

Beauty Begins at 7am: Cosmetics, Fashion, Consumer Goods and Beauty Mythology in 1950s and 1960s Australia

Karen Hutchings

When faced with the [beauty] myth, the questions to ask are not about women's faces and bodies but about the power relations of the situation. Who is this serving? Who says? Who profits? What is the context? ... A woman's appearance is often more called to her attention for a political reason than as a constituent of genuine attraction and desire.¹

Wolf's groundbreaking and controversial social treatise, *The Beauty Myth*, raises some useful questions about beauty mythology. Wolf suggests that we view the ideology of beauty against the prevailing culture to find out why the beauty myth exists in the way that it does and what political purpose it serves. This is a useful approach to apply to the 1950s and 1960s and the way that beauty culture operated then. What can post-war advertising and editorial pronouncements on beauty tell us about women's place in society and gender roles of the time? This is best seen in the context of fifty years or so of developments in the technology of media and mass production and its concomitant effects on conceptions of 'modern' femininity. The early years of the twentieth century witnessed a revolution in the ways in which femininity and beauty were defined in popular culture and advertising. This revolution reflected wider social changes in the role of women and in ideals of desirable female behaviour.

At the turn of the century concern over falling birth rates and a belief in population as power meant that women's role was chiefly defined as maternal.² As a consequence advertising and advice literature of this period centred around women's uterine capacity. Women were routinely portrayed as stately matrons, aged between thirty-five and fifty years of age, and were often depicted in company with their young adult children who were a generation younger than their mothers.³ Though almost always married, these women were very rarely shown paying attention to their husbands, and in fact husbands were almost never depicted in such advertisements. Women were instead shown doting on their children. 'The women ostensibly lived in a state 'purified' from romantic involvement and sexual desire'.⁴

However at about the time of the first world war the image of the mature, dignified female began to change. It was at this time too that Eugenicists increasingly began to stress quality rather than quantity in terms of family size, which meant that women were supposed to devote themselves to a much smaller and more emotionally intense family unit in which the husband would play a greater emotional role. In this context it was less the woman's responsibility to produce a host of children than it was for her to look after them and the cohesion of the family as a whole, husband included. It was also a period in which the shortage of domestic help in the home meant that women had to take a much more active role in the care of their children and of the

home. By the 1920s and 30s developments in technology began to cater for a self sufficient domestic environment, while 'chemical and electrical technologies' became central elements in the 'commercialisation of beauty' that occurred at the same time.⁵

Modernity began to be invoked in the definition of a new femininity in which sexual attractiveness rather than maternity was focussed on. A famous physical culture expert, Annette Kellerman published a book in 1918 in which she promoted the cultivation of physical beauty for women as the best way in which to attract and keep a husband.⁶ The gender ratio imbalance brought about by the first world war no doubt made it more imperative to hold onto your man once you had caught him. As Jill Julius Matthews observes, 'here was a new and in some ways shocking attitude, which emphasised the role of wife and sexual partner, not mother, as the pinnacle of female ambition'.⁷ The rise of the flapper with bobbed hair, rouged cheeks, lipstick and heavy perfume, personified by Clara Bow, Hollywood's 'It' girl, showcased a new, nubile female body. With the disappearance of the neck to toe fashions of previous eras, the female body was now on show to a much greater degree than ever seen before. Although in previous eras such blatant sexuality would have been a signifier of a wanton and narcissistic woman, by the mid 1930s this kind of appearance was deemed a non-negotiable feature of modern femininity.⁸ Women in advertisements of the 1920s and 1930s were portrayed as young — between fifteen and thirty-five years of age — and in fact clothing styles in such advertisements made it hard to distinguish between girls and women, so similar were they. Women were depicted exuding a discreet sex appeal and often seen flirting with men or kissing beaux or husbands. In keeping with the sexual rather than maternal theme, they were far less likely to be seen with children.⁹

During the second world war the definition and depiction of modern femininity shifted slightly. Women's duty was now seen as patriotic and thus beauty and sexuality were submerged somewhat beneath boiler suits, head scarfs, trousers, and Victory suits made out of flour bags. The fashion for wearing long flowing hair, modelled on film actress Veronica Lake, became less than practical for women factory workers who risked getting their long tresses caught in machinery, so Lake was directed to change the fashion to the more functional snood. Practicality was the keynote, yet women were still encouraged to be beautiful in order to keep up the morale of the fighting men.

