MAY I HOLD YOUR HAND TILL I DIE?
A CASE STUDY OF MARKETING BRITAIN'S MORAL CAUSE TO THE WOMEN OF NEUTRAL AMERICA, 1939-1941

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ABSTRACT

Well before Kotler and Zaltman introduced their social marketing planning system, a regular column in Ladies' Home Journal of 1939-42 illustrated such a concept. The authors demonstrate how Ruth Drummond's letters from bomb-ravaged England to the women of neutral America skillfully utilized four planning variables to market Britain's moral cause.

INTRODUCTION

Fifty years ago--long before Kotler and Zaltman (1971) published their introductory work on social marketing--a British mother subjected a target group of American women to a successful exposition of how to market an idea. The product was the rightness of the British moral cause in the United Kingdom's fierce struggle against Nazi Germany during 1939-41. The distribution vehicle for a monthly column of letters from Bedford, England, was the largest circulation magazine in the United States, Ladies Home Journal (LHJ). These letters represent a classic of personal persuasion in an age when American women looked to LHJ for advice about all types of important things. And the price seemed minor for readers in a still neutral America: merely sympathy at home for the British cause and perhaps a package of essential supplies for England's women and children.

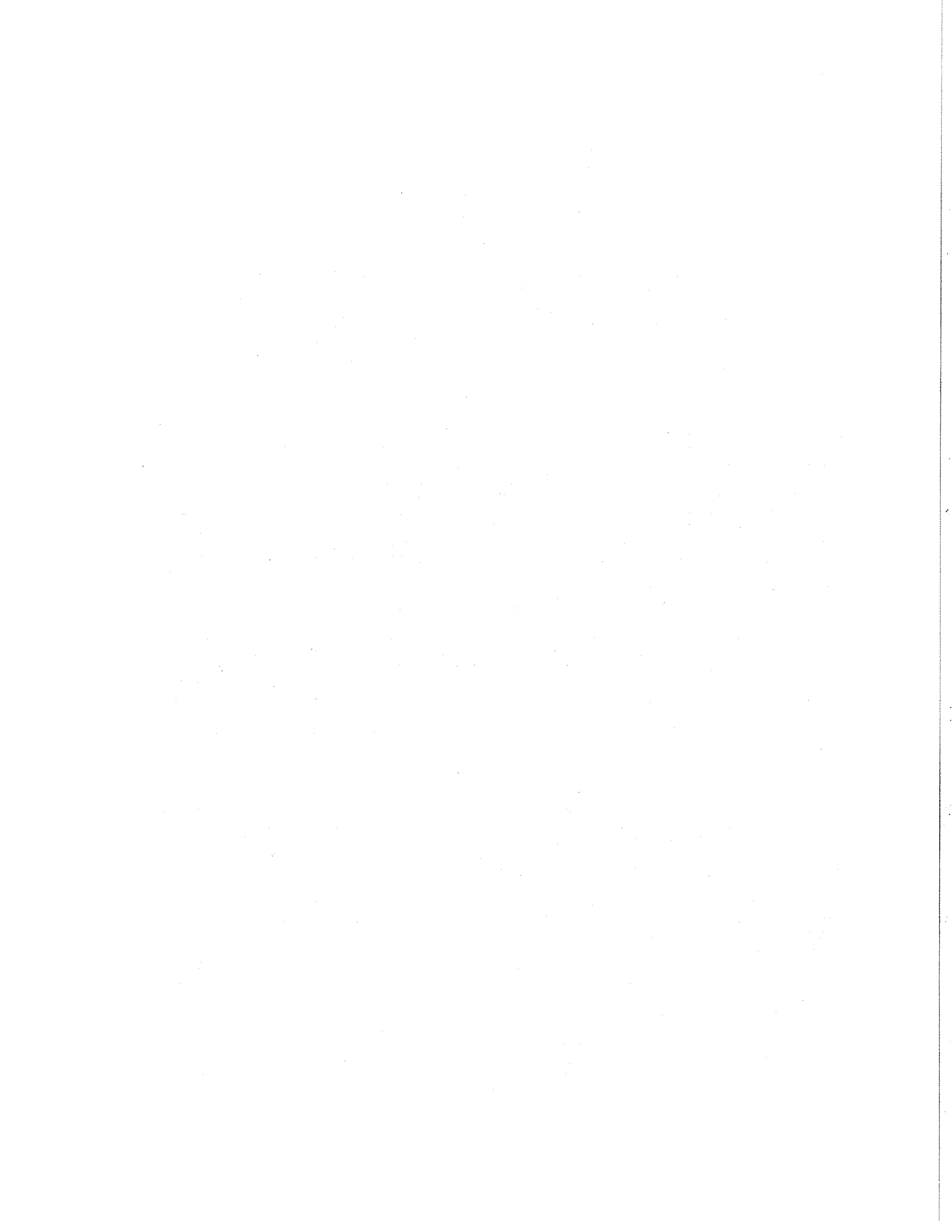
This case study of the international marketing of an idea examines Ruth Drummond's letters published in LHJ between December 1939 and the spring of 1942. The objective is to illustrate that there was a clever utilization of marketing principles to convince a significant segment of America about the rightness of the British moral cause. Obviously, this effort occurred well before the contribution of Kotler and Zaltman as well as before Lazarsfeld and Merton (1949) and Wiebe (1951) outlined their fundamental assessment of successful propaganda.

