

Images of Feminine Beauty in Advertisements for
Beauty Products,
English Canada, 1901-1941

Rhonda Mawhood

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of History
McGill University, Montréal
July 1991

(c) Rhonda Mawhood

Abstract

This thesis is a study of magazine advertisements for beauty products in Canada between 1901 and 1941. It looks at the use of cosmetics and the growth of advertising in the context of the development of North American consumer culture, highlighting the role of gender in that culture. The period studied is divided in two by the mid-1920s to reflect changes in advertisers' views of consumers--from rational decision-makers to irrational creatures driven by their emotions--and in ideals of feminine beauty, as the use of cosmetics became an essential part of the ideal perpetuated by advertising. The thesis attempts to show the link between business history and cultural history by demonstrating how marketing professionals co-opted cultural trends in order to create effective advertising, and how traditional relationships and values were modified by the purchase and use of mass-marketed goods.

Résumé

Cette thèse est une étude des annonces publicitaires pour les produits de beauté dans des revues à grand tirage au Canada entre 1901 et 1941. Elle examine l'usage des cosmétiques et la croissance de la publicité dans le contexte du développement d'une culture nord-américaine de la consommation, mettant l'emphasis sur le rôle des sexes dans cette culture. Le milieu des années 1920 représente une rupture entre deux périodes. Cette division souligne la transformation de la conception que les publicitaires avaient des consommateurs, passant de gens qui prenaient des décisions rationnelles, à des créatures irrationnelles, motivées par leurs émotions. Le milieu des années 1920 marque également un changement dans les idéaux de la beauté féminine: l'idéal promu par les publicitaires exigeait l'emploi des cosmétiques. Cette thèse tente de démontrer le lien entre l'histoire du milieu des affaires et l'histoire de la culture, en illustrant comment les publicitaires cooptèrent les mouvements culturels afin de créer une publicité efficace, et comment les relations et valeurs traditionnelles furent modifiées par l'achat et l'usage des produits commercialisés.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful for the financial support which I received for this thesis from the Fonds pour la formation des chercheurs et l'aide à la recherche, and from McGill's Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in the form of a Max Bell Fellowship and a research travel grant.

I received incalculable assistance in my research from Margaret Monks, Elizabeth Dunkley, and Maria De Souza of the Interlibrary Loans department at McGill University. Ellen Gartrell of the Manuscript Department of the Perkins Library of Duke University made my work there much easier, more profitable, and very pleasant.

John Herd Thompson first gave me the idea that advertising for beauty products could be a fruitful area of historical study. Carman Miller provided useful suggestions as he endured my first attempts to develop this topic in his seminar. Gwen Schulman's boundless support, willingness to listen, and ability to ask the right questions helped guide me through the labyrinth of ideas which I had created and in which I sometimes feared I would be lost forever. Angela Chapman took the photographs which illustrate the thesis. Brian Young has been my best teacher, critic, and therapist. Finally, I thank my parents for always encouraging my education, emotionally and materially.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Résumé	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
List of Figures	vi
Chapter	
1. Introduction	1
2. "The Art of Creating a New Want"	30
3. "A Woman and Her Money: Female Consumerism and Beauty Products, 1925-1941"	65
4. Conclusion	104
List of Abbreviations	109
Bibliography	110

List of Figures

Fig. 1: Advertisement for Pepsodent toothpaste, 1921.	47
2: Advertisement for Simpson's department store, 1923.	59
3: Advertisement for Mouilleron perfumes, 1920.	61
4: Advertisement for Lux toilet soap, 1931.	82
5: Advertisements for Lysol disinfectant, 1930.	87
6: Advertisement for Pond's facial creams, 1931.	102

Chapter One
Introduction

Femininity and masculinity are concepts which have lately come under close scrutiny. The task of writing women into history, started in earnest twenty years ago, has led to deeper consideration of gender identities: how they are shaped and whose purposes or needs they serve, and how. Personal appearance is one essential element of gender identity. Throughout the history of Western society, ideals of feminine beauty have been celebrated in the culture of the time. The face and shape of that ideal, and the means by which the ideal is maintained or changed, are revealing of more than a common aesthetic: they embody economic and social relations based on gender and class inequalities.¹ By studying these ideals, who develops them, and how they are diffused and reproduced, we can deepen our understanding of the power relations of the period which produced them.

This thesis concentrates on ideals of feminine beauty in advertising in English Canada between 1901 and 1941, when Canada was completing its transition to a modern industrial society.² The advertisements for cosmetics discussed in this

¹ Race was not a significant factor in Canadian marketing until recently, and so it will be given less attention in this thesis. The ads which I studied were racist in a way that intertwined with class bias--for example, reinforcing the value of white skin, which in an agricultural society (which Canada was moving away from being) only white members of non-labouring classes could have.

² Although I concentrate on anglophones and English-language advertising, I make comparisons to francophones and French-language advertising. Frederick Elkin, Rebels and Colleagues: Advertising and Social Change in French Canada (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1973) gives some insight into advertisers' efforts to sell their goods in French-language media. Elkin focuses on the mid-twentieth century, when French-language advertising began to

thesis are part of the discourse of modernity. In modern society nature is sharply set apart from "rational" persons, who use machines--applied science--to manage the world around them. The wide-scale dissemination of information is made possible starting with the invention of the printing press and the attainment of mass literacy, and continuing through the invention of the telegraph and radio and, later, television. Standardized goods proliferate as domestic manufacture and the productive role of women declines; the retail sector (composed of both small stores and new, large department stores) grows; and the acquisition of a variety of goods--not necessarily of the highest quality--is valued.

A modern industrial capitalist society such as Canada is also a society of mass consumption, defined by five essential characteristics: a radical division between production and consumption; the prevalence of standard merchandise sold in large volume; the introduction of new products; a widespread reliance on money and credit; and the use of publicity.³ A

be more than simple translations from the original English.

³ Rosalind H. Williams, Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1982), 1. Although Williams wrote about Europe, her insights are useful to scholars of North America, which fit her description of a society of mass consumption by the early twentieth century. On the development of a consumer society in Europe, see also Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb, The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982). Grant McCracken, Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988) raises important criticisms of both Williams and McKendrick. Roland Marchand, Advertising the American Dream: Making Way For Modernity, 1920-1940 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985) looks at American advertising in the context of modernity, using the archives of the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency and popular magazines to examine

society of mass consumption is shaped by a consumer culture in which the acquisition of mass-produced and mass-distributed goods becomes an end in itself, and individuals are defined in part by the products which they purchase.⁴ Within this society, the needs of the imagination play as large a role as those of the body in determining what will be produced and bought.⁵ As people try to fulfill desires and dreams by buying goods, even intangibles like beauty become marketable commodities.⁶

Consumer culture is composed of an intricate series of relations and institutions. Manufacturers' and advertisers' belief in the value of their work, and their underlying faith in the capitalist system, lead them to find better ways of attracting consumers. One of these ways is to seek the advice of consumers themselves about what to produce or, more often, how to sell what industry has already produced. By expressing their preferences in goods through such means as marketing surveys, consumers can indeed effect minor changes in advertising and in goods to adjust these to consumer

how social and economic changes were reflected in advertising. See also Ronald Berman, Advertising and Social Change (Beverly Hills and London: Sage Publications, 1981), for a discussion of how advertising makes " 'the modern' intelligible to a large mass audience" (114).

⁴ Present-day examples include advertising slogans such as "I'm a Bud man...", "Have an Aviance [perfume] night", and the high school caste system in which a person's group allegiance may be determined by the brand of jeans which she or he wears.

⁵ Rosalind H. Williams, 109.

⁶ In The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939 (Copp Clark Pitman, 1988), 82 and 86, Veronica Strong-Boag discusses what she calls "romantic consumerism"--the promise of romance and the fulfillment of other dreams through consumer goods--and the commodification of beauty in Canada.

preferences. The fact, however, that most of the resources in this relationship are held by business means that it is ultimately they who decide what will be produced and how it will be marketed. Consumers' participation in this relationship only enmeshes them further in the consumer culture which serves not them, but profit. Consumer culture is most developed in a monopoly capitalist system, in which a small number of large companies dominates economic life, and advertising pervades the urban landscape and enters the home. The dominant ideology which these economic forces uphold thus acquires a particularly tenacious grip on the vast majority of people who are "the consumer". This grip is all the tighter because of its friendly and comforting appearance, in the form of our favourite goods.

Advertisements for cosmetics were one part of the growing consumer culture in early twentieth-century Canada. They were the product of a society in which the intertwining of ideas about women, class divisions, and the profit motive of business produced images which purported to represent the real concerns of women and the life to which they should aspire. These ads minimized class, ethnic, age, and geographical differences among women in advertisers' attempts to homogenize their audience, and addressed women's social and economic concerns in only superficial or distorted ways. Rather than showing women as they were--multi-faceted human beings--advertising presented women as the male-dominated manufacturing and marketing sectors had constructed them in the pursuit of profit, drawing from the heritage of Western culture to do so. The negative, one-dimensional portrayal of women in advertising was not the product of a business-led conspiracy to enslave women; the power relations of a modern

consumer culture are more subtle than that.⁷ Marketers, most of whom were male, working in a modern industrial capitalist economy, drew from ideas about women and relations among people, and from social trends of the time, to create ads which would appeal to a wide audience and so increase their sales and profits, and ultimately, their economic and social power.⁸

⁷ When studying consumer culture, it is important to retain an awareness of the roles of different classes' roles in that culture. Stewart and Elizabeth Ewen, Channels of Desire (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982), and Stewart Ewen, Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture (New York and Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1976) present advertising as a tool by which the capitalist class conspires to inculcate the subordinate classes with modern values such as individualism. They do not adequately consider the long-established cultural sources of the images and ideas contained in advertising, or the satisfaction which consumers gain from the consumer culture.

⁸ Michael Schudson has coined the phrase "capitalist realism" to describe advertising; like socialist realist art, it simplifies and typifies, showing an extreme and idealized version of the society which produces it. Advertising, the Uneasy Persuasion: Its Dubious Impact on American Society (New York: Basic Books, 1984). Other books which provide a basic knowledge of advertising history include Frank Presbrey, The History and Development of Advertising (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968; first published 1929); Daniel Pope, The Making of Modern Advertising (New York: Basic Books, 1983); and Stephen R. Fox, The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and its Creators (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1984). Some useful work on advertising has been done by sociologists, although their work often lacks historical perspective. Diane Barthel, Putting on Appearances: Gender and Advertising (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988) gives valuable insight into the promises which advertisements make--promises of beauty, romance, sex, and social status--if only the right products are bought. Benjamin D. Singer, Advertising and Society (Don Mills, Ontario: Addison-Wesley, 1986) is a useful Canadian work with some discussion of images of women. Singer draws heavily upon H.E. Stephenson and Carlton McNaught's The Story of Advertising in Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1940).

Historical study of advertising for beauty products enables us not only to understand the past better, but also to see the origins of our present consumer culture and to establish the foundation of a critique of that culture, of the present-day advertising which nourishes it, and of the economic system which they represent. We can approach advertisements from which we are separated by several decades with a more critical eye than that which we might turn on present-day advertising, because older ads are deprived of the social and economic context which originally legitimized them. By showing the ways in which advertising methods and ideals of beauty in the past were shaped by changeable ideas about the nature and function of business and about masculine and feminine roles, we can expose the artificiality of behaviour--whether in the marketplace or in self-adornment--which is considered "natural" in the present. Insofar as conceptions of what is natural act to oppress groups in society such as women, the task of exposing the artificiality of naturalness can be liberating.

This thesis draws elements of several theoretical approaches into its analytical framework: deconstruction, Gramscian marxism, and feminist criticisms. It builds upon works in cultural history, art history, business history, and women's history, including the history of ideals of feminine beauty. Both Canadian and American works are used because of the international nature of monopoly capitalism and of the development of a commercial beauty culture. An overview of the historiography in these fields gives a sense of the temporal and geographical space in which to place this study of images of feminine beauty, and highlights the major interpretive themes which must shape such a study.

Post-structuralists have developed an understanding of language which is useful in writing the history of the class

and gender relations expressed in advertising for beauty products. Language is

...any system--strictly verbal or other--through which meaning is constructed and cultural practices organized and by which, accordingly, people represent and understand their world, including who they are and how they relate to it.⁹

Advertising is a language which relays many messages. Most of these messages are about power--the power which corporations wield to influence the ways we see ourselves and others; the power which cosmetics confer upon us to change our appearance and thus affect our emotions, relationships, and social status; and the power relations inherent in the construction of gender roles. Women who read Canadian popular magazines between 1901 and 1941 were told that they had the power to change the way they looked for the better. This power was presented for the most part, however, as a duty--especially from the later 1920s onward. Advertising presented self-beautification as a way to attract a man--a husband--to whom one's social and economic status was inextricably linked and to whom one was legally, socially, and economically subordinated. Cosmetics were not sold as a means for self-expression. They were sold as a way to even up the balance of power in uneven personal relationships. This power did nothing to change fundamental inequalities between men and women, however, and so the power which advertisers said that beauty conferred was in fact not liberating.

Beauty products are a useful focus for an analysis of consumer

⁹ Joan Wallach Scott, "Deconstructing Equality-Versus-Difference: Or, the Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism", Feminist Studies 14:1 (Spring 1988), 34. This article is a good introduction for historians new to deconstruction. See also William J. Bouwsma, "Intellectual History in the 1980s: From History of Ideas to History of Meaning", Journal of Interdisciplinary History XII:2 (Autumn 1981), 279-291.

culture: their study obliges us to acknowledge the central place of both class and gender in history, as well as the intertwining of business and culture, and of the public and the private. Joy Parr reminds us that historians cannot separate the social relations of class and gender precisely because at all times and in all places, people exist in these different social relations, and have these different identities, simultaneously.¹⁰ Joan Scott has criticized the work of historians as respected as E.P. Thompson by insisting on the need to deconstruct both primary sources and traditional historiography to expose the gender biases contained in both. Deconstruction involves

...the introduction of new oppositions, the reversal of hierarchies, the attempt to expose repressed terms, to challenge the natural status of seemingly dichotomous pairs, and to expose their interdependence and their internal instability.¹¹

Following Michel Foucault¹², Scott has widened the definition

¹⁰ Joy Parr, The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990). See also Mary Poovey, "Feminism and Deconstruction", Feminist Studies 14:1 (Spring 1988), 51-65; her Uneven Developments: The Ideological Role of Gender in Mid-Victorian England (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Denise Riley, "Am I That Name?" Feminism and the Category of "Women" in History (London: Macmillan, 1988); Chris Weedon, Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987).

¹¹ Joan Wallach Scott, Gender and the Politics of History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 7.

¹² See Michel Foucault, The History of Sexuality, Vol. I: An Introduction (New York: Pantheon, 1978), and Patricia O'Brien, "Michel Foucault's History of Culture", in Lynn Hunt, ed., The New Cultural History (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 25-46, and especially 35. Foucault's work is important for its insights into how power is created and how discourses legitimize themselves by creating their own "truths", and for its demonstrations that "Power not only represses, it also creates". (O'Brien, 35; the words are hers). I do not draw upon Foucault to a great

of politics to include all power relationships, including family bonds. For Scott, the use of "gender" as a term of historical analysis implies that relations between the sexes are a primary aspect of social organization; that male and female identities are in large part culturally determined; and that differences between the sexes constitute and are constituted by hierarchical social structures.¹³ These ideas are important to a study of beauty and advertising because ads for cosmetics highlight the masculine-feminine distinction fundamental to our interpretation of the world around us. They develop and reinforce our culturally-shaped ideas about men and women, and they act to reinforce inequities in male-female power relations. Deconstructive approaches point out the contradictions which are necessarily present in hegemonic ideology, as the hegemonic class seeks to accommodate, or co-opt, all social groups to the degree that this is possible without jeopardizing its own privileged status.¹⁴

Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony illuminates the ways in which culture can reinforce class dominance and oppression, even though many different social groups (including those in subordinate positions) participate in the creation and recreation of that culture.¹⁵ Within a hegemonic framework,

extent, however, primarily because his work rejects the idea that ideas, cultures, and power are rooted in economic and social conditions. Students of history who are unfamiliar with Foucault's work should see Jeffrey Weeks, "Foucault for Historians", History Workshop 14 (Autumn 1982), 106-119.

¹³ Scott, Gender, 25-26.

¹⁴ For a discussion of deconstruction and postmodern culture, see Richard Kearney, The Wake of Imagination: Toward a Postmodern Culture (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988).

¹⁵ A hegemonic framework shapes Eugene Genovese's Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (New York and Toronto: Random House, 1974), and Richard Wightman Fox and T.J. Jackson

culture is seen as "neither the site of the people's deformation nor as that of their cultural self-affirmation", but as "a force field of relations shaped, precisely by these contradictory pressures and tendencies".¹⁶ Raymond Williams reminds us that one class' dominance is maintained not only by power and property, and not only through conscious action:

It is maintained also and inevitably by a lived culture: that saturation of habit, of experience, of outlook, from a very early age and continually renewed at so many stages of life, under definite pressures and within definite limits, so that what people come to think and feel is in large measure a reproduction of the deeply based social order which they may even...think they oppose and indeed actually oppose.¹⁷

Gramsci emphasized the struggle between classes in capitalist societies for hegemony--moral, cultural, intellectual, and political leadership.¹⁸ Gramsci believed that dominant or "hegemonic" groups in society control institutions and media in such a way as to dominate social, economic, and

Lears, The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983).

¹⁶ Tony Bennett, Colin Mercer, and Janet Woollacott, eds., Popular Culture and Social Relations (Milton Keynes and Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1986), xiii. See also T.J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities", American Historical Review 90 (June 1985), 567-593.

