The Other Wonder Drugs in America: Madison Avenue's effect on selling psychoactive prescription drugs 1961-1965

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The 1950s and 1960s were decades of major change in the pharmaceutical industry the once relatively small industry would soon experience explosive growth. From 1948 to 1955 the sales numbers of prescription drugs increased 225 percent.¹ There are many reasons for this increase such as increasing population after World War II, the creation of new types of medication, and the heavy marketing of prescription drugs to doctors. This last one might seem a little odd doctors should use the best medicine for the sickness at hand, however this wasn't always the case as a doctors vision could become clouded due to advertising. One thing is for certain however advertising to doctors was incredibly effective.

Harry Dowling doctor and professor at the University of Illinois stated "Within recent years the drug industry has discovered that the techniques that had been used so successfully in the advertising of soaps and toothpastes and of cigarettes, automobiles, and whisky could be used to successfully to advertise drugs to doctors."² The types of advertising techniques Harry Dowling is referring to consist of using emotion in order to tie that emotion with a specific product. This can be done by showing happy families using a product which implies a happy family life can be obtained simply by buying a product. While this obviously is not true and most people understand advertisements are made to sell a product the message the advertisement sends can stick with the people who have seen the advertisement. Brand recognition is another

¹ Nancy, Tomes, "Remaking the American Patient: How Madison Avenue and Modern Medicine Turned Patients into Consumers" (Chapel Hill, 2016) 231

² Tomes, "Remaking the American Patient",238

benefit advertisements bring to the table, if a doctor is familiar with a heavily marketed drug they may prescribe that over a similar drug that could be better for the patient's specific needs. Couple that with the fact that another trait of consumer ads is that they are often vague about product details as they want the product to have the largest market it could possibly have. Many problems could arise by marketing powerful prescription medicine the same ways in which soap is advertised, one cleans your body the other has incredibly potent effects on your brain and your body as a whole.

After reviewing around 20 advertisements in the medical journal *Medical Economics*, I found that this type of mass marketing was really only taking place in the prescription drug sector. Most specifically with psychoactive prescription drugs otherwise known as wonder drugs. Traditional medicine such as cold medicine and other over the counter drugs would not tie emotion into their advertisements instead focusing on the specific strengths and makeup of the drug. I argue that psychoactive prescription drugs are advertised more like consumer goods reaching for a large market while traditional medicines are advertised more factually and to a smaller niche market. This is significant because advertising powerful, addictive, and potentially dangerous medicine using mass market strategies shows a shift in the pharmaceutical industry away from prescribing the best medicine to prescribing the best marketed medicine.

In order to understand these advertisements it helps to understand not only the publication they were circulated into but also the broader cultural shift in America which proliferated the rise in prescription drug sales, and the overall effect these drugs had. A greater understanding of what *Medical Economics* was is essential to understanding why these advertisements used some of the techniques that they chose to use. *Medical Economics* was a large medical business journal that was sent free of charge to all doctors. *Medical Economics*

focused on the business aspect of running a doctor's office with articles ranging from itemizing your patients receipt to how to accept a patients insurance. This journal was able to be sent free of charge to doctors due to the fact that most of the pages in the journal were advertisements for various medicines.³ These advertisements paid for the cost of the journal in order to send their advertisement to the largest amount of people as possible. Each binding of *Medical Economics* contained hundreds of advertisements so in order to stand out many used colors and eye catching images in order to stand out from the sea of other advertisements. The format of *Medical Economics Economics* allowed attention grabbing advertising techniques to flourish as advertisements for the limited attention of the many doctors reading through *Medical Economics*.

The 1950s and 1960s took place during a major cultural shift in America especially when it came to the pharmaceutical industry. New medicines were produced that for the first time allowed doctors to treat a patients mind, mental illnesses could finally be treated. The workplace culture also shifted after World War II manufacturing jobs became more automated and more men switched from working with their hands to working in an office environment. With the advent of the office a whole new disease was invented, anxiety. A new type of mind drug was created to deal with this new disease, that drug was the tranquilizer. These drugs were eventually marketed to both men and women for a variety of different reasons. For men tranquilizers restored the masculinity lost due to new office jobs, for women tranquilizers helped them deal with their role as housewives.⁴ Wonder drugs had a variety of uses and it almost seemed like everyone could benefit from one of the newest mind drugs created due to recent medical advancements.

³ Philip, Dougherty. "Advertising; Doctors Are the Target" *The New York Times,* October 26, 1983

⁴ David, Herzberg, "Wonder Drugs in America: From Miltown to Prozac" (Baltimore, 2009) 74

The American Pharmaceutical and medical industries were also going through major shifts starting in the 1940s going all the way through the 1960s. During the 1950s there was a massive increase in the amount of medical journals circulating increasing the accessibility of new found medical discoveries.⁵ This increase in accessible information lead to the creation of more drugs which meant there were more products to sell and due to the rising population more money to be made. This was followed by an increased focus on profits for the medical industry and the creation of a buyer beware market in pharmacies. One such example is the removal of customer service pharmacies which were replaced by self-service model for over the counter drugs. This was due to the fact that customers shopping at a self-service pharmacy typically spend more money.⁶ This switch to self-service also lead the creation of slogans that romanticized the product in order to convince consumers that their product was the best choice for them.⁷ Since consumers were on their own when it came to over the counter drugs it was up to doctors to guide patients safely to the proper prescription drug, unfortunately doctors were not up to the task. Doctors thought that by telling their patients about side effects was a bad idea because it might make them not want to take the medicine or they would placebo the side effects.⁸ This becomes especially concerning since doctors prescriptions could be influenced by advertisements seen in medical journals, and it turns out the side effects for many of these drugs were very real and sometimes life threatening.

Wonder drugs could do great things to the lives of many people if prescribed correctly, they could also do many horrible things if they were given to the wrong people. These drugs

⁵ Tomes, "Remaking the American Patient" 168

⁶ Tomes, "Remaking the American Patient" 223

⁷ Tomes, "Remaking the American Patient" 228

⁸ Tomes, "Remaking the American Patient" 237

were not being given out selectively as 10 percent of Miltown prescriptions had no reason for why it was prescribed.⁹ Wonder drugs quickly became a cultural phenomenon as brands like Miltown became a house hold name. Things quickly turned badly as signs of addiction became clearer, with patients even demanding to be given minor tranquilizers from their doctor's.¹⁰ These drugs were being prescribed for actually no reason and it turns out that they are incredibly addictive once you start taking them. As the 1960s turned to the 1970s prescriptions for a minor tranquilizer Valium reached over 90 million bottles annually.¹¹ This high demand was aided in some part by Valium's addictive qualities which helped to ensure some patients stayed on the drug once they began treatment. These drugs also had a myriad of side effects and withdrawal symptoms ranging from convulsions, psychotic behavior, and could even lead to death if a patient took too much and overdosed¹².