IDEA MARKETING IN THE LITERATURE

The marketing of an idea(s) is an integral part of virtually every marketing campaign. What else better characterizes the assertion (the promotional message) that utilization of product A will create a benefit for the targeted customer...and that this desirable product is available (through the distribution system) at place B and at price C.

Social marketing, defined most recently (Kotler and Roberto 1989) as the design, implementation, and control of programs seeking to increase the acceptability of a social idea, cause, or practice in a target group, is closely related to the issue of achieving social change. However, in contrast to such methods that seek to change a behavior by passing laws, making undesirable behavior more costly, or developing technological innovation, social marketing is seen as a means to change the cause of the unwanted behavior, not merely the effect.

As Kotler and Zaltman developed a planning process for what they called social marketing, they drew heavily upon the work of Lazarsfeld and Merton. In their 1949 paper, Lazarsfeld and Merton provided basic inputs for understanding distinctions between social advertising and what would later be called social



marketing. Notably, social advertising in mass media was not deemed to be effective for controlling people's minds unless three conditions were met:

1. real or psychological monopolization by the media, i.e., an absence of counterpropaganda;
2. canalization, i.e., an existing attitudinal base compatible with what the communicators are striving to achieve; and
3. supplementation, i.e., a follow up of the mass communication message by stepdown or face-to-face contact.

Kotler and Zaltman likewise acknowledge the contributions of Wiebe in terms of the latter's attempt to explain the effectiveness of official campaigns to sway the public. Five factors were singled out in Wiebe's analysis of four such campaigns undertaken during World War II:

1. the force, or the intensity of the audience's motivation toward a goal resulting from a combination of predisposition and message stimulation;
2. the direction, or the knowledge by an audience of how to consummate that motivation;
3. the mechanism, or existence of an agency enabling that motivation to be converted into an action;
4. adequacy and compatibility, or the effectiveness of that agency in its performance; and
5. distance, or the audience's calculation of energy and cost to consummate the motivation vis a vis the reward.

Kotler and Zaltman explicitly integrated the Lazarsfeld and Merton conditions and the Wiebe factors into development of a formal social marketing planning system. Specifically, the "change agency" designs a system to accomplish certain objectives in the face of environmental uncontrollables. In turn, the "planning variables" -- in the form of messages to be sent through channels to various target audiences -- turn out to be our standard marketing friends, "the four P's."

Regarding product, the social idea must be packaged attractively, a complement to Wiebe's "mechanism" factor. However, Kotler and Zaltman emphasize that the social marketer must first define the change sought (e.g., a change in values, beliefs, behavior); then, meaningfully segment the target market; and finally, design social products that are "buyable."

Regarding promotion, Kotler and Zaltman note that the tools of advertising, personal selling, publicity, and sales promotion offer a variety of opportunities. Overall, effective communication-persuasion strategy and tactics are required to make the product familiar, acceptable, and desirable. That was an acknowledgment of Wiebe's "force."

Regarding place, Kotler and Zaltman emphasize the need for adequate distribution and response channels. That is, motivated people must know where to acquire the product. Wiebe's factors of "direction" and "adequacy" are encompassed in this "P."

