centripetal momentum of the Great Depression when many families pulled together to make ends meet, during the Second World War the momentum seemed to be centrifugal."[105]

The series "Cherry Road People" appeared in *Jack and Jill* magazine between May 1943 and March 1944, and provided children

Glen H. Elder, Jr., John Modell, and Ross D. Parke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 34.

[104] Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* 31.

[105] Tuttle, 38.

with a reassuring interpretation of wartime changes. In an effort to downplay the social transformations, the series and children's magazines in general applied a traditional gloss, assuring children that existing values would be protected. A monthly collection of paper dolls, the "Cherry Road People" illustrated how World War II manifested itself in Middle America. The series relied on illustrations of the Cherry Road residents, while introductory text provided minor background information. The format allowed children to define the characters through play, which opened up the possibility of deviating from the artist's intended characterizations. Printed on heavy paper at the center of the magazine, the artist developed distinct paper-doll characters, complete with clothes and accessories that matched their daily lives. *Jack and Jill* addressed a mainly middle-class audience to which the publishers hoped to convey a unified image of American society. Although the magazine was read by a wider audience as it circulated through libraries and playmates, the middle-class depictions still played a central role in defining a distinctly American society to those who would aspire to higher status. Although the series addressed social variations that resulted from the pressures of war, the author and artist still relied on traditional class and gender imagery to convey a comforting interpretation of community.

Cherry Road served as a model community environment, attuned to the growing suburbanization of an increasingly prosperous middle-class. The road was characterized as "a little street only one block long, in the residential section of a middle-sized town."[106] The generalized terminology allowed for the setting to be adaptable to any part of the nation. Placing the characters in a middle-sized town would have created an identifiable setting for the young readers, who were primarily members of the middle-class. Cherry

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[106] Beth Henninger, "Cherry Road People," *Jack and Jill*, May 1943, 25.

Road also had clearly divided lots. This articulation of space not only made the community composition more easily understood by the young audience but reflected the privatization of domestic space that the middle-class had long enjoyed. The middle-sized communities allowed for the expansion of property ownership by individuals. Despite wartime thrift, messages in popular media helped foster the American dream of owning a home and all the accompanying consumer goods, which advertisers promised would be available after the war. The setting for the "Cherry Road People" provided an idealized model society presented to all as a reality accessible in the future.

The physical layout of the neighborhood conveyed a sense of home-front unity. The desire to build close community ties can be seen in the creation of a central unifying space around the Cherry tree for which the street was named. The illustration complementing the introductory text showed neighbors engaged in conversation near the tree while children played under the tree's shade (fig. 10).[107] The figures seem unaffected by the passing vehicles speeding along the highway. This can be seen a celebration of suburban life which owed its survival to roads that united it to the rest of the nation. Although the young audience would not have read as deeply into the cultural innuendos of the series, the social structure of Cherry Road served a subconscious ideal, which children might have hoped to emulate in their play with the paper dolls and more importantly in their own lives.

The dolls served as identifiable models through which children could take an active role in shaping the character of community members. Although the authors and artists provided a loose framework for the interpretation of each persona, the series

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[107] Weldon Bailey, "Cherry Road People," *Jack and Jill*, May 1943, 24.

allowed children greater freedom to define the characters through clothes and accessories. In the initial installments of Cherry Road, the first characters portrayed as paper dolls were nine-year-old Patty Knoke and ten-year-old Lesta Smithson who lived in a double house on Cherry Road (fig. 11).[108] Child readers could easily relate to these characters who were the same age as *Jack and Jill*'s general readership. The clothes provided for the young girls, with their fine details and conservative construction, reflected their middle-class social standing. All the clothes, other than the sleepwear, had skirted bottoms, and

11. Beth Henninger, "Patty and Lesta," *Jack and Jill*, May 1943, 26-7.

[108] *Jack and Jill*, "The Cherry Road People," May 1943, 25; Beth Henninger, "Patty and Lesta," *Jack and Jill*, May 1943, 26-7.