Overall the pharmaceutical industry was transforming from a public service into more like a company focused on the bottom line while ignoring the wellbeing of the American people.

This study will explore this transformation, drawing on multiple secondary sources that focus on the rise and fall of wonder drugs and the evolution of advertising. Both of these areas of study provide vital information to two sides of the same story. For information on the rise and fall of wonder drugs and the shift they had on American medical culture I look towards David Herzberg's *Happy pills in America*. Roland Marchland's *Advertising The American Dream* gives insightful information in how advertising practices came to be and

⁹ Herzberg, "Wonder Drugs in America" 38

¹⁰ Herzberg, "Wonder Drugs in America" 45

¹¹ Herzberg, "Wonder Drugs in America" 138

¹² Herzberg, "Wonder Drugs in America" 108

evolved throughout American history. Finally Nancy Tome's *Remaking the American Patient* focuses on how new advertising techniques transformed the patient experience.

Historian David Herzberg explores the rise of and fall of the wonder drug decades of American history. Specifically Herzberg focuses on, how wonder drugs changed the pharmaceutical industry and the shift they caused in greater American culture as a whole. Herzberg explores how doctors justified prescribing wonder drugs and how pharmaceutical companies fought to keep their drugs on the market. The ways in which these practices resonated with the average American is also an important aspect of this source. Herzberg also provides many facts in regards to increasing number of people using wonder drugs and that women were the most common group of people being prescribed wonder drugs, often double that the rate of men¹³. Understanding the patient who is most commonly using these wonder drugs helps one get into the mind of drug advertisers, and who they tried to convince doctors needed their drugs.

While Herzberg does not focus entirely on these wonder drug advertisements he touches upon some of the themes included in these advertisements. These themes ranged from masculinity to how anxiety is a sign of strength showing the powerful inner cavemen.¹⁴ Herzberg provides an excellent backdrop to how wonder drugs changed the pharmaceutical industry from a respectable industry to an absolute economic powerhouse. Once the pharmaceutical industry became an economic force they focused on fueling the industry and maintaining their newfound profits.

The second secondary source this thesis will draw on focuses on the evolution of advertisements in America from the 1920s to the 1940s. Roland Marchand's *Advertising The*

¹³ Herzberg, "Wonder Drugs in America" 67

¹⁴ Herzberg, "Wonder Drugs in America" 70

American Dream focuses on how advertisement techniques came about. Advertising was originally seen as a way to help keep the American people up to speed with rapidly advancing consumer products.¹⁵ This book gives an inside look at how the advertising industry as a whole merged facts and emotion in order to sell products. This technique of using emotion to sell products is one of the key strategies seen in psychoactive prescription drug advertisements.

Marchand argues that by following the changing values in American society advertisers honed in on what Americans wanted and attached specific emotions into advertisements. It is the emotions that advertisements provoke that sells consumers on a specific product. In a sense while the product itself is important in a consumer's decision to buy it, the emotion advertisers attach to that product is often times just as important. Looking into how the advertising industry evolved from being the harbingers of modernity into believing every product could and should be advertised¹⁶. helps identify techniques used in drug advertisements and get more into the mindset of the people producing the advertisements.

The final secondary source that this thesis will draw on, focuses on how advertising modern medicine turned patients into consumers. Nancy Tome's *Remaking The American Patient* focuses on how new advertising techniques transformed patients from people seeking medical treatment into active consumers. Tome focuses on the fact that over time doctors and pharmaceutical companies shifted the medical landscape into a more commercial space. Tome's achieves this by exploring the evolution of profit seeking practices by doctor's the ways in which pharmaceutical companies peddled their drugs to consumers and doctors alike. These shifts in doctor practices was a result of doctors becoming better compensated and the rising cost of

¹⁵ Roland, Marchand, "Advertising the American Dream: Making way for Modernity 1920-1940" (Berkley and Los Angeles, 1985) 4

¹⁶ Marchland, "Advertising the American Dream" 6

medical care. This consumerist shift became more evident due to rising medical costs and pharmaceutical companies attempting to increase brand loyalty in patients and in doctors by the use of detail men.¹⁷ A strong understanding of the consumerist shift in the medical world helps one understand why pharmaceutical companies advertised how they did.

All three secondary sources provide information that gives vital insight into the minds and motivation of the advertisers of the pharmaceutical industry. While Herzberg and Marchand focus on wonder drugs and advertising specifically. Tomes focuses on how the pharmaceutical industry became an economic power house, and how advertising was used to ensure they maintained their newfound wealth. All three shed light on the ultimate motive behind the advertising techniques showcased in psychoactive prescription drug advertisements.

For this study I examined 21 advertisements taken from three issues of *Medical Economics*, with one each from 1961, 1963, and 1965. I looked at all the advertisements in each issue and divided them into categories. I separated psychoactive prescription drugs from nonpsychoactive prescription and over the counter drugs. Then I analyzed them according to the images the advertisements contained, the content of the text in the advertisement, the types of people most commonly featured in the advertisement, and the emotional tone of the advertisements. Overall, I found psychoactive prescription drugs are advertised more like consumer goods reaching for a large market while traditional medicines are advertised more factually and to a smaller niche market.

One of the many ways in which psychoactive prescription drug advertisements differ from the advertisements of non-psychoactive medicines is in their use of pictures. Pictures in

¹⁷ Tomes, "Remaking the American Patient" 238

psychoactive drug advertisements often times were included in order to show who the drug could treat and how it affected them while non-psychoactive medicine advertisements often had pictures of the medicine itself and which part of the body it effects. These two vastly different uses of pictures showcase two different advertisement techniques which will become clearer through analysis of individual advertisements using these different styles.