Finally, Kotler and Zaltman consider the item's price, or the costs the buyer must accept to obtain the product. This parallels Wiebe's factor of "distance" and includes money costs as well as opportunity costs, energy costs, and psychic costs. Note that the audience is persuaded to perform a cost-benefit analysis when considering an investment of money, time, or energy in the offered social product. Thus, the marketer seeks to consider how consumer rewards for buying the product can be increased relative to costs...or costs reduced relative to rewards.

Of course, the marketing of social or moral causes to targeted populations during World War II was hardly confined to Ruth Drummond's letters in LHJ, with a variety of researchers providing interesting insights into the efforts of the diverse participants. For example, Herzstein (1978) describes the many successes of the Nazi propaganda master, Goebbels. Koppes and Black (1987) provide an excellent review of how Hollywood and Washington collaborated successfully in portraying our enemies. Even the subservient Vichy regime of defeated France took second place to none during 1940-44, as a recent

exhibition in Paris and an associated survey of that period (Gervereau and Peschanski 1990) and the hero leader, Maréchal Petain, illustrate. Ellul's (1965) classic work summarizes why propaganda has been so persuasive in the 20th century.

Meanwhile, the British cause of 1939-41 was marketed on many fronts in the United States (Balfour 1979). Two examples highlighting that effort, as organized by Americans, include the Committee for Defense of America through Aiding the Allies (1940) and the American Committee for Defense of British Homes (1940). The era when Britain essentially stood alone was also peppered with statements by prominent United States and United Kingdom citizens (visiting America) about the rightness of the British cause and the need for material and political assistance. Doenecke (1990) demonstrates, however, that equally clever minds were also at work during 1940-41 in an anti-interventionist effort by "America Firsters."

Ruth Drummond's contribution is an interesting case study amidst this plethora of idea marketing. For the LHJ contribution closely previews the social marketing pattern that would subsequently be formulated by Kotler and Zaltman for such noble causes as stopping drunk drivers, curtailing water pollution, and checking drug abuse.

MRS. DRUMMOND INTRODUCED TO LHJ AUDIENCE

Many centuries ago, Michaelangelo said that all art is the expurgation of the superfluous. More recently, Sargent (1941) adds "...the artist in propaganda paints, on the minds of people, with selected and slightly distorted stories, the pictures he has conceived in order to affect emotions and to bring about the action desired. And the technique has been so perfect that we do not detect the art. It seems to us reality."

Michaelangelo and Sargent have provided the perfect introduction to the series of letters from the British home front, written by a British housewife named Ruth Drummond, which were published in LHJ from December 1939 through the spring of 1942. The first of these letters was dated September 4, 1939, the day after Britain's entry into what was to become World War II. Mrs. Drummond starts by thanking the editor (actually joint editors Bruce Gould and Beatrice Blackmar Gould) for a response to her letter in praise of the magazine and then, for no given reason, she launches into a series of letters, under the banner "May I Hold Your Hand Until I Die? Iver, Seven, to His Mother." The initial group of letters contains approximately 10,000 words and gives us Mrs. Drummond's version of how one "typical" British housewife spent the days from September 1 through September 17 preparing for the war.

In addition to holding the proffered hand, Mrs. Drummond, in her letters published in the December 1939 issue:

-turned away to hide her tears (throughout the series of columns, Mrs. Drummond is frequently in tears) at Chamberlain's announcement that England and Germany were at war;

-held twice-daily gas mask drills for the children and, on one occasion, tried one of the masks on the family dog;

-made blackout curtains from the last remaining fabric in the store, which was shared by a generous fellow housewife who had originally meant to take just about the whole of it, but who, instead, impulsively gave half of it to Mrs. Drummond;

-soliloquized on the government's request that strong labels with name, address and age of the child be sewn into clothes; after telling her audience it was "better not think why," she then went ahead and quite thoroughly did;

-decided to order silver bands with the children's names engraved on them in case the labels should get lost or torn off;

-introduced two of the young men who will become extremely early casualties of the war; one dies well before the first significant battle is reported by the New York Times; and

-made plans with her husband to move the family into their cozy kitchen, which they assume will remain intact when the rest of their home is reduced to

rubble by German bombs, and to live there with four children and a maid and the family dog for the duration.