After the war, austerity went out as Dior's New Look of 1947 came in. In 1950s and 1960s advertising, beauty and youthfulness were more than ever before the two catchwords most used in the evocation of modern femininity. As Janice Winship suggests, although beauty is not a new component of femininity, advertising has played an instrumental role in redefining its meaning. Thus the notion of beauty as a natural given was dispelled by advertising's promise that beauty could be achieved by any woman with the use of the right product.¹⁰ In order to sell an increasingly vast array of perfumes, skin lotions, lipsticks, foundation, mascara, deodorants, talcum powder, shampoo, breath fresheners, soap and hair sprays, advertisers attempted to create a powerful sense of female inadequacy and shame over natural body processes, functions and odours. Bodily consciousness and disdain of natural functions had been around since at least the 1920s, but it seemed to reach new peaks of hysteria in the post-war period.¹¹ Having body hair, bad breath, wrinkled skin, lacklustre hair, or perspiration odour apparently could have dire social consequences:

The Beautiful and the Damned

‘They’ll whisper about you’ — Perspiration odours DO offend. Play safe — use MUM. Birthday parties are not much fun when nobody bothers with you. If ONLY she’d spent that extra 30 seconds making sure of her personal freshness. Safeguard your personal freshness ... then you can be sure of social acceptance.¹²

According to advertisements such as this one, every woman had a ‘secret’, whether it be her age, bad breath, menstruation or perspiration that had to be kept hidden from her friends and family as much as possible. For example, one Tampax advertisement urged the use of what was coyly described as ‘internal sanitary protection’, for the simple reason that ‘it never reveals your *secret!*’¹³ The menstrual taboo that the advertising copy reflected made keeping such a secret a cultural imperative for most women. For while the purchase of Tampax Tampons could bring peace of mind for the female consumer from the possibilities of tell-tale leakages or odours at period time, the very fact that women urgently needed to conceal evidence of a purely natural physical process reinforced the idea that this was a dirty and revolting occurrence.¹⁴ The irony here is of course that women were defined as most feminine when they were denying the biological givens that made them female.

Women were defined as being the most attractive when they were the most doll-like. So while it was preferable for them not to perspire or menstruate, it was also preferable if they did not age, but stayed perpetually young, their appearance never revealing a wrinkle or blemish that might suggest they had lived more than twenty or so years. An advertisement for Vymkin Vitamin Mineral Capsules, asked ‘When people guess your age, how close do they get?’¹⁵ Clearly your age was a fact that you were never to reveal, a secret that could be well-kept only if you consumed the right vitamins or bought the right beauty products, in the following case, Palmolive soap.¹⁶

In August 1963 a Colgate Palmolive TV commercial appeared in which Sally and her husband are holidaying in the Pacific Islands and meet an old schoolfriend of Sally’s — June, and her husband. June’s husband expresses surprise that she and Sally are the same age, for June looks so much younger. ‘Sally expresses horror at the fact that she has *aged so noticeably* ... and that her complexion is inferior’ [my emphasis], and asks June for advice, whereupon June recommends Palmolive soap in a choice of green or pink.¹⁷ This commercial reflects the importance of the appearance of youth as an essential of femininity, the youthful imperative being very much a given in advertising for women’s cosmetic products since the 1930s.¹⁸ It also reflects the relation between women and advertisers in which a male authority makes observations about a woman’s appearance that she would otherwise remain unaware of, reinforcing the cultural given of the ‘male gaze’ in which woman was positioned as object to man’s subject.¹⁹ The direst problem for a woman was presented as her inability to hold the gaze of her man or men in general. The solution to this problem was always presented in terms of the purchase of a soap, depilatory lotion, shampoo, face cream or breath freshener. Women who failed to do this, it was implied, would be shunned and remain unloved — like the girl at the birthday party who omitted to use ‘Mum’. Women were thus pitted against one another as competitors in ‘an incredible beauty contest’ in which the prize was the approbation of men in general and/or one man in particular.²⁰ Advertisements for products such as foundation garments and depilatory products

