“A Superb Example of the Common Man”: J.C. Leyendecker and the Staging of Male Consumer Desire in American Commercial Illustration, 1907–1931

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In 1907, men’s clothiers Cluett, Peabody, and Co. of Troy, New York, contracted the commercial advertising firm Calkins & Holden to produce a series of advertisements for their new Arrow-branded line of semisoft collars. Collars were a massive commercial market in the early twentieth century, and so the commercial illustrations would have to pique the interest of middle-class white men for whom the collar was a means of signifying class status and character.[1] For the advertising campaign, Calkins & Holden commissioned illustrator Joseph Christian Leyendecker to create advertisements featuring young, white, professional men wearing the new collar. In Leyendecker’s ads, men surveyed one another in close-knit looking circuits, offering a visual economy that captured the value of sartorial choice in an industrial society where outward presentation had become a critical signifier of one’s status. Painting ideal American men wearing the ideal American collar, the 1907 campaign launched Leyendecker’s career, creating some of the most famous commercial advertisements of the early twentieth century. The ads were so well known that even Teddy Roosevelt considered Leyendecker’s models to be a “superb example of the common man.”[2] These Arrow Collar men, a name by which the models in all of Leyendecker’s ads, for collars or otherwise, became popularly known, “wore . . . [their] clothes with an aplomb that was new to United States’ advertising copy,” remarked one critic in 1955. The Arrow Collar aesthetic “typified the ideal of 1907 American manhood. The broad brow, the frank eye, the strong nostrils, the bow lips filled out almost to a pout. . . . these features . . . [were] instantly recognized as the property of the American dream man.”[3] The suc-

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cess of the campaign tied this muscular vision of white masculinity to Leyendecker's aesthetic approach.[4] Like Charles Dana Gibson's iconic figure of early twentieth-century advertising, the Gibson Girl, Arrow Collar men signaled the emergence of a new commercial order built around middle-class white Americans and their commercial wants and desires.

Historians of gender and sexuality have charted the importance of standardization, rationality, and efficiency to the construction of white masculinity during the early twentieth century. Under the cultural logic of white supremacy, white masculinity's racial and gender domination were tied to its perceived exacting efficiency and self-control.[5] Historians of advertising, however, have tracked an alternate current during this same historical moment: they argue that the growing field of applied psychology framed the human mind as inherently irrational. Ordinary people, especially in the context of the consumer market, were not ruled by reason. Rather, they were driven by emotion and desire, susceptible to persuasion and easily manipulated.[6] Together with the history of gay identity formation, these literatures frame the historical questions that this article addresses, one that is critical to understanding how masculinity and whiteness intersected with a burgeoning commercial culture built upon managing consumer desire: how, given the presumed dispassionate rationality of white masculinity, did commercial illustrators like J.C. Leyendecker bring the white male body into commercial display? And in doing so, how did these illustrations foster new kinds of gender expressions for men who experienced nonnormative sexual and erotic desires?

To resolve the tension between the presumed rationality of white masculinity and the new "emotional sell" of advertising, this article argues that Leyendecker's illustrations opened up commercial possibilities among sexually normative and nonnormative white middle-class men as irrational consumers driven by desire. To do so, his work drew upon the signifiers of middle-class respectability alongside the built muscular form, itself adopted from working classes as well as communities of color. Furthermore, Leyendecker mapped Western conventions of the female nude onto these male forms and deployed close, tightly detailed looking circuits between the male models featured in the illustrations.[7]

More than simply offering the built muscular form to middle-class men, however, his illustrations also brought into circulation a new queer gender expression, what I identify as a queer white middle-class muscular masculinity. Adopting the muscular form of the working-class body and combining it with citations and conventions of the female nude and the cultural signifiers of middle-class masculinity, Leyendecker's Arrow Collar men were neither working-class "trade" nor sexual invert. Rather, they were deeply embedded in the power relations of white supremacy and gender domination that defined early twentieth-century middle-class white manhood. Leyendecker's "queering" of this white male form rendered it consumable for both sexually normative and nonnormative middle-class white men.

Leyendecker, of course, drew both men and women, alongside children and animals. My focus here is on his illustrations of muscular young men: athletes, his ever-popular (and perhaps best-known) work for men's fashion brands such as Arrow Collar, as well as his work for House of Kuppenheimer and Interwoven socks and later, during the First World War, of sailors and soldiers. Whether it was tight-knit looking circuits or the use of conventions of the female nude on what might be read as an otherwise normative body, these visual formulations generated commercial appeal among normative men while the simultaneously offering a novel vision of middle-class white queer masculinity for those who might experience same-sex desire.[8]

To illustrate these movements, this article begins with a discussion of early commercial illustration and Leyendecker's career, charting changes in contemporary theories of consumer desire and connecting these shifts to the popularity of pen and ink illustration in commercial advertising during the early twentieth century. It then moves to examine contestations over the gendered reputation of commercial illustration, which art critics derided because they saw the role of commerce diluting the work of making art. Between 1916 and 1918, the interests of commercial illustrators like Leyendecker and the propaganda arm of the U.S. government aligned. As members of the Pictorial Division of the Committee on Public Information, illustrators were tasked with bolstering home front morale through the same strategies that had introduced feeling and passion into commercial advertising and design, creating posters to promote government bond drives, military enlistment, supply rationing, and the war effort more generally. Historians have argued that the success of the Pictorial Division reframed the advertising professions as a social good that emphasized American progress, might, and possibility. In addition to this, I document how the elevation of commercial illustration during the First World War signaled the production of a new queer masculinity in American visual advertising and selling, one which presented Leyendecker's Arrow Collar men as paradoxically normative and queer champions of the American war effort, U.S. markets, and empire.

Historians tend to reduce Leyendecker's queerness to a matter of identity, weaving Leyendecker into gay history despite a lack of evidence.[9] Leyendecker had his Canadian collaborator, rumored partner, and the original model for the Arrow Collar Man, Charles Beach, destroy his written letters, documents, and memoirs following his death in 1951, just as the House Un-American Activities Committee ramped up its pressure on gay men and women.[10] This leaves historians with a rich, widely circulating visual archive along with a smaller number of written, textual sources. Following historian Shane Vogel's cue with regard to the poet Langston Hughes and his rejection of the "calcification" of racial and sexual identities that came with the professionalization of the Harlem Renaissance, this essay argues that what is critical is not that Leyendecker himself was necessarily a gay man but that his work shaped a queer public culture's operation, in this case around changing notions of masculinity and desire.[11] To contextualize this approach, I look to the historian Elspeth Brown's recent work

on photographer George Platt Lynes and queer desire during the mid-twentieth century. Brown argues that studies of queer desire generally during this period must capture the term "queer" in its historical double deployment: as both a theoretical orientation as well as an emergent subject formation of the 1920s and 1930s.[12] In the first instance, I define queer as an oblong orientation to the ordinary, wherein the simultaneous envisioning of contradictory affects—such as an exposed breast on a male model—produces a productive tension that can draw a viewer in.[13] In the second instance, I situate Leyendecker's work in the queer transatlantic 1910s and 1920s, detailed by Brown, George Chauncey, and others where "queer" took on a particular definition for middle- and upper-class white men working in various fields of cultural production.[14]

Finally, in writing the history of advertising's circulation of queer aesthetics, queerness need not be relegated to what cultural studies scholars have called "gay window dressing," relying on subtle cues and references to intimate same-sex desire and sociality.[15] Nor must it be relegated to nonnormative subjects entirely. These cues matter, of course, but Leyendecker's work reveals more than this: his Arrow Collar men document the critical place of queer masculinity in the market for both sales and queer desire across a range of sexually normative and nonnormative viewers.