Mrs. Drummond's only introduction to the readers by the Goulds in December 1939 was "...this is what English Iver asked his mother, Ruth Drummond, whose letters to us here at the Journal we reproduce exactly as we received them." It seems likely that there is a need for considerably more research about the unfolding story, even though Balfour does not mention this effort in his work on British propaganda. For example, in the same December issue, Dorothy Thompson, who writes a monthly editorial for the magazine, produced a piece called "Propaganda Bogey." In it, she assures LHJ readers that the word "propaganda" has become corrupted, but it really just means any idea that someone is advocating. Her example is that when your doctor tells you to feed your children a nourishing diet, he is a propagandist for vitamins. Surely no reader could object to that. She goes on to tell her readers that what we need is not less, but more propaganda -- as long as it is propaganda for the truth. She also stresses an important aid in this process; a "good" propagandist will identify himself, whereas an "evil" one will prefer to hide in dark corners.

It seems probable that the Goulds were sensitive to the fact that at least some of their readers might reject the Drummond letters as part of this nation's post-1918 disillusionment with British and German propaganda that had been directed at neutral America of 1914-17. The inclusion of Thompson's explanation, which went some way to convince those readers that extremism in the cause of a moral right is no vice, appears to have been more than coincidence.

LHJ proudly announced in its March 1940 issue that it had the largest paid circulation of any magazine in the world--3,250,000 copies per month. The Goulds credited this astonishing success to their commitment to putting the reader first "...never to recommend to them a cake pan or a cold vaccine, a dress design or a design for happy marriage, which didn't seem to us, after canvassing the field, the best we could give...we have striven for honesty and helpfulness. We'd like to give you relaxation when you're tired, and something stimulating and stirring for those moments when you're more ambitious."

Beyond those 3,250,000 issues, the magazine was read by a considerably larger number of women in the target audience. Readers were generally not drawn from the poorest strata of American society. After all, they were able to afford the magazine, had the leisure time to read it, and were interested in the concepts of gracious living it presented.

In turn, this circulation figure is evidence that readers of LHJ counted on the magazine to give them a blueprint for gracious living. It gave them recipes for wholesome, attractive and not overly expensive food, then supplied the photographs showing how that food should look on the plate, where the plate was to be placed on the table and how that table could be seasonally decorated. It set guidelines for entertaining so that they no longer had to worry about how to greet hubby's boss, what to chat about at the dinner table or how to end the evening. LHJ knew, and lucidly passed on this knowledge to its readers. Problems feeding the baby, dealing with teacher, setting ground rules for those troublesome teens and ridding them of acne? Read LHJ. Planning a wedding? LHJ provided lists to guide you through every detail from announcements through graceful tossing of the bouquet, showed how to put together the perfect trousseau, and gave itemized lists of everything needed to set up housekeeping. They even furnished samples of the "first home" and then showed how it could be attractively updated as family needs changed. And to provide things to discuss with hubby or the women in your coffeeklatch, there were articles by recognized thinkers of the time like Eleanor Roosevelt and Pearl Buck. A woman could trust LHJ.

For example, Eleanor Roosevelt had been working to convince women, through actions, lectures and regular LHJ columns, that they had far more power to

positively influence their then uncertain world (see Blake and Barck 1960) than they had been encouraged to believe. She assured them that it was important that they work to keep themselves informed, and that they use these informed opinions to influence the thinking of their children, husbands, and even neighbors in the community around them.

In sum, American readers of LHJ in 1939-41 were primarily homemakers, and their chief interests were the security of their children, their homes, their husbands, and their budgets. Ruth Drummond would play on all of these themes from the moment that the thirtysomething, pleasant, practical-sounding mother of four was introduced in LHJ in December 1939.

RUTH DRUMMOND'S DETERIORATING SOCIETY OPENS TO AMERICA

Ruth Drummond, as we find in later issues, was the wife of a Royal Air Force officer and the mother of four young children, Elizabeth, Anne, Iver, and Lucille. The Drummond family lived in Bedford, a small town within relatively easy traveling distance of central London. The older children attended public schools and, soon after the letters began, were sent away to boarding schools in an area which was considered to be safer than their home town. Subsequently, we find that the Goulds took in two of the children for the duration, while the other two were sent to a family in Canada.

Although it was rarely mentioned, since it was not quite the picture she was trying to present, Mrs. Drummond did have household help. The house was obviously large, since each of the children had his or her own bedroom, and there were separate rooms for play and for Mrs. Drummond to retreat to when she wrote her letters.