Hats, fine coats, and dresses convey the economic prosperity of the fictional families living in the Cherry Road community. Also by including purses in many of the outfits, the illustrations reflected how the purchase of such accessories and future spending, which such items implied, tied into middle-class consumer society. While other stories addressed wartime limits on consumer goods such as shoes, the "Cherry Road People" seem unaffected by those particular wartime sacrifices. Marguerita Rudolph's "New Shoes" captured the joy of one young girl after using her ration stamp to purchase new shoes, replacing a pair with "big holes… and are not worth fixing."[109] Rudolph conveyed the rarity of such a purchase among thrifty and patriotic citizens. Ignoring the importance of patriotic thrift, the Cherry Road author and artist depicted only certain aspects of sacrifice in order to protect children from the true extent of wartime transformations.

As the war united communities behind a shared cause, neighbors became more influential in determining children's home-front experiences. The paper doll figures of Mr. and Mrs. Burns would have filled easily identifiable roles that young readers could relate to their own communities (fig. 12). Despite wartime upheavals, Mr. and Mrs. Burns reflected the added community support systems available to children, whose mothers and fathers oftentimes dealt with new responsibilities outside the home. Although Mrs. Burns was depicted as a "day-time air-raid warden for the block,"[110] her apron reflected the continuity of domestic responsibilities. Historian Karen Anderson addressed the additional burden put on wartime women who had to maintain control over family life in addition to new positions of community control, exemplified by the character of Mrs.

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[109] Marguerita Rudolph, "New Shoes," *Jack and Jill,* September 1943, 44.

Burns.[111] For the duration of the war, this older woman responded to the national call for mobilization as many others did. Scholar Elaine Tyler May noted the importance of older married women filling the volunteer and work forces. The general public viewed their employment as less threatening to traditional family values because without young children at home, these women were not neglecting their primary female duty to rear their young.[112] The ranks of the Civilian Defense, to which Mrs. Burns belonged, numbered 5,400,000 by March 1942 and played a vital role in defining the home-front.[113] The organization united communities through its mobilization efforts, bringing the reality of war and fear of domestic attacks into American daily life. Although the Civilian Defense was composed of 14 different services, the Air Raid Wardens comprised the largest portion of the organization, serving as leaders among their neighbors.[114] However, because the position lacked the authority to enforce controls, Mrs. Burns' fictional role reflected a continuation of traditional neighborly concern and involvement rather than a dramatic social transformation. The temporary nature of her post also left room for her to return to traditional tasks. By turning in the official-looking Air Raid Warden uniform, Mrs. Burns could easily return to domestic roles—cooking in her apron, shopping with her purse, and keeping up the garden in her work clothes. Children were able to rework Mrs. Burns' character and in turn draw their own conclusions about how this older middle-class woman would have functioned in her community.

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[110] Beth Henninger, "Mr. and Mrs. Burns," *Jack and Jill*, June 1943, 25-27.

[111] Anderson, 5.

[112] Elaine Tyler May, "Rosie the Riveter Gets Married," in *War in American Culture: Society and Consciousness during World War II*, ed. Lewis A. Erenberg and Susan E. Hirsch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 130.

12. Betty Henninger, "Mr. and Mrs. Burns," *Jack and Jill*, June 1943, 25.

Additionally, the text provided in this June installment reflected current issues of home-front mobilization, stating that "Cherry Road people are also very much interested in gardens this year, so the pictures of Mr. Burns include his gardening clothes."[115] The creation of Victory Gardens during World War II affected all members of society. However, by characterizing gardening as an "interest" rather than a necessity of Cherry Road residents, the author presented maintenance of Victory Gardens as an enjoyable duty. As discussed above in relation to children's community contributions, the government push for cultivating gardens came late in the war and served as a means to

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[113] *Junior Scholastic*, "Minute Men of '42," 16 March 1942, 6.
[114] *Junior Scholastic*, "Minute Men of '42," 6.

accommodate for wartime rationing. Although this series presented adults engaged in gardening, the various periodicals from the period presented the "Food for Freedom" campaign as an opportunity for children "to help grow farm, home and community gardens as a victory measure."[116] Magazines publishers addressed this message in many forms: fiction, non-fiction, and even advertisements, which encouraged children to buy seeds for starting their own gardens.