Professional Illustration and Commercial Desire

By the turn of the century, the irrationality of the consumer had become a standard feature of marketing and advertising research. As the applied psychologist Walter Dill Scott argued in his studies of consumption and desire, "We have been taught by tradition that man is inherently logical, that he weighs evidence . . . and then reaches the conclusion on which he bases his action. The more modern conception of man is that he is a creature who rarely reasons at all."[16] For early twentieth-century psychologists, feeling was defined in opposition to rational, manly control. Emotion risked overwhelming one's critical faculties. Scott's research into the role of consumption and production under industrial capitalism suggested that interrogating core motivations and appealing to a subject's desires provided a better means of promoting consumption versus the nineteenth-century advertising tradition of rational appeal.[17] This work transformed the field of advertising, changing how advertisers designed their campaigns. Advertising executives like Ernest Elmo Calkins of Calkins & Holden, the company that managed the Arrow Collar brand for Cluett, Peabody & Co., took up Scott's findings, emphasizing the role that feeling and visuality would play in generating consumer interest: "[f]orm, visualization, the attractiveness of colour and design. . ." all drew deeper affective valences from the viewer than could cold tracts documenting the merits of any particular good.[18]

To create emotional advertisements that could capitalize on these unconscious desires, advertisers turned to illustration rather than the medium of photography. In the first decades of the twentieth century, advertisers like Calkins

found the cold efficiency of the photograph lacked the capacity to speak to the emotional register that was increasingly considered essential to a product's success. In their circulation and publication across newspapers, on the fronts of magazines and periodicals, on small cards, in subway and streetcar advertisements, and on the ever-multiplying billboards that lined city streets, commercial illustration did more than pique specific consumers' responses: these advertising images weaved the good on display into complex webs of sentiment for which a brand icon like the Arrow Collar Man could serve as a central conduit. Unlike the rational eye of the camera, illustration generated what Scott and Calkins alike argued was a powerful, emotionally driven impulse to buy.[19]

While illustration was newly understood to sway the irrational consumer, the profession of illustration was undergoing critical transformations in the first decades of the twentieth century. For pen and ink illustrators, advertising was a potentially lucrative field that offered a reliable income, even as art critics and patrons called into question the respectability of commercial imagery. As the explosion in newspapers and illustrated mass-market magazines in the 1880s and 1890s had expanded the commercial work available to artists, increasingly illustrators were drawn into the questionable enterprise of American advertising. Partly, advertisers sought the respectability of art school-trained illustrators in order to bolster their own reputations. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, advertising itself held a suspect reputation. Artful illustration was one means of changing this. Indeed, if an illustrator was professionally trained and comfortable with commercial work undermining their legitimacy in the eyes of art critics, they could capitalize on their training to produce just the aesthetics advertisers sought to elevate their profession.

Leyendecker began his career in 1899, when his first *Saturday Evening Post* cover marked the beginning of a long-term relationship with the magazine. Leyendecker had trained at the Art Institute of Chicago and completed a year-and-a-half's worth of finishing classes in Paris at the Académie Julian. There, he and his brother Francis Christian worked under Jules Joseph Lefebvre, Benjamin Constant, and Jean-Paul Laurens at the Académie Colarossi.[20] By 1907 Leyendecker had moved to New York City, where many of the new American mass circulation magazines made their home. Between 1900 and the early 1930s, he made a name for himself with magazine covers that doubled as posters as well as with his work for several men's fashion houses, including House of Kuppenheimer, Interwoven Socks, and of course, Cluett, Peabody & Co.'s Arrow Collar brand. Illustrators of Leyendecker's stature made careers out of producing advertisements for campaigns that tied their specific aesthetic to a product or brand.

In the booming visual economy of nationally circulating brands, if a particular brand grew in commercial power and circulation, so too would the reputation and, indeed, commercial rate of illustrators whose art defined and created it. Leyendecker's success afforded him the ability to handpick his projects. Recounting his approach in a 1950 letter to the young commercial illustrator

Ial Radom, who had inquired regarding his work, Leyendecker explained the strategies he had taken for illustrating magazine covers in particular. Typically, magazine clients in commercial illustration demanded a fast turnaround for covers with short lead time. After receiving a commission, art school–trained illustrators like Leyendecker typically began with pencil sketches from subject studies, moving to groups of color studies on canvas from which he could paint. Where Leyendecker typically painted from models and rejected painting from photographs, by the 1920s and 1930s illustrators like Norman Rockwell regularly worked from photographs to build their covers, reducing labor costs and significantly speeding up the illustration work.[21] By 1908—one year into the launch of his work for Arrow Collar—Leyendecker was earning the average yearly income of an ordinary American worker for each of his works: $350.00 (roughly USD $9,000.00 in 2019 dollars) for an individual *Collier's* commission alone.[22]

Illustrators may have produced deeply affective imagery, but the profession itself had trouble building its respectability, facing the harsh commentary of art critics who thought commercial illustration's market orientation rendered it too crass and unappealing, and as Bogart has argued, a form of "women's work."[23] In response, organizations such as the Society of Illustrators, founded in 1901, sought to reframe illustration as a masculine profession and raise their profile. The Society excluded women from full voting membership within the organization until the 1920s and further excluded them by building a network of illustrators through yearly art showings, competitions for best commercial illustration, stag parties, and dinners. Like most male professional clubs of the period, the Society held raucous social gatherings. These yearly events cast a wide social net, including the Leyendecker brothers, Charles Dana Gibson, Lejaren à Hiller, and other artists of the moment.[24] Such social gatherings were expressly designed to tighten the relationships between these artists, editorial directors, advertising directors, and others.

In the early twentieth century, absent the hetero/homosexual binary, queer sensibilities surfaced across social activities and popular culture, such as in nights out and balls, in magazine covers and in advertisements, in theatrical performances, and more.[25] As historian Chad Heap argues regarding the publicly accessible ball cultures during this period, middle-class leisure practices functioned as a significant site for the formation (and exploration) of twentieth-century gender/sex binaries, shaping the broader social order of American life often to the cultural and historical exclusion of those rendered nonnormative by these experiences.[26] For example, a series of twenty-six photos from the 1914 Illustrators' Ball, an event hosted by the Society of Illustrators to tighten ties between various stakeholders in the commercial illustration and advertising industry, taken by reporter and photographer George Grantham Bains, depicts illustrators and other attendees dressed in drag and blackface, posing for photos and dancing the night away.[27] That well-known illustrators cross-dressed or corked up (and with a noted reporter and photographer present, no less) sug-

gests the manipulations of gender and racial lines were not only permissible but also a critical component of their professional community. Indeed, these raucous commercial fantasies, balls, nights spent slumming, or otherwise, were part of a larger commercial imagining of new forms of racial fantasy and masculine and feminine performance coming to the fore through the expansion in commercial advertising and commercial culture during this period.

To some extent each of these groupings sought to establish the respectability of their credentials as competent professionals during the first decades of the twentieth century. Illustration was a strategy to do just so. Advertising men like Calkins argued that good illustration would not only attract the eyes of a glowing public (and potential new consumers) but perhaps also elevate or even indicate the refined and decent taste of the illustrator, the magazine, and the product itself. Throughout the period, advertising agencies had opened art departments in hopes of cultivating this artful middlebrow aesthetic.

Selling a Middle-Class Queer Masculinity

By the first decades of the twentieth century, the economic uncertainties of the Gilded Age had reconfigured the aspirations of middle-class white men away from entrepreneurship as a means of making their own fortunes and carving out a personal legacy. Where early nineteenth-century masculinity had been predicated on participation in a competitive market of small regional business, new middle-class "white-collar" professional men would have to look elsewhere for sources of manly recognition as the managers of factories or in new financial organizations.[28] The broader set of leisure and commercial forms middle-class American men relied on to emphasize their manliness, such as weight lifting and prize fighting, were appropriated from the social worlds of working people and people of color. Much like slumming, such practices simultaneously offered the thrill of, and distancing oneself from, racial and class difference. While common across much of his work, a painting titled "Payday" from the 1908 *Collier* magazine folio, *Thirty Favorite Paintings by Leading American Artists*, captures Leyendecker's particular interpretation of the working-class form [Figure 1]. The image features four men, two in line to receive a pay packet from a bespectacled gentleman in the background, while the fourth, in a red shirt and bowler hat, faces the viewer while he looks down, counting his pay. He occupies much of the image: his broad shoulders, exaggerated forearms and veined hands are on display, emphasizing his status as a laborer. His head and shoulder box in the white-collared man in the background disbursing the workers' pay, whose glasses, slightly hunched neck, bow tie, quizzical look, and pencil carefully perched behind his ear place him firmly in the world of management. Such images document a particular vision of working-class masculinity, which was understood as tethered to the body, while white-collar work increasingly meant being alienated from the productive nature of bodywork. In this illustration, the white-collar worker handles only cash.[29]

Figure 1: *Collier's* cover illustration, April 1, 1905.