urged women to wear Gossard girdles 'Specially for Him', while using Silkymit for legs that 'every man admires and every woman envies', and brushing with Ipana toothpaste for 'inviting, kissable-clean breath always'.²¹ As Marilyn Lake observes, advertising encouraged women to position themselves as sex[ed] objects, since femininity was increasingly defined in terms of 'heterosexual desirability'.²²

Pink is for BOYS! Which of these luscious Judith Arden (lipstick) pinks would he like you to wear? There's something about the new Pinks that every boy will notice ... they're so alluringly, captivatingly feminine, they're satin soft. Wear one tomorrow and see what a difference it makes with him. These are the Judith Arden pinks boys really GO for.²³

Advertisers stressed that you could never be sure to keep that elusive husband or boyfriend unless you maintained sexual allure and kept other, particularly younger and thinner, women, out of the picture. Consciousness of one's figure and weight was just beginning to emerge as an important theme at this time, though unlike the 'Twiggy' anorexic adolescent boy look which was to come later, the ideal weight and figure type was a lot closer to a normal, achievable reality for most women, and looks distinctly chubby by 1990s standards. In the 1950s and early 1960s, keeping one's figure in check, mostly through girdles rather than dieting, was less about a woman's sense of self-confidence and healthy well-being than as part of the business of engaging the male gaze. Thus a TV commercial for Eck's Lo-Cal Lemonade featured a beach scene in which a lifeguard tries to guess a young girl's weight while her measurements '34-21-34' were the key words of the sales jingle.²⁴

Meanwhile a Ryvita advertisement featured 'top fashion model' Margo McKendry who apparently used the Ryvita 'three point plan to new figure beauty'. The rationale behind acquiring this kind of beauty was clearly to attract the attention of men as the advertising copy urged readers to treat themselves to 'new 'second-look' figure loveliness'.²⁵ And for those who didn't want the worry and bother of going on a diet to lose those extra pounds, or the discomfort of enduring the chafe of a girdle all day to lose the appearance of those extra pounds, apparently just putting on a Supertex dressing gown could do the trick, as a promotion for Supertex Slender Line Gowns boasted 'Chenille Gowns are Glamour garments now — you're slimmer — lovelier in NEW Slender Line Gowns by Supertex'.²⁶ A reader of the Australian Women's Weekly's Teen Weekly denounced this obsession with slimness as a 'silly fad', and used the concept of attracting a man to argue against dieting — 'not so many years ago men liked their women to have a little fat on their bones. Now it appears they enjoy the company of something close to a skeleton! Or do they? Have they any choice in the matter, or has fashion got out of hand? Maybe they'd prefer their girls fatter, but are too polite to say so'.²⁷ In so arguing however this teenage reader did not deny that men had a right to state their preference for female weight ideals — whether fat or thin — so that the concept of the legitimacy of male control over female body image remained.

Increasingly beauty was seen less as a quality you were born with (or without) than as something you could achieve with the judicious use of certain beauty products. A cartoon in *Woman's Day* highlighted this belief in depicting a door to door beauty product salesman greeting an extremely ugly and unkempt woman with the comment 'I suggest you buy me out, lock, stock and barrel'.²⁸ Failure to appear beautiful was

failure to use the right products, as an advertisement for Pond's cold cream made explicit: 'How lovely you look tomorrow depends on how well you clean your face tonight'.²⁹ Similarly, a promotion for Davis gelatine cautioned 'Beauty to your fingertips means all over loveliness, right to your fingernails, so noticeable in your every gesture. Science is proving that a daily intake of gelatine may greatly improve nails that are lacklustre, brittle and tend toward breaking'.³⁰ The idea that you were stuck with the face or features God had given you was strictly taboo, and this in an age before the widespread use of cosmetic surgery. Revlon declared the 'naked' eye passe, advising female consumers that 'for the first time, the color, shape and size of your eyes are absolutely up to you! A whole new world of tantalizing fashion colors to play with — to turn your eyes from baby blue to jungle green to glittery gold and back again. That's 'The Look!'.³¹ In a similar manner Pond's Angel Face make-up boasted 'Be everything you want to be with Angel-Face by Pond's ... Provocative, Vivacious, Piquant'.³²