¹⁷ Raymond Williams, "You're a Marxist, Aren't You?", in Resources of Hope: Culture, Democracy, Socialism (London and New York: Verso, 1989), 74. See also Williams, Culture (Glasgow: Fontana, 1981).

¹⁸ Bennett et al., op. cit., xiv. See Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks, translated and edited by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), particularly 323-327, and Antonio Gramsci, Selections from Cultural Writings, edited by David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, translated by William Boelhower (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1985).

intellectual life, and perpetuate their hegemony by inducing people to participate in their own domination. This participation is not the product of the "false consciousness" theorized by scientific marxism. Rather, it represents the kind of bargaining--in which the distribution of power is uneven--which takes place between social groups. The hegemonic group is repeatedly challenged and its ideas are modified by the influence which the lower classes wield by virtue of their numbers. In situations of extreme power imbalance, however, and especially when oppressive practices seem innocuous, the input of subordinate groups into the oppressive system will ultimately result in the reinforcement of the dominant class' superiority. This is the case with a consumer culture.

Although Gramsci did not write about women, his ideas can be applied to the writing of histories of women. The need to turn from the idea of the oppressed as the object of others' actions, toward a new conception of oppressed groups as subjects and actors, is central to women's history. There is a marked contrast between many marxist cultural critics and feminist historians of culture who incorporate gender, as well as class, into their analysis. Members of the Frankfurt School of neo-marxist critical theory, such as Adorno, Lowenthal, and Kracauer, paid particular attention to the place of what they termed "mass culture" (the culture produced and sold through the dominant class' ideological institutions, as opposed to "popular culture", produced by the popular classes) in modern industrial societies. Their approach left little hope for social change through cultural movements because in their vision of culture, the dominant class repressed all elements of personal expression in modern industrial society. Essays from the Frankfurt School play a valuable role in stimulating critical thought and in reworking marxist paradigms to analyze changing social and political conditions. However, they lack an appreciation of the subordinated participants in modern

culture as true actors, portraying them solely as the objects of this oppressive social and cultural system.

Feminist scholarship insists on the need to move away from traditional analysis of social and political relations and institutions, in which these are considered solely in light of their relation to the "public" sphere, toward the study of private, personal motivations for action, and the interconnections between the public and private spheres. One feminist historian, Jill Julius Matthews, has studied the same subject as Siegfried Kracauer: women's physical education leagues of the 1930s, which gave public demonstrations of their skills. Kracauer saw these strictly disciplined associations and their precision dances as an expression of the loss of individuality and innovation in modern industrial society. Matthews, on the other hand, shows how they filled a need for social space reserved for women, where they could achieve a degree of satisfaction through physical expression and exertion.¹⁹

Feminist art historians have examined the ways in which art, including photography, helps to uphold a dominant ideology. According to Linda Nochlin, an important function of ideology, and of art, is to

...veil the overt power relations obtaining in the society at a particular moment in history by making them appear to be part of the natural, eternal order of things...symbolic power is invisible and can be exercised only with the complicity of those who fail to recognize either that they submit to it

¹⁹ Siegfried Kracauer, "The Mass Ornament", in Stephen Eric Bronner and Douglas MacKay Kellner, eds., Critical Theory and Society: A Reader (New York: Routledge, 1989), 145-154; Jill Julius Matthews, "They had Such a Lot of Fun: The Women's League of Health and Beauty Between the Wars", History Workshop 30 (Autumn 1990), 22-54.

or that they exercise it.²⁰

It is in this nuanced way, recognizing that power is often wielded unconsciously, that we must study images of beauty in advertising, being conscious of the ideology and power relations which these images reflect and uphold, and of the fact that these ideologies change over time and among cultures.

A study of advertising and consumer culture must be based on the knowledge uncovered by historians of North American business. Alfred Chandler's work on the managerial revolution in American business between the 1850s and the 1920s demonstrates how the "visible hand" of management slowly replaced the "invisible hand" of the market in regulating production and distribution.²¹ According to Chandler, however, the market retains its role in determining what goods will be produced. Chandler's discussion of the modern firm does not address in any significant way the interaction between business and what he terms "social and political arrangements". Chandler's work must be placed within the context of a modern consumer society, and the competing ideologies and cultures found within that society, so that ideas like the role of the market in determining what goods are to be produced can be questioned and an understanding of supply and demand in the context of a consumer culture, can be elaborated. This involves the use of the concept of monopoly capitalism with which Chandler would not agree, but with which his analysis of modern networks of production and distribution

²⁰ Linda Nochlin, Women, Art and Power (New York: Harper and Row, 1988). Equally useful is Rosemary Batterton, ed., Looking On: Images of femininity in the visual arts and media (London and New York: Pandora, 1987).

²¹ Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press, 1977).

is not incompatible.

While Michael Bliss' studies of Canadian business give insight into the thoughts, plans, and lives of Canada's capitalist class in the past century, they do not give enough attention to the tensions and contradictions among opposing classes and groups in Canadian business life and in society generally, and so lose a sense of the vibrancy, movement, and conflict which formed such a great part of business.²² In a similar way, Joy Santink's biography of Timothy Eaton destroys some myths about Canada's most important department store magnate, and places his commercial success in the context of improved industrial production and transportation and distribution networks in the late nineteenth century. The weakness of Santink's work is that it does not discuss the role of department stores like Eaton's in the development of consumer culture in Canada.²³

²² Michael Bliss, A Living Profit: Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business, 1883-1911 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974); A Canadian Millionaire: The Life and Business Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle, Bart., 1858-1939 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978); Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987). Jorge Niosi, La Bourgeoisie canadienne: La Formation et le développement d'une classe dominante (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1980) is valuable for understanding the formation and consolidation of dominant classes as the Canadian economy diversified between the 1910s and early 1940s.

²³ Joy L. Santink, Timothy Eaton and the rise of his department store (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990). Other useful works on department stores in North America and Europe include Douglas E. Harker, The Woodwards: The Story of a Distinguished British Columbia Family, 1870-1975 (Toronto: Mitchell Press, 1976); Douglas McCalla, The Upper Canada Trade: 1834-1872: A Study of the Buchanans' Business (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979); Alan Wilson, John Northway: A Blue Serge Canadian (Toronto: Burns and MacEachern, 1965); William R. Leach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890-1925", Journal of American History 71 (September 1984), 319-342; Susan Porter Benson, Counter Cultures: Saleswomen,

These works are necessary blocks upon which to base an understanding of modern North American business. However, the field of business history must open itself to an understanding of the mutual importance of ideology, culture, and business, and of the roles of class and gender in shaping the social relations and institutions of business.²⁴ Keith Walden has blended social, business, and intellectual history to an unprecedented extent, in his discussion of how changes in grocery window displays reinforced the development of modernity in Canada.²⁵ At the turn of the twentieth century grocery stores strengthened modern values through the sale of packaged goods in standard amounts at standard prices, hygienically packed with the help of machines, and displayed in storefront windows designed to attract passers-by. Walden's discussion of window displays helps us to understand the intertwining of business and culture, and the role of the mundane in reinforcing dominant values.

Kathy Peiss' study of the cosmetics industry in the United States in the twentieth century discusses the relationship between the producers of mass culture--in this case, cosmetics

Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986); and Michael B. Miller, The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920 (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981).

²⁴ There is evidence of some openness in this area. At the opening plenary session of the 3rd Canadian Business History Conference and 37th Annual American Business History Conference in Toronto in March of 1991, Alice Kessler-Harris, Jane Humphries, Joy Parr, and Mary Yeager gave presentations on "Ideologies and Innovation: Gender Dimensions of Business History". See also Kessler-Harris, "The Just Price, the Free Market, and the Value of Women", Feminist Studies 14:2 (Summer 1988), 235-250.

²⁵ Keith Walden, "Speaking Modern: Language, Culture, and Hegemony in Grocery Window Displays, 1887-1920", Canadian Historical Review (September 1989), 285-310.

manufacturers and marketers--and the consumers, and the different cultural meanings which goods like cosmetics have for these groups.²⁶ According to Peiss, racial and class divisions among women consumers forced producers to modify their wares, for example by producing lines of cosmetics suitable for various physical types, or priced for women of different classes.

Like Jill Matthews, Peiss is critical of the passive role ascribed to "receivers" of mass culture. She uses the concept of a distinctive women's culture (in her discussions of women cosmetics entrepreneurs and of beauty parlours) and an awareness of differences among women, to show how oppressed groups make space for themselves and resist the homogenization which the dominant culture imposes upon them. Peiss' article is a good example of feminist business history, which nonetheless goes too far in its emphasis on women customers' role in obliging producers to vary their products to reflect differences among women. These differences did not take into account the huge variety of individual styles and appearances of American women, who, through advertising and mass-circulation magazines, were still confronted with ideals of feminine beauty which excluded many of them, particularly African-American women. Product variation was intelligent marketing: a manifestation of producers' attempts to manage their market.

In order to understand the cosmetics industry as an area of consumer culture, it is important to appreciate the cultural roots and political implications of ideas about feminine appearance. Very few studies of ideals of feminine beauty and

²⁶ Kathy Peiss, "Culture de masse et divisions sociales: Le cas de l'industrie américaine des cosmétiques", Le Mouvement social 152 (juillet-septembre 1990), 7-30. Translated by Jean-Michel Galano.

of the use of cosmetics have been written, and most of those which do exist do not discuss what these ideals and practices say about the culture and society which produces them.²⁷ Three notable exceptions are Lois Banner's American Beauty, Naomi Wolf's The Beauty Myth, and Susan Brownmiller's Femininity.²⁸

²⁷ As examples of early works see Neville Williams, Powder and Paint: A History of the Englishwoman's Toilet, Elizabeth I-Elizabeth II (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1957), and Richard Corson, Fashions in Makeup from Ancient to Modern Times (London: Peter Owen, 1972). For essays on beauty and advertising, some of which refer specifically to Québec, see Cécile Ouellet, ed., Souffrir pour être belle (Québec: Musée de la Civilisation, 1988). Maxine Nunes and Deanna White, The Lace Ghetto (Toronto: New Town Press, 1972) is a collection of images of Canadian women in advertising and elsewhere over the past century. Mary Vipond, "The Image of Women in Mass Circulation Magazines in the 1920s", in Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice, eds., The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 116-124, places images of women--the flapper and others--in the context of changes in women's labour force participation, in their work in the home, and in birth rates.

Fashion has been the topic of many historical and philosophical works which discuss its influence and meanings, relating changes in clothing styles to social and economic phenomena. This body of work is so large and diverse that it could be the object of an historiographical thesis. Essential works in the history of fashion include Roland Barthes, Système de la mode (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1967); Anne Hollander, Seeing Through Clothes (New York: Penguin Books, 1975); and Elizabeth Wilson, Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity (London: Virago, 1985). Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions (first published New York: Macmillan, 1899), discusses the relationship between class, prestige, and fashion. For a cultural approach to textile history, see Grant McCracken, "Textile History and the Consumer Epidemic: An Anthropological Approach to Popular Consumption and the Mass Market", Material History Bulletin (Spring 1990), 59-63.

²⁸ Lois W. Banner, American Beauty: A Social History through Two Centuries of the American Idea, Ideal, and Image of the Beautiful Woman (New York: Knopf, 1983); Naomi Wolf, The Beauty Myth (Toronto: Random House, 1990); Susan

In her detailed history of North American ideals of feminine beauty²⁹, Lois Banner examines the tension between the "fashion culture" and feminism in America and what she sees as the victory of the former over the latter. She looks at the development of "a fashionable physical appearance" as an important element of women's experience of the process of modernization. Banner describes changing fashions in feminine appearance, relating them to changes in women's social and political status over the course of 200 years. She discusses the political significance of dress, for example, the importance of the bloomers worn by some suffragists. However, the book pays little attention to the economic and commercial dimension of beauty standards and to the artistic, self-expressive, and sensual elements of self-adornment.³⁰

In a work of social and political analysis, that unfortunately pays little attention to historical change, Naomi Wolf argues

Brownmiller, Femininity (New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1984). Martha Banta, Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), is also useful. For a discussion of criticisms of male-defined standards of feminine beauty which link these standards to the general status of women, by feminists such as Mary Wollstonecraft and Simone de Beauvoir, see Josephine Donovan, Feminist Theory: The Intellectual Traditions of American Feminism (New York: Ungar, 1985), 8-9, 15, 16, 26, 45, 52, 95, 138-40, 165, 207.

This thesis does not discuss the changes in feminine ideals from, for example, the "flapper" of the 1920s to the "glamour girl" of the late 1930s and 1940s. Seen in the context of the development of North American consumer culture and the commodification of feminine beauty, the differences in these ideals are minor in comparison to their common character as normative standards of appearance and behaviour for modern women.

²⁹ Banner focuses on women in all but Chapter 11, "Men".

³⁰ For a critical review of American Beauty by Valerie Steele, see Journal of Social History 18 (1984-1985), 300-301.

that the "beauty myth" existing in North America and Western Europe today, which says that all women should try to fit accepted definitions of beauty, is "the last, best belief system that keeps male dominance intact".³¹ Wolf clearly outlines the power relations inherent in the beauty myth, and prescribes a compelling alternative to adherence to the myth: the development of a pleasure aesthetic, in which people would be free to please themselves through their appearance, and women would be free to appreciate each other's beauty and celebrate our differences.

Wolf's research, however, does not adequately support her conclusions. For example, she states that personal beauty became a professional requirement for many women in the 1960s, at a time when women's growing financial and political independence made it necessary for the "power structure" to use the beauty myth against women. In fact, the importance of an attractive appearance for working women was discussed in popular magazines, and used as an advertising approach, in the 1930s, when advertisers perhaps wished to play upon women's economic insecurities, rather than tone down their self-confidence. Wolf seems to believe that certain agents consciously reinforce the beauty myth in order to dominate women and counteract "dangerous" feminism: "...as women demanded access to power, the power structure used the beauty myth materially to undermine women's advancement".³² If the beauty myth were indeed upheld in such a straightforward manner, by one group of people who could be identified (even if with difficulty), the myth would be much easier to counteract than it is. Its deep roots in our culture, the unconscious ways in which it is reinforced, and the benefits

³¹ Wolf, 2.

³² Wolf, 9.

which it appears to offer women, are what make this element of consumer culture so strong.

In the American bestseller Femininity, Susan Brownmiller explores the many aspects of women's lives which make up, and are shaped by, the concept of femininity: body, hair, clothes, voice, skin, movement, emotion, and ambition. Brownmiller does not give enough attention to the artistic function which clothing and cosmetics fulfill, or the sensual satisfaction which can be gained from self-adornment. Her position resembles that of activists in the women's liberation movement of the 1960s, who saw cosmetics as a crucial factor in women's oppression and rejected their use.³³ Brownmiller rejects as inherently bad almost all forms of feminine adornment which developed in patriarchal society, and denounces feminine attire such as skirts and nylon stockings, and the use of cosmetics as frivolous. The alternative is to wear only "functional" clothing, which offers less scope for imagination and, furthermore, adopts a masculine standard as the objective norm, since in our society tailored, plain clothing is seen as both functional and masculine. Brownmiller's ideas about "functional" dress do not liberate her; they draw her into a rejection of "the feminine" as inherently bad and an acceptance of "the masculine" as the standard against which to judge femininity.³⁴

Culture and capitalism are international phenomena. In

³³ See essays, for example by Zoe Moss, in Robin Morgan, ed., Sisterhood is Powerful: An Anthology of the Women's Movement (New York: Vintage Books, 1970).

³⁴ See Wendy Chapkis' review of Femininity: "The Gender Divide and Eroticism", Socialist Review 30 (1985), 109-118; and Beauty Secrets: Women and the Politics of Appearance (Boston: South End Press, 1986), which emphasizes sensuality in self-adornment and addresses questions of femininity from a lesbian's perspective.

Canada's case, they are strongly linked to the United States. For this reason, this thesis has a North American analytical framework. Many of the marketing techniques used in Canada were developed by Americans; many advertising campaigns, written in the United States, were identical in Canada and the United States; and many companies selling beauty products were in fact located in the U.S. or were Canadian branch plants of American companies. Canada is used here as a case study of a modern North American consumer culture, rather than as an example of a unique type.

The thesis focuses on the period, 1901-1941, as a crucial period in the development of a consumer culture in Canada. Although Canadian advertising agencies existed in the late nineteenth century, advertising was truly established as a business and cultural institution in this country in the first few decades of the twentieth century. Advertising existed in a close relationship with magazines and newspapers and with the new mass media of the 1920s and 1930s, radio and film. The period is divided in two by the mid-1920s to highlight differences between the two periods in advertisers' conceptions of the consumer, and in the attitudes of advertisers, magazine writers, and women toward the use of cosmetics.

Ideally this study would focus on the struggle between cosmetics manufacturers and their female customers. Unfortunately it is very difficult to know how women felt about their appearance. Women's diaries are few and disproportionately represent the middle and upper classes; also, few mention anything about the use of cosmetics. Letters to beauty editors of popular magazines are one source, but it is difficult to know how many of these are genuine. Sales figures for cosmetics are another elusive indicator of acceptance; I will present those which I have found.

Another important primary source was Canadian magazines: Saturday Night, Maclean's, Canadian Magazine, Revue Moderne, Grain Growers' Guide, Canadian Magazine, and Chatelaine. An American women's magazine, The Ladies' Home Journal, was also used.³⁵ I read these magazines' women's columns and articles dealing with women's personal appearance, as well as those discussing political, social, and economic issues relating to women.