13. Beth Henninger, "People Who Come to Cherry Road," *Jack and Jill*, August 1943, 26-27.

The Cherry Road residents adhered to a racially uniform format, and variation occurred just once in the August 1943 installment "People Who Come to Cherry Road"

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[115] Betty Henninger, "Mr. and Mrs. Burns," *Jack and Jill*, June 1943, 25.

[116] James E. West, "Your Victory Garden," *Boys' Life*, May 1942, 1. Similarly, *American Girl* encouraged Scouts to volunteer in Victory Gardens and also on farms, where labor was scarce. Marie Gaudette, "Farm Aides and Victory Gardens," *American Girl*, May 1942, 30.

(fig. 13).[117] Only in the depiction of outsiders did the illustrations reflect any ethnic diversity. Although the writers may have attempted to justify the racial homogeneity by citing the shortness of the street, the uniquely different composition of the August 1943 paper dolls provided a stark contrast between the diverse American population and the predominantly white Cherry Road residents. Wartime migration throughout the United States transformed communities as both military and factory workers crossed the country, creating greater diversity in American cities. The series avoided addressing the reality of such social change by presenting minorities as merely outsiders. The "People Who Come to Cherry Road" provided services to the community members and in turn held a subservient position in society. The colored laundress, Italian organ grinder, and aged woman who sold eggs stood apart from the Cherry Road people in both dress and physical character. In their attempt to capture a more complete view of society, *Jack and Jill* reinforced the stereotypical idealization of white suburbia through this visual comparison. The Burns, much like young Patty and Lesta, continued to serve as resilient models of white community composition, despite the rhetoric of all-encompassing national unity during the war.

The series provided children with illustrations of the expanding roles for women. In October 1943, two figures from the female military branches, WAC and WAVES, appeared as paper dolls (fig. 14). The accompanying text addressed the symbolic meaning of a community service flag which hung outside many Cherry Road homes. By explaining how each of the stars signaled the military service of a community member, the author emphasized the shared sacrifices of war that were assumed by both men and women. In

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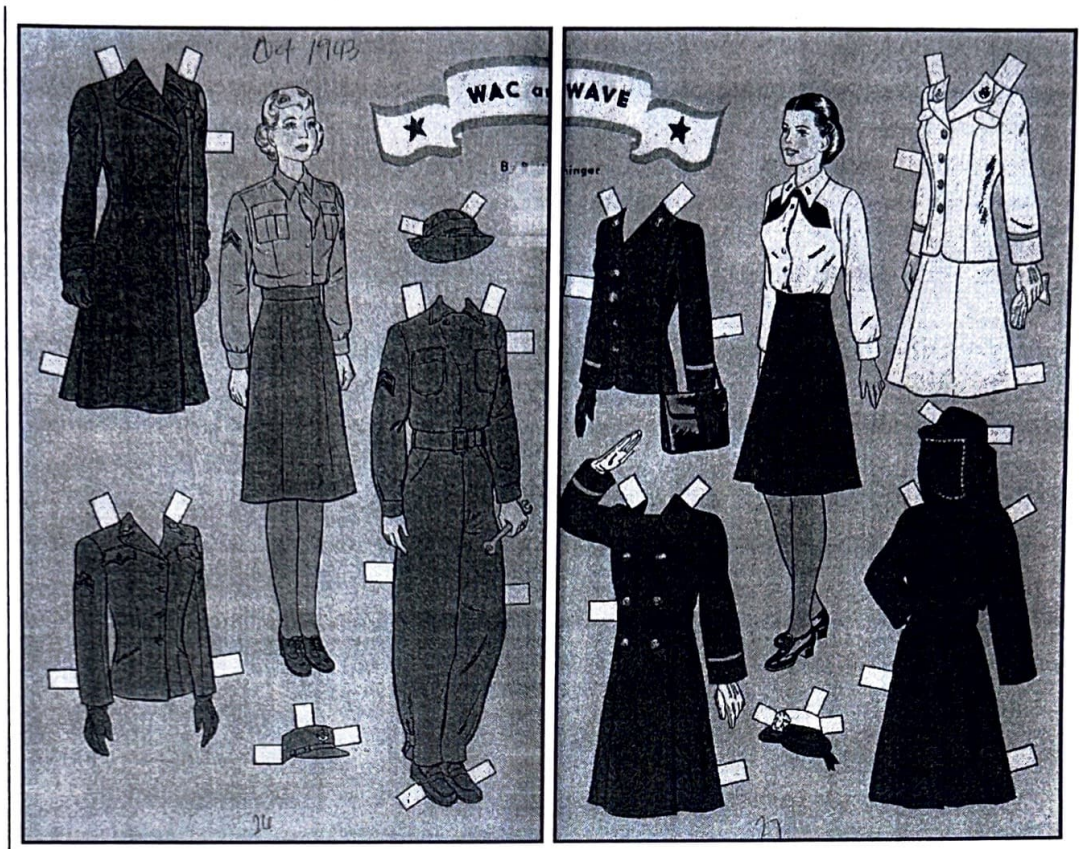
[117] Beth Henninger, "People Who Come to Cherry Road," *Jack and Jill*, August 1943, 26-27.