Psychoactive drug advertisements that feature people often times feature people who look nervous and distressed. One advertisement for Pfizer's antidepressant Nardil included an image a women who is facing "outward anxiety" while at the same time hiding an "inward depression".¹⁸ While this advertisement is simply warning that anxious people might be hiding depression, it implies that most anxious people are depressed which can lead to people being misprescribed. This trend of showcasing anxious people can be seen in other advertisements such as Mylan Pharmaceutical's advertisement for their sedative Butisol. This Butisol advertisement features a middle aged man in a suit nervously looking off into the distance.¹⁹ These advertisements showcase people looking sad as they are the market for these mind altering psychoactive substances. By making the symptoms this drug cures sadness and anxiety something every person will experience multiple times throughout their life, they increase the potential user base for their drug.

This approach of showing sad people taking the drug is often times followed up in other advertisements showing the magical transformation this drug has helped them go through.

Psychoactive drug advertisements focus on the magical transformation their drug had on people previously suffering from depression or other mental illnesses. These

¹⁸ Medical Economics, volume 38 April 10th 1961, 110-111

¹⁹ Medical Economics, volume 38 April 10th 1961, 166

advertisements will make you think that all of life's problems could be solved simply by taking a magical pill. For example an advertisement for Merck & Company's muscle relaxant Striatran shows a man able to work in his wood shop again after previously not being able to due to his anxiety.²⁰ Due to the magical effects of Striatran this man was able to continue a hobby he previously could not. Another example comes from an advertisement for Ayerst Laboratorie's anorectic Plegine which shows a women previously suffering from over eating finally being able to turn down cake and ice cream thanks to the help of Plegine.²¹ These advertisements show how with these drugs many problems faced by many Americans could simply be solved through the proper medicine.

The most egregious case of advertising the magical effects psychoactive prescription drugs can have on someone can be seen in an advertisement (figure 1) for Wyeth's Anxiolytic Equanil which depicts a middle class family man going about his daily routine.²² This advertisement is coupling middle class white collar success with taking their psychoactive prescription drug. The advertisement shows this man waking up eating breakfast going to work and eating dinner all with a smile on his face thanks to his twice a day prescription to the minor tranquilizer Equanil²³. The advertisement is honing in on men's desire to get a good job and live the American dream with wife and children. This advertisement promises that all of that is possible along with eternal happiness by simply taking two pills a day. This predatory advertisement strategy tells nothing about the drug and only what people want more in their life than anything else, success and happiness.

²⁰ Medical Economics, volume 38 April 10th 1961, 129

²¹ Medical Economics, volume 38 April 10th 1961, 220-221

²² Medical Economics, volume 38 April 10th 1961, 180-181

²³ Medical Economics, volume 38 April 10th 1961, 180-181

Another tactic used by psychoactive drug advertisings is to use a variety of people in order to show that this drug is a perfect fit for almost anyone. Advertisements for weight loss pills such as Biphetamine a type of amphetamine, this advertisement showcases a women trying to resist the urge to eat cookies.²⁴ This reaches the female demographic and also reaches out to people who are looking to lose weight. Another advertisement for a butabarbital barbiturate sedative blood pressure medicine Butiserpazid shows a middle aged man in a shirt and tie looking nervous at the doctor's office.²⁵ This advertisement effectively reaches the male demographic and also ads a sense of realism by making the man nervous in a doctor's office humanizing the model as many people are afraid of the doctor and see a little of him in themselves. The advertisement that tries the hardest to show that their drug can be a good fit for anybody is an advertisement for the powerful and dangerous antipsychotic Thorazine. This advertisement (Figure 2) shows six different hats worn by the different people that can benefit from Thorazine, these range from a senile grandmother, to an alcoholic, and even a hyperactive child.²⁶ This advertisement takes this idea of making potential consumers see themselves in drug advertisements to the extreme by casting a much wider net and trying to appeal to as many types of people as possible. This goes in line with what medical professionals were thinking around the time, as they suggested one half of the residents in New York City had clinically significant anxiety.²⁷ In truth anxiety could be anything from depression to being stressed in certain situations, the broadness of the term anxiety made many people fit this definition. The problem with advertising like this is that the advertisement suggests who this drug will work for without really telling them how it works or why they specifically should take it. The advertisement relies

²⁴ Medical Economics, volume 38 April 10th 1961, 208-209

²⁵ Medical Economics, volume 42 April 5th 1965, 57

²⁶ Medical Economics, volume 42 April 5th 1965, 300-301

²⁷ Herzberg, "Wonder Drugs in America" 51

on the physician to fill in the blanks and assume that since their patient seems like the person in the picture it will work for them as well.

The main focal point of non-psychoactive drug advertisements, on the other hand is often times the packaging or bottle the medicine itself comes in. This can be seen in an advertisement for Novartis Consumer Health's antacid Maalox, where the only picture featured in the whole advertisement is the bottle that Maalox comes in.²⁸ This is greatly different then the pictures featured in the psychoactive prescription drug advertisements the Maalox advertisement does not try to make consumers see themselves in the advertisement. This focus on showcasing the medicine itself is seen again in a children's aspirin advertisement which once again has the bottle of medicine as the only picture in the advertisement.²⁹ This focus on the product shows that these advertisements do not need to show who needs these products since they are for a specific easy to diagnose sickness. When someone has a headache they take an aspirin, when someone is feeling anxious it is much harder to find out what the underlying issue is. The less complex nature of traditional illnesses allows their medical advertisements to be more direct as people know what they are sick with and the advertisement simply needs to show what the medicine is called and looks like.

Advertisements for medicine of traditional illnesses are not totally against showcasing people in their advertisements. This use of people is different however, instead of using actors to make people see themselves in the advertisement traditional illness medication uses models and drawings to show the symptoms their medicine combats. One advertisement (Figure 3) for C.B. Fleet Company's gas and heartburn relief medicine Phazyme shows a man flying in the sky due

²⁸ Medical Economics, volume 42 April 5th 1965, 69

²⁹ Medical Economics, volume 42 April 5th 1965, 184

to the buildup of gas in his body.³⁰ This works well as quickly flipping through the book people would be drawn in by seeing the man flying in the sky and would quickly realize what the advertisement is selling. This technique is seen again in an advertisement for GSK's nasal decongestant Otrivin which features a bunch of cartoon people with large noses.³¹ This advertisement is easily identifiable as a decongestant and follows this picture with some information about the drug. Traditional medicine advertisements use people as a way to easily identify what the drug treats as a way to capture the reader's attention.