From these magazines I systematically noted every advertisement for a beauty product, defined as something a woman might apply to her body to increase her physical appeal. This definition excludes most clothing as well as household products such as dishwashing detergents or mattresses--products which did sometimes make promises similar to those in cosmetics ads. Included in the study are soap, shampoo, toothpaste, mouthwash, toothbrushes and hairbrushes, hair dye, hair tonics, hair goods such as wigs, hairdressing services, depilatories and other hair removal products or services, body powder, deodorants and anti-perspirants, products advertised for weight loss or gain, facial or hand creams and lotions, face powder, rouge, lipstick, eye makeup and eye drops, nail polish and manicure products and services, and perfume and cologne.

The content and ideology of the surveyed magazines varied somewhat. Saturday Night reported on domestic and world events, including politics, business, and social changes (such as changes in the family and in women's roles), and had some women's pages. Canadian Magazine focused on art and literature until 1926 when it was transformed into a more general family

³⁵ I started research with the first available year within the time frame, 1901 to 1941, and read every fourth year's magazines, with some exceptions for practical reasons.

magazine with articles on beauty and cooking as well as children's pages. Revue Moderne combined literature with family features similar to those in Canadian. Maclean's focussed on business and current affairs, with some articles written for women; it contained less advertising for cosmetics than the other magazines. Ladies' Home Journal was an American magazine with far more advertising content than any of the Canadian magazines used, having been founded with the express purpose of making profit through wide circulation and the sale of advertising. Chatelaine, founded in 1928, published fiction and articles deemed of specific interest to women, on housekeeping and cooking, women in public life, and fashion and beauty. The Canadian magazines were all published with the express purpose of promoting a distinct culture and identity. For Revue Moderne this identity was French and Catholic, while the Grain Grower's Guide's mission was to promote a rural way of life. The other magazines promoted a distinctive English-Canadian identity in their articles and editorials, but most of the advertisements found in them were for American products and were (at least until the late 1920s) written in the United States.

The magazines, all aimed at a middle-class audience, had a considerable readership. Canadian Magazine's circulation in 1925 was 12 604, while Saturday Night's was 30 858. That year Maclean's had a circulation of 79 807, while the Grain Grower's Guide's was 75 500 and Revue Moderne's, 17 426.³⁶ Ladies' Home Journal had a Canadian circulation of 152 011 in 1926.³⁷ Chatelaine's monthly sales of 70 000 within a year of its founding attests to the desire of middle-class Canadian

³⁶ The Canadian Almanac--1926 (Toronto: The Copp Clark Co., 1926), 400, 405, 407.

³⁷ Vipond, 180.

women, at least, for a women's magazine produced in Canada.³⁸

Insertion schedules in the J. Walter Thompson Co. and N. W. Ayer Co. archives show that cosmetic advertising was placed in Canadian newspapers from the Maritimes to British Columbia, including La Presse in Montréal. Newspaper ads were essentially the same as those placed in magazines. Like magazines, newspapers were chosen as advertising vehicles for their circulation rates and for the prosperity of the families buying them. For this reason my findings are slanted in the direction of middle-class standards and values, but this is not to say that these values were not shared by some workers, or that no working-class women read the magazines sampled. When evidence of differences in attitudes or habits of working-class and middle- or upper-class women was available, I included it in my analysis.

Three principal sources provided information about the structure of the advertising industry, its techniques and aspirations, and about the development of a consumer-oriented economy of mass production and distribution. The only Canadian periodical for marketers, Marketing and Business Management, began publishing in Toronto in 1919. It showed the concerns of Canadian advertisers and their agencies and contained advice for marketers from other professionals, Canadian market statistics, and business articles. Additional information was gathered from Printer's Ink, an American marketing magazine similar to Marketing, which began publishing in 1888. The articles in this magazine are useful because the aspirations and assumptions of American and Canadian business were very similar, and many Canadian marketers read Printer's Ink. Some Printer's Ink articles were reprinted in Marketing; others focused on problems which Americans faced in advertising or

³⁸ Vipond, 181.

manufacturing in Canada.

The most important source of business documentation was the records of the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency held at Duke University. These important and unique archives for the history of advertising contain proofs of advertisements, company publications, insertion schedules, market research reports, client histories, and minutes of staff meetings. The Thompson archives gave insight into consumer acceptance of both individual products and practices such as frequent bathing and the use of cosmetics. The Thompson agency was an innovator in the use of surveys to determine market size and distribution and to find which marketing approaches were most likely to be successful. Surveys are flawed as a source, because women's freedom of expression was limited by the fact that marketing professionals wrote the questions and recorded women's answers. However, these surveys remain one of the few means at our disposal to gauge women's reactions to advertising. Founded in the United States in 1878, the Thompson agency conducted business in Canada from its New York office from the early 1900s. It opened a shortlived Toronto branch which existed from 1911 to 1916. In 1929 the company opened a Montréal office. A year later it was chartered as a Canadian company and established a new Toronto branch.³⁹ There were no significant differences in its strategies for Canadian and American advertising; the only differences related to language, regional variations in tastes, and differences in illustrations (for example, depicting a Canadian Mountie rather than an American police officer).

Four other sources provided additional insights. The Smithsonian Institute's Warshaw Collection of Business

³⁹ "Fifty-Year Chronological Record of Canada's Advertising Agencies", Marketing, October 7, 1939, 13, 29-31.

Americana, the largest collection of business ephemera in North America, offered several beauty manuals and gave a general impression of the materials used to promote beauty products. The archives of the N.W. Ayer Co., also housed at the Smithsonian, provided Canadian insertion schedules of a few relevant advertisements as well as advertisements from French-language newspapers in Québec. Eaton's catalogues showed the beauty products offered to customers. Finally, advertisers' textbooks backed up findings from the business periodicals, giving an idea of accepted practices and conventional wisdom in the advertising profession.

The concept of monopoly capitalism offers the possibility of an analytical framework which accommodates the material and ideological dominance of capital in twentieth century North America with an awareness of the constant conflict and negotiation occurring as different classes and groups jostle for position within the limits set by this domination, which is powerful but not absolute. The Canadian economy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was developing toward monopoly capitalism--a system in which a small number of large firms dominate any economic sector. These firms earn their profits in part by establishing and maintaining a marked difference between their products and those of their competitors not only through product variation but also through advertising, trade marks, brand names, and distinctive packaging. The "successful" result of this process is that the consumer becomes attached to certain specific brands of goods and no longer sees different brands as substitutes for one another.⁴⁰ Advertising becomes an indispensable part of this

⁴⁰ Paul A. Baran and Paul M. Sweezy, Monopoly Capital: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1966), 116-117. A brand name may even become generally used instead of a "generic" product name, as has happened with "kleenex" for facial tissues and

profit-maximization strategy both by establishing the distinctiveness of the product and by stimulating demand.

Baran and Sweezy elaborated this idea of monopoly capitalism in the late 1960s, and it still serves as a good basis for understanding today. If we are to develop our understanding of monopoly capitalism and of the consumer culture which upholds it, however, we must develop a more nuanced approach to monopoly capitalism: a cultural approach, based on the importance not only of class but also of gender, and not only of conflict, but of negotiation and accommodation of interests.

Discussing personal beauty in the context of a North American consumer culture allows us to develop a critique of oppressive practices which highlights the links among different kinds of dominance, while maintaining an awareness of the historical specificity of certain practices and of the multifaceted ways in which domination is both reinforced and challenged. Feminist criticisms of beauty often focus on the pathological dimension of beauty, linking such practices as footbinding in imperial China, corseting in nineteenth-century Europe and North America, and plastic surgery and eating disorders in industrialized countries today.⁴¹ These criticisms, while

"aspirin" for ASA.

⁴¹ See Robin Lakoff and Raquel Scherr, Face Value: The Politics of Beauty (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984); Rita Freedman, Beauty Bound (Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1986); Kim Chernin, The Obsession: Reflections on the Tyranny of Slenderness (New York: Harper and Row, 1981); Susie Orbach, Fat is a Feminist Issue (Middlesex: Hamlyn Paperbacks, 1979); and Marcia Millman, Such a Pretty Face: Being Fat in America (New York: Berkley Books, 1981). For a liberal critique of ideas about personal beauty, see Janet Radcliffe Richards, The Sceptical Feminist (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), chapter 7, "The Unadorned Feminist".

deeply felt and eloquently presented, often lack an appreciation of the aesthetic potential of self-adornment and, just as importantly, of the role of economic relations in any period's conception of beauty. While there are links to be made across centuries and cultures, there are important differences between, for example, a culture in which beauty is a distinction reserved mainly for bourgeois women and a culture in which all women are expected to try to make themselves beautiful with the help of mass-marketed products.

An historical study of advertising for beauty products must integrate business and cultural history because advertising is the most pervasive and persuasive, and one of the most oppressive, cultural institutions of modern industrial society. This framework for analysis must incorporate the contradictions present in relationships between manufacturers/advertisers and consumers, and between women and men, taking into account the relative power of each side, and the shifts in this balance of power. It must emphasize the elements of class and gender which are ever-present in social life, although not always immediately visible.

This thesis links the study of gender identities--specifically, ideals of feminine beauty--to business history. It describes the changes which took place in advertisements for beauty products in the period 1901-1941, and puts these changes into the larger social and economic context of the development of a consumer culture in a society completing its transformation to modernity and to monopoly capitalism. It relates advertisements for beauty products to the reinforcement of modern phenomena and values such as women's declining domestic production, the new emphasis on companionship in marriage, and the increased importance of scientific knowledge and the greater respect accorded "specialists" and "experts". It examines the attitudes of

advertisers toward their work, and the ways in which widely-held ideas and values help them in their ventures. Finally, it attempts to understand how women accepted the products offered them by advertisers. The thesis will show how inextricably the messages transmitted through advertisements were interwoven with power relations, yesterday as today.

Chapter Two

"The Art of Creating a New Want": Advertising in Early Twentieth-Century Canada

In considering the growth of consumer culture in Canada, and the commercial beauty culture which was a part of it, the period from 1901 to 1941 is best understood as two shorter periods divided by the mid-1920s. In the first twenty-five years of the century advertisers worked to create consumers, developing market research techniques to help them in this genesis. Their work of mass-marketing standardized goods commercialized existing relationships and practices, fitting them into the new culture which sharply divided producers and consumers. Through advertisements for cosmetics, advertisers moved into the historical discourse on beauty, shaping ideals of beauty to meet the needs of business.

Advertising for beauty products embodied many of the changes of modernizing Canada. It targeted women, a valuable market for advertisers because of the growing importance of their role as consumers as domestic production declined within the industrial economy. The ads presented sexuality, courtship, and marriage in a way which reflected changes occurring in mores and in the family economy, and women's precarious place in the waged labour force. The ads perpetuated the modern belief in the value of science, applying this idea to the cultivation of personal beauty. Finally, in their attempts to create a manageable mass market, advertisers downplayed the distinctiveness of markets like francophone and rural women. By the mid-1920s what few differences there had been between advertising aimed at these women and that which targeted urban anglophones, had disappeared.

Modern advertising began toward the end of the nineteenth

century in Canada. Industrial capital was consolidating its position while the place of labour and the relationship between employers and employees was being redefined. The structures and power relations of monopoly capitalism allowed the dominant ideology of individualism, the primacy of private capital, the value of rationality and science, and the idealized division (not as sharp in reality) of the masculine public sphere and the feminine private sphere, to shape social, political, and cultural life. Monopoly capitalism's components included imperialism, with its racist ideology, the degradation of labour as the factory system encompassed more and more unskilled workers, Taylor's scientific rationalization of the labour force; and the exploitation of women both within the labour force and in the home as the double workday became more common.

Monopoly capitalism, like the consumer culture which envelops and defines it, is a system which is constantly challenged from within. The power relations inherent in the system are always being renegotiated and reshaped, although the grossly uneven distribution of all kinds of power assures the continued domination of certain groups. Consumers' power lies in their numbers. In the twentieth century in Canada, they included the working- and middle-classes whose existence is one of the distinguishing features of industrial capitalism, and their families. They exerted their power by choosing the products they wished to buy. Consumers' power, however, was easily co-opted. Its forms of expression and the market itself were controlled by capital, which ultimately decided what would be marketed, and how. Advertising suppressed human individuality, and was one of the ideological institutions against which individuals had to define themselves.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Canadian businesses combined to reduce competition. These combinations included

the Dominion Wholesale Grocers' Guild, which had branches in all major cities as early as the 1880s and which fixed prices on everything from tobacco to pickles; associations of hardware dealers; and starting in 1862, oil producers and refiners' combines. In the early twentieth century large firms began to dominate the manufacturing sector in Canada as in the United States. These included the Laurentide Pulp Company, which produced 44 500 tons of newsprint (much of it for export) in 1906, when the entire Canadian consumption was about 27 000 tons¹; and Massey Harris, which between 1890 and 1911 made 15 percent of all manufactured goods exported from Canada.² Soap had become big business in North America at the end of the nineteenth century, as the number of soap manufacturers declined but larger firms such as Colgate and Procter and Gamble grew.³ In 1912 Dominion Cotton Mills owned half of the total productive capacity of the Canadian cotton industry.⁴

Between 1909 and 1912, 275 individual firms were combined into 58 industrial enterprises with a total capital of almost half a billion dollars. These mergers took place in a variety of sectors including flour milling, textiles, coal, lumber, shipping, and baking.⁵ In 1931, Toronto's thirty-six men's clothing factories accounted for 82.9 per cent of all capital

¹ Bliss, Northern Enterprise, 323.

² Bliss, Northern Enterprise, 307.

³ Richard L. Bushman and Claudia L. Bushman, "The Early History of Cleanliness in America", Journal of American History 74:4 (March 1988), 1213-1238.

⁴ Measured by the number of spindles owned by the company. Donald Kerr and Deryck W. Holdsworth, eds., Historical Atlas of Canada, Vol. III: Addressing the Twentieth Century (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), Plate 7.

⁵ Bliss, Northern Enterprise, 338.

investment in clothing production in Ontario.⁶

In the cosmetics industry in the United States and Canada there continued to be a large number of companies, many of them smaller local producers, such as the Hiscott Insitute of Toronto, which provided skin care in its salons and sold its own ready-made preparations in the salons and by mail to women in other parts of Canada. However, the largest cosmetics producers, such as Pond's and Jergens, placed the most advertising and had international exposure. The biggest cosmetics producers which would dominate the industry, such as Revlon and Max Factor, rose in the 1930s and 1940s. Cosmetics, which gained importance after the mid-1920s, were better business for manufacturers than soap, the most-advertised beauty product in the early twentieth century. In 1928 Canadian women spent \$13 000 000 on soap and \$4 600 000 on cosmetics, perfumes, and facial creams. That year, there were forty-two factories manufacturing soap in Canada, and forty-four manufacturing other toiletries. The capital invested in soap production greatly outweighed that employed in the toiletries industry: \$17 500 000, compared to \$3 000 000. However, the Financial Post estimated that for every one dollar of material used in the manufacture of soap, an article with a selling value of \$1.60 was produced. The same dollar used in the production of other toiletries would produce goods with a retail price of slightly over \$3.00.⁷

⁶ Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Report on the Men's Factory Clothing Industry in Canada (Ottawa: 1931), 4. Cited in Mercedes Steedman, "Skill and Gender in the Canadian Clothing Industry, 1890-1940", in Craig Heron and Robert Storey, On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), 169n.

⁷ "Soap vs. Cosmetics", Marketing, September 14, 1929, 160.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century professional advertising agencies--as distinct from advertising departments of industrial or commercial establishments--became responsible for the marketing of the new variety of consumer goods. From 1890 to 1940 in Canada, the number and size of these agencies grew rapidly. Agencies were hired by manufacturers to conduct market research, devise advertising campaigns, write advertisements and design or commission illustrations, and purchase space in newspapers and magazines (later they would buy time on radio and still later, on television).⁸ A. McKim and Co. of Montreal was founded in 1889 and is usually credited with being the first Canadian agency. It opened branches in Toronto (1902), Winnipeg (1911), London, England (1912), Vancouver (1925), and Halifax (1928). Large American agencies also opened Canadian branch offices in the same period. By 1930 J. Walter Thompson of New York had offices in Montreal and Toronto. N. W. Ayer and Son of Canada, a subsidiary of the American parent, opened a Montreal office in 1934 and a Toronto office in 1937.⁹

The movement of American advertising agencies into Canada was part of an increasingly important relationship between the two countries that included growing Canadian integration into American cultural and economic life. This integration underlined monopoly capitalism's character as an international phenomenon. In the twentieth century, while British investment was decreasing, American interests accounted for a growing proportion of foreign investment in Canada. In 1900 American investment accounted for some fifteen percent of all foreign investment in Canada, growing slowly to almost twenty percent

⁸ On the functions of advertising agencies, see Fox, The Mirror Makers, especially 13-15, 21, 35-36, 40-41.

⁹ "Fifty-Year Chronological Record of Canada's Advertising Agencies", Marketing, October 7, 1939, 13, 29-31.

in 1910. Later investment was more considerable: almost forty-five percent in 1920, and sixty percent in 1930 and 1940. Canadian exports to the United States grew more slowly, varying between thirty and forty percent of total Canadian exports between 1901 and 1935, and growing to just under fifty percent of total exports during the Second World War.¹⁰

American advertisers were conscious of the value of the Canadian market, and tried to arouse American manufacturers' interest in that market. An advertisement for the H. K. McCann Co. of New York and Toronto in Printer's Ink in 1915 read:

Of all the New World, Canada is the newest...Her whole future is bright. Her markets, profitable, even now, for American manufacturers, hold even greater things in store for them.¹¹

Some advertisers understood that there were differences between Canadian and American consumers. In 1913 the Thompson agency emphasized that it was the only American agency with a Canadian office, which enabled it to "adapt American ideas to Canadian conditions".¹² A reading of American advertising in Canadian magazines, however, shows that all that most American companies did at this time to adapt its advertising to the Canadian market was to write "Made in Canada" on advertisements where applicable, or to translate ads into French for the francophone market.