A similar process of racial cleansing occurred in this discursive shift, wherein practices meant to affirm masculinity were changed in ways that insulated whiteness from the taint of ethnic or racial difference that often defined working life. While whiteness had been historically entwined with notions of male power, new connections to "savagery" and "primitivism" became resources for middle-class men. In white bodies, primitive energies could be channeled to establish and affirm civilized pursuits.[30] Through this process, sports like boxing were wound into narratives of refinement. Indeed, emerging mass leisure cultures worked to appropriate the vigor of the working-class, racialized built body, rendering it acceptable to present as middle class. The market became a site for the fulfillment of manly bodily self-production through the pursuit of athletics such as body building, baseball, and rowing, as well as through fashions that improved on one's form.

It is the presence of this built body *beneath* the clothes on display that allows Leyendecker to communicate the promise of manly transformation built into the goods on display. This invites the viewer to not only consume the male body on display—a potentially tantalizing appeal in and of itself—but also to imagine how their own body might look. A 1916 cover of *Collier's Magazine* offers an example of this dual deployment [Figure 2]. Holding an oar in one hand and with his other hand firm against his hip, a young blond rower stands facing forward, legs shoulder-width apart and shoulders back. The model's head is tilted down, still returning the viewer's gaze, while the bulk of the image is

Figure 2: *Collier's* cover illustration, June 24, 1916.

taken up by his red jersey, a color connected to sexual inversion during the progressive period.[31] His uniform contrasts against a pair of well-developed muscular legs and strong arms, and in what is perhaps the most surprising aspect of this magazine cover, his askew shirt reveals his left nipple. In both pose and fashion, the artist signals the to-be-looked-at-ness of the male model through one classic convention of the female nude—the exposed breast—while retaining signs of a normative masculinity through the model's built form. Together, the form and exposure mark the model as both masculine and vulnerable, playing on the slippery line between identification and desire to pique a consumer's interest. In such images, Leyendecker defied the conventions of masculine propriety: self-controlled and rational movement are present, emphasizing the kind of embodiment that popular, grand figures of white, civilizational achievement such as that which Eugene Sandow represented, but so too is the blush of the model's cheeks and his partially revealed nipple. We see the production of the male-model-as-object to be consumed: the model on display in Leyendecker's illustration is the rendered object of desire for both queer and nonqueer consuming subjects who, in looking at the image, witness a potential vision of themselves to be achieved through consumption.[32] These illustrations captured a new mode of address to male consumers in the early twentieth century, balancing both masculine propriety and an affective appeal that sought to pique irrational consumer desire: the white male body could be saturated in feeling and put on display. The consumption of it promised to connect the dream world offered and the consumer's own sense of possibility.[33]

Such images underscored shifts in the formation of manhood, framed by the construction of a middle-class gender ideology that legitimated masculine ideals rooted in a kind of self-transformation through consumption. The built body of the day laborer and the athlete allowed for the visual articulation of a commercial discourse that wound itself around the manly, the productive, the muscular, and the strenuous, rendering consumption and commercial appeal a safe and appealing space by tethering them directly to these frameworks through the robust male form. Even while these images spoke to manliness, however, the bodies remained affective. Using conventions like the revealed breast or rose-colored cheeks, they cited the consumable female nude, and in the process, spoke to irrational, even deviant modes of erotic desire in commercial display. The male form on display was just as subject to the emotional or affective as was his female counterpart.[34] As part of a brand as well as an aesthetic distinct onto itself, Leyendecker's work was especially well suited to the notion that middle-class manliness was achievable, that one could go through what John Kasson has called a "metamorphosis" to properly embody white masculinity.[35] This metamorphosis, however, was not simply bodywork: it was also a commercial imperative, an aspirational, white masculine ideology visualized in the explosive new commercial marketing strategies of emotional appeals in advertising. It was a transformation that captured simultaneously the rational discourse of manliness and the eugenicist's language of civilizational

achievement, both bundled into the nonrational, queer desires that illustration could stroke among sexually normative and nonnormative men alike.[36]

Illustration and the Home Front

The First World War provided an avenue for illustrators to advance their professional status in the eyes of a consuming public and a harsh art world, creating opportunities for illustrators to develop their reputation in the name of the war effort and push advertisers further in seeing commercial art as a critical tool of persuasion. As the United States entered the war, the federal government turned to advertising and commercial illustration to shape public opinion on the home front. The Committee on Public Information was charged "with encouraging and then consolidating the revolution of opinion which changed the United States from an anti-militaristic democracy to an organized war machine"—a transformation wholly fueled by consumer culture and corporate capitalism, as David M. Kennedy has argued.[37] Visual culture itself was an essential tool for the committee. Walter Lippmann, an advisor to President Wilson during the war, described public opinion as pictures in the mind that could be shaped to teach a citizen to "see with his mind vast portions of the world that he could never see, touch, smell, hear, or remember."[38] To Lippmann and others working on wartime propaganda, Calkins's methods for stoking consumer desire were the very engine that could turn an uneasy populace toward passionate support for war.

The Committee on Public Information worked directly with the Society of Illustrators to solicit assistance from artists in the war effort. In April 1917, George Creel, who headed the committee, asked Charles Dana Gibson, then president of the Society of Illustrators, for his assistance in founding the Pictorial Division of the committee. The division worked with artists to create over 700 posters, 310 advertising illustrations, and 287 cartoons.[39] Evolving out of the Society of Illustrator's gendered logic, organizing this Pictorial Division was a stag affair: Gibson traveled around the country, holding weekly dinners with artists, much like the raucous ones the Society of Illustrators had previously held.[40] These posters would become the stuff of popular culture, including Howard Chandler Cristy's "Gee I Wish I Were a Man" and James Montgomery Flagg's "Don't Read American History, Make it!" Many of these were widely reproduced and even cited in Wallace Irwin's poem "Thoughts Inspired by a Wartime Billboard."[41]

Gibson was direct in his idea of what wartime posters should look like. Echoing Calkins's comments from a decade earlier, he argued that posters had to reflect ideas, not material things in the world: "We have been looking at this matter heretofore too much from the material side. We must see the more spiritual side of the conflict. We must picture the great aims of this country in fighting this war."[42] Gibson's investment in the "spiritual" side of conflict extended beyond crass rationalist and materialist representations of war. Parallel

to the arguments made by Walter Dill Scott, he argued that illustrators ought to capture those same ephemeral affects and feelings that they deployed in advertisements: the goal, then, was to rouse irrational feeling, not to depict the aggressively rational management of Total War. Gibson argued that the Division for Pictorial Publicity double down on its advertising roots to circulate their propaganda: wartime displays could follow the marketing and merchandising strategies of popular goods. Propaganda posters could go up in windows on Fifth Avenue; busy urban thoroughfares could be decorated with posters and other such installations.[43] This generation of illustrators' training in advertising positioned them perfectly to depict and capture the more inchoate and spiritual rationales for why Americans should go to war. While it can be difficult to parse out which posters were the work of the Committee on Public Information and which came from other arms of the government or the private sector, these illustrations shared in the strategies that reframed advertising as an inherently passionate address.