Another way in which traditional medicine advertisements differ from those of psychoactive drugs is that they often times show the organ the medicine treats. This is mainly done to make the advertisement easy to digest as the picture quickly indicates what the medicine is for. An advertisement for Robins pharmaceutical's decongestant Dimetapp's Extentabs depicts a cartoon man with a pipe replacing his nose in one panel the pipe is covered in the next it is not thanks to the medicine.³² By highlighting the nose by replacing it with a pipe this advertisement is direct and also memorable, it stands out in a sea of text and depressed looking models. Another advertisement that uses this same technique is for Westwood pharmaceutical's acne medicine Fostex, this advertisement shows little cartoon men washing the skin and removing blackheads.³³ This once again makes it easy to figure out what the medicine is for and what it actually does, cleans the skin and helps treat acne. By making their advertisements contain pictures of what organ they treat, they make it easy to determine what their medicine is

³⁰ Medical Economics, volume 44 May 3rd 1965, 19

³¹ Medical Economics, volume 42 February 8th 1965, 327

³² Medical Economics, volume 44 May 3rd 1965, 189

³³ Medical Economics, volume 44 May 3rd 1965, 246

for. While traditional medicines lose out on the wider net cast by psychoactive drug advertisements they are able to hone in on a specific market.

Another way in which psychoactive drug advertisements and the advertisements of traditional medication differ is in their use of text in their advertisements. The psychoactive drug advertisements often times featured much less text as most of the time they had large pictures. The little text that was included in the psychoactive advertisements was generally not useful as it included blanket statements, and claims of what the drug will do for them but not how. Traditional medicine advertisements often featured much more text that described how the drugs work in detail. Additionally Traditional medicine advertisements often used color, boldface font, and bullets to sell the unique and beneficial effects of the product. In a sense psychoactive advertisements did not want you to focus on the details while traditional medicine advertisements were all about the details and how their drug stands out.

Most psychoactive drug advertisements included very little in the way of text and what text that is included is often vague. One example of such an advertisement (Figure 4) is for WM.S Merrell companies' weight loss drug Tenuate an amphetamine like stimulant, this advertisement predominantly features a picture of an overweight man but some text is included.³⁴ The text included focuses on how being overweight causes more health problems down the road, the text also talks about how some symptoms might be mild nervousness. The text in the advertisement does not included how this drug helps its user except that it is for hunger control. Another example of a psychoactive advertisement being light on text is a Butisol barbiturate advertisement, this advertisement claimed it relieved tension and anxiety with fewer side effects

³⁴ Medical Economics, volume 42 April 5th 1965, 159

than other common medicines.³⁵ This advertisement features no claims as to how the drug works or even a list of side effects that this drug can cause. While this advertisements lack of listed side effects can be contributed to fact that side effects were not required in medical journals until 1962, some other advertisements did contain side effects even before the FDA's 1962 ruling. The lack of information of how the drugs work and also downplaying the side effects a drug can have make it seem like a magical pill that cures all problems. The sad truth however is that often times there were side effects with these drugs and often times were addictive and could eventually lead to an overdose. All of this vital information was left out as it dampens the façade the advertisement is trying to sell as reality. The use of text in non-psychoactive drug advertisements often times is used to sell the strengths of the drug rather than make it seem like a perfect product for everyone.

The advertisements for traditional medicines often times contained more text as the ways in which the medicine effected the body was well tested and documented. One such example is a 1965 advertisement for Mead Johnson Laboratorie's cold medicine Trind, this advertisement featured no images and was two pages full of text about how and why the drug works.³⁶ The advertisement contains loads of information on how the drug cures the symptoms of the common cold and how much of each active ingredient is contained in the drug. The Trind advertisement is very upfront with how it works and what is included in the drug, very much unlike the psychoactive prescription drug advertisements. Another advertisement that includes large amounts of informative text was an advertisement for Children's aspirin.³⁷ The text in this advertisement focuses on how the drug has been tested to be safely used on children and how the

³⁵ Medical Economics, volume 38 April 10th 1961, 166

³⁶ Medical Economics, volume 42 April 5th 1965, 62-63

³⁷ Medical Economics, volume 42 April 5th 1965, 184

drug is the best choice for children's aspirin. Both of these advertisements use large amounts of text to distinguish themselves as a unique product with a specific purpose unlike the vague text included in psychoactive drug advertisements. Traditional medicine advertisements also used boldface and color as a way to make the most crucial information in the advertisement easy to identify and digest.

Since Medical Economics has so many advertisements each advertisement had to do something to draw the eye of the reader so they simply do not flip past it. One of the most effective ways to do this in regards to text is to give it color, or make it bold. Once again Trind's 1965 cold advertisement clearly understands how to have not only a thorough write up but also an effective one. The Trind advertisement uses color effectively by highlighting the most crucial parts of the advertisement such as the name of the drug what it treats and how it treats the symptoms of the common cold.³⁸ The color contains all of the need to know information while the rest of the text contains active ingredients and additional information that is useful but not necessary to sell the product. The Phazyme Gas advertisement that was mentioned earlier also uses a few of these techniques such as making the words gas and Phazyme bold.³⁹ Color was also used to make some more information stand out, such as that Phazyme relieves Gastrula Intestinal gas quickly and safely. By just reading these few bolded and colored words potential consumers could easily determine what the drug is for instead of reading multiple paragraphs. All of these advertisements only have a few seconds before the reader moves on. Traditional medicines effectively managed their text to ensure readers could quickly realize what the product was called and what it treats.

³⁸ Medical Economics, volume 42 April 5th 1965, 62-63

³⁹ Medical Economics, volume 44 May 3rd 1965, 19

There were many differences in the types of models used for psychoactive prescription drugs and more traditional medicine. For one Psychoactive drug advertisements featured doctors significantly more often than advertisements for more traditional medicines did. This could be done for many reasons however the most likely is that by having a doctor it gives the medicine more of a sense of legitimacy. Another major difference between the two types of medicine when it comes to advertising is that psychoactive drug advertisements featured more real people while traditional drug advertisements were more willing to use drawings of people. This mainly is due to the fact that by having real people both men and women, consumers can see a bit of themselves in the advertisement. Traditional drug advertisements are more concerned with getting across what the drug treats so drawings allow more creativity in portraying how the drug affects its patients.