The following sample of monthly contributions illustrates the sophistication of her personal persuasion message.

In LHJ of October 1940, Ruth Drummond's letters of June recount the terror felt everywhere as France collapsed and England now truly stood alone. Drummond's description of seeing "...a little farm woman, fairly young and quite pretty, dressed neatly and quietly but with a bright splash of color in a gay little hat" is soon contrasted with that of a soldier in the railroad station

> ...who was also watching her, a tall gaunt man with a bandaged head and a face that was haggard with strain. A gleam of amusement appeared in his eyes and he went up to her without speaking. She stared at him for a moment--disbelief, horror, pity, many emotions visible on her face--and then she was in [her husband's] arms.

While the returning soldier was amused, Drummond was not and turned away "...with tears blinding my eyes."

As the first placards announced France's surrender, Drummond, in London, noticed the true Englishman in the street. As a woman claimed disbelief, the husband "...squared his shoulders, as if, as a good Britisher, he was already shouldering this added burden. I noticed that many men unconsciously made the same gesture." Meanwhile, Drummond thought to herself "...we'll win through, all right, but in the meantime England will be no place for children. We'll be a fort--liable to siege, bombardment, invasion. The children must go--but how to raise money for passages? Who is to take them?" Planning to send the children to North America occupied much of the rest of June for the vacationing family.

Clearly the decision to save the children cleared Drummond's mind for the hard tasks ahead. As she states it "...once the children are out of the way of nerve rack and shell shock, we women can with a single purpose put our backs into the job of service for our country--if it's only scrubbing floors and washing dishes, doing unobtrusive things that help the wheels to work more smoothly."

In LHJ of December 1940, the title of Ruth Drummond's column left little to the imagination: "When the Bombs Go 'Bonk' I'm Glad the Children Are Not Here." Drummond writes this in September following the trip to Canada and America to secure her four children in foster homes. She describes this distraught condition felt on a cargo ship sailing back to England as

> ...a painful period during which, at times, I felt such intense grief as I would hardly believe possible...It didn't help one bit to know that one was being selfish in so craving the presence of the loved ones; one could only go against an important law of Nature that binds the mother to her young, and pay the penalty...the first week of that trip I was a mentally sick woman. Nothing seemed of very much use; and then I realized I was playing Hitler's game.

Back in England, Drummond confronted a new situation for those living outside the bombed core of London. That is, just as she and her husband were about to catch a bus to visit a friend, the bell rang. At the door were a husband, wife and two small boys, one a baby.

> ...There was something about that little group...that struck the smile from my face. The man and woman looked tired and anxious, the children bewildered. I knew at once who they were and what we must do. For a moment I felt strong revolt that British people would be homeless and forced to seek shelter in a strange town...'Won't you come in?' I asked, and so in this way our refugees came to live with us.

Later that evening, with Drummond and husband at a home of friends, an air-raid is described.

> We heard one woman being spoken to by a patrolling warden: 'You shouldn't bring two children out in a pram during an air raid--it's asking for trouble. My advice to you is either go home or if you live near one to enter a shelter till the all clear sounds.' The woman looked up as a plane gleamed silver high up above our heads. She sniffed. 'Oh, them!' she said contemptuously, and them: 'I suppose you're right, We'll go home till it's over.' The warden patted the baby's head, which was feathered over with silver-gold curls, and smiled paternally.

The two Drummonds looked at each other and exclaimed, "so this is England!"

In LHJ of February 1941, Ruth Drummond's letters of October express a powerful bitterness from a trapped woman. As she initiates the column,

> ...we have not had a raid warning for nearly 24 hours, and I heard no bombs dropped near us during the last attack. In the night when the silence is shattered by the sounds of exploding bombs, I feel such contempt for the shatterer of our peaceful nights. Contempt that Hitler can raise no more than contempt from so many people who hear him.

Much of the remainder of the column deals with the trauma described by the mother of the bombed out family from London who have been given shelter in the Drummond house. The details given to (and so by) Drummond include the initial impact of the bomb on the house, the screams of children trapped upstairs in a shattered darkness, the struggle to free the boys amidst glass, ceiling chunks, and masonry, and the final struggle into the hallway carrying the children. The story concluded by noting that a nearly house was completely demolished with four people buried underneath "...with digging going on for the bodies."