To convince American advertisers to buy space on their pages, Canadian magazines and newspapers advertised in Printer's Ink, the main trade paper of American marketers. These advertisements assured American marketers that "Canadians are Big Buyers--Millions of Canadian dollars are spent annually

¹⁰ Historical Atlas of Canada--Vol. III, Plate 3.

¹¹ PI, August 19, 1915, 7.

¹² PI, November 20, 1913, 93.

for goods manufactured by the United States"¹³, and reminded them that "Canadian buyers line up against an American counter 3000 miles long".¹⁴ La Presse's advertising informed Americans that the United States was "bounded on [the] north by two nations", and reminded readers of Printer's Ink that this market could not be covered by advertising in English-language newspapers.¹⁵ Many advertisers followed this advice, and publications such as Revue Moderne contained many French-language translations of American ads. These ads were rarely changed, however, to conform to French-Canadian cultural preferences.

Advertisers linked their practice to the social and economic progress which they believed industrial capitalism would bring about. According to marketers, advertising would stimulate demand and thereby help to lower prices by allowing goods to be produced in greater quantities. This new productive capacity would eradicate shortages. Marketers described advertising as a new type of education. Products were introduced, their praises sung, and their proper use explained in advertisements with long texts. Advertisers believed they could do more than simply stimulate demand: by creating new demands, they would create the consumers the economy needed. This endeavour was predicated on the belief that human beings, who were essentially rational creatures, could see the benefits of mass-marketed goods and use them to make life easier and more pleasant. This view reflected the fact that capitalism was based on "...the idea that both buyer and seller are sufficiently mature, well informed and reasonable

¹³ Advertisement for Canadian Magazine, PI, July 20, 1911, 84.

¹⁴ Advertisement for The Globe, PI, January 26, 1911, 208.

¹⁵ PI, September 28, 1911, 96.

to engage in transactions of mutual self-interest".¹⁶

Two prolific writers on advertising in the early and mid-twentieth century, Earnest Elmo Calkins and Ralph Holden, wrote in 1905 that

To (advertising) we largely owe the prevalence of good roads, rubber tires, open plumbing, sanitary underwear, water filters, hygienic waters, biscuits wrapped in moisture-proof packages, and breakfast foods at low prices, well prepared. These are only a few of the things which the public has been taught to use, to believe in and demand.¹⁷

Truman A. DeWeese, a respected writer of advertising textbooks, described advertising in 1906 as "the art of creating a New Want" and as "the art of acquainting the public with the name, nature, and uses of a saleable commodity".¹⁸ DeWeese captured much of the spirit of the growing consumer culture when he declared that "Modern advertising has made the luxuries of yesterday the necessities of today."¹⁹ In the early 1920s the A. McKim agency was still sending the same message to manufacturers: "Markets are in Minds...You can make people WANT your goods, and see new uses for them"²⁰. Marketing encouraged marketers to advertise new uses for

¹⁶ Neil Postman, Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), 127.

¹⁷ Earnest Elmo Calkins and Ralph Holden, Modern Advertising (Originally published New York: D. Appleton, 1905; New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1985), 7-8.

¹⁸ Truman A. DeWeese, The Principles of Practical Publicity: Being a Treatise on "The Art of Advertising", 3rd edition (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Co., 1906 and 1908), 15-16.

¹⁹ DeWeese, 7.

²⁰ Advertisement for the A. McKim agency, Marketing, January 1920, front cover.

existing goods:

There is practically no product that has not a possible larger market than it is enjoying. When women used talcum powder on their faces only, the sales volume was small. More was sold when advertising began to make them use it on neck and chest, and vastly more when many used it over the entire body...Men were taught to use talcum after shaving...Thus the volume grew with the added users, but still more...with the added uses.²¹

Women were a valuable audience for advertisers because they bought not only for themselves, but for their families. Although advertisers saw women primarily as potential consumers, women's place in monopoly capitalist society, and in consumer culture, was complex. In the early twentieth-century Canadian economy, women were some of the least-valued, yet most profitable labour for their employers. Women served as a reserve army of labour, often displacing men who demanded higher wages, being hired in times of economic expansion and dismissed in times of hardship. Women's work in the home, caring for the family or working on the family farm, was an important factor in making this possible.²² Women's place in the paid labour force, and the length of time they spent there, depended not only on their sex but also on their class, age, and marital status. In 1921, eighty percent of the female labour force was single, while just under ten percent was married and just over ten percent was widowed or divorced. By 1931 these figures had changed marginally, with just under eighty percent of the female labour force being single, and almost fifteen percent being married.²³

²¹ Marketing, July 15, 1922, 57.

²² On women's paid and unpaid work in the home, see Veronica Strong-Boag, "Keeping House in God's Country: Canadian Women at Work in the Home", in Heron and Storey, On the Job, 124-151.

²³ Kerr, Historical Atlas of Canada, Vol. III, Plate 61.

The opportunities for work outside the home for bourgeois women were restricted by discrimination in education and in professions, and by employers' refusal to hire married women. If a woman had the financial means and freedom from domestic duties, she could obtain an education and enter a women's profession such as elementary school teaching or nursing. A small minority of women opened businesses of their own. This opportunity was limited for married women in Québec, who were prevented by law from conducting financial transactions without the signature of their husband until 1964.²⁴

Working-class women found employment in factories, often performing unskilled work or--as was often the case--work that was deemed unskilled precisely because it was done by women.²⁵ One industry which employed large numbers of women was textiles, a traditional area of women's work. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century technological changes such as the power loom, the sewing machine (patented in 1849), automatic buttonholers, and basting and tacking machines hastened the segmentation of the labour process, deskilling the traditional occupations of weaver and seamstress. The industry moved from traditional artisanal production to partial factory production with some outworkers, to full-scale factory production under one roof. This progression was not linear, however, and the

²⁴ Collectif Clio, L'Histoire des femmes au Québec depuis quatre siècles (Montréal: Les Quinze, 1982), 427-429.

²⁵ On the division between skilled and unskilled women's labour, and on the importance of women's marital status in their labour force participation, see Gail Cuthbert Brandt, "'Weaving It Together': Life Cycle and the Industrial Experience of Female Cotton Workers in Quebec, 1910-1950", Labour/Le Travailleur 8 (Spring, 1981), 113-126. See also Harry Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1974), especially 385-386, on the place of women workers in monopoly capitalism.

three modes of production co-exist today.²⁶

For many women in the early twentieth century, taking paid employment still meant working in the service sector, although domestic service declined in importance as a field of women's employment in the twentieth century. Only 11 percent of the female Canadian labour force were domestic servants in 1921.²⁷ Growing numbers of lower-middle-class or working-class women served in department stores. At the beginning of the twentieth century the growing complexity of the production process, the emphasis on scientific management and cost accounting, and the division of corporations into offices and departments, created new jobs for female secretaries, typists, and stenographers.²⁸

Beauty culture--the preservation and enhancement of feminine beauty--was a growing field of work for women in the twentieth century. In 1901 there were only 115 women hairdressers in Canada. This number dropped to 54 in 1911 but had grown to 664 by 1921.²⁹ In 1931 the census included "manicurist" as an occupation for the first time. That year, 1327 women were

²⁶ Steedman, 154-155.

²⁷ Alison Prentice et al., Canadian Women: A History (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), 123.

²⁸ See Graham S. Lowe, "Mechanization, Feminization, and Managerial Control in the Early Twentieth-Century Canadian Office", in Heron and Storey, On the Job, 177-209; Lowe, Women in the Administrative Revolution: The Feminization of Clerical Work (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Veronica Strong-Boag, "The Girl of the New Day: Canadian Working Women in the 1920s", Labour/Le Travailleur 4 (1979), 131-164; and The New Day Recalled, 61-63; and Margery W. Davies, Women's Place is at the Typewriter: Office Work and Office Workers, 1870-1930 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982).

²⁹ Includes females aged 10 and over. Census of Canada, 1921, 2-3, Table I.

employed as barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists.³⁰ By 1941 there were 10 998 women barbers, hairdressers, and manicurists in Canada. The majority of these--7538--were single, while 2496 were married, 502 were divorced or separated, and 462 were widowed.³¹

Twentieth-century commercial beauty culture illustrates the variety of meanings which cultural institutions can have simultaneously. Although the beauty culture made demands on women and set higher standards of personal appearance for more women to meet than previously, that same beauty culture provided employment for women in a feminine atmosphere. As well, women used the beauty parlour as a social institution--a place to relax and talk, to experience a certain physical intimacy, to spend time on one's own physical and beauty needs. While cosmetics manufacturers like Elizabeth Arden and Helena Rubinstein were businesswomen in search of profit, they also felt they were providing a valuable service, helping women to attain the beauty they desired.³²

³⁰ Includes females aged 20 and over. Census of Canada, 1931, 150, Table 29.

³¹ Includes females aged 14 and over. Census of Canada, 1941, 60-61, Table 5.

³² See autobiographies and biographies of women in the cosmetics industry, such as Helena Rubinstein, My Life for Beauty (London: Bodley, Head, 1964), and Margaret Hubbard Ayer and Isabella Taves, The Three Lives of Harriet Hubbard Ayer (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1957). For the story of a prominent man in the beauty business, see Andrew Tobias, Fire and Ice: The Story of Charles Revson (New York: William Morrow, 1976). The first black millionaire in the United States was Madame C. J. Walker, who discovered a way of straightening hair and established a chain of beauty salons. The fact that Walker achieved her success by helping black women move closer to the white beauty standard illustrates the difficulty for minority cultures to affirm their own beauty in a society in which the dominant culture has denied their worth and dignity. Banner, 14.

During the early twentieth century Canadian women first gained access to Canadian public life. Women were active in suffrage movements, campaigns for temperance and birth control, and parliamentary politics. In 1919 women won the federal vote; two years later Agnes MacPhail became the first female Member of Parliament; and in 1929 the "Persons Case" was won, acknowledging women's right to sit in the Senate.

Many feminists, including MacPhail, were criticized for "mannish" behaviour, for remaining single, or for "neglecting" their families. This entry into male power domains was accompanied by scrutiny of feminists' physical appearance, their femininity, their sexual preferences, and their capabilities as mothers. Early Canadian feminists left very few records of how they felt about their looks, or about the imposition of a beauty standard upon women. Some did criticize fashions in clothing, however. Francis Marion Beynon, editor of the Grain Grower's Guide's "Country Homemakers" column, noted that the styles of autumn 1914 were easy to sew at home. Farm women could therefore have

...the doubtful satisfaction of knowing that one is...in accord with the mode of the hour, which will perhaps be some slight compensation for the knowledge that one looks exactly like one's neighbour and at least ten years older than one really is.³³

While placing some value on the preservation of a youthful appearance, Beynon did appeal for individuality in dress. Nellie McClung's autobiography notes her positive reaction to her first visit to a beauty parlour in Winnipeg in 1908:

...I had my hair done at a hairdressers', and a manicure and a facial. My first excursion into the aromatic world of Applied Beauty. I even had a little rouge to tone up my pale complexion. The operator put it on, without bothering to ask me, and I had to admit it was an improvement on the

³³ GGG, September 2, 1914, 8.

rose-leaf from a summer hat, hitherto used by me for the purpose. I was learning.³⁴

Women homemakers, paid workers, politicians, activists--advertisers saw them all as an undifferentiated mass of potentially valuable consumers. Advertisers therefore used all means at their disposal to determine how best to market products to women. This communication could potentially lead to improvements in products used by women. Most often, however, it simply enabled marketers to use women's ideas and language to make advertising more appealing. Advertisers entered the historical discourse on beauty, shaping women's ideas about beauty and moulding new ideals for their own ends. In so doing, they drew women further into consumer culture and strengthened the monopoly capitalist system.

Surveys were an important means for marketers to learn people's tastes, and to overcome consumer resistance to new products. The J. Walter Thompson agency was one of the first to use consumer surveys to plan its ad campaigns and to encourage a "New Want". The agency established a research department in 1915, hiring academics such as John B. Watson, a founder of behavioural psychology.³⁵ As early as 1911, the company had a Women's Editorial Department composed of women and men. The women tried products (such as Woodbury's Facial Soap) and recorded their impressions of them to help copywriters in their work. Men's opinions of the effects of beauty products on their female colleagues were also noted. The agency also employed professionals such as a Dr. Broemer,

³⁴ Nellie McClung, The Stream Runs Fast (Toronto: T. Allen, 1945), 77.

³⁵ On Watson, see Fox, The Mirror Makers, 85-86. On the early use of psychology in advertising, see Walter Dill Scott, The Psychology of Advertising, 8th ed. (Boston: Small, Maynard, and Co., 1916).

a skin specialist, to test products and advise on scientific terminology to use in advertising.

A 1920 survey done for the Odo-ro-no Co. demonstrated both the tendency of advertisers to try to fit customers to their products and advertisers' belief in their ability to "educate" the public through advertising. The survey of 482 women determined that Odo-ro-no deodorant was used by twenty-two percent of the women and competing products by nineteen percent, while fifty-nine percent used no deodorant at all. Of that fifty-nine percent,

...47% insisted that they did not need a deodorant... Obviously many of the women were incorrect in their statement that they did not need a deodorant. They did; they simply were not conscious of the fact. It was our task to make them realize it, and this furnished our advertising with a new objective.³⁶

Surveys also enabled advertisers to market products according to consumers' existing preferences. When in 1923 the J. Walter Thompson Co. conducted a survey through several women's magazines to determine how women were using moisturizing lotions, it discovered that seventy percent using a lotion applied it to their hands and thirty percent, to their faces. With this understanding of its market, the company decided to market Jergens lotion as a hand lotion.

To rationalize their marketing campaigns, advertisers tried to homogenize consumers' tastes. Markets, and the advertisements aimed at them, were subdivided into relatively few categories. Advertising rarely took into account ethnic and class distinctions, or differences between rural and urban women, not to mention the diversity of individual tastes and

³⁶ JWT, Inactive Account Files, Record Group 4, Box 1, File 22; "Account Histories: The Odo-ro-no Company", January 21, 1926.

desires. Products were made available in several different formats when these distinctions were vital to the commercial success of the product. Instead of affirming the fact that a variety of individuals used these products, these divisions served to classify customers into sub-categories established by advertisers. Advertisements for Gossard corsets in 1921, for example, illustrated nine types of corsets for the "...nine types of women" to be found in North America.³⁷ Djer-Kiss Rouge featured the eight "types" of American women, and recommended the "correct" tint for each type.³⁸

Advertisers of the early twentieth century used a variety of approaches in their work, but systematic reading of advertisements for beauty products reveals certain recurrent themes.³⁹ The strongest themes in advertising were modernity; beauty as a natural feminine interest or duty; the benefits of science or, more generally, human control over nature; beauty as an avenue of class mobility; and the possibility of attracting a man by improving one's physical appearance. These themes began to take shape in advertising of the first two decades of the 1900s. As we will see in the next chapter, they became much stronger in the next twenty years.

Business periodicals and popular magazines, particularly those aimed at female audiences, differentiated the "modern" era by

³⁷ SN, October 1, 1921, 28.

³⁸ "Advertising Advocates Moderate Use of Rouge", PI, April 15, 1920, 17-19.

³⁹ This thesis will consider only qualitative elements of advertisements, and not the number of ads which the magazines sampled contained in any given year. This is because not all of the magazines were read for the entire forty-year period studied, and because a simple count of the advertisements does not take into consideration factors such as the size of an advertisement or whether or not it was illustrated.

the importance and availability of consumer goods, and by the importance placed on one's physical appearance. The Ladies' Home Journal's fashion and pattern department stated in 1915 that

The Girl Who Wants "the Latest Thing" is progressive in everything...thinks seriously of clothes and realizes how they may help or hinder her success in life...⁴⁰

Pepsodent was billed as the "New-Day Dentifrice" used by modern men and women everywhere (see fig. 1).⁴¹ Modernity was linked with progress and rationality. The modern view of social interaction incorporated a strong tension between the opportunities which modernity offered for individual freedom through relaxed social rules (more liberty in courtship, the loosening of certain taboos for women, such as smoking)⁴², and the pressure from advertising to conform to standards of personal hygiene. In the new, "freer" modern world, advertising reminded people that they were constantly on display and being judged by their peers.

The "modern" woman was not exempt from the age-old idea that it was a woman's duty to be beautiful. There was a difference, however, between the early-twentieth-century definition of beauty and that of the previous century. In 1852 Godey's Lady's Book stated that

It is a woman's business to be beautiful. Beauty of some kind is so much the attribute of the sex, that a woman can hardly be said to feel herself a woman

⁴⁰ LHJ, May 1915, 85.

⁴¹ Maclean's, May 15, 1920, 37.

⁴² According to Veronica Strong-Boag, the first mass advertising for cigarettes directed at a female market in Canada appeared in the 1920s. Strong-Boag suggests most Canadians, however, still frowned upon women smoking. The New Day Recalled, 85.

who has not, at one time of her life, at all events, felt herself to be fair.⁴³

The nineteenth-century expectation of feminine beauty applied above all to middle- and upper-class women, who were expected to incorporate beauty into their families' lives by developing artistic talents, decorating the home, and inculcating religious and spiritual values. This ideal survived for a few years into the twentieth century, but was rarely invoked in popular magazines, and not at all in advertising. In 1913 Canadian Magazine tinged its feminine ideal with nationalism.