The most obvious and potentially most telling difference between the two types of drug advertisements is how much more often doctors appear in the advertisements of psychoactive prescription drugs. An advertisement (Figure 5) for Wallace Laboratories tranquilizer Meprospan-400 depicts a patient anxiously sitting with a doctor who is prescribing Meprospan-400 to relive her anxiety.⁴⁰ The doctor comforting the patient and prescribing this drug does two things firstly it shows that this drug is here to help the patient. Secondly by including a doctor it adds legitimacy to the product as if a doctor is seen promoting the drug it must be good, who would argue with a highly educated medical professional? While non-psychoactive drugs could use this strategy of including doctors, psychoactive advertisements have more to gain as their drugs are more potent and have more dangerous side effects. Another advertisement that features a doctor in order to gain legitimacy for their drug was a 1965 advertisement for Wallace

⁴⁰ Medical Economics, volume 42 April 5th 1965, 48

Laboratories' minor tranquilizer Miltown. This advertisement featured a picture of a doctor with the caption "Why not Miltown?" followed by "There are few nots in Miltown therapy".⁴¹ By including a doctor and saying why not Miltown the advertisement makes it seem like Miltown is a safe drug trusted by doctors everywhere. This simply was not the case as the next page of the advertisement features a large paragraph of text filled with the dangerous side effects of Miltown. Furthermore 50% of Miltown prescriptions were refills and patients hoarded pills ahead of time in case the pharmacy was out.⁴² Miltown's safety was certainly questionable, but having no downside like the advertisement suggests is entirely untrue. By simply including a doctor in their advertisements psychoactive prescription drugs are able to gain "legitimacy" without actually earning any of it. The problem with marketing a minor tranquilizer as a good general medicine like asprin is that tranquilizers are incredibly addictive and have dangerous side effects.

Doctors were also used in another way when it came to psychoactive prescription advertisements, mainly they were used to sell the drugs to other doctors. A 1961 advertisement for Maltbie Laboratories' tranquilizer Dornwal showed a doctor looking over a patient resting on a couch, the advertisement went on to boast about the versatility of Dornwal and how every doctor should have a few on them.⁴³ This not only uses a doctor to "legitimize" the product but the advertisement is directly advising doctors to always have the drug on hand as it could be used for many situations. Since *Medical Economics* is sent to doctors and is read by almost exclusively doctors this advertisement is hoping to get as many doctors as possible to buy their drug for general use.

⁴¹ Medical Economics, volume 42 April 5th 1965, 1-2

⁴² Herzberg, "Wonder Drugs in America" 45

⁴³ Medical Economics, volume 38 April 10th 1961, 14

Another major difference in the use of people between the two types of drugs advertising is that psychoactive prescription drugs are willing to use real people much more often and uses both sexes quite evenly. The use of real actors can be seen across many of the psychoactive prescription drug advertisements that have been discussed in the previous sections. Psychoactive prescription drug advertisements were willing to use real actors as it was more relatable for doctors to see a bit of their patients in the advertisement. If a doctor was reading these advertisements they were quickly able to find a psychoactive drug advertisement that depicted someone that reminds them of one of their patients. At that point a doctor might prescribe based on the similarities seen between their patient and an advertisement instead of going of what medicine is the best for their patient. A Tenuate advertisement explicitly advertised to doctors by showing an overweight man and stated that by being overweight he would cause more trouble for them down the line.⁴⁴ The advertisement made doctors think of the overweight patients they had and offered a solution that in the long term promised to save time and improve the patient's quality of life. The use of real and diverse actors in psychoactive prescription drug advertisements was a technique that allowed these products to cast a wide net in an attempt to gain as many consumers as possible.

Traditional medicine advertisements were much more willing to throw real models to the side and use drawings to better illustrate what their medicine does instead of who it is for. This can be seen in an advertisement (Figure 6) for William H. Rorer's Antidiarrheal Parepectolin which shows 3 revolutionary era soldiers firing a cannon, this is used to show how Parepectolin clears the bowls and attacks diarrhea.⁴⁵ The drawn solders and cannon stand out and make the

⁴⁴ Medical Economics, volume 42 April 5th 1965, 159

⁴⁵ Medical Economics, volume 44 May 3rd 1965, 125

reader wonder what the drug is for and by quickly reading some bolded text they quickly find out what it is for. The Dimetapp Extentabs advertisement discussed earlier uses a pipe drawn in place of the nose to catch a reader's eye and quickly distinguish that the advertisement is for clearing a patient's nose.⁴⁶ This focus on distinguishing what the medicine does instead of who it is for, allows traditional medicine to avoid using models to find a consumer base. People would not compare decongestant advertisements to find a person they can relate to using a specific brand. Consumers just want the best decongestant for their sickness. Psychoactive prescription drug advertisements rely on the model in the picture to help sell the drug as patients identify with the model in the advertisement.

The emotional tone of psychoactive prescription drug advertisements was drastically different than the tone of traditional medicine advertisements. Psychoactive drug advertisements often times had one of two distinct tones, the first tone is of hopelessness and anxiety before the patient has taken the drug being sold. The second tone is one of happiness and triumph which takes place after the patient has taken the drug. Finally psychoactive drug advertisements give off a tone saying why not give the drug a try due to its vague text and variety of actors. The tone in advertisements for traditional medicine is much different, often time's models and pictures are used for humor. The tone of these advertisements are also more upbeat and less serious due to the illnesses they treat which are often less serious illnesses. Finally these advertisements focus on the illness at hand rather than people taking the drug like psychoactive prescription drug advertisements.

⁴⁶ Medical Economics, volume 44 May 3rd 1965, 189

One of the most common tones psychoactive prescription drug advertisements give off is one of hopelessness. This is often the case to show how life can be hard for people suffering from anxiety and tension. One advertisement that captures this tone is a Nardil advertisement that features two pictures of a women's face in black and white looking depressed.⁴⁷ Psychoactive prescription drug advertisements have this darker tone as it appeals to people who feel like they cannot go on with anxiety. By selling the depression and anxiety Nardil is able to ties its product with feeling sad effectively increasing its potential market. Another advertisement that uses hopelessness to sell its product is a Butisol advertisement which contains spouses violently arguing over a small decision.⁴⁸ This advertisement uses unwarranted anger to urge anyone suffering from tension or anyone that is quick to overreact to buy Butisol as it will solve these problems. The tones of hopelessness in these advertisements focus on how patients were before they have taken the medicine.