However, advertisers were not wholly comfortable with the idea of beauty as blatant artifice and so many advertisements invoked notions of 'natural' beauty that could be enhanced by the use of certain products, Rexona soap in particular, which urged 'Bring out your natural loveliness with Rexona soap', and 'Natural loveliness can be yours. Rexona soap nourishes your skin with four rare beauty oils. The radiant glow of natural, petal-soft skin beauty is yours — with cool jade Rexona Soap'.³³ Nature was thus something which could be improved upon so that in the end it was difficult to tell where the woman in her 'natural' state left off and the improvement began. In this way beauty was not concealing the truth but enhancing it, as in this advertisement for Revlon's 'Touch and Glow' make-up:

Why tell him it's make-up. He's convinced it's you! And it is you ... your complexion perfected by the lasting loveliness of delicate color. Just smooth on Revlon 'Touch and Glow' and see a soft, warm change come over your complexion. It's the way you feel in candlelight ... the way you look in any light when your make-up is Revlon 'Touch and Glow'. So quick, so easy ... goes on in minutes — stays freshly glowing all through the day. Just choose your shade from one of seven beautifully blended skin tones ... and see your complexion bloom with a beautiful new glow.³⁴

Of course the idea that it was impossible to tell where your make-up ended and your face began may also have appealed to women still nervous about admitting to wearing make-up at all. As Jon Stratton suggests, Australian women in the 'fifties still regarded extreme or 'obvious' make-up as less than respectable.³⁵ Respectable make-up was invisible make-up, hence advertising copy stressed the lightness and transparency of make-up products.

Naomi Wolf argues that part of the mystique of the feminine ideal lay in keeping the details of female sexuality, reproduction and domesticity secret from men.³⁶ The rationale behind this was that on the one hand, men should not involve themselves with such trivialities, and on the other, that men would fall out of love with women if females were revealed to be less than perfect ethereal beauties. During courting, the very structured and formal nature of male/female relations and dating culture re-inforced this division between the sexes. Girlfriends were usually seen with set hair, wearing full make-up and party dress, and so it was not often until after marriage that a man would see his wife without make-up. For most it was certainly the first

time he would see her face across the pillow when waking up in the morning, hair unkempt, face unwashed. The shock caused by this rapid transition from goddess to housewife could well be too much for a lot of husbands, and so advice literature gave women tips on cushioning the blow. New wives were advised 'Beauty Begins at 7 am. Mudpacks and hairpins should never be brought to breakfast'.³⁷ It seems the shock of revealing the mechanics behind the production of feminine allure could be too much for the new husband who would have to take refuge behind his newspaper from the 'cream-smearing, hair pinned horror in scarcely human form' behind which lurked the 'dewy eyed, sweet smelling beauty ... [he had] led with such pride to the altar'. Brides were strongly encouraged to 'keep his illusions intact by saving your most unattractive beauty sessions — mud pack, pedicure, hair-setting, home permanent — until he's not home, or perform them behind closed doors'. It was a wife's duty to preserve the illusion for herself and all womankind so that males would not realise the fragility and beauty they were taught to worship in the feminine ideal was contrived, and that women were not really in need of male protection at all. The ideal of beauty was thus an inherent part of the 'separate spheres' ideology, and of the practise of ascribing perceived rather than real differences to each sex that defined them as the opposite of the other. Women who failed to keep up the appearance of effortless beauty and femininity were thus criticised for letting the side down, as in one *Women's Weekly* reader's letter bemoaning the tendency of some women to wear their hair done up in rollers and pins while shopping or at the beach. 'Are women losing all modesty and pride? We are indeed fortunate if we don't have to use some artifice to improve our appearance, but for those who do, let it be done in the privacy of the home'.³⁸