Committee on Public Information propaganda posters followed many of the same cues commercial illustrations had deployed. In particular, those focused on the sailor provide one avenue toward understanding queer masculinity as it emerged in the wartime context. Wartime posters by Leyendecker and other illustrators reflected the "masculine attitudes and outlooks of the time" and the "prevalent imagery of seduction and phallic dominance."[44] The queerness of such images carried valences beyond the sailor's working-class persona and operation as an erotic icon. The sailor was both the most common figure of the First World War to urban Americans and a classic figure of overdetermined sexual possibility, serving as a critical cipher for public discussions of male sex, sexuality, and sexual indeterminacy.[45] Leyendecker's illustrations featuring sailors appeared both through the Pictorial Division as well as in wartime commercial illustration. These images often featured sailors at sea or in combat. However, the uniforms on display were not those that U.S. Navy men wore while at battle. Rather, the white uniforms most commonly affiliated with the U.S. Navy sailor would be most familiar to those who had intersected with sailor culture in the ports of cities like New York and, in turn, offered a potential erotic charge for those familiar with queer subcultures of such scenes.[46] Leyendecker, who preferred to work from models over photographs, would have encountered these uniforms throughout his daily life during the war. In a series of posters for the U.S. Navy, Leyendecker marked the built muscular form alongside the intertwined imperial and commercial prospects of the First World War and American empire. In this propaganda poster, two sailors are atop a boat [Figure 3]. While one sailor stands, waving to someone outside the frame of the illustration, another, facing away from the viewer, crouches next to a basket of tropical fruit, with a monkey perched on his shoulder. In certain iterations, the copy around the illustration calls to the reader: "The U.S. Navy: and what it offers."[47] While Leyendecker likely did not have had control over the copy appearing beneath the illustration, the illustration nonetheless binds a

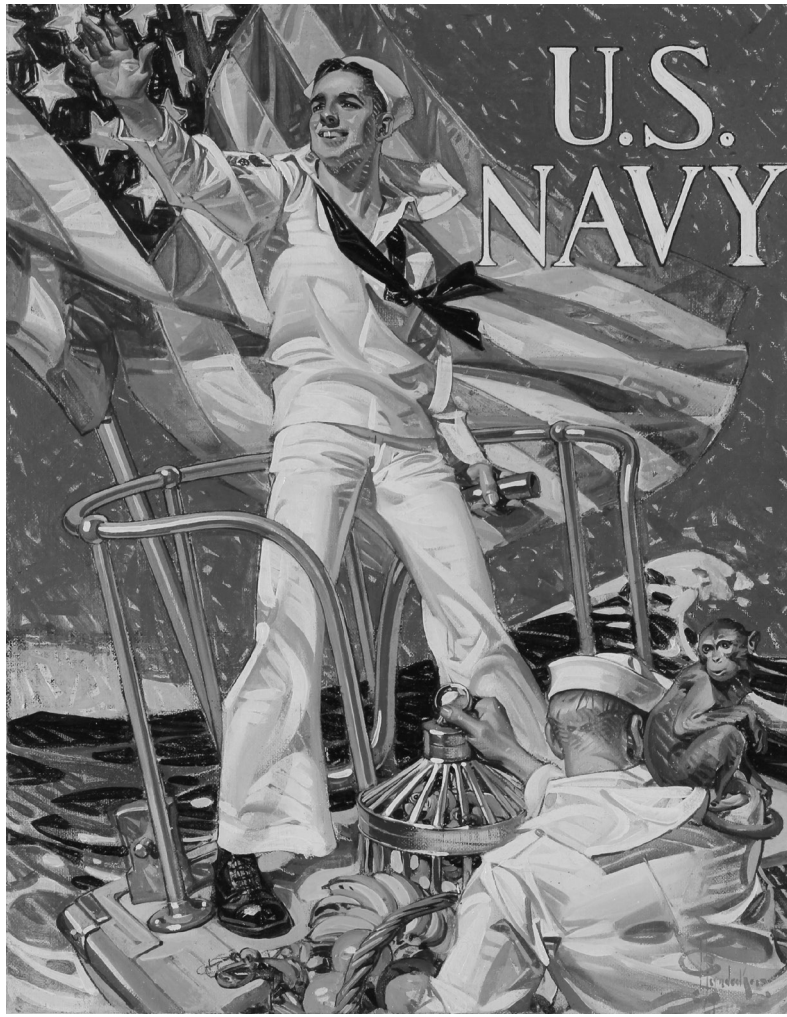

Figure 3: U.S. Navy recruitment advertisement, 1918.

queer reading of "what it offers" to both the sailor's bodies and an imperial vision of American military adventure and prowess rooted in white supremacy. In this case, tropical fruit and exotic animals signify that vision. These commodities were critical components of a U.S. imperial cosmopolitanism that framed the consumer mass market as essential to the rise of the nation's global power.[48] The illustration draws a connection between the habits of consumption and the project of war: expanding military power not only extended American influence but also American bounty as well.[49] In addition to this, the inarticulate longing that defined all commercial advertising was married to the viewer's investment in an outward-looking, imperial vision of the United States.

Not only was this imperial project deeply connected to ideas about consumption, but its overtures also captured the same queer masculine erotics of the sailor, one reflective of the kinds of queer strategies of commercial display Leyendecker deployed in his nonmilitary advertisements, such as in Figure 2. A midwar, 1917 cover for *Collier's* depicts two young sailors and a captain, with the center model shirtless, preparing to arm a large missile [Figure 4]. The main sailor faces away from the viewer, with his back in full view. The use of deep reds and oranges suggests that the sailor is sweating at a moment of heated emotional and physical crisis. With the model turned away, the viewer is left to follow the lines of the missile alongside the lines of his muscular back and vascular arms. These travel down, toward a full buttocks, detailed through his white pants. As in Leyen-

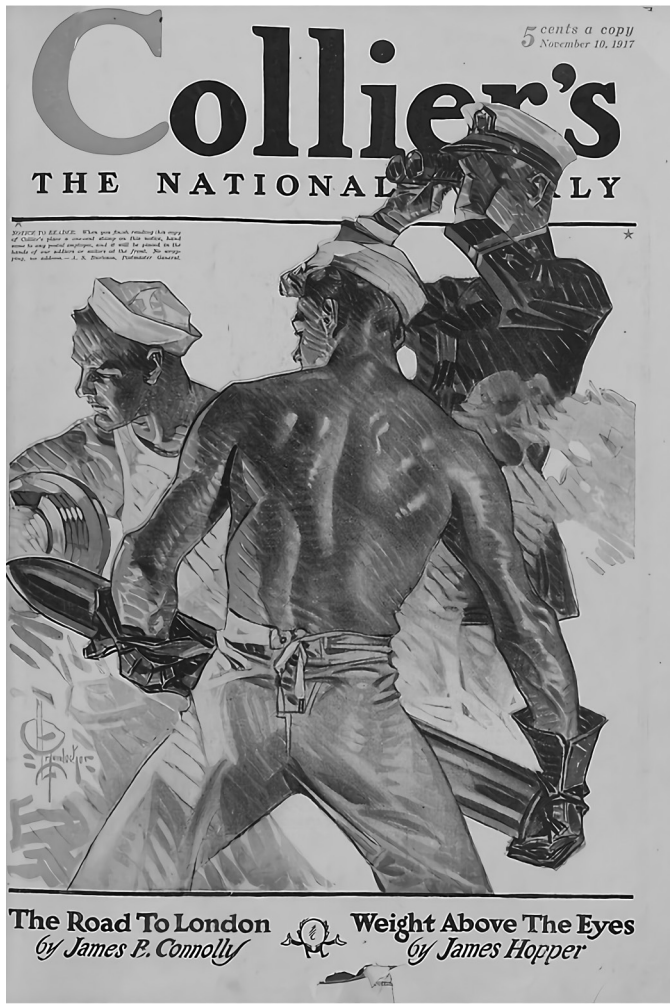

Figure 4: *Collier's* cover illustration, November 10, 1917.

decker's fashion illustrations, this illustration is as much about the uniform as it is about the body beneath it. Illustrations such as this marked and accommodated a breadth of readings. For one, they constructed the passions of nationalist desire by associating it with white masculine virility, following the same tropes Leyendecker deployed in commercial advertising and repurposing them for the context of celebrating the American war effort on the front of a nationally circulating periodical. Furthermore, the homoerotic and homosocial qualities make sense in the context of wartime—emphasizing fellow-feeling and unity of cause—alongside the opportunity to take in the built male form on display. The adoption of this form and its erotics to various other commercial advertising avenues lent this aesthetic to middle-class advertising strategies. For example, in a 1917 advertisement for the readymade fashion company, the House of Kuppenheimer, Leyendecker poses Charles Beach in the formal Navy uniform as well [Figure 5]. While not a poster out of the Committee on Public Information, the Kuppenheimer ad, like many advertisements published during the First World War, sought to bind their brand to the war effort through visual advertising. In doing so, they melded middle-class respectability and consumption of a new masculinity to the eroticized built form of the sailor.