These "hopeless" advertisements have another side to the same story that is once the patient is successfully on the medicine and how their life has changed for the better.

The second major tone contained in psychoactive prescription drug advertisements: happiness and triumph after the patient takes the drug being advertised. There are many ways in which this is done but in every way the patient's life is significantly better after they take the drug. One example of the tone of Triumph being used was in a Plegine advertisement which featured a women who previously struggled with overeating turning down a plate with cake and ice cream.⁴⁹ Thanks to Plegine this women was able to overcome something that she was struggling with for a long time, and if she can it could work for anyone. Tying

⁴⁷ Medical Economics, volume 38 April 10th 1961, 129

⁴⁸ Medical Economics, volume 44 May 3rd 1965, 12

⁴⁹ Medical Economics, volume 38 April 10th 1961, 220-221

personal achievement to a medicine is a powerful form of marketing because everyone wants to succeed and be happy. If your product can make those two things happen it would be almost universally desired. One advertisement that really sells the happiness one can obtain from psychoactive prescription drugs is an Equanil advertisement. This Equanil advertisement shows a married man going about his day, waking up, going to work, and coming home to a cooked dinner by his lovely wife.⁵⁰ Throughout the entire advertisement the man is in a happy mood and smiling. This advertisement ties taking Equanial with white collar success, happiness, and achieving the American dream. The tones of hopelessness and the tones of triumph and happiness work together to show just how much better a consumers life could be if they just gave their medicine a try.

The final tone common in psychoactive prescription drug advertisements is more subtle but definitely plays off of the previous two tones. By showing how bad people's lives were before the drugs and how much better they got after they took them it gives of a tone saying why not give it a try. The advertisements showcase no downside as when someone takes the drugs their life gets less bad or improves significantly. This can also be seen by the wide range of models being used in the advertisements. All of these different people have had their lives improved thanks to these medicines so the advertisements are essentially saying why not give it a try. This is also strengthened by the vague text often included in the advertisements. By saying these drugs treat nervousness and anxiety it seems this drug can be useful for anyone that is effected by regular human emotions. The advertisements do not even include chronic anxiety which means they are not explicitly clarifying what they mean by anxiety. The wide net that

⁵⁰ Medical Economics, volume 38 April 10th 1961, 180-181

psychoactive prescription drug advertisements cast along with the vague text siting normal human emotions has created a tone saying why not give this medicine a try.

One of the more common tones included in the advertisements of traditional medicines is humor. This sense of humor mainly exists as a way to quickly capture the attention of a person flipping through *Medical Economics*. An advertisement for Phazyme shows a large bloated man flying over New York City thanks to his gas buildup.⁵¹ This absurd image will quickly gather attention and inquire to see what the advertisement is for and with traditional medicines that is enough information. If a doctor could only takeaway that Phazyme was for gas buildup in their quick investigation for what this image was then the advertisement has successfully done its job. This use of humor can also be seen in an advertisement for the diarrhea medicine Parepectolin which features 3 revolutionary soldiers shooting off a cannon.⁵² Comparing treating diarrhea with firing off a cannon is a funny comparison which makes the advertisement more memorable than if it was simply the bottle the medicine comes in. Once again humor allows traditional medicines to make memorable advertisements that hopefully plant the name of the drug in the readers mind. Some consumers when comparing two medicines for the same illness might actually base their decision on which advertisement is funnier due to many of these medicines being very similar in composition. Overall humor allows traditional medicines to stand out in their advertisements and make their drug stand out from the rest of the competition.

Another major tonal characteristic of traditional medicine advertisements is that they are on the whole, more upbeat. This is mainly due to the less serious nature of something like a cold compared to depression or other mental illnesses. One advertisement that features a more upbeat

⁵¹ Medical Economics, volume 44 May 3rd 1965, 19

⁵² Medical Economics, volume 44 May 3rd 1965, 125

attitude is a Fostex attitude which has 3 happy carton janitors cleaning up acne.⁵³ No one is clinically depressed in this advertisement and nobody is saying this product will fix all the problems in your life. The advertisement simply states that Fostex is the best product when it comes to cleaning acne. This advertisement has a much lighter tone compared to the doom and gloom in some psychoactive prescription drug advertisements due to the less serious nature of acne. Another advertisement that has a more upbeat tone is for the antacid Maalox which simply praises how well this antacid works.⁵⁴ By focusing on the benefits of the drug and not on the suffering of people who need the drug but have not taken it the tone is much lighter. This focus on the benefits of the drug lead well into the last major tonal difference of traditional medicines.

The last major tone in traditional medicine advertisements is the major focus on the experience of taking the drug. A diarrhea advertisement for The Upjohn Company's antidiarrheal Kao-Con is a perfect example, the picture shows a straw coming out of the bottle and text saying "it could almost be sipped through a straw".⁵⁵ Since traditional medicines treat a very specific illness focusing on an aspect like the taste can be enough to distinguish itself from its competitors. Shoppers choosing between two products that do the same thing would be more inclined to pick based on the taste of the medicine. This is in contrast to the advertisements for psychoactive prescription drugs which focus on the types of people who and reasons why they take the drug. An advertisement for phosphor-soda also focuses on how taking this medicine is more enjoyable than its competitors. This advertisement claims that the old saline laxative taste is gone and replaced with an appealing ginger lemon flavor.⁵⁶ A patient would be more willing to

⁵³ Medical Economics, volume 44 May 3rd 1965, 246

⁵⁴ Medical Economics, volume 42 April 5th 1965, 69

⁵⁵ Medical Economics, volume 44 May 3rd 1965, 159

⁵⁶ Medical Economics, volume 43 April 19th 1965, 293

use taste as a determining factor for which laxative they buy than using taste as a determining factor to which tranquilizer they should take. By claiming their old taste is revamped they acknowledged previous complaints in order to produce a better product. Traditional medicines focus on the experience one has taking the drug while the psychoactive prescription advertisements focus on how someone who should be taking this drug will feel.