Even expectant mothers were supposed to preserve an illusion of femininity by, paradoxically, concealing the nature of their very 'feminine' condition. 'Friends say they only guessed your secret because of the glow in your eyes. You feel so well this time thanks to your featherlight Materna Lady girdle and bra ... how good it is for feminine morale to realise that Materna Lady is as smartly styled as it is health giving!'.³⁹ An article in *Woman's Day* 'Six Ways to be a Beautiful Mother', re-inforced this view of expectant or new mothers, advising 'young mothers, or mothers-to-be need to take special pains to look attractive during and after pregnancy. Too often they get a 'can't be bothered' attitude that results in lank hair, little make-up, careless dress and posture'.⁴⁰ Women were urged to keep on making an effort to stay feminine, in articles which revealed the artificiality and incongruity of such practices, for example, when doing housework, one article urged wives to — 'tie a scarf around your head to protect your hair from the dust and to stop the ends straggling around your face. Don't be tempted to wear 'just any old thing'. Even while you're scrubbing the floor you can still be HIS fragile little flower if you trouble to dab a little perfume behind your ears'.⁴¹ For a man to see a woman hot, dirty, and sweaty while doing the housework or having his baby would negate the belief in the 'fragile little flower' that he was supposed to protect. For this reason men were banned from the delivery room in maternity hospitals, since in the rhetoric of the day, women were not equal to men but superior, set on a pedestal to inspire love and respect in the male. Debates on equal pay thus centred around the problem of losing this elevated status and consequently the loss of little courtesies like being given a seat on public transport or having the door opened for one.

The Beautiful and the Damned

The importance of maintaining the bridal look was a recurring theme in advertisements and advice literature on how to keep one's husband's affection. Since the desire to become a bride was supposedly the motivating factor behind striving to be beautiful, the wedding day can be seen as the symbolic pinnacle of post-war feminine ideology. The bride was the most supremely feminine icon, with the bride doll a popular gift and coveted possession for little girls needing a model for present and future feminine behaviour.⁴² In this context the stress on preserving wedding day glamour all your life is not as silly as it sounds, for one's wedding day was the apotheosis of feminine beauty and allure. It was the one occasion you could confidently look to and assert that you fulfilled every requirement of the then feminine ideology. Drawing on and duplicating such femininity was thus only logical:

To have and to hold a lovely hairstyle use Gossamer. To have your hair looking wedding-day lovely always, set it, and hold it softly set, with Gossamer ... Incomparable quality has made Gossamer the choice of most Australian women.⁴³

This ideal of eternal bridal beauty led to a conflict of interest for most women as housework and childcare were not compatible with high fashion and glamorous hair and make-up. A *Weekly* reader wondered if the emphasis on the magic statistics '34-24-34' and all the publicity and prizes given to models could be good for teenagers aspiring to be successful wives and mothers: 'Does all this make the winner a nicer, sweeter girl, or does it give her vanity and a wrong sense of value? Let's have competitions to find the best cook or needlewoman, and forget for a while the eternal 34-24-34'.⁴⁴ Advertisements attempted to address this dichotomy suggesting that the purchase of certain products could ensure that the housewife's appearance did not betray the endless hours of housework and childcare that was her lot, thus Softasilk Hand Cream advertisements urged 'Don't let your hands say 'HOUSEWORK'! Keep your hands romantically lovely'.⁴⁵ and an advertisement for Prestige lingerie intimated that wearing expensive underwear beneath the practical garb of the housewife could solve the problem:

Yes ... I know I'm extravagant! My friends say I'm extravagant but what they really mean is that I'm very feminine. Most of my life I'm a thrifty, practical housewife. But for certain personal things — like my lingerie — I admit I pay more than most women. It gives me a luxurious feeling to wear beautiful Prestige lingerie. Maybe I am extravagant but I love it!⁴⁶