an effort to explain the entrance of women into the military and paid labor force, publishers tempered the transformation by placing it in context of male activities. Although one of the stars represented the service of a woman in the Army Corps, her entrance was linked to her husband's military action. It was only "after her husband left this country that Margery decided to go in the WACs."[118]



14. Betty Henninger, "WAC and WAVE," *Jack and Jill*, October 1943, 26-27.

Interest in the changing roles of women was evident in non-fiction as well. *Junior Scholastic* published a series of "Letters from Girls in the Services." Although they reflected an increased validation for women's contributions, the tone and activities discussed imparted a continued sense of inequality between genders to some degree. A

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[118] *Jack and Jill*, "Cherry Road Service Flag," October 1943, 25; Betty Henninger, "WAC and

submission by WAC Corporal Ella Kovach reflected the importance of her new responsibilities, while accepting the ways in which male time received greater respect. She noted:

> The nicest thing about being in the Army is that you are actually doing a soldier's job. When you walk in, learn, and take over a job, the man who was doing it before walks out and goes on to a more important job. You can see results, and feel that you are really doing something to help out.[119]

In the context of 1940's gender relations, the advances made by women should not be discounted; however, her observations supported the belief that women accepted their new roles as "doing something to help out." *Junior Scholastic*, in addition to *Jack and Jill*, contained male stories from boot camp to the field long before the women's letters series appeared.[120] The glorification of heroic male soldiers played an important part in mobilizing youth, while women's contributions received less attention. Nevertheless, the author of the "Cherry Road People" made an attempt to convey how those serving in the military came from different families and different family relations: brothers, husbands, and wives. This fact emphasized the common burden of the war and the unifying effect such a strain could invoke.

In the November 1943 issue, *Jack and Jill* attempted to address the controversial issue of child daycare. As women moved into military and factory labor, publishers saw the need to provide reassurance to young readers that they would be cared for even in their mothers' absence. Following the October 1943 paper dolls of women in the military, "The Cherry Road Nursery" reflected the need to deal with how children factored into

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WAVE," *Jack and Jill*, October 1943, 26-27.

[119] Ella Kovach, "Letters from Girls in the Services," *Junior Scholastic*, 1-6 May 1944, 13.