As George Creel, head of the Committee on Public Information noted in *How We Advertised America*, his 1920 postmortem of the Committee's work, such design strategies and illustrations, not only advanced Liberty Bond sales and other concerns regarding home front morale but also made commercial advertising and illustrations critical signifiers of American progress.[50] The circulation of these campaign posters brought forward the communion of American-produced goods and articulations of empire central to the United States' domination over the long twentieth century.[51] At the heart of these illustrations, and for Leyendecker in particular, was a white queer masculinity that structured ideas about nationhood (and the military) around specific cultural claims: not only were these illustrated model men a nationalist representation of the United States and white masculinity, they were also structured in display by the notion that desire could rouse patriotism through the very same processes used to generate consumer desire. Furthermore, the queer icon here was not the fairy or even trade, but rather a virile muscular middle-class masculinity, newly situated by art critics and consumers alike as the American dream man.

Commercial Illustration After the War

The success of the Committee on Public Information lent respectability to both advertisers and illustration, lifting a decades-long suspicion around the intersection of art and commerce. If advertisers and illustrators could sell Liberty Bonds, the argument went, then advertising any sort of product could be framed as an economic, social, and cultural good pitched in the name of American progress. Thanks to the close relationship between the illustrators of the Division of Pictorial Publicity and the Division of Advertising, the critical role

Figure 5: House of Kuppenheimer spring and summer styles, 1917.

of commercial illustration in persuading the public was cemented. By the mid-1920s, illustration had become fully enmeshed as a commercial art.

Just as the Committee on Public Information worked to celebrate commercial illustration and the advertising profession in the American public mind, Leyendecker's wartime illustrations accomplished the work of tying the working-class muscular form to middle-class aesthetics. The logic of white supremacy was not erased by the queer inflections of Leyendecker's work, however. However queer it was, this new white middle-class muscular form promised its white male consumer market, both sexually normative and nonnormative alike, a cultivated racial mastery and gender domination. The queerness of Leyendecker's men was secure from the challenges that faced the fairy or sexual introvert or even working-class rough trade thanks to the ways his illustrations cited whiteness and the signifiers of middle-class social mores alongside the built form, even if their looking circuits and the use of the nude betrayed normativity. In short, the queerness of these middle-class bodies was belied by a degree of normalization in their "idealness" and, as I've illustrated, the normalization of these aesthetic markers, alongside advertising writ larger through the success of the Committee for Public Information's war efforts.

Two Interwoven Socks advertisements produced by Leyendecker in the 1920s reveal how commercial desire was publicly staged through the queer masculinity of the middle-class white male form in the postwar years. Each of the advertisements in this series features a white man enjoying his new Interwoven brand toe and heel socks. In the first illustration, a well-built young fellow, likely Charles Beach, sits with legs outstretched, smiling at his socks [Figure 6]. A second illustration depicts the same young man. Instead of admiring the sock on his feet, however, the model takes the unusual step of pulling one of his new socks over his right hand. He smiles as he stares down at the covered hand, blushing as he feels the texture of the fabric [Figure 7]. This illustration makes visual reference to an earlier classic of mass-market illustration, the 1908 Woodbury's soap campaign "A skin you love to touch," the subject of significant analysis as one of the earliest advertisements to deploy sexual intimacy between advertising models in the marketing of a commercial good.[52] While the Woodbury advertisements document sexual intimacy between a man and a woman, the Interwoven Socks ad instead illustrates the kinds of self-pleasure produced through touch. In both these ads, men openly admire their new purchases, troubling normative masculine propriety by indulging in tactile enjoyment as a sentiment on public display. In both ads, undergarments reveal their form, a classic trope wherein the revelation of skin renders the body nude (and therefore permissible) rather than naked.[53] In particular, it is an absent-minded nudity: the model does not notice it thanks to his rapture with the quality of the sock. Rather than depicting the facticity of the product—its quality or durability—both of these illustrations conjure the implied viewer's emotional attachment to the product through the model's haptic engagement.[54] Indeed, across both images the model works as a conduit for emotional attachments of

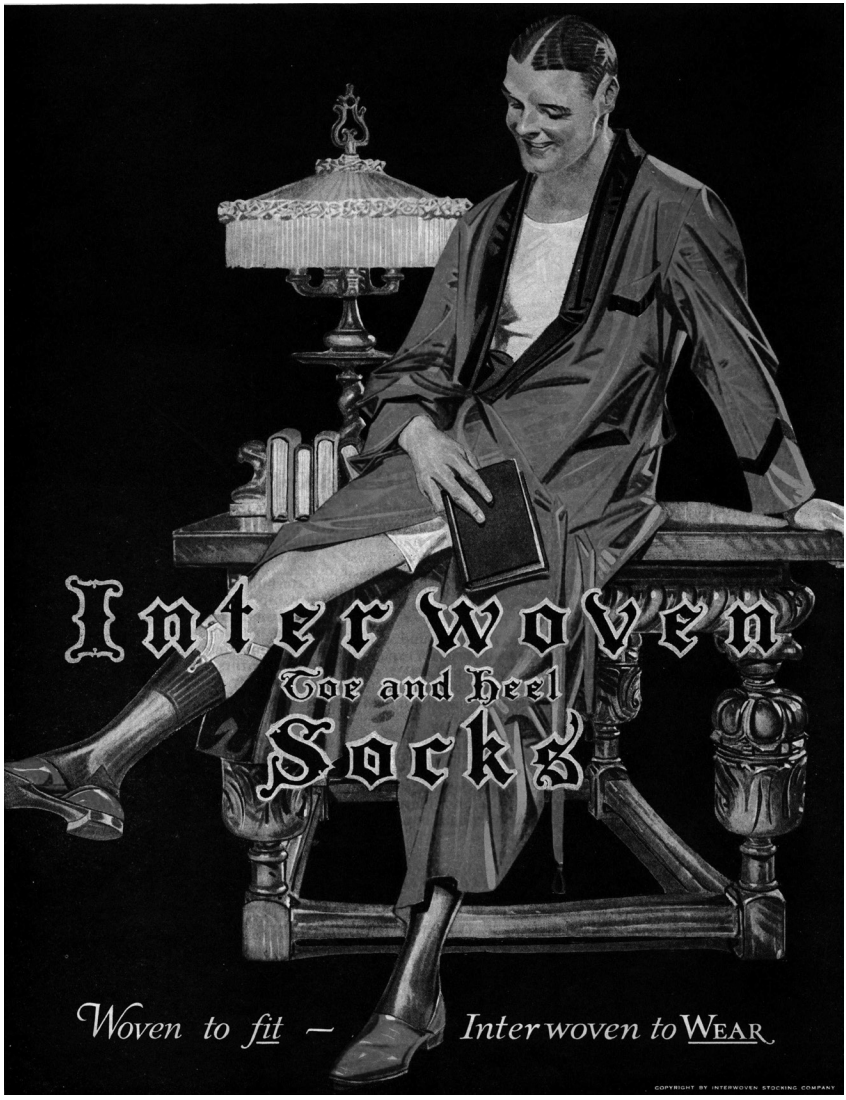

Figure 6: Interwoven toe and heel socks advertisement, 1922.