However in attempting to reconcile the contradictory nature of the beauty myth, advertisements only made its unworkable nature that much more explicit. Being a good wife and mother, linked in the Prestige lingerie advertisement to thrift and practicality was not conducive to the pursuit of 'romantic loveliness' which is portrayed here as narcissism, irresponsibility and financial recklessness. Nor was it likely to be noticed or appreciated in the 'real' world by busy husbands strapped for cash, or sons and daughters who possibly were more concerned with what was served up for dinner than what Mum looked like when she served it up. Advertisements themselves often reflected these concerns:

Men go for mustard! Your menfolk know that Keen's mustard makes the BIG difference to every meal. No other condiment brings out the flavoury, savoury taste — the hidden, juicy goodness of all meats.⁴⁷

Some-one's Mum has discovered New Brownie Fudge Mix! Wow! It's not a cake, not a biscuit, not a sweet either, but it sure looks chocolatey and good.⁴⁸

Clearly mustard and the discovery of chocolate brownie fudge mix was more important to the menfolk at this meal table than the fact that Mum had taken out her pin curls and wiped the cold cream off her face. For most families a mother's appearance was if anything secondary to her efficiency as housekeeper and mother. For most husbands too their wives' beauty or lack thereof was one of the lesser ingredients in the longterm success of their relationship. Personal beauty and fastidiousness though no doubt a factor in the initial courting stages was more likely to be outweighed by personality, background, shared interests and sexual compatibility in the final analysis. Letters submitted to the *Woman's Day* contest on 'Why I Love My Husband/ Why I Love My Wife' emphasised the significance of traits other than physical beauty in the success of a relationship — 'her patience, dependability, companionship, consideration, warmth, sympathy, selflessness ... the lovely daughter she has given me ... our happy, well-run home ... these are the things which excite my love'.⁴⁹ 'I love her because she, above all others, knows my faults and, knowing them, still loves me. As the world counts beauty she is not beautiful. But the world does not, and cannot, know her as I do. So, in my eyes, she is beautiful — now and forever'.⁵⁰

Beauty culture was much more appropriate and accessible to young and single women, but the conflation of beauty and femininity made beauty an imperative that very few women could afford to ignore, in advertising rhetoric if not in reality. One Rinso advertisement for dishwashing soapflakes quoted June Dally Watkins, head of the model agency of the same name, advising both married women and teenagers to keep their hands out of hot water as much as possible. 'Beauty experts agree' boasted the advertisement.⁵¹ What did these experts agree on? The fact that all women, regardless of age or marital status had to make beauty their life's work. What some women thought of campaigns such as the above can be gauged by letters such as this one, which though not uncommon in the mid-1950s, became more commonplace towards the mid-1960s:

Every woman's magazine I pick up seems to exhort and plead with women of all ages to keep their youthful figures, complexions, and keep their minds alert. Why? Simply to catch or hold a man. Yet never do I read the same advice applying to men. It seems they can go to the pack physically and mentally and get away with it. Surely we women don't need to fawn over our husbands or boy-friends in these modern days.⁵²

Women's magazine advice articles were not oblivious to critical reader sentiment and the tensions within the ideology of beauty and femininity. However, since magazines' chief source of liquidity was advertisers keen to sell beauty aids and fashion to women who represented a much larger share of the consumer market than their husbands, magazine editors did not deal with reader critiques by refuting the admonition for women to maintain beauty routines. They instead extended this advice to husbands to shave and dress well, in addition to encouraging men in

complimenting their wives on *their* efforts. For example, an article in *Australian Bride* on techniques a wife should pursue if she wanted to 'hold' her husband, anticipated reader criticism of the one-sided nature of the advice offered and advised men to keep up their end of the bargain by wearing 'pyjamas their wives like' and acknowledging their wives attempts to look pretty by saying 'Darling, you look wonderful'.⁵³