[120] "My Army Experiences," by Corporal Charles May, would be one such example of male Army reports that came before. *Jack and Jill*, November 1942, 30-31.

home-front changes. Although daycare received substantial conservative backlash, the illustrator attempted to create a positive image of childcare outside the domestic space. The depiction of a "motherly" caretaker could be read as an effort to justify the expanded reliance on outside support for raising American children. The nurturing and caring relationship between the figures was modeled after traditional characterization of mother and child. Along the same lines, many magazine authors described other community members in a similar fashion, as their increased interactions with neighborhood children received additional validation through such characterizations. *Jack and Jill*'s Miss Vincent assumed a maternal role with local children by educating them about war contributions and rewarding them for a job well done.[121]

The introductory text for the "Cherry Road Nursery" acknowledged that "one problem among Cherry Road people has been the care of little children whose mothers were working."[122] The array of jobs that the neighborhood women assumed reflected the wide variety of home-front positions that needed to be filled. One fictional mother left her daughter at the nursery while working in her husband's grocery story as it became increasingly difficult to find young men to work. Another woman's work at the Red Cross required her to use the nursery program. A third woman worked, while her husband served in the military, requiring her to leave her son with his grandmother who could not handle the lively child all day. It is important to note that in the case of the third woman, she asked for family support first, as socially it was more accepted look to relatives rather than strangers. The publishers of *Jack and Jill* attempted to present important issues such

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[121] E. Lane, "Miss Vincent's Fun Garden," *Jack and Jill*, May 1943, 31-33.

[122] *Jack and Jill*, "Cherry Road Day Nursery," November 1943, 25; Beth Henninger, "Cherry Road Children," *Jack and Jill*, November 1943, 26-27.

as the labor shortage in America while still providing the comforting imagery of a motherly caregiver and happy children.

The pressures of war forced parents to adapt their traditional impulse to shelter children. Books such as Angelo Patri's *Your Children in Wartime* reflected this transition and suggested informing children about the world changes. Because he believed that "it is not possible for us to hide the adjustments we have to make from the children," Patri

15. Beth Henninger, "Cherry Road Children," *Jack and Jill*, November 1943, 26-27.

encouraged parents to remain "calm and assured" when explaining home-front sacrifices. Patri noted that "if we [adults] can face whatever comes courageously and confidently, they [children] will be courageous and strong in their turn. Publishers attempted to adhere

to such reassuring approaches, while also providing ways to keep children occupied, which Patri advocated as a way of avoiding "war-fear."[123] The advice offered in *Your Children in Wartime* addressed the growing wartime concerns about child delinquency in the absence of mothers and responded by encouraging parents to see change as an "experience… [that will] give older children a chance to take over responsibility for worth-while work."[124] As children moved into more important family and community roles, neighborly bonds took on new meaning in children's home-front experiences. The Cherry Road series captured this change and provided young readers with reassuring images of a unified community.

Traditional gender constructs also impacted how publishers characterized children's war efforts, in addition to the presentation of adult activities. Encouraging children to "be prepared"[125] carried far different meanings for boys and girls as the activities for which they prepared stemmed from fixed gender roles. Although both *American Girl* and *Boys' Life* addressed single sex audiences, both publications reinforced male dominance, but did so in different contexts. *Boys' Life* almost completely excluded women from its pages, demonstrating that male concerns were largely independent from women. *American Girl*, in contrast, rarely included a story without male characters playing some role, which reinforced the continued centrality of men in women's lives. However, both *American Girl* and *Boys' Life* utilized the same rhetoric of "preparedness," each applying their own interpretations to the term. While *Boys' Life* encouraged male scouts to see their wartime efforts and training in relation to future life

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[123] Patri, 5.
[124] Patri, 39
[125] James E. West, "The Editor Speaks: Carry on to Victory!" *Boys' Life*, February 1943, 2.

and careers, *American Girl* presented young women with the opportunity to temporarily or partially expand their roles.