Drummond concluded this relatively brief column by noting that "...it is bedtime and a raid is on, as distant explosions remind me every now and then...the bombs are sometimes uncomfortably close. It <u>can't</u> be long before we get it -- like so many other places."

LHJ of October 1941 featured Drummond's poignant letters of July entitled "Forty Tiny Babies and Not One Feeding Bottle." Drummond recounts a recent conversation with two friends engaged in child welfare work in London. The

first describes receipt, at the welfare center, of marvelous bundles ("blitz bags") from America. "...They have simply everything a bombed-out person could require...the sort of homely things -- toothbrushes and paste, and so on." The second woman called on her experience and mentioned medical supplies and recounted a tough night when 40 tiny babies were "...in her charge whose mothers, through shock or exhaustion, could not feed them, and not one feeding bottle."

Drummond's receipt of letters from her children safe across the ocean causes her to reveal a chilling conversation with a local youngster of seven. He said

> ...and so we sat there and counted. You see, Miss, if a sixth bomb falls, you know there'll be a seventh, and if an eighth bomb falls, you know there'll be an eleventh, and if a twelfth bomb falls you know there'll be a fifteenth. They go like that. Five, seven, eleven, or fifteen in a stack.

In turn, Drummond recounts the story of a young girl of eight who "...guided rescue squads to where she and her parents lay beneath the ruins of their bombed house by singing...her parents are both dead, but the child is only slightly hurt. Yes, she sang to her doll to keep up her courage."

When Drummond discussed in another letter the arrival of cases of clothes addressed to her and destined for relief, she noted such locations of "real friends" as: Pittsburgh; Erie Chapter; Southeastern Pennsylvania Chapter; Dubuque Chapter; Marinette County, Wisconsin. That letter closed on Drummond's thoughts as she took her turn at keeping vigil in the local church.

> It seemed to me, as I knelt there, that it would be easier to die than to live on and accept more pain and disillusionment and experience again things no woman ought to feel and see of bloodshed, sorrow and other people's agony. But one must live on, I thought. One must stay here and accept all that can happen and not let it damage the soul or make one callous and vengeful and bitter.

In LHJ of November 1941, the first of Ruth Drummond's letters appeared from heavily bombed Liverpool "...right opposite my room are the most ghastly ruins of twisted metal work, fallen bricks and charred wood." The manager explained that miraculously the hotel had not been hit even though bombs exploded all around and even damaged some rooms. However, as the manager explained "...we're all right. You see, we're as pigheaded and stubborn as the Germans when we're roused, and we're freemen as well. Not dictator-ridden bullies, thank God!"

In the same letter Drummond recalls a conversation the day before with a little old lady in black who was taking the tram to deliver a pot of honey from her own bees to a much-beloved grandchild. "The little girl does so like honey...and it is so hard to get any, so please don't let me forget it when I get out." In terms of sacrifice, that old grandmother explained "...I'm living in the country instead of town because I felt I'd only be a burden to the country if I became a casualty. It isn't so much being killed as being maimed. The Germans make one so bored -- even bullets get tedious after a time."

In that same column, in words penned exactly two years after war began, Drummond looks back upon two years of horror and heartache. As she expressed it

> ...in common with many others, our home has been crashed wide open -- not by a bomb yet, or some other horror dropped on it by night raiders, but by the separation of parents and children...crashed so wide that the winds and waves of an ocean pass between us and our children, and the despair of sheer and utter distance sometimes clamps our hearts in a vise.

Yet her children's "...belief in man's goodness has not wavered, rather (it has) been heightened by the treatment they have received from generous and

kindly foster parents across the ocean."

Finally, the last letter in that column describes a young soldier's wife (Jean) also living in one of the rooms the children had vacated. "Not all the fear of bombs and possible invasion stops Jean from dreaming the dreams all expectant mothers dream." The column closes with a cable from Drummond to the Goulds -- "Fan mail now enormous. Impossible personally thank all readers sending marvelous presents food evacuee clothing magazines letters. Love to children."

In LHJ of June 1942, Ruth Drummond takes diplomatic leave of her American audience by describing, in now undated letters, a business-like communication in the post telling her to "...report for duty to the above office on Monday, at 8:50 a.m. for a course of instruction." Drummond, in an uncharacteristically upbeat mood and oblivious to years of horror and recurring nightmares tells American housewives that her new responsibility is "hush-hush" and she comes under the Official Secrets Act. She must take exams and buckle down to do an exacting job within a building protected by armed guards and from which no written word must leave.