Meanwhile *Woman's Day* columnist Nan Hutton wrote an article critiquing the plethora of experts' advice forced on women of the time: 'What with the cookery experts and the beauty specialists and the child psychologists and the panels sitting in judgement on television, I'm afraid we are the most thoroughly advised community that ever existed'.⁵⁴ She suggests that, in the end, the best way to learn about anything is through experience. 'There are lots of people telling you how to keep your man ... "Never let him see you in curlers", "Take an interest in his work", "Relax and be yourself", "Don't become a doormat". It all sounds plausible, but unless you're a mental acrobat you can't do all of these things. Take your pick'.⁵⁵ It would seem that postwar women did just that as they debated over and negotiated with the meanings of being female and feminine in the Australia of the 1950s and 1960s. The ongoing debates in various media of the time demonstrates that the tensions and inconsistencies in post-war beauty mythology and the ideology of femininity did not go unrecognised by women and by the writers of magazine articles and advertising copy. The underlying gender status quo was predicated on a separation between the male and the female and the public and private spheres. Beauty culture functioned as a line of demarcation between masculinity and femininity and thus any attack on or re-negotiation of the beauty cult was also an attack on post-war social structures and the role of women within them. Post-war women's awareness and willingness to enter into discussions of this kind therefore provided the basis for the more significant re-assessment of social mores in the later 1960s and 1970s.

Beauty Begins at 7am: Cosmetics, Fashion, Consumer Goods and Beauty Mythology in 1950s and 1960s Australia

Karen Hutchings

- 1 Naomi Wolf, *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty are Used Against Women*, London, Vintage Press, 1990, p 280.
- 2 Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood', *History Workshop*, Spring, 1978, pp 9-12.
- 3 William B Waits, *The Modern Christmas in America: A Cultural History of Gift Giving*, New York, New York University Press, 1993, p 87.
- 4 *ibid.*
- 5 Jill Julius Matthews, 'Building the Body Beautiful', *Australian Feminist Studies*, no 5, 1987, p 19; William B Waits, *The Modern Christmas in America*, *op. cit.*, p 90.
- 6 Jill Julius Matthews, *ibid.*, p 26.
- 7 *ibid.*
- 8 Jill Julius Matthews, *op. cit.*, p 27.
- 9 William B Waits, *The Modern Christmas in America*, *op. cit.*, pp 90-9.
- 10 Janice Winship quoted in Celia Lury, *Consumer Culture*, Cambridge, Polity Press, p 134.
- 11 Jill Julius Matthews, 'Building the Body Beautiful', *op. cit.*, pp 17-34; Helena Studdert, 'You're 100% feminine if ...': *Gender Constructions in Australian Women's Magazines 1920-1969*, PhD, University of New South Wales, 1997, p 64.
- 12 Mum deodorant ad, *Australian Women's Weekly*, 6 April 1955, p 12.
- 13 Tampax ad, *Woman's Day*, 14 August 1961, p 66, my emphasis.
- 14 Ann Treneman, 'Cashing in on the Curse: Advertising and the Menstrual Taboo', L Gamman and M Marshment (eds), *The Female Gaze*, London, Women's Press, 1988, pp 153-65.
- 15 Vymkin ad, *Woman's Day*, 20 January 1958, p 10.
- 16 Oddly enough market researcher Alex Kondos found that Australian women respondents to questionnaires were the most likely to be 'uniquely truthful' about their ages. See Alex Kondos, *op. cit.*, p 314.
- 17 See *B & T (Broadcasting and Television Weekly)*, 29 August 1963, p 57.