the implied viewer and his potential new purchase. In the first illustration, the model poses with the socks on, thrilled with his new purchase. In the second, it is not the sock that grabs the eye, but rather the haptic quality of the interaction between the model's hand and the sock itself**.**

A third Interwoven illustration similarly relies on the haptic; however it turns to another queer gender expression in circulation: the fairy [Figure 8]. It is the exception that proves the rule of a queer, built masculinity. In this

Figure 7: Interwoven toe and heel socks advertisement, early 1920s.

sock advertisement, Leyendecker poses the model with one foot perched on a red satin stool. Like the first image, his robe also falls open. However, in this case, he bends over and caresses his new toe and heel socks. This illustration deploys subtle conventions of the fairy to permit the model to feel the product enthusiastically—a purposefully over the top exhibition of desire—while retaining class-specific connotations and respectability through the detailing on the robe and the satin coloring of the fabric. The illustration is a reminder of

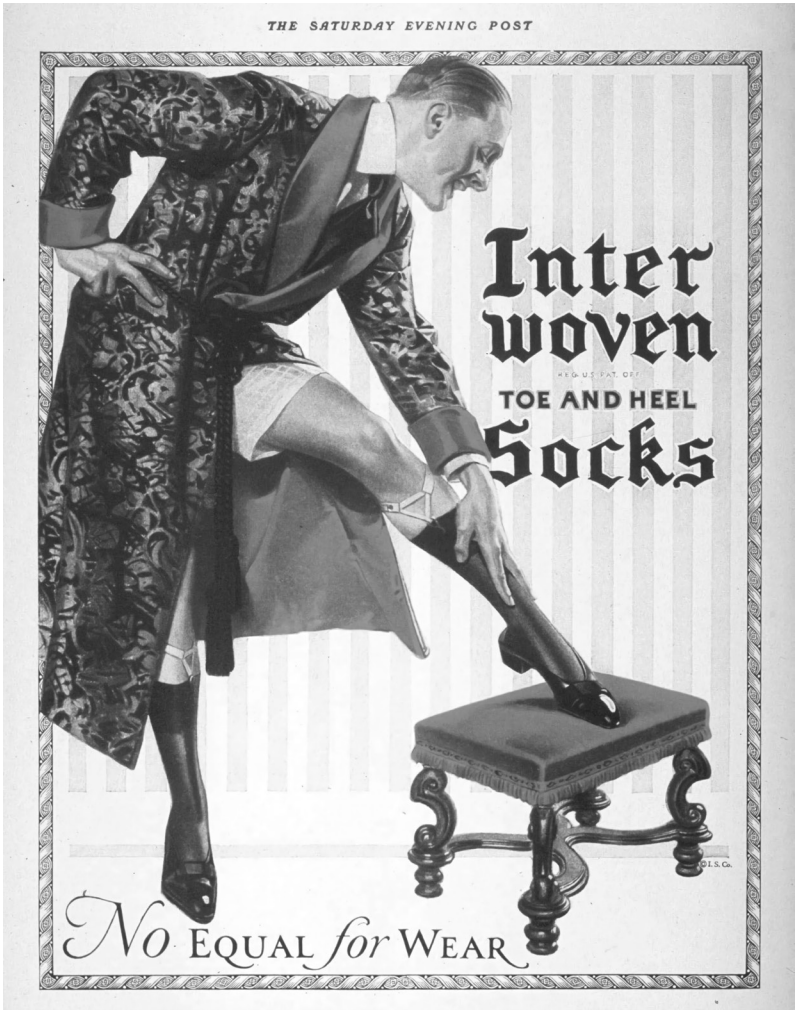

Figure 8: Interwoven toe and heel socks advertisement, early 1920s.

the distinct forms of queer masculine performance in circulation during the 1920s. Collectively, these Interwoven sock ads reflect a visual strategy for generating male consumer desire. In each, the lack of setting invites the viewer to imagine the situation in which these men are undressing. Furthermore, in the first two images, the model is built through reference to the conventions of the female nude, such as open housecoats, partial nudity, and flushed cheeks, even as they retain signifiers of queer masculinity: broad shoulders, upright backs, and strong jaw lines. In the final image, the fairy is deployed to perform an excessive enthusiasm at the touch and feel of the fabric. Arched over, his pose does not capture the same kinds of masculine affectations the first two images

suggest, yet he is absolutely enthused with his new socks, drawing his hand up his legs to feel the fabric.

This queer built form was put to work in the continued service of nation-building. Leyendecker's 1928 Thanksgiving cover for the *Saturday Evening Post*, for example, played with notions of masculinity and eugenic triumphalism articulated by tying sport to American exceptionalism [Figure 9]. The de-

Figure 9: *Saturday Evening Post* cover illustration, Thanksgiving, 1928.

fining element of the illustration is the close looking circuit between a young, handsome football player and a paternal pilgrim, standing side-by-side. In the illustration, the deep red of the football player's tight jersey—which is torn, in a "wardrobe malfunction" revealing some of his chest—closely matches his complexion. Positioned next to each other, the football player's line of sight meets that of the pilgrim standing to his right. The pilgrim holds a leather-bound book in one hand, perhaps a Bible, and a heavy, detailed rifle in the other. The physical symmetry plays off their similarities. The sight lines (shared between the viewer and the two models) perform a critical racial work by connecting white masculinity to the nation and consumer desire to produce two nationalist heroes: one conquering and colonizing land, the other a champion of American football. The over the top affective excess of masculinity built into the hands through heavy lines and detail draws the eye in. In particular, the football player's body is closely detailed. The exhilaration figured in the flushed tones of his face, arms, and vascular hands—again a sign of working-class bodywork—mark the queer sensibility of the work. Such covers saw massive circulation. By the late 1920s, the *Saturday Evening Post's* advertising revenue had surpassed $50 million a year, with circulation numbers averaging 2.4 million each year throughout that decade. By 1928, 2.8 million subscribers received the magazine.[55] For what was then imagined to be a "national" market of white, middlebrow consumers, the cover drew connections between football and pilgrims while forthrightly asserting an American nationalism as defined by white homosociality, with an erotic charge for some viewers.

Much of Leyendecker's work in men's fashion captures this middle-class queer masculinity. Men's readymade fashions was as a consumer market importantly shaped by interrelationships of race, class, and masculinity. Advertisements for House of Kuppenheimer, for example, even those not done by Leyendecker, often featured white men staring at one another, sharing in a critical assessment of sartorial tastes, performing the work of class. Art historian Eric Segal has argued that Leyendecker's innovation in men's fashion advertising is his focus on lines of vision, congruity, and the haptic. In doing so, these illustrations create conditions for erotic possibility.[56] In particular, the presence of tight looking circuits accommodated both desire and the process of identification/becoming that is implicit to all advertising. In Leyendecker's fashion work, the "look" is amplified over the fashions. As Eric Segal notes, regardless of the context of the scene, Leyendecker's male fashion models "never quite do whatever it is they are doing."[57]

In the combination of being rendered both spectator and a body on display, one such ad from Kuppenheimer captured the queer instability of looking in a way that was new to American advertising design. The House of Kuppenheimer occupied space in the *Saturday Evening Post* regularly. Like the Arrow Collar, it was a nationally recognized brand. In particular, this advertisement is unusual in that it does not display the good for sale as was the norm for men's fashion advertising during this period. Instead, the advertising adopts the looking cir-

cuits of men's fashion for a different kind of scene. The illustration features two army men upon a ship, with a Navy captain to the left and a female nurse between them [Figure 10]. Although the nurse leans upon the boat's railing between both men, their downcast gazes cross her and meet each other with slight smiles. With a young woman between them, the soldiers' poses invert one another. The soldier on the left leans his back against the side of the boat, his left leg bent slightly forward while his right leg is leaned firmly against the bar of the boat's side. His shoulders rest casually upon the ledge while he looks over at his counterpart. The head of the officer on the right is cocked forward and leans down. He smiles at the other man, while the young woman looks at him, just missing his gaze. He leans his front against the side of the boat. Despite being physically separated by the presence of the nurse, the men are coupled both through their physical positioning and their shared glances. The illustration is a classic example of triangulation, wherein male homosocial desire is mediated by the female body.[58]