...if the Canadian girl or woman has not conspicuously the beauty which is only skin-deep, she engages the senses by her well-begotten physique and form; and the imagination, by the spiritual expressiveness of her face and movements.⁴⁴

Appreciation of a multi-faceted womanly beauty quickly gave way to a commercialized ideal advanced by advertising. The mass-marketed beauty of the twentieth century was designed to appeal to women of all classes, and focused almost exclusively on the individual woman's own physical decoration.⁴⁵ According to advertising and mass magazines, every woman had the duty to try to make herself beautiful, and the chance to gain the status and benefits that came with physical attractiveness. Women were told that "A woman's looks have more to do with her success and popularity than any art or accomplishment..."⁴⁶ While advertising for cosmetics such as rouge, lipstick, and eye make-up was not yet as widespread as

⁴³ Quoted in Banner, 10.

⁴⁴ John Logan, Ph.D., "Canadian Womanhood and Beauty: An Essay in Social Psychology", CM, January, 1913, 253.

⁴⁵ Banner, 9.

⁴⁶ Advertisement for the Hiscott Institute, Toronto, SN, September 29, 1917, 26.

it would become in the late 1920s and 1930s, advertisers saw that they would have to use advertising to overcome women's resistance to the everyday use of these products. An investigator for the J. Walter Thompson Co. found in the early 1920s that

...[Many women] feel that vanishing cream, powder and rouge are preparations to be applied before leaving, but not when staying home. If these women can be shown that cream, powder and rouge make them feel their best at home as well as protect the skin from the dust in sweeping and house cleaning...much will be accomplished toward making the women realize that the use of toilet articles is a natural duty as is combing the hair and wearing clean dresses.⁴⁷

Through the vulgarization of "scientific" methods, transposing the scientific discourse of the early twentieth century to the marketplace, advertisers emphasized women's ability to control their physical appearance. According to advertisers, once women had identified a beauty problem through observation, they could remedy it using a particular treatment according to a set regimen. It was no longer necessary to suffer the indignities of natural imperfections. "Susanna Cocroft"'s advertisement for her weight-loss program urged women to "Become the Woman You Wish to Be...": healthy, with a "perfect" figure.⁴⁸ Advertisements from Stillman's Freckle Cream asked "Why Have Freckles--when they are so easily removed?"⁴⁹ In 1915, ads for Odo-ro-no antiperspirant promised women that the product would allow them to dance every dance without "perspiration annoyance". In a reversal of the accepted definition of "natural", Odo-ro-no was guaranteed

⁴⁷ "Women's Search for Beauty": report of a survey of 41 women of all ages and varied economic backgrounds in Topeka, Kansas, about 1923; JWT 16mm microfilm, #59.

⁴⁸ LHJ, February, 1919, 93.

⁴⁹ SN, May 21, 1921, 29.

to keep women "naturally dry, dainty, and odorless..."⁵⁰ Advertisements for Cutex cuticle remover demonstrated "The wrong and the right way to manicure".⁵¹ Ads for Pepsodent toothpaste presented it as "A Vastly Better Way To Brush Teeth", reassuring readers that it was "A Scientific Product, Sold by Druggists Everywhere", and that all statements in its ads were "Approved by High Dental Authorities".⁵²

The legitimization of consumer goods through science was a conscious effort on the part of advertisers. The J. Walter Thompson Co. revealed this strategy in its description of its 1916 campaign for the Cutex line of manicure products:

The copy was at first semi-scientific in tone... directed specifically to women. We started by saying: "Dr. Murray, the famous specialist, said, 'You must not cut your cuticle'. This was both because we were changing people's habit and because we wanted to be just as emphatic as possible...The name of Northam Warren [a chemist and founder of the company] has always been used, to create the idea of a chemist rather than a manufacturer. Cutex is a product of the laboratory. Giving the scientific note to it has, of course, been an asset and emphasizes the individuality of the product. The J. Walter Thompson Company wanted people to think there was something mysterious about this product, something entirely unique; that no one coming along with a similar product could produce the same result."⁵³

Elements of the new consumer culture were inserted into existing relationships, commercializing them. Modern respect for expert, scientific knowledge distorted women's traditions

⁵⁰ LHJ, May, 1915, 93.

⁵¹ LHJ, January, 1919, 67.

⁵² LHJ, January, 1919, 69.

⁵³ JWT, Inactive Account Files, Record Group 4, Box 4, File 33; "Account Histories: Northam Warren Corp.--Cutex", February 23, 1926.

of sharing knowledge.⁵⁴ Using advertised products scientifically meant trusting in experts, most of whom were male: doctors, dentists, and both male and female beauticians. Beginning in the late 1910s, many ads showed women receiving advice from professionals, or giving each other advice which involved the use of the advertised product. A 1919 ad for Packer's Tar Soap showed a woman washing her little sister's hair with the soap, reminding her that "...the healthier you keep your scalp now, the prettier your hair will be (when you're big like me)..."⁵⁵ In a 1923 Lysol ad a woman lectured her daughter on how to keep her health: relax daily, eat well, exercise, and see to her "personal cleanliness" with regular Lysol douches.⁵⁶ In two separate Listerine advertisements a young woman is advised by her mother, and then by her dentist, to use the mouthwash against "halitosis" (the "scientific" term for bad breath used in the ads).⁵⁷

In the period before the First World War, advertisers introduced a theme which would be exploited more fully after the mid-1920s: the use of cosmetics and of the beauty they conferred as an avenue of class mobility. Beauty had long been expected of bourgeois and aristocratic women, whose class provided them with the wealth and leisure to care for their appearance. Twentieth-century advertisers tapped into a new, broader-based consumer market: working- and middle-class women. This market was susceptible to ads emphasizing the toll that housework took on women's appearance. A 1917

⁵⁴ See Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, For Her Own Good: 150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women (New York: Doubleday, 1978).

⁵⁵ LHJ, August 1919, 78.

⁵⁶ LHJ, April 1923, 100.

⁵⁷ LHJ, February 1923, 50, and November 1923, 100.

advertisement for Lux dishwashing liquid promised to soothe "the unsightly, smarting hands...of women who do their own work".⁵⁸ When, in 1923, the J. Walter Thompson Co. decided to market Jergens Lotion as a hand cream,

...it was clear that we must aim our copy directly at the class of women who use their hands most...women of the great middle class who do their own housework. The copy was...to make these women conscious...of the enormous wear and tear on their hands, caused by housework, and to convince them of the unique effectiveness of Jergens Lotion in overcoming this wear and tear and keeping their hands smooth, white and soft in spite of housework. We decided to develop the first point...by using photographic close-ups of hands in action--kneading dough, dusting, washing dishes...etc.

To bring out the second point, we threw special emphasis on the ingredients...especially its benzoin and almond ingredients, and their healing skin-repairing properties.⁵⁹

Other advertisements made more direct links between products and the elegance and refinement of an upper-class lifestyle. A 1915 ad for face powder stated that the product was "...of peculiar excellence which creates an atmosphere of refinement".⁶⁰ Mum deodorant, ads read, was to be applied before the theatre or the ball--presumably not usual activities for most Mum consumers!⁶¹

Advertisers presented a husband as a prize, and beauty as the instrument with which a woman was to "win" a wedding ring. This view of marriage denied women's contributions to a marriage and to home life, and the complexity of human

⁵⁸ SN, November 24, 1917, 26.

⁵⁹ JWT, Inactive Account Files, Record Group 4, Box 12; "History of Jergens Lotion", 1924.

⁶⁰ Ad for Mary Garden face powder, LHJ, September 1915, 56.

⁶¹ LHJ, December 1915, 69.

relationships, but it was rooted in the economic inequality of men and women and in the assumption that a woman must marry and have children to feel happy and secure. The companionship which social reformers advocated as the basis for a strong marriage was translated by advertisers into a view of courtship and marriage as a type of one-on-one competition in which women worked to alternately please and manipulate men by their physical beauty, and in which women were always in danger of losing their attractiveness, and their advantage.⁶² According to the advertisers of Palmolive soap, the "clever wife" stayed young; there was no place for middle-aged women "in the modern scheme of things".⁶³ Single women were not exempt from the message that they were at the mercy of men and of their own natural deficiencies, and must use mass-marketed products to overcome these defects and be attractive to men. An ad for Odo-ro-no deodorant described "The most humiliating moment of my life--When I overheard the cause of my unpopularity among men..."⁶⁴ In 1923 Listerine's advertising told the sad story of a woman left unmarried at the age of thirty because of her bad breath.⁶⁵ The sexuality portrayed

⁶² Veronica Strong-Boag argues in The New Day Recalled that "...most female Canadians not only expected to marry but took it for granted that marriage would provide satisfaction, security, and purpose", 81. Strong-Boag also asserts that "Women's most obvious resources in an unequal marriage market were their looks and sexuality", 85. Although this was the message communicated by advertising, magazines, and films, it is doubtful that women saw their appearance and sexuality in such starkly commercial terms, or that men chose wives solely on the basis of their looks. More historical research into courtship, sexuality, and marriage, (using sources produced by women as much as possible) is necessary before we will have a better idea of how women saw their place in this "market", or in these relationships of give-and-take.

⁶³ SN, February 14, 1925, 28.

⁶⁴ Maclean's, August 1, 1920, 231.

⁶⁵ LHJ, August 1923, 56.

in advertising was strangely asexual: it was defined by negatives--being attractive by not smelling bad--and was exclusively other-directed. Female sensuality and male or female pleasure were omitted.⁶⁶

Advertisers spread their messages primarily through newspapers and magazines, but used a variety of other media as well. Taken together, these methods made advertising a part of the landscape and a familiar presence in the home--part of the environment of modern consumer culture. Many products were advertised on billboards and on street trolley cards, most of which bore the same slogans as those in print advertising. Through this type of advertising, people who could not afford or who did not read magazines or newspapers were nonetheless exposed to most of the same ideas as people who did read these publications. The billboards also reinforced the messages communicated to readers of magazine and newspaper advertisements. Palmolive used a lot of billboard advertising

...to form a constant background to all [the company's] selling activities, keeping the subtle suggestion of the youth-preserving qualities of their soap ever before the millions of women who pass and re-pass, with envious eyes, the beautiful Palmolive creations who grace the billboards...⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Sexual relationships shown in advertisements were of course portrayed as heterosexual relationships, with most sexual activity reserved for marriage. Regarding attitudes toward women's sexuality in the late 1920s and 1930s, see Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled, 86-91. On birth control, see Angus McLaren and Arlene Tiger McLaren, The Bedroom and the State: The Changing Practices and Politics of Contraception and Abortion in Canada, 1880-1980 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986). On courtship and marriage in an earlier period, see W. Peter Ward, Courtship, Love and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

⁶⁷ A.D. Rettinger (General Sales Manager, Palmolive Co. of Canada, Ltd.), "The Selling Power of Suggestion Constantly Repeated", Marketing, October 21, 1922, 357-358.

Premiums were distributed among customers or potential customers to introduce new products, keep the company or product name in people's minds, and increase their goodwill toward the manufacturer. Offerings included free or cheap samples of products, bookmarks, calendars, and paper dolls. From the late nineteenth century until at least 1906, Colgate distributed calendars in the form of small illustrated booklets. The makers of Fairy Soap exchanged pictures, dolls, and booklets of fairy tales for soap wrappers from at least the 1890s.⁶⁸

Many of the pamphlets and beauty manuals distributed by manufacturers told customers how to use the products properly, reinforcing the value of science by presenting the instructions in more-or-less scientific terms. Richard Hudnut's Beauty Book of 1904 described the company's Marvelous Cold Cream and gave "Hints on Proper Massage".⁶⁹ Starting in 1910, a booklet of instructions on how to use Woodbury's Facial Soap to improve a variety of skin conditions was wrapped around each cake. Advertisements for the soap taught "How to Wash Your Face" and featured the booklet. The J. Walter Thompson Co. designed that campaign on the assumption that the different forms of advertising would reinforce each other and their common message.⁷⁰ In 1923 Mascaró [hair] Tonique offered a free sample along with a book entitled "The Scientific Care of the Hair and Scalp".⁷¹

⁶⁸ Warshaw, Collection no. 60, Box 2 (hair).

⁶⁹ Third American edition, 1904. Warshaw, Collection no. 60, Box 2, File 26.

⁷⁰ JWT, Inactive Account Files, Record Group 4, Box 1; Woodbury Account History, April 12, 1926.

⁷¹ LHJ, January 1923, 73.

Although advertisers generally conceived of their female audience as a homogeneous mass, many communities--defined by region, class, age, ethnicity--existed in Canada, with their own ideals of beauty. Two of the largest were rural women and francophones.⁷² By 1921 Canada's urban population surpassed the number of rural Canadians. In the first decades of the century rural writers exhorted women to retain a distinctive rural character and special kind of beauty, but at the same time the growing consumer culture was lessening differences between city and country dwellers. The image of feminine beauty which the Grain Grower's Guide presented to its readers in the early 1900s was one which integrated physical attractiveness--definitely seen as desirable in a woman--with moral qualities, good behaviour, and beauty of expression. In 1911 the Guide published a "recipe for beauty":

...beauty is, after all, not a matter of one beautiful feature--eyes, hair, or teeth, but an attractive tout ensemble. The recipe for that...is a good temper. A sweet expression is by far the most attractive form of beauty, and that...is largely influenced by one's temper.⁷³

The Guide often printed letters from women with beauty problems. Many women asked how to bleach sun-tanned skin or freckles; lemon juice was usually prescribed for this purpose. One woman who wrote to the "Country Homemakers" column in 1915 complained that

...I want to know how to curl [my hair] so that it will stay curly for at least twenty-four hours, but

⁷² I have chosen to use the Prairies' Grain Growers' Guide as my source on rural ideas of beauty, although rural communities existed everywhere in Canada. The grain farmers who read the Guide were perhaps the most involved in the consumer economy. My perceptions of French-Canadian ideas of beauty are based on Revue Moderne, although there existed several other magazines for French-speaking women, including some published specifically for rural women.

⁷³ GGG, January 18, 1911, 29.

I can never make it stay curly for any length of time, hardly more than two hours.⁷⁴

No reply was ever made, presumably leaving the letter-writer to languish with straight hair. The Guide did publish detailed instructions for the proper washing of the hair in 1920, but these emphasized the importance of good mental spirits to one's appearance, warning that

Worry and anxiety will usually do more to destroy the beauty of one's hair in a week or two than weeks of care can restore...one...[must] build up the health from the foundation before one can hope to see results from any tonic applied to the hair.⁷⁵

By 1923 Guide writers were urging country women to take an interest in their appearance, to take advantage of better transportation, as well as department store catalogues, and not to allow themselves to be branded out-of-date by urban standards:

Happily, the day has gone by when a farm woman can be singled out in a crowd because she looks like a ten-year-old magazine...Every time she goes to the city she should check up her mode of hairdressing...⁷⁶

Advertisements for toiletries were rarely changed for insertion in farm papers. An exception to this was advertising for department stores, because of the importance of catalogue shopping to rural dwellers (see fig. 2). These advertisements recognized the distinctiveness of rural life, but ironically they brought farm families further into the consumer culture which played a role in the decline of a separate rural culture. In its advertising, Eaton's reminded farm families that they could buy any of the comforts available to urban

⁷⁴ GGG, November 17, 1915, 10.

⁷⁵ GGG, April 28, 1920, 43.

⁷⁶ GGG, July 4, 1923, 15.

dwellers; geographical distance did not preclude participation in the consumer culture. In 1916 Eaton's catalogue offered lip salve in "white or ruby color" as well as lotions and talcum and face powders.⁷⁷ By 1930 home shoppers could choose from an assortment of hair dyes, twenty types of face powder, nail polish, face lotions, hair removers, and deodorants. A Christmas present for little girls, a "Toy Toilet Set...for Dolly" included a brush, comb, mirror, powder box, and soap box.⁷⁸ Christie Grant of Winnipeg advertised its catalogues as a "dependable authority for style" which would put rural women in "touch with the world's style market".⁷⁹ By the 1930s and 1940s few differences would remain between the advertising and writings on beauty found in general-interest Canadian magazines, and magazines with a rural focus.

Despite significant cultural differences between anglophone and francophone women, advertisements aimed at the two groups were essentially the same. Most advertisements in French-language publications were direct--and sometimes awkward--translations of English ads. A wide variety of beauty products was advertised in Revue Moderne from its establishment in 1919, but like English-Canadian magazines, the Revue did not advertise rouge and other forms of make-up until the late 1920s and 1930s. Many advertisements expressed a disapproving attitude toward the use of "paint"; this attitude would linger for another decade or so, when it would be replaced by exhortations to use make-up artistically. In 1920 Mme. Georgiana of Montréal advertised "...une Célèbre Crème pour le teint...pas un fard mais une préparation pour tonifier et

⁷⁷ Eaton's Fall and Winter Catalogue, 1916-1917, 360-361.

⁷⁸ Eaton's Fall and Winter Catalogue, 1930-1931, 284-286, 290, 167.

⁷⁹ GGG, September 11, 1918, 22.