- 18 See Marilyn Lake, 'Female desires: the meaning of World War II', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol 24, no 95, esp pp 271-2.
- 19 See Suzanna Danuta Walters, *Material Girls: Making Sense of Feminist Cultural Theory*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1995, pp 50-61, esp p 57 for a discussion of the concept of the 'male gaze' in cultural theory.
- 20 Jean Kilbourne, *Still Killing Us Softly: Advertising's Image of Women*, Cambridge, Cambridge Documentary Films Inc, MA, 1987.
- 21 Gossard ad, 6 April 1955, p 40, *Australian Women's Weekly*; Silkymit ad, *Australian Women's Weekly*, 10 February 1960, p 18; Ipana toothpaste ad, *Woman's Day*, 13 March 1961, p 11.
- 22 See Marilyn Lake, op. cit., p 273.
- 23 Judith Arden lipstick ad, 3 August 1960, p 23, *Australian Women's Weekly*.
- 24 See *B & T*, 15 November 1962, p 21.
- 25 Ryvita ad, *Australian Women's Weekly*, 7 November 1962, p 2.
- 26 Slender Line Supertex Gowns ad, *Woman's Day*, 9 June 1958, p 6.
- 27 'Silly fad', I Widman, Canberra, ACT, Letters, *Teen Weekly*, 6 June 1962, p 2.
- 28 Geo Gately Cartoon, *Woman's Day*, 26 December 1960, p 39.
- 29 Pond's Cold Cream ad, *Woman's Day*, 20 February 1961, p 33.
- 30 Davis Gelatine ad, *Woman's Day*, 5 September 1960, p 55.
- 31 Revlon eye shadow ad, *Woman's Day*, 10 April 1961, p 37.
- 32 Pond's ad, *Woman's Day*, 8 August 1960, p 23.
- 33 Rexona soap ad, *Woman's Day*, 31 March 1958, p 50 and *Woman's Day*, 14 November 1960, p 99 respectively.
- 34 Revlon 'Touch and Glow' ad, *Woman's Day*, 21 November 1960, p 21.
- 35 Jon Stratton, *The Young Ones: Working Class Culture, Consumption and the Category of Youth*, Black Swan Press, 1992, p 61.
- 36 Naomi Wolf, *The Beauty Myth*, op. cit., 1990, p 169.
- 37 'Beauty begins at 7 am', *Woman's Day*, 26 May 1958, p 38.
- 38 'An occasion for privacy', A R, Inglewood, W Letterbox, *Australian Women's Weekly*, 6 June 1962, p 30.
- 39 Materna Lady Girdle and Bra ad, *Woman's Day*, 16 January 1961, p 67.
- 40 'Six Ways to be a Beautiful Mother', *Woman's Day*, 12 September 1960, p 87.
- 41 'Beauty begins at 7 am', *ibid.*
- 42 'Every Christmas I asked for a bride doll. My parents couldn't afford one, but finally, they got the money together. I took her down to the local sandpit to show her off. In the excitement, I left her there to go home for dinner. I went back and she was gone. It was devastating. This life long dream and I owned a bride doll for two hours', extract from Helen Townsend (ed.), *Baby Boomers*, Simon and Schuster, Brookvale, 1988, p 91. See also 'Pageant of Dolls', *Woman's Day*, 16 June 1958, pp 52-3 in which a little Koori girl was photographed with a bride doll at the Doll Pageant in aid of the Crippled Childrens' Association of South Australia. The picture was captioned 'an aboriginal cripple fell in love with the bride doll entered by Jennifer Klose', p 62.
- 43 Gossamer Hairspray ad, *Woman's Day*, 1959, p 34.
- 44 Mrs N Harkness, Dookie, Vic., Letters from our readers, *Australian Women's Weekly*, 20 November 1957, p 18.
- 45 Softasilk ad, *Woman's Day*, 31 March 1958, p 56.
- 46 Prestige lingerie ad, *Woman's Day*, 17 October 1960, p 101.
- 47 Keen's mustard ad, *Woman's Day*, 12 May 1956, p 52.
- 48 White Wings Chocolate Brownie Fudge Mix ad, *Woman's Day*, 13 March 1961, p 62.
- 49 See Mr Frank Smith, Applecross, Perth, letter in *Woman's Day*, 27 June 1960, p 7.
- 50 Mr Hampel, *Woman's Day*, 11 July 1960, p 12.
- 51 Rinso ad, *Woman's Day*, 28 April 1958, p 49.
- 52 Mrs Constance E Little, Swan Reach, via Bairnsdale, Vic., Letters from our readers, *Australian Women's Weekly*, 12 January 1955, p 10.
- 53 *Australian Bride*, Spring 1958, p 94.
- 54 'Pink sheets or white?', *Woman's Day*, 4 August 1958, p 65.
- 55 *ibid.*