Conclusion

Leyendecker noted in a 1913 interview that "people are now demanding pictures that have some larger meaning. Illustrations with an idea behind them and with humor whenever possible."[59] His illustrations were produced at a moment when notions of middle-class white masculine embodiment and performance were publicly shifting. Leyendecker's advertising illustrations resonated with both normative and nonnormative middle-class white consumers because they conveyed emotionally charged notions about masculine self-fulfillment through consumption, a sensibility that merchandisers newly pursued while

Figure 10: House of Kuppenheimer, S.S. Leviathan, 1918.

hiring illustrators in an advertising economy redefined by the power of the irrational pitch.[60]

Leyendecker's illustrations eased the muscular male form into commercial display. His depictions drew together the muscular working-class male body and conventions of the female nude such as roughed cheeks or a reveals breast. For queer subjects, Leyendecker's work set the conditions of possibility for a new category in circulation alongside the sexual invert, the fairy, or rough, working-class trade: the middle-class built queer. In the late 1920s and 1930s, white male cultural producers identified themselves as sexually attracted to other men but did not frame their sexuality within the concept of inversion. As this article has suggested, one avenue through which this identity formation could emerge is Leyendecker's Arrow Collar men.

By putting such bodies in public circulation, these advertisements may not have normalized same-sex desire, as Lisa Duggan's work on "homonormativity" has charted for a more recent moment, but this visual culture emerging out of the First World War did secure a visual discourse for the creation of a new mode of gay identity in the late 1920s and 1930s.[61] Indeed, these illustrations make possible an understanding of gay identity that is not based on gender inversion but instead rooted in a virile sexuality and the built muscular form—a shift tied up within discourses of civilization and white supremacy, producing what one trade journal described as Leyendecker's "young Apollos of the collar advertisements."[62] Recognizing this queer visual culture reveals the critical work done by these illustrations in the creation of a modern American consumer culture and the formation of a modern gay identity.

During the first half of the twentieth century both Leyendecker and his work remained very successful with broad audiences, inviting consumers to draw connections between nation, race, the market, their own relationship to masculinity, and his models. Leyendecker's illustrations celebrated the feats of American commercial design occurring in fashion and mass production, the prominence of a new managerial middle class, an emerging urban and queer sensibility, and a changing articulation of American masculinity—all embodied in his well-dressed white men. Yet these same male models were also presented in typical conventions of the female nude. Their bodies were flushed from physical exhilaration and coupled through intense, closely detailed, and intimate looking circuits. These confluent narratives of desire—the consumer and the erotic—folded into one another. Leyendecker's Arrow Collar men thus serve as paradoxically normative "queer" champions of American culture and consumption, providing another means of understanding the queer history of commercial desire and its essential relationship to the production of early twentieth-century middle-class white masculinities.

Notes

The author would like to offer special thanks to the *American Studies* reviewers for their helpful comments, as well as to Elspeth Brown, Christopher Dingwall, Nan Enstad, and Isaac Lee.

1. Harry L. Hollingsworth, *Advertising and Selling: Principles of Appeal and Response* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1913), 291. On the collar as a trope of class, see Carole Turbin, "Fashioning the American Man: The Arrow Collar Man, 1907–1931," *Gender & History* 14, no. 3 (2002): 470–91.

2. Michael Bronski, *A Queer History of the United States* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2011), 139.

3. Cluett, Peabody, & Co: A Case Study for the Columbia Business School, 1955. Cluett, Peabody & Co. Supplemental Collection, box 106, Rensselaer Historical Society, Troy, New York.

4. The term and the brand took on such prevalence as to make it into the general lexicon of American popular culture, such as in "You're the Top" from Cole Porter's 1934 musical, *Anything Goes*, itself a nod to the (queer) transatlantic social worlds that defined popular culture production of the 1910s and 1920s.

5. On efficiency and control in the production of white masculinity in the early twentieth century, see Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); John Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001); R. Marie Griffiths, *Born Again Bodies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

6. On advertising and its transition to the emotional self, see Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness* (New York: Basic Books, 1976); Elspeth H. Brown, "Rationalizing Consumption: Lejaren à Hiller and the Origins of American Advertising Photography, 1913–1924," *Enterprise and Society* 1, no. 4 (2000): 715–38; for later conceptions of nonrational consumption, see Lawrence Samuel, *Freud on Madison Avenue* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvanis Press, 2005).

7. On conventions of the nude, see Kenneth Clark, *The Nude* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Lynda Nead, *The Female Nude: Art, Obscenity, and Sexuality* (New York: Routledge, 1992). Where Nead argues that one of the principal elements of the female nude has been the containment and regulation of female sexuality (see pp. 6–12, 25–34), here we see on Leyendecker's models the use of nude conventions to articulate an excess of feeling.

8. Scholars such as George Chauncey and Elspeth Brown point toward the 1930s as the historical period when a differentiation amongst queer subject identifications emerged. By this period, "queers" had begun to identify themselves as sexually attracted to other men, but not through the concept of inversion. See George Chauncey, *Gay New York* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 16–17, on "queer men"; on the dominance of the fairy as a representation of same-sex desiring subjects, see 47–65, but especially 48–49, 54–56. On the solidification of "queer" as a category in visual culture, advertising, and fashion, see Elspeth H. Brown, "Queering Glamour in Interwar Fashion Photography: The Amorous Regard of George Platt Lynes," *Gay and Lesbian Quarterly*, 23, no. 3 (2017): 289–326.

9. Laurence Cutler and Judy Goffman Cutler, *J.C. Leyendecker: American Imagist* (New York: Abrams, 2008); Roger Streittmatter, *Outlaw Marriages: The Hidden Histories of Fifteen Extraordinary Same-Sex Couples* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2012).

10. In fact, the one autobiographical piece of writing offered by Leyendecker appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* late in his life. The piece is prefaced with the notation that Leyendecker was largely uninterested in public celebrity: "One request which has perhaps been repeated more than all others since this page began two years ago, has been for some information on J.C. Leyendecker. . . . Our delay in giving you this information is due entirely to the artist's reticence; Joseph Christian Leyendecker's dislike of personal appearances has become legend." See "Keeping Posted," *Saturday Evening Post*, October 15, 1938, 108. As Richard Martin has noted, while "we know little to nothing of the artist's personal circulation in the culture of gay New York . . . Leyendecker is certainly at the confluence of sophistication, urban life, artistic intention, and homosexuality that converged to designate a modern gay male sensibility." See Richard Martin, "J.C. Leyendecker and the Homoerotic Invention of Men's Fashion Icons, 1910–1930," *Prospects* 21 (October 1996): 453–70. As for the state of Leyendecker's illustrations, Beach sold much of Leyendecker's estate through a tag sale. He also sold to artists studying at the Art Students League. See Ed Wallace, "Arrow Collar Man—He Lives in the Echoes," *New York World-Telegram and Sun*, August 25, 1951, 3; Roger Reed, "Joseph C. Leyendecker: His Life and His Art," *The Portfolio* (Stockbridge: The Norman Rockwell Museum, 1997), 7. On HUAC and the pressures on queer subjects at midcentury, see David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). On privacy as a queer strategy, see Claire Potter, "Public Figures, Private Lives: Eleanor Roosevelt, J. Edgar Hoover and a Queer History Without Sexual Identity," in *Understanding and Teaching U.S. Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender History*, ed. Leila Rupp and Susan K. Freeman (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), 199–212.

11. Shane Vogel, *The Scene of the Harlem Cabaret: Race, Sexuality, Performance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 19.

12. Elspeth Brown, "Queering Glamour," 289–326.

13. Although performance studies scholar Joseph Roach does not deploy the term queer in his work *It*, I see in Leyendecker's artistic sensibility a queerness that shares a close relationship to Roach's analytic framework. See Joseph Roach, *It* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 1–45.