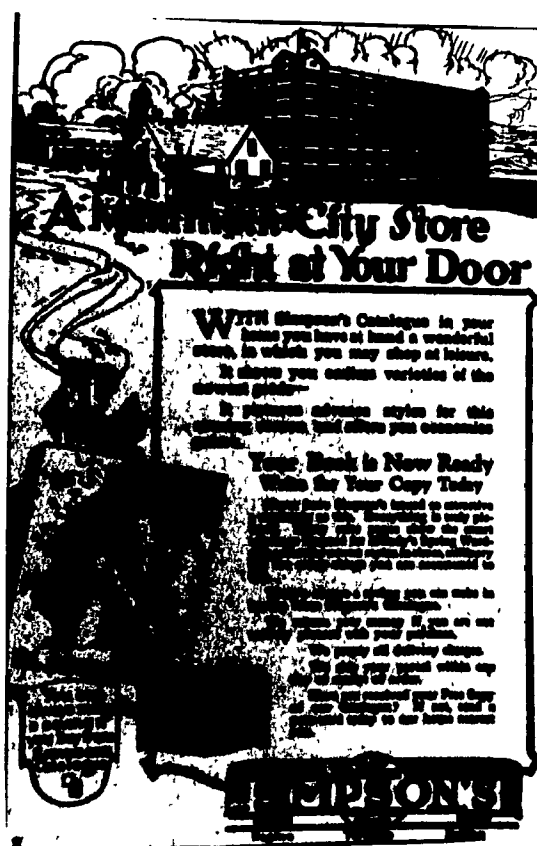


Fig. 2
Advertising for department stores in rural periodicals emphasized the access which catalogues gave to the expanding world of goods, and helped consumer culture spread from the city to the countryside. (GGG, March 21, 1923, 16).

embellir le teint...",⁸⁰ and Lait Oriental Parfumé was advertised to "Remplace les poudres et les fards...".⁸¹

Revue Moderne's advertisers often emphasized the French quality of their products, invoking France's authority in matters of fashion and beauty. Montréal-based manufacturers and retailers used this theme more than Toronto-based advertisers did. Montréal's Parfumerie Eden advertised its dentifrices and soaps as "Produits réellement français".⁸² Often an emphasis on France was linked to class: "Les adorables parfums de Mouilleron-Paris aristocratisent la femme..." (see fig. 3).⁸³ Some appeals to French knowledge of beauty were simply translated from English advertising, such as an ad for Hennafoam shampoo: "Les Françaises connaissent et les Américaines découvrent la magique beauté d'un soupçon d'henné dans le shampooing".⁸⁴ Occasionally translations were incomplete; one French-language ad retained the headline "Oh Boy! Liquid Hair Curler".⁸⁵ Most advertisers translated their slogans directly, so that Pepsodent ("The New-Day Dentifrice") was "Le Dentifrice du Nouveau Jour". Many Montréal advertising agencies, including the Desbarats agency, run by a bicultural family and active in the first thirty years of the century, had their own translators or bilingual copywriters so that

⁸⁰ RM, March 15, 1920, 72.

⁸¹ RM, June 15, 1920, 63. It is unclear whether this ad was for Gouraud's Oriental Cream (which was advertised in several English-language magazines), or whether this was a different product.

⁸² RM, September 15, 1920, 7.

⁸³ RM, November 15, 1920, 43.

⁸⁴ RM, December 1924, 33.

⁸⁵ RM, August 1924, 49.



Fig. 3

Mouilleron perfumes were sold to "ennoble" women and save them from "anonymity". The ad's appeal to French authority in matters of beauty was linked to the promise of class mobility through beauty. (RM, November 15, 1920, 43).

the agency could place business in publications of both languages.⁸⁶

Many advertisers based in Québec appealed to the French-Canadian sense of community or nationhood, while retaining references to France. This was appropriate to a magazine whose motto in 1924 became "S'unir pour grandir", which was billed as the official French-language publication of Canadian authors, and which was sold in French-Canadian communities outside Québec and in many American cities. Dupuis Frères of Montréal was advertised as "Le magasin du peuple". The department store catered to the people's desire to be attractive by opening a Salon de Coiffure (around 1920) which offered hair styling and dyeing, manicure, and massage by "Parisian experts", and which sold hair switches made in Paris.⁸⁷ In 1920 the store advertised its Nestlé waving machine, the only one in Montréal, emphasizing that its salon enjoyed the favour of "...l'élite de l'élément féminin à Montréal".⁸⁸

The Revue's editors did give a French-Canadian view of new fashions. In 1924 a Revue survey of Québec artists' opinions of bobbed hair found that their reactions varied. Suzor-Côté considered it "...ignoble...affreux...anti-esthétique au possible...", while Joseph St-Charles simply expressed a preference for long hair which could be arranged in a variety of ways. La Patrie's cartoonist, J. Arthur Lemay, thought it

⁸⁶ Interview with the late Édouard Desbarats, Georgeville, Québec, July 29, 1989.

⁸⁷ RM, September 15, 1920, 5.

⁸⁸ RM, November 15, 1920, 4.

was charming.⁸⁹

Women's columns in Revue Moderne dispensed advice on cooking, housekeeping, child care, and beauty, and illustrated the latest fashions and hairstyles. The writers of these columns in the early 1920s responded to readers' letters and recommended either home recipes, like lemon juice to bleach freckles, or specific commercial preparations (advertised elsewhere in the magazine) for beauty problems. The columnist, "Madeleine" encouraged women to try to retain their beauty all their lives. The ideal of feminine beauty advanced by the Revue's writers until about the mid-1920s had a dimension not found in English-language magazines: the importance of family, and the value of a woman's beauty to her family. To one woman's wish to still be pretty when her son turned twenty she replied

C'est exquis celà! Et vous le serez, jolie, et votre fils sera ravie [sic] de promener à son bras sa délicateuse et compréhensive et aimable maman...

Madeleine further encouraged the woman to keep reading the Revue: "La Revue a remplacé votre magazine américain...et je veux que vous ne regrettiez jamais de nous avoir donné la préférence".⁹⁰ In the early 1920s most writers in the Revue still advocated a multifaceted conception of beauty similar to that found in the Grain Grower's Guide. "Madeleine" wrote in 1920 that "Ce n'est pas une vaine vanité que de vouloir rester jeunes et jolies--sans user de stratagèmes ridicules, mais en usant de soins et d'hygiène".⁹¹ The Revue's writers linked "charm" to moral attributes and health--which was in turn linked to the duty of French-Canadian women to preserve their

⁸⁹ Mélisande, "La Coiffure féminine et nos artistes", Revue Moderne, August 1924, 10.

⁹⁰ "Le Courrier de Madeleine", RM, March 15, 1920, 33-35.

⁹¹ RM, April 15, 1920, 31.

nation.

Un des premiers devoirs de toute femme--jeune fille ou mère de famille--est de préserver sa santé, afin de transmettre à ses descendants un tempérament sain et de pouvoir supporter les fatigues inhérentes à sa mission, tout en préservant son charme...L'harmonie des forces morales et physiques est nécessaire...⁹²

Advertising for beauty products emerged in the first two decades of the twentieth century as one element of the consumer culture growing within monopoly capitalism in Canada. These advertisements were complex, interconnected with changes in women's roles in the home and in the labour force and to new ideas about marriage, courtship, and sexuality, as well as to the transformation of relations of production. As advertisers inserted their work into the historical discourse on feminine beauty, modifying these ideals to suit their ends, they were cultivating a valuable market: women. Women's ambiguous place in consumer culture and in the commercialized beauty culture which was a part of it reflected a fundamental contradiction of consumer culture: the opportunities which it afforded for self-expression existed together with its oppressive nature which made a mockery of the idea of freedom in individual expression. Advertising reinforced stereotypes and ideas about women's roles. They minimized differences among women, perceiving them all as a homogeneous mass to be moulded into consumers. At the same time, commercial beauty culture gave women opportunities for employment, sensual pleasure and intimacy with other women, and--for a few businesswomen--profit. Ultimately, however, commercial beauty culture and consumer culture benefitted not consumers, but monopoly capitalism and the business class.

⁹² Idola St-Jean, "Esthétique Féminine", RM, February 15, 1920, 28.

Chapter Three

"A Woman and Her Money...": Female Consumerism and Beauty Products, 1925-1941

After the mid-1920s changes occurred which distinguished consumer culture's maturation in Canada over the next twenty years from the culture's development in the earlier part of the twentieth century. What little difference there had been in ideals of feminine beauty in English-language general magazines, English-language rural magazines, and French-language publications, ceased to exist as the roots of consumer culture spread out from their anglophone, urban base. As consumer culture strengthened, advertisers saw consumers less as rational decision-makers to be persuaded by well-reasoned arguments, and more as irrational creatures swayed by emotional appeals. Male and female consumers had been feminized. Little changed in these twenty years in the approaches which advertisers used to sell consumers on their products. Themes which had taken root in advertising of previous decades, such as the need to enhance beauty to win what advertising presented as the greatest prize of all--a husband--flourished after the mid-1920s.

After the mid-1920s the scope of consumer culture was broadened by advertising's close association with new cultural institutions: radio and movies with sound. Commercial beauty culture was strengthened by greater acceptance of the use of cosmetics and by the introduction of new products made possible by technological and chemical innovations. Coloured nail polish and eyeshadow became available in the late 1920s and 1930s, making make-up more visible and improving the possibilities for creative expression through its use. At the same time, however, advertisers and magazine editors began to present the use of make-up as essential to "good grooming", feminine beauty, and professional and personal success.

Women's opportunities for self-expression were again constrained by normative ideas of femininity.

Advertisers of the late 1920s to early 1940s continued to believe that advertising would ensure the long-term health of capitalism. However, advertisers' ability to convince manufacturers of the value of advertising depended greatly upon the economy. Canadian spending on advertising grew steadily from 1923 until 1929, when it fell sharply before picking up again in 1937.¹ Advertisers believed that the benefits of their craft included improvements to networks of production and distribution brought about by advertising's stimulation of demand; higher standards of living; the standardization of merchandise quality; the communication of price and other information; and advertising's role as a "a barrier to monopolistic growth within an industry".²

Most important was advertising's role in sustaining demand for consumer goods. In his address to the Harvard Business School in 1938, the president of the J. Walter Thompson Co., Stanley Resor, echoed Truman De Weese's 1906 comments when he stated that "The luxuries of today will be the necessities of tomorrow, if the public is properly educated to appreciate and use them".³ Advertisers' need to consider their audiences' tastes while remaining dominant in their relationship with consumers was expressed by the President of the American

¹ "Ten Years of Advertising Gains Lost...", Marketing, August 24, 1935, 1; "Canadian Advertising Holds Its Steady Annual Increase", Marketing, June 3, 1939, 1.

² "Twelve Reasons for Advertising", Marketing, October 3, 1936, 7.

³ Arno H. Johnson and Stanley Resor, "A Plea for Education", (lecture delivered by Resor to the Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, May 12, 1938); JWT Record Group 5, Box 9.

Association of Advertising Agencies' declaration that "...advertising must reflect public tastes, but it can bring those tastes to [a] higher level".⁴

After the mid-1920s advertisers no longer emphasized their role in enhancing the consumer's ability to choose among products and thus participate rationally in the market. By the mid-1920s, a consumer culture was well established and the products which had been introduced in preceding years were now familiar to a wide audience. Many people now in fact did see yesterday's luxuries, like cosmetics, as today's necessities. Many of these necessities were produced by more than one manufacturer. One brand could be made more appealing than another by playing upon people's emotions:

...the increased steadiness of sales growth is one of the most valuable achievements of successful advertising...It appears to be axiomatic that, all other things being equal, an article widely and favorably known will show less violent fluctuation in sales than will an identical competing article sold without means of identification and wholly on the basis of intrinsic properties.⁵

An executive of the Andrew Jergens Co. remarked in 1925 that "...in the toilet goods business it is...more and more a matter of advertising or die. It is impossible to do business on the old basis any longer; people are buying brands and not goods".⁶ Attachment to certain brands of goods because of their cultural or emotional significance, rather than their

⁴ John Benson, "Advertisers as Uplifters", Printer's Ink, June 10, 1937, 53.

⁵ "Consumers Decide", J. Walter Thompson News Bulletin 123 (July 1926), 10. This article was based on William Trufant Foster and Waddill Catchings, Profits (Pollak Foundation, 1924).

⁶ Letter from Andrew Jergens Co. to the Manufacturer's Record, cited (according to JWT Co.) in Advertising and Selling editorial, July 15, 1925; JWT Newsletter 90 (July 23, 1925); JWT Record Group 5, Box 7.

effectiveness or value for money, is an important characteristic of consumer culture.⁷

In the mid-1920s advertisers began to conceive of consumers as essentially irrational creatures driven by their emotions, and to discuss the buying public in feminine terms. Advertisers saw themselves, on the other hand, as cool, rational, calculating--masculine.⁸ Although advertisers did see women consumers as more vulnerable to emotional appeals in advertising than men, neither male nor female consumers were perceived as the rational decision-makers of previous years. The feminization of consumers effectively emasculated male targets of advertising and set them apart from male manufacturers and advertisers. Although men dominated the business world both numerically and in terms of their relative power and wealth, the dichotomy between advertisers and consumers was less a conflict between men and women, than between masculinity and femininity.

A top executive of the J. Walter Thompson Co., William Esty, wrote in 1930 that "...it is futile to try to appeal to masses of people on an intellectual or logical basis. The only way to do it is on an emotional basis".⁹ This idea had already been put into practice at Esty's agency. In sharp contrast to the 1916 Cutex campaign which had used a scientific appeal, the

⁷ A woman may buy an expensive face cream, for example, because she likes the elegance of the container or the reminder that she has attained a certain economic position which permits her to spend perhaps ten times what she might spend on a less expensive moisturizer, which nonetheless would have the same effect on her skin.

⁸ I am grateful to Prof. William O'Barr of Duke University for first bringing this to my attention.

⁹ William Esty, "Rising Value of Emotional Appeal Seen in Advertising Copy Trends", JWT News XII:53 (November 1930), 5.

1927 Cutex liquid nail polish advertising campaign was designed by the J. Walter Thompson Co. to

...make an emotional appeal...we will say that it is not good enough to have polished nails--that they must be correctly polished; that Cutex, as the great authority on the manicure, is able to make the perfect liquid polish...¹⁰

Advertisers' contempt for the buying public showed through their appeals for emotional advertising. Marketing professionals saw themselves and manufacturers--like Cutex, the "great authority on the manicure"--as rational, scientific agents, enticing consumers to give in to emotional appeals. Advertisers' middle-class background¹¹ made many of them contemptuous of the popular classes who were their potential customers. One advertising executive showed his disdain for working-class Americans while arguing the importance of advertising in stimulating the American economy in 1930:

Today every iota of prosperity this country knows depends upon mass selling...If we cannot keep at work the vast army of half-wits who have learned how to put bolt 37 into part 48 we shall quickly discover that the limitations of average mentality make it impossible for these hordes to do anything else quickly.¹²

William Esty expressed his feelings of superiority over his audience in elitist and racist terms:

...today you have to read what the mob reads, understand

¹⁰ "Cutex Liquid Polish: Fall 1927 Campaign", May 13, 1927; JWT 16mm microfilm, Reel #38.

¹¹ In 1936 Wallace Boren of the J. Walter Thompson Co. told a meeting of the company's New York executives that "Considerably over half our writers have never [lived]...within the average national income of \$1580 per family per year, and half can't even remember any relatives or friends who live on that figure!" Wallace Boren, "Bad Taste in Advertising", JWT Box 7, File 1.

¹² William Day, "Importance of Strategy in Copy"; Minutes of Group Meeting, June 4, 1930, page 16; JWT Box 2, File 5.

what the mob likes; certainly go to the movies very frequently...We say...the pictures are stupid. What we are really saying is the great bulk of people is stupid and personally I believe, if you are going out to trade with the natives you take along coral beads, or calico or whatever they like...¹³

Advertising professionals were not a monolith, and some marketers still believed in the rational consumer. A 1936 Marketing article stated that "Advertising increases the ability of the consumer to exercise his own sense of choice" and buy a particular article "because of a preference, because it fits a need, because it satisfies a taste, or because of tests suggested by the manufacturer".¹⁴ This opinion, however, was uncommon in the late 1920s and 1930s.

The J. Walter Thompson Co. and other agencies developed campaigns aimed at women using the skills of female employees, whose insights would give business an edge in its struggle to win the hearts and wallets of these valuable consumers. Women advertising executives operated within a masculine ideology based on competitiveness and individualism in which the ultimate aim was to conquer the consumer, who submitted to their persuasive powers by her (or his) purchases. They became a part of the masculine, although not completely male, world of advertising. Within the small space open to them, some women gained satisfaction and monetary rewards which, coupled with their belief in the capitalist economy and in the value of advertising, overrode any demands which they might have made for reconsideration and restructuring of women's roles in the economy and in the home.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ "Twelve Reasons for Advertising", Marketing, October 3, 1936, 7.

A small number of women played prominent roles in American and Canadian advertising. Helen Lansdowne joined the J. Walter Thompson Co. as a copywriter in 1907 and in 1917 married the president of the agency, Stanley Resor. After her marriage she continued her work, primarily on campaigns directed at women. Mrs. Resor was proud of her success within the agency, noting that she was "...the first woman to be successful in writing and planning national ...advertising".¹⁵ Mrs. Resor's position as a respected executive in her own right, and the wife of the president of a large agency was obviously not typical of women in advertising. Aminta Casseres worked for the J. Walter Thompson Co. between 1916 and 1947. Among her accounts were Pond's creams, Johnson and Johnson, and Pictorial Review. According to J. Walter Thompson Co. executive biographies, the Ladies' Home Journal listed Casseres in 1930 as one of a few women in advertising earning at least \$15 000 a year, when the average woman copywriter at an agency started at \$75 a week. Casseres was able to command such a high salary because of her "...ability to analyze facts and figures, reject personal opinions in favor of research and fact, and translate this into copy"¹⁶--to do the work of a good advertising man.

Margaret Pennell opened her own small agency in Toronto in 1927. She often wrote for Marketing, and was named women's editor of Canadian Magazine in 1928.¹⁷ Mabel Crews Ringland worked in Toronto in the 1930s as a freelance advertiser and writer and as a household adviser for Eaton's. In 1933 the first Canadian club for women in marketing, the Women's

¹⁵ Fox, The Mirror Makers, 81-82.

¹⁶ JWT Box 6, Record Group 3: Sidney Bernstein Papers; File 3: Chesebrough-Pond's.

¹⁷ Mona E. Clark, "A Woman in Business Is Still at Heart a Woman", CM, January 1928, 27.