A cable to the Goulds further into the column explains that all is well. "I am now trained government worker posted Nottingham. Welcome air mailed children's photographs arrived this week. Many thanks. Trust letters reaching you. Much love."

As a final farewell to the column's readers in June, an undated letter describes the fun of being the only new worker from London sent to her particular destination. And so with a "...wish me luck -- I'll certainly need it. Your reader. Ruth Drummond," our correspondent officially joins the now global struggle against the Axis.

COMMUNICATION TECHNIQUES TO PROMOTE AN IDEA

Mrs. Drummond uses several interesting techniques to increase emotional impact of letters from devastated Britain upon her American audience an ocean away.

First, she often repeats a particularly powerful phrase a second time within a letter. For example, in one column, she asks "...what can one say to the grandmother of that child who sat in a little chair holding her mother's hand and then was crushed to death by the demolition of her home...'I knew when she died.'" Or, in another case, she recounts "...my son's words -- 'Whatever happens, promise me you'll hold my hand if I die' -- haunts me."

Second, she goes for walks in the woods alone, where she reminisces about having walked there with young men who have died in the war (or soon will). While there, she sits on a log and visualizes such things as "Polish women lying dead; Polish towns and fields laid waste...houses in flames..." After one such depressing excursion, she determines never to be alone again because of the visions solitude conjures up. But she will soon return to her lonely walks and grim reveries.

Third, when she cannot conveniently be in the thick of the action, she receives a letter from someone who was right there (and whose writing style is astonishingly like that of Mrs. Drummond). Thus, in a good example, we get an extract from a letter from an unnamed woman who lives in an unnamed "badly raided town."

> We got Hell last Friday night...it lasted ten and a half hours...bombs crashing, buildings falling and blazing...We have time bombs left all round us waiting to go off...My poor Nellie and her old mother and paralyzed father were bombed out. She came running...to us...covered in blood...dust and soot and splintered glass...The people are wonderful, all rushing around trying to find a place to start again in--they are not in the least downed--only angry. For after all we are not a military objective--just a seaside town.

Fourth, as mentioned earlier, she tells you that what she has been discussing is too dreadful to continue discussing, and then goes on to give you all of the terrible details. The focus is typically on the psyche of terrified mothers and bewildered young children.

A fifth technique is to strengthen a point by asking, "What would you do, Editor?" or "How would you explain that to a child, reader?" Clearly, this comes across as a personal dilemma which forces her American audience to ponder serious social issues.

Finally, Ruth Drummond never mentions Britain's need for material or military help from America. While America and Britain each had numerous spokesmen for such political inputs, there is never a hint from Ruth Drummond that the cost for American women is to be any more than heartfelt sympathy for a just social cause.

SUMMARY

Ruth Drummond's letters, as published in LHJ, epitomize the working of the planning system that Kotler and Zaltman would design in 1971 for social marketing purposes. For a start, the environment of 1939-41 was truly desperate for London and one in which British propaganda would seek to bolster the inflow of American resources.

Ruth Drummond's exact relationship to the "change agency" of Kotler/Zaltman is unclear and certainly requires additional research, as does the role of the Goulds. However, the four planning variables essential to the success of marketing Britain's moral cause are apparent from the beginning of the columns. This "product" or crime against England's women and children by Nazi Germany is directed at the LHJ housewife, is packaged interestingly, and is specific in terms of products that are buyable for sympathetic readers.

Drummond's "promotional technique" of personal selling is a masterpiece of communication. Each article concentrates on details that are directly of interest to horrified women comfortably sheltered from Hitler's bombers by a 3,000-mile ocean barrier. Those articles from Bedford also made "place" very convenient and clear, and it took two forms: to influence husbands and neighbors to support various pro-Britain interventionist measures being proposed in Washington; and to send relief packages to British victims.

Finally, the "price" of this effort is embarrassingly modest for LHJ readers of 1939-41. The psychic income of being an informed citizen during the European showdown between good and evil was to be matched by no more than the small cost of sending packages to innocent women and children.

Overall, this case study highlights the marketing of the idea of Britain's moral cause in 1939-41 America. As such, this case illustrates a clever early example of social marketing in action, albeit one thinly disguised at the time to avoid the abhorrence then attached to "propaganda."

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