There are many differences in the ways in which psychoactive prescription drugs and traditional medicine are advertised. Based on all of these differences it is clear that psychoactive drug advertisements are more like the advertisements of traditional consumer goods instead of a medical need. By creating a fantasy world where people taking the advertised drugs live happy lives, it takes the focus off the legitimacy of the product and puts the focus on the happiness these models are feeling. Readers will attach the emotion used in the advertisement to their perception of the drug brand which can have an influence on which drug a doctor prescribes or what drug a patient takes. This is reminiscent to a ford motor advertisement contained in the *Saturday Evening Post* the image included in the advertisement was a family spending quality time sitting together in the living room.⁵⁷ The product is taking a backseat to the story being told in the advertisement as tying family values to a Ford could be more valuable than a simple rundown of the features on Ford's newest car. Ford trying to use emotion to market their cars is innocent enough and probably sold quite a few cars. Marketing a product using emotion instead of objective facts becomes much scarier when the product is very powerful mind altering drugs.

This appeal to as many people as possible approach is in stark contrast to the advertising strategy of traditional medicines. Unlike the vague claims used in psychoactive prescription drug advertisements traditional medicine advertisements have very detailed descriptions of what is in

⁵⁷ Marchland, "Advertising the American Dream" 251

the drug and how it relives the buyer's symptoms. The goal of these advertisements is to sell to their consumers that they are the best medicine to fight that specific illness and often time will attempt to innovate in some way to outsell their competition. Instead of relying on emotion to sell their product they rely on how the product helps the consumer and how their product differs itself from the other medicines for that specific illness. Unlike psychoactive prescription drugs traditional medicines are comfortable with the niche market that they have. This small niche market makes sense as not everyone is sick and once you buy the product it hopefully relives you of your sickness. Psychoactive prescription drugs are different, they are used once or twice daily and they are generally used for the rest of the patient's life. There is more of an incentive to push wonder drugs to a large market since once they are adopted by someone they are generally a long term source of revenue.

Wonder drugs were introduced to the American public at the perfect time to be an economic success. The economy was booming after World War II allowing many American's to look past the bare essentials and purchase more luxury consumer goods. The role of men and women at home and at work was also rapidly changing, and wonder drugs were a way to help people adapt to these new changes. At the same exact time the medical and pharmaceutical industry were going through commercial revolutions. Doctors were taught to charge what the market could bare and with the economy doing so well profits increased for both doctors and the pharmaceutical companies.⁵⁸ The economic and cultural climate of America created a perfect storm which allowed psychoactive prescription drugs to flourish which in turn encouraged pharmaceutical industries to increase research in order to bring more drugs to market.

⁵⁸ Tomes, "Remaking the American Patient" 166

This pushing to a large market becomes an issue when the products being pushed are incredibly strong drugs that effect the chemical balance inside the user's brain. When a detergent company markets to the lowest common denominator its fine since they are marketing a harmless product which every American has in their home. It is a much different case when the pharmaceutical industry is marketing addictive substances that affect the user's brain to as many people as they can. The ways in which traditional medicines advertise is ethical and reasonable, they simply give the facts about how their drug works. Once a pharmaceutical company starts pushing for mass adoption of products it becomes an issue as their focus no longer is giving people the medicine they need. The focus on profits threaten the safety of consumers and damage the reputation of the American pharmaceutical industry. Consumers will not feel safe getting prescribed something from the doctor as they would not know if they actually need the drug or just fit enough of the criteria to be prescribed it. Exploring these two drastic advertising strategies show two sides to the pharmaceutical industry, the side that creates medicine and gets that medicine to people who desperately need it. The other side is focused on creating advertisements that market their drug to the most people and reaching profit projections while increasing the growth of the industry as a whole.

Included images

Figure 1



Figure 2

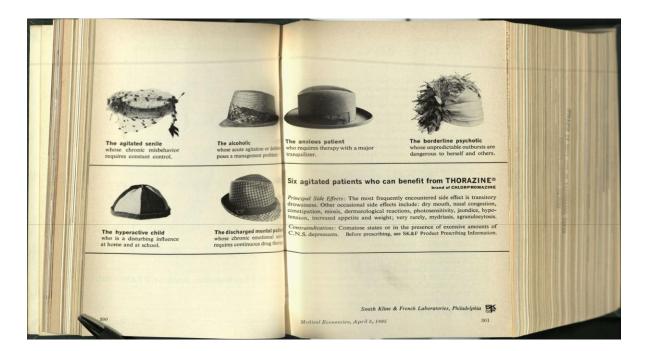




Figure 3

Figure 4

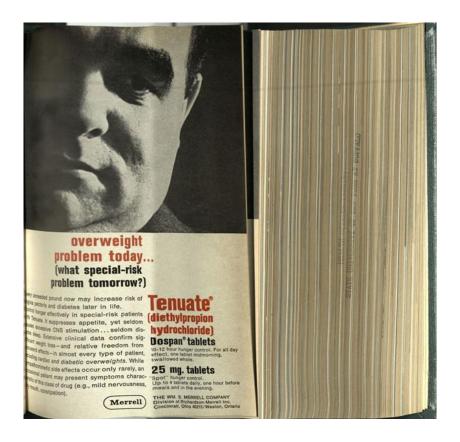


Figure 5

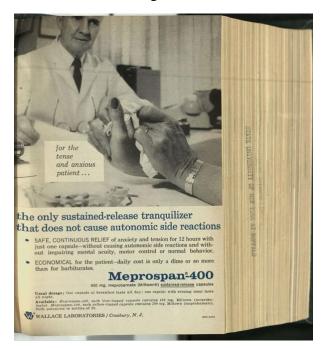


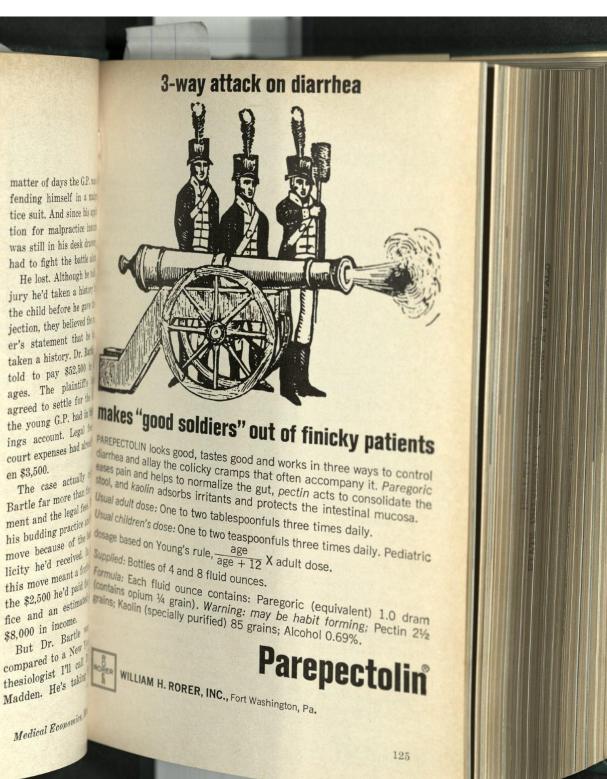
Figure 6

matter of days the G.P. m fending himself in a min tice suit. And since his and tion for malpractice inst was still in his desk drawe had to fight the battle also