Advertising Club of Toronto, was established. This club worked to publicize the benefits--such as lower prices and better product information--which its members believed advertising brought to "Mrs. Consumer", the model housewife-consumer they envisaged as their audience.¹⁸ This promotional work was carried out by such means as the 1936 staging of a one-act play, "Mrs. Consumer Looks at Advertising", written by Ringland and attended by unnamed "housewife consumers", Margaret Pennell, and Byrne Hope Sanders, the editor of Chatelaine.¹⁹

Women advertising professionals, like their male counterparts, were from the middle class. Some were former teachers, sales clerks, stenographers, and journalists. Many had been trained in domestic science.²⁰ In 1938 the Canadian Home Journal described advertising as a "glamorous" profession. A woman who wanted to break into it would need a university degree, some business training, and "good breeding, energy, and ambition".²¹ Most women in advertising remained far down the business hierarchy. Two of the six members of the J. Walter Thompson Co.'s "Drug Group" formed in 1931 to handle drug and toiletry accounts were women. One, Helen Thompson, was a

¹⁸ The "Mrs. Consumer" model was similar to the ideal housewife, practitioner of scientific management in the home, promoted in domestic science classes in the 1920s and 1930s in Canadian schools. See Prentice et al., Canadian Women, 242-243.

¹⁹ Marketing, June 6, 1936, 3.

²⁰ Diane Dodd, "Women in Advertising: The Role of Canadian Women in the Promotion of Domestic Electrical Technology in the Interwar Period", in Marianne Gosztonyi Ainley, ed., Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science (Montréal: Véhicule Press, 1990), 134-151.

²¹ Grace Garner, "Advertising as a Career", Canadian Home Journal, January 1938, 2, 32, 34. Cited in Dodd, op. cit., 138.

permanent "field worker" who made direct contact with consumers, working behind the counter in drugstores.²² The agency also asked its female workers to try out new products from time to time. La Gerardine wave lotion for the hair got the approval of "the girls in the New York office" in 1930.²³

Most women in advertising discussed women consumers in the same terms that their male colleagues did. In 1937 Margaret Weishaar, an executive of the J. Walter Thompson Co., outlined the "two special feminine urges" which made "Mrs. Smith" a "spender". These were the urge for self-improvement, including improvements made by cosmetics, and the need to "keep up appearances". The article celebrated these two urges, seen as positive feminine traits, and the modern period itself, "...truly the golden age of self-improvement".²⁴ In an article entitled "A Woman and Her Money Are Soon Parted--if the Advertising Technique's Right!", Eleanor Hunter, another executive of the J. Walter Thompson Co., wrote that "Women are not influenced by logic and reason, say psychologists, but by their emotions".²⁵ An unnamed "woman advertising executive in a leading agency" agreed that "A man is attracted by what a thing does, a woman by how it looks".²⁶ In a 1937 address to

²² Minutes of a staff meeting regarding plans for 1931, January 6, 1931; JWT Box 3, File 3.

²³ JWT News, June, 1930, 2.

²⁴ Margaret Weishaar, " 'Psych-ing' Mrs. Smith--Two Special Feminine Urges Make Her a Spender", People, October 1937, 4-7.

²⁵ People (a publication of the J. Walter Thompson Co.), October 1937, 15.

²⁶ "Mrs. Consumer Has Sufficient Sense To Detect Falsity in Advertising", Marketing, April 30, 1938, 6. Diane Dodd argues that women in advertising were critical of the men in their profession and of the perpetuation of sexist stereotypes. She states that women advertisers demanded "more

the Advertisers' Guild of Toronto, Margaret Brown of Marketing stated that the principal appeal used in advertising to women, and the one which worked best, was

"Attractiveness". Not necessarily sex appeal, although that is at the bottom of it, but the lovely atmosphere which we can build up around ourselves by using so-and-so's and such-and-such".²⁷

Advertising for beauty products appealed particularly to women's emotions. Some advertisers tried to make the sale of these very personal products a little less impersonal by linking a product to a person offering individual help and advice, in a culture in which business relationships were detached and cold. The Kurlash company, manufacturer of an eyelash curler, advertised the services of "Jane Heath", a counsellor on "eye-beauty questions" whom women could consult by means of coupons in Kurlash advertisements.²⁸ Instead of a faceless company, women could now identify the product with a woman whom they could consult and from whom they would receive written answers. Helena Rubinstein advertising (which strongly identified the company and its products with the woman who founded the company) suggested women send their beauty problems to the company's "correspondence clinic", to

and better product information, and the use of rational, rather than emotional appeals in advertising". This argument contradicts my findings. Dodd's work, however, is a study of advertising for domestic electrical technology, and in this area women marketers may well have argued for rational appeals.

²⁷ "Best Copy Appeal to Women is Attractiveness, Students Told", Marketing, May 1, 1937, 6.

²⁸ Ad for the N.W. Ayer and Son advertising agency (with offices across the United States and in Montréal), Printers' Ink, May 13, 1937, 1.

receive free advice.²⁹ Ads for Deodo powder were written as columns by hygiene expert "Letitia Hadley",³⁰ and publicity for Odo-ro-no anti-perspirant took the form of columns by "Ruth Miller", "[t]he authority on perspiration problems".³¹

Advertising's authoritative voice was heard in schools by the late 1920s, making them another site of reproduction of consumer culture.³² In 1927 several toiletries manufacturers, including Colgate and Lever Brothers, organized a "Cleanliness Institute" which promoted the use of personal hygiene products. The Institute's publicity inculcated children with the need for good grooming to safeguard their health and win the approval of teachers and friends. Schoolchildren received free cakes of soap and charts on which their teachers could record their faithfulness in washing, brushing their teeth, and combing their hair. The Cleanliness Institute also advertised in newspapers, exploiting people's fears and prejudices while advancing the modern idea of the importance of environment to human destiny:

The...[ads] represent the social aspects of soap

²⁹ "Woman's Advertising to Women Builds Immense Cosmetic Business", Marketing, December 14, 1935, 4.

³⁰ LHJ, September 1927, 195.

³¹ LHJ, September 1927, 179. The ad tried to win over North American women with the argument that more women in "every civilized country" used Odorono than any other antiperspirant.

³² On the role of schools as ideological institutions, see Louis Althusser, "Ideology and the State", in Lenin, Philosophy and Other Essays, translated by Ben Brewster (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 154-155. Gramsci also briefly discussed schools as one of the institutions of "civil society" which together make up "the State". See Selections from the Prison Notebooks, 12, 259, 260-263. A full understanding of schools' ideological role within monopoly capitalism must incorporate their role in reproducing the dominant culture and in repressing alternative cultures.

and water--"One dirty corner breeds another", showing that criminals are often the result of their environments. "What do the neighbors think of the children"... "The only successful men who hate soap and water"--meaning hoboes. This shows that if hoboes were washed up they would be taken out of that classification.³³

Cutex promoted its products in high schools. The company distributed charts showing the structure of the finger nail and the "approved methods of caring for the hands and nails", as well as samples of Cutex products. The account executive for Cutex reported that "In this manner thousands of girls are taught to care for their hands just at the age when they are most impressionable".³⁴

Advertisers also believed in adult education. In 1936 the Campana Corporation (a Canadian manufacturer of skin care lotions) founded the Campana Institute of Personality and Charm to publish and distribute booklets "...on methods of developing [one's] personality". The booklets were mailed free in return for proofs of purchase of Campana products. The booklets embodied distinctively modern values, focusing on the personal self--one's personality and looks--and the ways to win other people's approval of that self. In 1936 proposed titles included "How to Develop a Speaking Voice That Everyone Will Admire", "How to Select Clothes to Express Your Personality", and "Secrets of a Successful Marriage".³⁵

In the 1920s and 1930s the growth of consumer culture was

³³ Minutes of Representatives' Meeting, November 15, 1927; JWT Box 1, File 3.

³⁴ Hugh Bety, "Sales Possibilities of Cutex in the Southwest", February 8, 1927; JWT 16mm microfilm, Reel #38. I do not know if these samples were distributed in Canadian schools.

³⁵ Marketing, January 25, 1936, 2.

stimulated by two new media: radio and movies with sound. Through these media Canadian cultural life was increasingly shaped by consumer culture, and American influence on Canadian cultural life grew.³⁶ One Canadian observer, sociologist H. F. Angus, expressed the ambivalence felt by Canadians about this American influence:

American music, American humor, American news, American sports and American advertising are readily accessible to the owners of receiving sets. This impact of American life is fraught with great possibilities, which some may class as good and others as evil.³⁷

The dangers of American advertising were probably overstated by Canadian nationalists, for as we have seen, Canadian advertisers promoted the same values as their American counterparts.

Radio broadcasting began in Canada around 1920. By 1923 there were more than thirty stations operating in Canada; in 1930 there were more than sixty. By 1930 some Montréal and Toronto stations had joined the American networks NBC and CBS, both formed in 1927. In 1931 one-third of Canadian homes had radios (this proportion was greater in the cities). This proportion grew to three-quarters of Canadian homes by 1940. Private stations co-existed with state-owned stations, which broadcast over the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission from 1932 and its successor, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), from 1937.³⁸ Radio-Canada was established by the CBC in 1938

³⁶ On Canadian culture in the interwar period, see John Herd Thompson with Allan Seager, Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), chapter 8.

³⁷ H. F. Angus, ed., Canada and Her Great Neighbor: Sociological Surveys of Opinions and Attitudes in Canada Concerning the United States (New York: Russell and Russell, 1970; originally published 1938), 143.

³⁸ Mary Vipond, The Mass Media in Canada (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1989), 38-41.

and produced many locally-based dramatic serials for Canada's francophone audiences. Most of the drama on English-Canadian radio, on the other hand, was imported from the United States.³⁹

Private radio was inextricably intertwined with the advertising which supported it. Ads of the late 1920s to 1940s for Palmolive, Pond's, Colgate, Lux, Woodbury, Listerine (sponsor of "The Green Hornet" in the 1940s), and others bore invitations to listen to the radio shows sponsored by the products.⁴⁰ Radio brought advertising into the home in a new way. People listened to radio programs--and advertising--while reading, knitting or doing housework. In the late 1920s a programming executive discussed radio's value as an auxiliary advertising medium:

If the Blank Troubadours are a radio feature that is never missed in [the customer's] home then the Blank Company's advertisement comes to mean something more intimate and humanly nearer the reader when it catches his eye in a newspaper or magazine.⁴¹

The links between Hollywood movies and advertising were as strong as those binding radio and advertising, but they took a different form. The film industry in North America was a prime example of monopoly capitalist enterprise, controlled by American corporations. The Canadian production companies that made patriotic films and newsreels between 1914 and 1922 found

³⁹ Vipond, The Mass Media, 44.

⁴⁰ These shows, all in English, were also mentioned in francophone ads. The Pond's ad in La Presse of April 18, 1931 invited women: "Écoutez la radiodiffusion du Thé d'après-midi Pond...Orchestre Reisman, Causeries par des femmes en vue de la société...Réseau NBC".

⁴¹ Paul F. Stacey, head of programming for the National Carbon Co., JWT Newsletter, January 28, 1926, 25-26. JWT Record Group 5, Box 8.

less of a market for their work after that time. Canadian feature films had some commercial success between 1919 and 1923, but the industry declined as talented Canadians moved to Hollywood.⁴² The National Film Board, established in 1939 to co-ordinate government film production, produced mostly propaganda films in its early years. In 1923 the American Famous Players company bought out the Canadian Allen theatre chain, which owned the biggest cinemas in cities across Canada. By 1945, chains (most of them foreign-owned) owning twenty or more cinemas collected sixty percent of all admissions receipts in Canada. According to Mary Vipond, these factors, together with the wealth and productive capacity of Hollywood, ensured that "...after about 1923 a feature film industry virtually ceased to exist in Canada".⁴³

Canadians debated the implications of American domination of the film industry in their country. H. F. Angus felt that American films were instrumental in

...advertising American goods, popularizing American styles of beauty and voice, and habituating the peoples of the two countries to...the same type of entertainment.⁴⁴

Canadian opposition to American films was led by groups like Welfare Associations, the International Order of Daughters of the Empire, and the Catholic Women's League, who protested on the grounds of patriotism, morals, and the need to promote a distinctively Canadian culture. As Angus pointed out, many Americans also objected to Hollywood films, but

...there is the difference that in Canada [this opposition] can take the form of a nationalist protest

⁴² Thompson and Seager, 176-177.

⁴³ Vipond, The Mass Media, 33. See also Peter Morris, Embattled Shadows: A History of Canadian Cinema, 1895-1939 (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978).

⁴⁴ Angus, 140.

and give comfort to the sense of moral or even cultural superiority.⁴⁵

Despite organized opposition, Canadians' enjoyment of American movies (in 1936 the average Canadian saw twelve movies a year⁴⁶) made them good targets of advertising featuring movie stars, common after the mid-1920s when "talkies" were introduced and Hollywood developed its star system.⁴⁷ Lux toilet soap was among the beauty products which used movie stars from all the major Hollywood studios in its advertising (see fig. 4). In 1931 its publicity stated that ninety-eight percent of "lovely Hollywood favorites", including Joan Crawford, Marion Davies, and Betty Compson, used the soap.⁴⁸ Some advertisers invited women to use cosmetics to bring the glamour of the movies into their own lives:

...With daily backgrounds of business, recreation or cosy parties, you are a STAR in Life's Movie. Make every "scene" a thrilling success. Give your lips and cheeks the beauty of Phantom Red...⁴⁹

Advertising in comic-strip form became popular in the 1930s.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Vipond, The Mass Media, 31.

⁴⁷ The star system was fed with the help of magazines like Photoplay and Movie Magazine. On images of women in Hollywood films see Marjorie Rosen, Popcorn Venus: Women, Movies and the American Dream (New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1973); Molly Haskell, From Reverence to Rape: The Treatment of Women in the Movies (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973); and Mary P. Ryan, "The Projection of a New Womanhood: The Movie Moderns in the 1920s", in Jean E. Friedman and William G. Shade, eds., Our American Sisters: Women in American Life and Thought, 2nd ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1976), 366-384.

⁴⁸ Publicity brochures mailed with samples of Lux toilet soap, 1931. JWT Proofs: Lever Bros., Box 13.

⁴⁹ Advertisement for Phantom Red lipstick and rouge, Chatelaine, April 1931, 66.

Comic-strip ads for products like Lux Flakes or Lifebuoy soap were inserted into mass magazines, as well as into weekend newspapers' coloured comics, where they reached large audiences and blurred the lines between mass entertainment and advertising. This form of advertising was big business: revenue from advertising in Sunday coloured comics in the United States grew from zero in 1930 to about \$14 000 000 in 1936.⁵⁰

Advertisers of the late 1920s to the early 1940s used new cultural institutions as well as the older media, newspapers and magazines, to develop the themes which had shaped marketing in the first two decades of the century. The key ideas expressed in advertising were women's obligation to remain beautiful and youthful, with beauty being redefined to virtually require the use of cosmetics; the need to use beauty to attract a man; the importance of science to women's beautification; and beauty as an avenue of class mobility. Advertisements of the late 1920s and 1930s continued to present self-beautification as an obligation for women, placing renewed emphasis on the need for self-scrutiny. Some women were subjecting themselves to a new form of public scrutiny and judgment at this time: beauty contests, like the one staged at the Canadian National Exhibition in 1937.⁵¹ Advertisements like those for Calay toilet soap made reference

⁵⁰ Sylvia S. Stone, "Let's Look at the Funnies", People (JWT Co.), May 1937, 24. JWT Co. Publications, Record Group 5, Box 39. On comics in American culture, see Warren I. Susman, Culture as History (New York: Pantheon, 1984), xxvii, 111, 289. The significance of Walt Disney and Mickey Mouse is discussed on 103 and 196-197.

⁵¹ Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled, 85. The first Miss America pageant was held in Atlantic City in 1921. Banner, 249.

**Tastes of dollar-
week's French soap**

Fig. 4

Advertising for Lux Toilet Soap promoted the value of a youthful appearance for "girls", invoking the authority of Hollywood and establishing a man as the judge of feminine beauty, as the "mask of age" hovered threateningly in a corner of the ad. With the advent of international mass production and marketing by companies like Lever Bros., any woman could have "[t]he caress of dollar-a-cake French soap" for ten cents. (CM, June 1931, 23).

to this new phenomenon, warning women that "You are in a Beauty Contest every day of your life".⁵² Beauty contests reinforced women's sexual objectification and the idea of competition and hierarchy among women based on their fulfilment of standards of physical beauty. The sexuality in beauty contests was, like sexuality in advertising, desexualized. Women's self-display in bathing suits, in public, on a distant stage, was far removed from the intimacy of sexual relationships. It was, rather, legitimized voyeurism.

Advertising promoted the idea that any self-respecting woman should be able to pass the test of an evaluating look, asking, "When critical eyes observe your hands are you proud or ashamed? Campana's Italian Balm...makes them lovely to look at and to touch".⁵³ The idea of the necessity of self-observation in a critical society was a common one in advertising addressed to both men and women during the late 1920s and 1930s. Only women, however, were presented with the horrifying possibility of being thought unfeminine and thus losing so much of what was supposed to define them. Men's gender identity was not threatened in advertisements for personal care products. Rather, advertisers presented men as the ultimate arbiters of women's looks and social acceptability. An enduring slogan for Palmolive soap was "'More searching than your mirror...your husband's eyes'".⁵⁴ Advertising of the late 1930s established strict definitions of feminine "daintiness" and attractiveness. Advertisements

⁵² National Home Monthly, January 1932, 56. Quoted in Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled, 86.

⁵³ Chatelaine, November 1928, 58.