An April 1942 story in *American Girl* suggested the limitations tied to the definition of female preparedness. The author Margaret Young Lull addressed gender issues within the context of the growing field of aeronautics as the protagonist Lynn Harmon aspired to fly like her brother. Even though being a female pilot was exceptional in its own right, the character's desire was framed as simply a means of being prepared. Additionally, her flying ambitions were tempered by the continued dominance of her brother, to whom she strove to demonstrate her worth. For example, he repeatedly insisted that she not fly for fear that she, as a girl, would get hurt. Although Lynn saved the day by delivering a plane safely to her brother, she only played a supportive role in helping her brother report for military duty in San Francisco that night. She rationalized her actions by stating that "This was an emergency. This was why she'd learned [to fly a plane]. Girls have to do everything that boys do, *in times like these*." [126] However, outside of emergency circumstances, her justification for preparedness left little room for gender equality in its own right.

An advertisement for American Airlines Inc, which appeared in a December 1943 issue of *Junior Scholastic*, forwarded the concept that boys and girls had vastly different interpretations of "an aviation future"(fig. 16).[127] Although the language implied equal opportunity for the sexes, the image signaled something quite the opposite. While a military pilot explained the "Air Age Picture Charts and Book" to the young boy, the girl

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[126] Margaret Young Lull, "Lynn's Emergency," *American Girl*, April 1942, 39. Italics my own.
[127] American Airlines Inc. advertisement, *Junior Scholastic* (6-11 December 1943), 13.

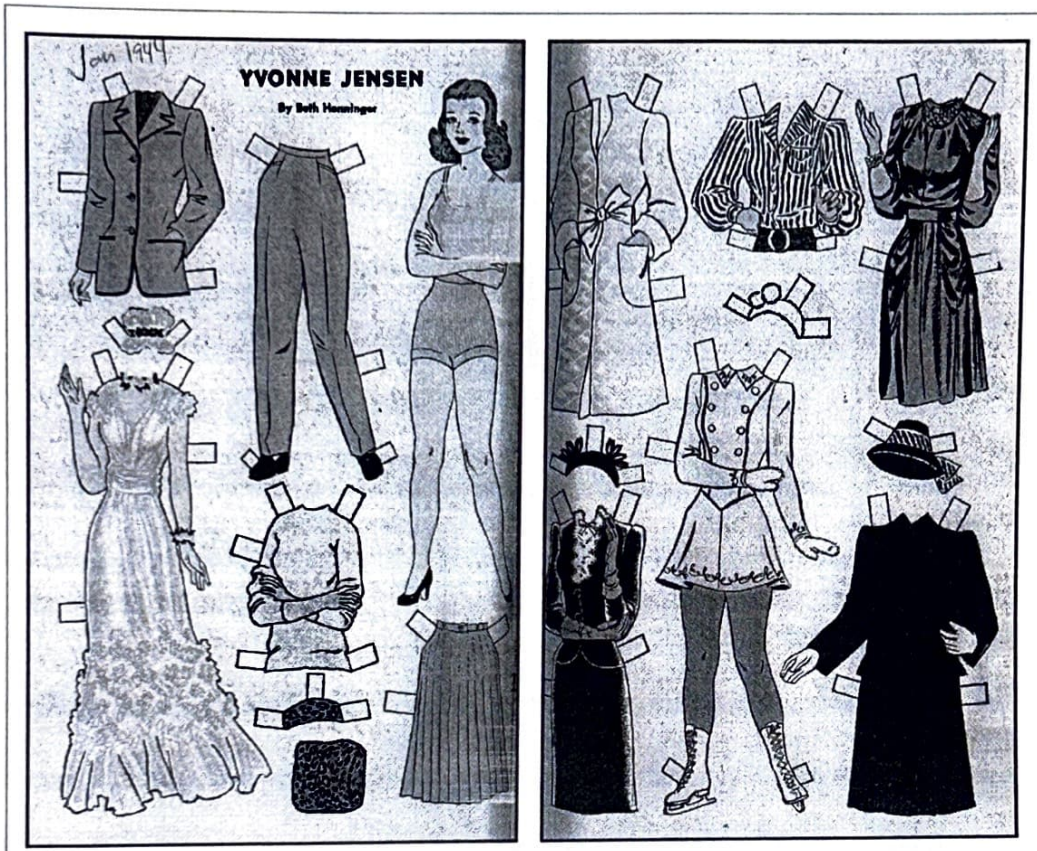
looked on from the outside, not at the chart but at the handsome soldier. The image perpetuated stereotypes of women, by presenting female ambition as being limited to the search for a male provider. Articles such as Betty Peckham's "Sky Hostesses" in *American Girl* support this characterization, stating that "the average stewardess follows her chosen career only eighteen months before she leaves to marry."[128] Although the career itself can be viewed as an extension of traditional domestic hospitality, the statement about marriage further reinforced female expectations. The American Airlines ad contrasted female dependency with the boy's attentive study of the airplane chart, which implied that by educating himself, he could follow in the footsteps of the soldier.