14. Chauncey, *Gay New York,* 1–99.

15. Katherine Sender, "Selling Sexual Subjectivities: Audiences Respond to Gay Window Advertising," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 16, no. 2 (1999): 172–96.

16. Walter Dill Scott, *Influencing Men in Business: The Psychology of Argument and Suggestion* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1916), 35. Scott's work on advertising psychology had begun nearly a decade earlier.

17. Walter Dill Scott, "The Psychology of Advertising," *Atlantic Monthly*, January 1904, 31–32. On advertising and the shift in notions of human nature, see Merle Curti, "Changing Concept of Human Nature in the Literature of American Advertising," *Business History Review* 41, no. 4 (Winter, 1967); Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 52–69.

18. Ernest Elmo Calkins, *Louder Please! The Autobiography of a Deaf Man* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1924), 120–21; Stephen Fox, *The Mirror Makers*: *A History of American Advertising and Its Creators* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1984), 40–45.

19. Elspeth H. Brown, *The Corporate Eye: Photography and the Rationalization of American Culture* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 159-217.

20. Leyendecker's own account in the *Saturday Evening Post* references only the Academié Julien, however Norman Rockwell recounts Leyendecker being trained at Colarossi. "Keeping Posted," 108.

21. Michael Schau, *J.C. Leyendecker* (New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1974), 35.

22. Amos Stote, "The Illustrator and His Income: Gibson and Parrish," *The Bookman* 28, no. 1 (September 1908): 21.

23. Michelle Bogart, *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 29–72.

24. *Society of Illustrators Annual* (New York: Society of Illustrators, 1913).

25. The indeterminacy built into commercial illustration was not lost on Leyendecker's critics: "[i]t is never safe to count upon the subjugation of art to any yoke. It has a trick of slipping free and pursuing its own course." See "The World of Art, Industrial and Advertising Art in the Fine Arts, *New York Times*, October 22, 1922.

26. Chad Heap, *Slumming: Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife,* 1885–1940 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 55–99.

27. Library of Congress, Illustrators' Ball. February 19, 1914. Lot 7220, George Grantham Bains Collection. A series of twenty-six photos from the 1914 Illustrators' Ball.

28. Turbin, "Fashioning the American Man," 470–91; Kasson, *Tarzan, Houdini, and the Perfect Man*.

29. Daniel Nelson, *Managers and Workers: Origins of the New Factory System in the United States, 1880–1920* (Madison, WI: University of Chicago Press, 1975); Stuart Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993).

30. Elliot Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986); John Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man*.

31. See Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998); Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

32. On red, see the work of Havelock Ellis as well as the diaries of Ralph Werther: Havelock Ellis, *Sexual Inversion*, 3rd ed. (1897; repr., Philadelphia: F.A. Davis, 1915), 299; Ralph Werther, *Autobiography of an Androgyne* (1918; repr. Amsterdam: Fredonia Books, 2005), 122. See also Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 52–54; Shaun Cole, *Don We Now Our Gay Apparel: Gay Men's Dress in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 32–33.

33. Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream,* 153, 235–85. See also W. Livingston Larned, "Finding the Theme for the Illustration," *Printer's Ink,* October 29, 1920, 105–109; W. Livingston Larned, "When is an Illustration Unconventional," *Printer's Ink*, October 7, 1920, 165–197.

34. While the generation of consumer desire in advertising can be understood through many different approaches to affect theory, mine reflects René Girard's work on triangulated mimetic desire. In Girard's framework, advertisements and the cultural producers that create them render the world as they imagine it, not as it is. Ads are educational tools, shaping how consumers conceptualize both themselves and how the world expects them to be. In particular, advertisements are triangulated models of desire, where the (1) viewer witnesses a (2) model transformed by the

promise of the (3) consumer good. The good becomes the tool by which the consumers may remake themselves. See René Girard, *Desire and the Novel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965).

35. Brent Shannon has argued that British commercial advertising targeting men deployed the athlete and the solider as rational subjects in contrast against the more florid and colorful advertisements that were targeted at middle-class British white women. I intervene to suggest the male form on display was contextualized by aesthetic tropes of the Western female nude. See Brent Shannon, "Refashioning Men: Fashion, Masculinity, and the Cultivation of the Male Consumer in Britain, 1860–1914," *Victorian Studies* 46, no. 4 (2004): 597–630; see, in particular, 602–606.

36. Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man*, 2001.

37. Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and the Perfect Man*, 2001; Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000); David Roediger, *Wages of Whiteness* (London: Verso, 2007).

38. David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980); James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words That Won the War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939), 101–102; and *Report of the Work Accomplished by the Society of Illustrators in Helping the Government to Obtain Pictorial Publicity* (New York: Society of Illustrators, October 1, 1917).

39. Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York, 1922; repr. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications. 2004), 16.

40. Mock and Larson, *Words That Won the War*, 105.

41. George Creel, *How We Advertised America,* 138; Society of Illustrators, *Report*, 1–56. For illustrations of these posters, see Walton Rawls, *Wake Up America! World War I and the American Poster* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988).

42. Mock and Larson, *Words That Won the War,* 107.

43. Ibid., 105.

44. Referenced in Stephen Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner lines: Democracy, Nationalism, and the Committee on Public Information* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 150–51. See *Philadelphia Record,* Magazine Section, January 27, 1981, p. 11; *New York Times Magazine,* January 20, 1918, 11.

45. Michelle Bogart, "Artistic Ideals and Commercial Practices," *Prospect* 15 (1990): 263.

46. Chauncey, *Gay New York,* 78.

47. Many thanks to reviewer 3 for this excellent note.

48. In another version of the poster, the copy reads "Hailing You For: Service, Travel, Trade." The following word, "instruction," appears in a smaller font before indicating pay for Navy men has increased: "Navy Pay Raised: Bonus for Former Navy Men." While Leyendecker would not have had control over his copy, the term "trade," referred to what were often working-class men who might be open to erotic encounters with other men. The term potentially played upon the sexual possibility and risk that informed queer subcultural understanding of the sailor.

49. Kristin Hoganson, *Consumer's Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

50. Ibid.

51. George Creel, *How We Advertised America,* 136–37.

52. Mona Domosh, *American Commodities in an Age of Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

53. Pamela Laid, *Advertising Progress* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 240–256, 319–320.

54. Kenneth Clark, *The Nude: Study in Ideal Form* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).

55. Photo scholar Tina Campt has used the term "haptic image" to conceptualize the ways photos and illustration can come to take on the qualities of touch. By haptic image, Campt refers to images "as objects whose effects are structured by a tripartite sense of touch—an indexical touch, a physical touch, an affect touch," with each embedded within "the composition of the image and our response or relation to it." On haptic images and the role of touch in evoking emotional response in visual culture, see Tina Campt, *Image Matters: Archive, Photography, and the African Diaspora in Europe* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 43; Elizabeth Edwards, "Photographs as Objects of Memory" in *Material Memories,* ed. Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward, and Jeremy Aynsley (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 221–36.

56. Frank Luther Mort, *A History of American Magazines* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 696; Matthew Scneirov, *The Dream of a New Social Order: Popular Magazines in America, 1893–1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Alan Brinkley, *The Publisher: Henry Luce and His American Century* (New York: Vintage, 2011), 92.

57. Ibid., 231.

58. Ibid., 236.

59. On triangulation see Eve Sedgwick, *Between Men* (New York: Columbia, 1985).
60. "A Champion of Mere Man in Art—Artist Leyendecker Supplies Companions for Gibson Girls," *The Sun*, July 18, 1913, 6.
61. Turbin, "Fashioning the American Man," 480.
62. Lisa Duggan, "The New Homonormativity: The Sexual Politics of Neoliberalism" in *Materializing Democracy,* ed. Russ Castronovo and Dana Nelson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002): 175–95.
63. No Title, *Tobacco,* December 21, 1916, repr. By *Spokane Spokesman Review,* December 1916.