He lost. Although he tail jury he'd taken a history the child before he gare is jection, they believed the er's statement that he taken a history. Dr. Bark told to pay \$52,500 in ages. The plaintiffs agreed to settle for the

The case actually But Dr. Bartle compared to a New thesiologist I'll cal Madden. He's takin

Medical Economics.



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Tomes, Nancy, *Remaking the American Patient: How Madison Avenue and Modern Medicine Turned Patients into Consumers*. Chapel Hill, 2016. "This source explored how over time doctors and pharmaceutical companies transformed into economic powerhouses. Tomes covers how this transformation affected doctors, patients, and pharmaceutical companies."

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Biphetamine advertisement, *Medical Economics*, April 10th,1961 pg. 208-209 "This Biphetamine advertisement showcases how wonder drug advertisements often times specifically targeted women. This advertisement showcases a women attempting to turn down a cookie and not succeeding, Biphetamine promises to make next time a success."

Butiserpazid advertisement, *Medical Economics*, April 5th, 1965 pg. 57 "This Butiserpazid advertisement showcases how wonder drug advertisements specifically targeted men. This advertisement shows a well-dressed man looking nervous in a doctor's office, Butiserpazid claims it can help this man's nervousness."

Butisol advertisement, *Medical Economics*, April 10th, 1961 pg. 166 "This advertisement showcased the ways in which advertisements implied life without Butisol is a life filled with sadness. This advertisements uses sadness as a symptom that Butisol solves."

Dimetapp's Extentabs advertisement, *Medical Economics*, May 3rd, 1965 pg. 189 "This advertisement is another great example of how by over emphasizing an organ in a cartoon makes the name and function of the medicine easy to determine."

Dornwal advertisement, *Medical Economics*, April 10th, 1961 pg. 14 "This advertisement showcases how doctors were used in psychoactive prescription drug advertisements as a way to sell more Dornwal to doctors."

Equanil advertisement, *Medical Economics*, April 10th, 1961 pg. 180-181 "This advertisement showcases how wonder drug advertisements used images of success and of someone achieving the American dream in order to tie success with their drug."

Fostex advertisement, *Medical Economics*, May 3rd, 1965 pg. 246 "By having a picture of cartoon janitors cleaning someone's skin this Fostex advertisement makes itself easy to read at a glance."

Kao-Con advertisement, *Medical Economics*, May 3rd, 1965 pg. 159 "This advertisement for the antidiuretic shows how traditional medicines differentiated themselves from their competitors. This advertisement focused on the Kao-Con's superior taste."

Maalox advertisement, *Medical Economics*, April 5th, 1965 pg. 69" This advertisement showcases how traditional medicines focused on what the medicine looked like in the store and how it differed from its competitors."

Meprospan-400 advertisement, *Medical Economics*, April 5th, 1965 pg. 48 "This advertisement showcases how wonder drug advertisements often showcased doctors as a way for their drug to gain credibility."

Miltown advertisement, *Medical Economics*, April 5th, 1965 pg. 1-2 "This advertisement for the minor tranquilizer Miltown once again showcases how doctors were used in wonder drug advertisements in order to give drugs the added credibility of a doctor's endorsement."

Nardil advertisement, *Medical Economics*, April 10th 1961 pg. 110-111 "This Nardil Advertisement depicts a women being depressed before she tries the medicine being advertised. This was a common tactic used in psychoactive prescription drug advertisements."

Otrivin advertisement, *Medical Economics*, February 8th, 1965 pg. 327 "This Otrivin advertisement showed how including pictures of the organ a medicine treats is an effective way to make sure doctors flipping through *Medical Economics* will know what Otrivin is for."

Parepectolin advertisement, *Medical Economics*, May 3rd, 1965 pg. 125 "This advertisement for Parepectolin shows how humor can be an effective eye catcher for advertisements in *Medical Economics*."

Phazyme advertisement, *Medical Economics*, May 3rd, 1965 pg. 19 "This Phazyme advertisement is a great example of how traditional medicines used humor to grab the eye of doctors reading through medical economics."

Plegine advertisement, *Medical Economics*, April 10th 1961 pg. 220-221 "This Plegine advertisement showcases a women overcoming her eating problem thanks to Plegine. This tactic is used to show the positive effect wonder drugs have on their users."

Saint. Joseph Children's Aspirin advertisement, *Medical Economics*, April 5th, 1965 pg. 184 "This advertisement featured a common tactic used in the advertisements of traditional medicines, which is showing what the medicine will look like in a drug store."

Striatran advertisement, *Medical Economics*, April 10th 1961 pg. 129 "This advertisement shows just how much better a patient's life could be if they take Striatran. The advertisement showcases a man finally being able to resume woodworking a hobby which he had to stop due to tremors and nervousness."

Tenuate advertisement, *Medical Economics*, April 5th, 1965 pg. 159 " This advertisement directly advertises to doctors by arguing that Tenuate will help their patients lose weight saving the doctors time later by preventing diabetes and other diseases."

Thorazine advertisement, *Medical Economics*, April 5th, 1965 pg. 300-301 "This advertisement is a great example of how pharmaceutical companies attempted to market their drugs to as many people as possible."

Trind advertisement, *Medical Economics*, April 5th, 1965 pg. 62-63 "This advertisement for cold medicine shows how many traditional medicines advertised, mainly by focusing on the way their drug cures a specific sickness and how it differs from its competitors"