16. American Airlines Inc. advertisement, *Junior Scholastic* (6-11 December 1943), 13.

The introduction of Yvonne Jensen to "Cherry Road" in January 1944 provided young children, especially girls, with the opportunity to

[128] Betty Peckham, "Can You Qualify as a Sky Hostess?" *American Girl*, March 1942, 24.

imagine themselves as a young adult. The short description of Yvonne presented readers with an outline of her busy social calendar, as the "young lady" engaged in a wide range of activities from outdoor sports to membership in a girl's club.[129] Despite the variety of activities to which Yvonne had access, in a large part her choices were extensions of traditional female roles. By entertaining servicemen at the USO center, Yvonne expanded her role in the community under the auspices of conventional female hospitality. With

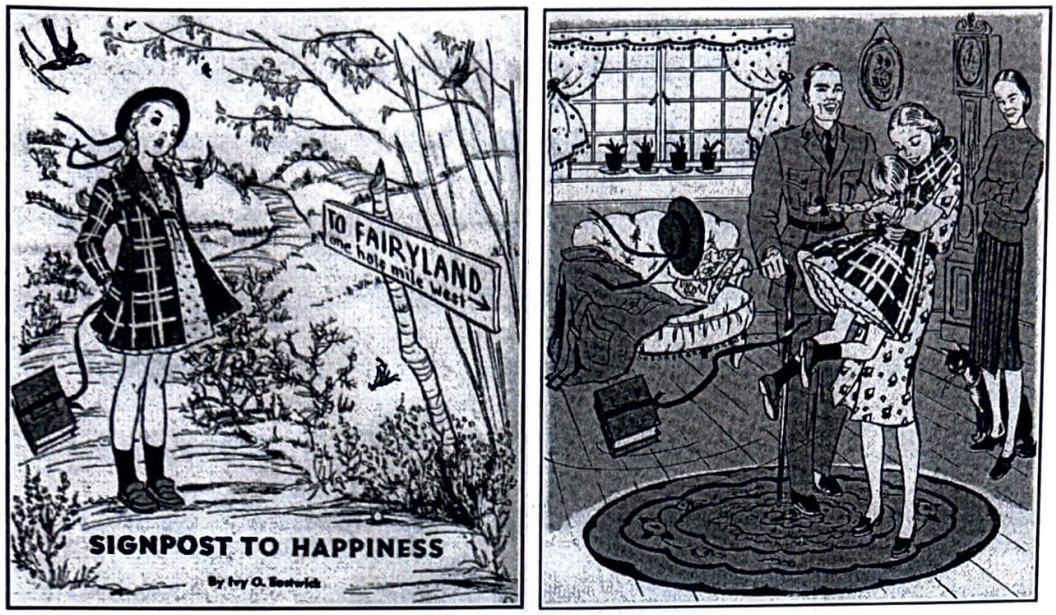


17. Beth Henninger, "Yvonne Jensen," *Jack and Jill*, January 1944, 26-27.

her income from a secretarial position at the defense plant office, Yvonne had the opportunity to participate in the growing consumer culture, visible in her contemporary wardrobe. Through greater economic freedom tied to wartime work, young women were

[129] *Jack and Jill*, "Yvonne Jensen," January 1944, 25; Beth Henninger, "Yvonne Jensen," *Jack and Jill*, January 1944, 26-27.

able to further enhance personal freedom, which fostered the distinctive youth culture that matured during the 1950's.



18. Ivy O. Eastwick, "Signpost to Happiness," *Jack and Jill*, August 1945, 40-43.

The characterization of Yvonne as the new young woman provided a direct contrast to the final installation of "The Cherry Road People" that appeared in March 1944. "A Wedding on Cherry Road" reflected the desired return to social norms, as the marriage between a Marine and a woman in the neighborhood signaled the soon-to-be expected close of the war. Children's magazines filled their pages with stories of families being reunited by 1944. In "Signpost to Happiness," a young girl finds that "Fairyland" was actually her own home where she found her family together again (fig. 18).[130] The wedding could be viewed as a fitting conclusion to the war as soldiers reenter home-front communities. Throughout children's magazines, female characters willingly set aside their wartime roles and welcomed the return of soldiers from abroad. Holding to the

promise that sacrifices would end at the close of the war, popular media glamorized traditional social relations, and in doing so, it inhibited permanent change in gender and middle-class values.

Although the middle-class reality was unable to fulfill these idealized roles completely, *Jack and Jill* magazine hoped to convey an image seen as truly American. By tempering change with traditionalized depictions, magazines provided children with reassuring images that would help them cope with the dramatic transformations of World War II. Without knowing how children received these paper dolls, it is difficult to speculate on their impact. However, the Cherry Road series allowed the child audience to play a role in defining community by deciding which of the ascribed stations the figures will hold, if any at all. The community structure took on a more central position in society as sacrifice implied the willingness to adapt and make do. By adjusting expectations and adapting characterizations, publishers and authors explored how tradition could be used to assuage children's wartime fear. Traditional roles and values managed to maintain an important place in community life, in spite of the transformative power of World War II on the American home-front.

Children's magazines provided young readers with messages of empowerment and reassurance in an effort to acclimate children to the dramatic wartime transformations that were occurring. Drawing parallels between the home front and the battlefront, magazines encouraged young readers to assume new roles and responsibilities by depicting children's contributions and soldiers' sacrifices as equally important to winning

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[130] Ivy O. Eastwick, "Signpost to Happiness," *Jack and Jill*, August 1945, 40-43.

the war. By emphasizing personal responsibility to the troops, publishers motivated young readers to continue home-front activities despite wartime hardships. Additionally, stories and articles utilized language that was patriotic and motivational to inspire young citizens to explore new avenues for community participation and action. School and the process of learning were presented as a child's foremost patriotic duty. Children's magazines portrayed education in a manner that served as a means to mobilize young people in the defense of American freedoms. Scrap drives and Victory Gardens also fostered unity on the American home-front, as magazines emphasized the growing importance of community in response to the added stress on the nuclear family as fathers fought abroad and mothers moved into the paid labor force.

Authors such as Gay Head depicted children negotiating a more central role for themselves in family budgets, which reflected the ongoing economic changes that included the expanding role of child consumers. The emphasis on wartime saving primarily through the purchase of defense stamps served a dual function: the stamps helped fund the war and guard against inflation while at the same creating a unified nation with a sense of shared sacrifice. The promise of postwar consumption helped justify patriotic sacrifices for the duration of the war.

While publishers hoped to empower children socially and economically with a greater sense of control, magazines also attempted to convey messages of stability which would comfort their readers. Many authors applied a traditional gloss to important aspects of home-front change, reassuring children that the social systems on which they relied would not be dramatically overhauled. The "Cherry Road Nursery" exemplified the approach taken throughout children's magazines. Responding to the growth of women's

paid labor and specifically the entrance of women into the military, Beth Henninger emphasized the continuation of "motherly" care in her illustration of a daycare worker with the children. Through such imagery, magazines reassured children that despite wartime changes, broadened community structures would provide acceptable substitutions of traditional family support. In a time of crisis, the magazine representations conveyed a sense of stability and continuity that attempted to reconcile the realities of war with children's feelings and daily activities on the home front.

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