⁵⁴ See, for example, Chatelaine, March 1932, 41.

for soap, mouthwash, and deodorants emphasized that happiness was threatened if one did not use these products. Facial hair was "a blot on feminine beauty not to be tolerated. Such a sign of carelessness, too, when they can be removed so simply..."⁵⁵ In the late 1920s, the list of women's obligations grew to include removing hair from their legs and underneath their arms. Neet advertisements warned women that "... men just won't forgive the girl whose legs bristle with untidy hair".⁵⁶ Depilatories (either ready-made or prepared by pharmacists) had been available for more than fifty years. According to Lois Banner, they were "universally" used by American women by the end of the First World War, but they only began to be widely advertised in Canada in the late 1920s.⁵⁷ The short sleeves and short skirts fashionable in the 1920s may have played a role in promoting hairless legs and underarms. It is possible also that body hair, associated with virility in men, was seen as incompatible with daintiness and femininity.

From the late 1920s on, the definition of beauty found in magazines included the use of makeup: lipstick, powder, rouge, and eye makeup. These products had formerly been advised only for evening wear, and then were to be used sparingly. As the use of cosmetics became acceptable, businesses took advantage of discoveries in industrial chemistry to introduce new products, reinforcing consumer culture and monopoly capitalism. Chatelaine magazine taught women the tricks of using makeup: using darker powder to minimize a small nose, and applying lipstick artfully to enhance one's mouth. The

⁵⁵ Advertisement for the Hiscott Institute (Toronto), Saturday Night, September 25, 1937, 14.

⁵⁶ Chatelaine, July 1938, 24.

⁵⁷ Banner, 218.

magazine's beauty editor, Annabelle Lee, invited women to "...Sit down in front of your mirror and ask yourself what you would like to change--then read this article".⁵⁸ By the mid-1930s "the right" evening makeup included coloured nail polish to match lipstick, rouge, and eyeshadow.⁵⁹ Being up-to-date in fashions in clothing and cosmetics was identified as the key to "poise and self-confidence".⁶⁰

Beauty was rarely presented as something to be obtained for its own sake or for a woman's own pleasure. Whether a woman was using beauty products to enhance her class standing or to escape social censure, she was also expected to have another object in mind: attracting a man. Sexual attractiveness was rarely explicitly mentioned. Rather, advertising of the first few decades of the twentieth century presented beauty as a type of currency, exchangeable for a man's love and--the point that was emphasized most--financial support. This appeal reflected the insecurity of women in modern society, in which men control wealth and are free, by virtue of different moral codes, to pursue more than one woman, as well as women younger than themselves. Women were devalued by the lessened dependence, in middle class society at least, on the wife's contribution to the family income. In modern society "beauty" becomes an outwardly-directed, male-oriented phenomenon, controlled by large, male-dominated capitalist organizations.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Chatelaine, October 1931, 40.

⁵⁹ Chatelaine, October 1933, 40.

⁶⁰ "When Summer Sun Tans", Canadian Magazine, July 1932, 42. Cited in Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled, 85.

⁶¹ On the female object and masculine gaze in art and advertising, see John Berger, Ways of Seeing (New York: Viking Press, 1973), especially 43.

This vision of beauty was increasingly important in advertising during the Depression, when women's financial position became even less secure than in earlier decades. Palmolive soap, Colgate toothpaste, and Lifebuoy soap were all sold as paths to romance and, ultimately, marriage. Woodbury's Facial Powder was sold to help women "entice the roving masculine eye".⁶² A 1931 advertisement for Blondex shampoo declared that "Blondes win wedding veils".⁶³ Married women were threatened with the loss of conjugal happiness if they did not douche frequently with (potentially harmful) Lysol disinfectant (see fig. 5):

What has changed him?...In many cases...marital tragedies are caused by the wife's unconscious disregard of that intimate phase of her toilette known as feminine hygiene...⁶⁴

Sometimes the man whom a woman was supposed to attract with her beauty was not a husband, but a boss. Women were warned that they were not judged on professional qualifications alone; grey hair could "cheat" them out of a job.⁶⁵ The sexualization of women workers, and the idea of beauty as a marketable commodity, were promoted in business journals as well as through advertisements. A Marketing article praising Helena Rubinstein stated that

...facial beauty and charm, achieved largely with the aid of cosmetics, have become a recognized sales force. They aid their possessor...to sell herself--to employers; to her husband; to the man she would like to be her husband, or to give her a good time...and to the public whose favour and

⁶² CM, September 1937, 51.

⁶³ Chatelaine, September 1931, 36.

⁶⁴ Country Guide, February 2, 1930, 23.

⁶⁵ Ad for Kolor-Bak hair dye: "Grey Hair Cheated Her Out of a Job", Chatelaine, March 1930, 54.

"What has changed him?"

MARRIED five years. Good pals, real companions until lately. What has made the change?

In many cases these marital tragedies are caused by the wife's unconscious disregard of that intimate phase of her toilet known as feminine hygiene.

"Lysol" Disinfectant has been relied upon by women for 40 years for the critical purpose. No woman need make mistakes. Buy a bottle of "Lysol" today—the directions with each bottle give correct, specific advice and simple rules.

And send the coupon below for our free booklet—*The Scientific Side of Health and Youth*. It is a woman physician's frank message to women.

Warning: Extraneous claims are being made for so-called "new" feminine hygiene. Your only doctor will tell you that "new" is virtually useless. After 40 years the weight of medical opinion is that nothing has been found to take the place of "Lysol"—and hence the world uses over 1 million gallons a year.

LYSOL (CANADA) LIMITED, Dept. 118 9 Bloor Ave., Toronto 61, Can.
Please send me, free, your booklet: "The Scientific Side of Health and Youth."

Name _____ Street _____

City _____ Prov _____



Lysol
The modern meaning of
TRUE CLEANLINESS

The modern meaning of TRUE CLEANLINESS

THE modern woman realizes that true cleanliness can be achieved only by the correct practice of feminine hygiene.

Everywhere "Lysol" Disinfectant is standard for this intimate use among women who know.

What greater assurance could you have that "Lysol" is safe and sure for personal cleansing than this: For 40 years, doctors and hospitals the world over have relied on it as the most critical time of all—childbirth—when disinfection must be thorough.

When used in proper dilution, "Lysol" is non-poisonous to humans. It is a concentrated germicide and disinfectant given you many times more for your money than so-called "non-poisonous" preparations.

Do not be misled by unwarranted claims! Be safe. Buy a bottle of "Lysol" today. Directions on each bottle are simple and easy to follow.

A prominent woman physician will give you professional advice in the booklet offered below. Get it for your copy today.

By world's reputation of "Lysol" as the safe, sure, germicide, "Lysol" is the best disinfectant for every purpose.

LYSOL (CANADA) LIMITED, Dept. 118 9 Bloor Ave., Toronto 61, Can.

LYSOL (CANADA) LIMITED, Dept. 118 9 Bloor Ave., Toronto 61, Can.
Please send me, free, your booklet: "The Scientific Side of Health and Youth."

Name _____ Street _____

City _____ Prov _____

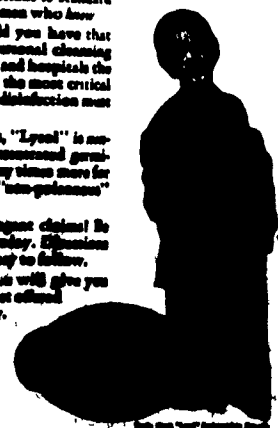


Fig. 5

Advertisements for Lysol drew from the ancient idea that women's bodies were unclean, to advocate douching with the disinfectant as the way to "modern" cleanliness. The "scientific" use of Lysol, explained in free booklets, would help women overcome their natural deficiencies—and maybe even save their marriage. Advertisers like Lysol cultivated brand loyalty with warnings not to be fooled by the claims of competing products. (CG, August 1930, 35; CG, February 1, 1930, 23).

dollars she may seek...⁶⁶

The preservation of youth through science--the assertion of human skills over the natural aging process--was of paramount importance in advertising of the 1920s and 1930s.⁶⁷ The irreversibility of aging was a godsend for manufacturers of products of temporary effect, such as hair dyes and depilatories. Ads for Brownatone hair dye urged women not to "...endure the unfairness of age-telling gray"⁶⁸. Advertisers made a conscious effort to use words associated with youth. A proof of a 1936 ad for Lux soap did not receive final approval until the word "woman" in its headline, "Any woman can have the charm of clear, smooth skin" was replaced by the inoffensive "girl".⁶⁹ Advertising for the Hiscott Institute's facial treatments reminded women that "It is so easy with modern science and skill to rid the skin of all blemishes".⁷⁰ Occasionally advertisements invoked the power of magic. Jergen's lotion was advertised under the headline "There's witchery in hands". The rest of the text, however, explained how "science" had discovered Jergen's--an aid to young-looking hands.⁷¹ Modern woman was still the bewitcher, the temptress,

⁶⁶ "Woman's Advertising to Women Builds Immense Cosmetic Business", Marketing, December 14, 1935, 4.

⁶⁷ See Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled, 85 and 179-208. On the historiography of women's aging, see Peter N. Stearns, "Old Women: Some Historical Observations", Journal of Family History 5:1 (Spring 1980), 44-57. For one woman's reflections on aging ("...I was never especially beautiful, so I never had the sense that I was forced to surrender something to age."), see "Keetje", in Chapkis, Beauty Secrets, 185-186.

⁶⁸ Chatelaine, July 1933, 24.

⁶⁹ JWT Proofs, 35 mm microfilm, Reel 46.

⁷⁰ SN, April 27, 1929, 26.

⁷¹ LHJ, January 1931, 72.

but science helped her along.

Manufacturers continued to claim that their products were scientifically formulated or approved by experts. Illustrations often showed men in lab coats or medical professionals. Palmolive called in "beauty experts" from Europe (Tejero of Spain, Mme. Bertha Jacobson of London, Lina Cavalieri of Paris) and Hollywood ("Jim") to endorse its soap.⁷² Brownatone was touted as the "approved way" to tint hair and look younger⁷³, and Nestlé waves were sold as the approved, scientific permanent.⁷⁴ Ads for Blondex shampoo invoked the authority of the university while alternately encouraging and threatening blonde women (for whom the shampoo was designed): "Tests made at a great college prove it's more thrilling to men to kiss a blonde than a brunette...But dull blondes might as well be brunettes".⁷⁵

One of the most important themes in advertising of the late 1920s to the early 1940s, foreshadowed in the late 1910s, was the promise of cosmetics and beauty as an avenue of class mobility for women. This type of advertising reinforced the legitimacy of class privilege, while at the same time promoting the myth of upward mobility. The best examples of ads promising social mobility, and smoothing over class conflict, were those selling Pond's Creams. These ads continued the strategy, begun in 1919, of using European aristocrats and wealthy American women, to endorse Pond's. Ads of the late 1930s and early '40s showed photos of these women

⁷² See, for example, Chatelaine, May 1930, 2; LHJ, January 1931, 37; LHJ, May 1931, 35.

⁷³ Chatelaine, March 1935, 49.

⁷⁴ CM, February 1933, 38.

⁷⁵ Chatelaine, February 1933, 38.

juxtaposed with a stenographer, secretary, telephone operator, or cashier, with the common bond between the two women of opposing classes being their use of Pond's Creams.⁷⁶ Lady Violet Astor, Mrs. Morgan Belmont, Princesse Marie de Bourbon, Mrs. Alfred Victor DuPont, and others received cash⁷⁷ and free Pond's creams in exchange for the use of their name and photograph in advertisements.

In 1929 Stanley Resor, President of the J. Walter Thompson Co., explained his belief in the power of testimonial advertising by explaining that "People like to read about other people". Resor further expressed his belief that consumers were always searching for an authority figure to serve as a role model:

...We want to copy those whom we deem superior in taste or knowledge or experience. The desire to emulate is stronger in women than in men. Lombroso, the celebrated psychologist, explains it in terms of woman's ability to excite her imagination with external objects. It enables her to become princess or movie queen by using the cold cream or toilet soap they recommend.

...democracy...is new. Royalty, aristocracy...dominated the world for...centuries, instilling in the masses...an instinctive veneration for "their betters". This respect for authority is so little discriminating that we seriously listen to a motor maker's opinions of history, an inventor's dicta on religion and a theatrical producer's theories on education.⁷⁸

Pond's advertising was not alone in emphasizing "class" or

⁷⁶ See for example Chatelaine, May 1940, 30.

⁷⁷ In 1928 endorsers received an average of \$3000.

⁷⁸ "Personalities and the Public: Some Aspects of Testimonial Advertising" (Text of an address by Stanley Resor delivered to JWT Co. executives at a weekly meeting, March 28, 1929), J. Walter Thompson News Bulletin 138 (April 1929), 3.

"prestige", and consumer goods' role as class equalizers. Cutex nail polish was sold as the choice of bankers' wives⁷⁹ (underlining the fact that women could gain authority through their husbands) and of society leaders present at the "most exclusive Fashion Benefits this Fall".⁸⁰ Lux toilet soap was sold as a "luxury" soap equal in quality to imported toilet soap, but sold at a much lower price.⁸¹ Mum deodorant was advertised as the choice of stars, nurses, and housewives.⁸² The working-class origins of many movie stars who endorsed beauty products were well publicized. Advertisements continued to promise that their products would remove tell-tale signs of domestic labour from women's hands. Hinds Honey and Almond Cream advertising lamented "The Tragedy of Nan--Domestic Hands", using the pop psychology terminology of the time to tell the story of a woman's "inferiority complex" caused by her chapped hands.⁸³

While advertisers used ideas like popularized science and the promise of class mobility to sell cosmetics, they apparently did not feel that women would be interested in finding politics mixed with advertising. Significant events in the world of politics found little place in advertising aimed at women in the late 1920s to early 1940s, and were reflected least of all in cosmetics advertising. The First World War had

⁷⁹ Chatelaine, March 1934, 37.

⁸⁰ Chatelaine, December 1936, 18.

⁸¹ Chatelaine, March 1928, 29.

⁸² Chatelaine, January 1939, 22.

⁸³ Chatelaine, January 1932, 31. The photograph in this ad exaggerated the woman's hands by the use of poor lighting and by placing her hands far in front of her body, "...thus interpreting the woman's mental feeling that her hands are much larger and 'stand out' because of ugliness". "Photographing a 'Complex'", PI, October 15, 1931, 88.

been all but invisible in advertising of this type and until 1941, at least, the Second World War was similarly obscured. An exception was Louis Philippe cosmetics, which marketed "Patriot Red" lipstick in 1941.⁸⁴ Business publications discussed constraints which the war imposed on the availability of consumer goods, but rarely recommended the use of patriotic appeals in advertisements for personal care products. One rare recommendation, to advertise lisle stockings aggressively because the sale of silk stockings was frozen by government order, was vehement:

Doesn't [the freeze] present itself as an advertising opportunity to the hosiery industry?...Women can be made to want the new substitute stockings and fight shy of the unpatriotic article, with resulting good to the industry and to the war effort.⁸⁵

In cases of necessity, manufacturers and advertisers were willing to exploit patriotic feelings, but otherwise they seem to have preferred that their advertising provide an escape from the overshadowing conflict.

Magazine articles strengthened advertising's messages, supporting the companies which bought space on their pages, and sharing their ideology. Chatelaine reinforced ad campaigns for hand and nail care products with articles which asked "What story do your hands tell?", warning women to apply hand cream nightly and recommending hand bleaches to prevent a woman's hands from betraying her age.⁸⁶ Chatelaine's beauty

⁸⁴ Chatelaine, October 1941, 34.

⁸⁵ Marketing, August 23, 1941, 4. Some entrepreneurs used the wartime stocking shortage to their advantage, setting up "hose painting stations" to give women's legs the appearance of wearing stockings. In Croyden, England, one shop opened a special parlor for painting women's legs, allowing them to save the clothing coupons which they would otherwise have used on stockings. "The Dressing Table", SN, August 30, 1941, 23.

⁸⁶ Chatelaine, November 1929, 30 and 49.

editor, Annabelle Lee, reminded women that "Hands so quickly show the results of abuse--when a little attention each day will make them one of your greatest charms".⁸⁷

Despite the fact that Canadian mass culture was permeated by advertising which embodied many of women's values and beliefs, communicated to them in their own language, many women maintained a distance from advertising and criticized it strongly. Women's resistance to marketing techniques was noted by women writers and by marketing professionals who warned of the need for subtlety in advertising. Florence N. Webb criticized current advertising in 1932:

..."More searching than your mirror--your husband's eyes". Well, what of it? Magazines and newspapers are full of sinister warnings to wives these days. In effect they say, "Take heed, you'll be losing that man of yours if you don't watch out". Never a word to the husband whose hair is receding...whose attention to those little niceties of personal appearance went into the limbo of forgotten things as soon as the novelty wore off the honeymoon... Unless something is done about present-day merchandising, you men are going to have a riot to combat. The country is agog with sales-talk fraught with intent to invest women with an inferiority complex so that you men may again wave the wand of power as the cave man wielded the spiked bludgeon...⁸⁸

A few years later Margaret Brown, news editor of Marketing, told the Association of Canadian Perfumers and Manufacturers of Toilet Articles that a "positive" approach in advertising would help to win more women's favour:

...A lot of women criticized the recent campaign which pictured horribly scarred, toil-worn hands and suggested that husbands lost interest in wives who failed to keep their hands smooth...That was cruel... and false...How much better is the current

⁸⁷ Chatelaine, April 1931, 40-41.

⁸⁸ Florence N. Webb, "Sauce for the Gander", Maclean's, July 15, 1932, 10.

Lux advertisement which says "These are the lovely hands of Mrs. William Collins, married 17 years. Lux has kept her hands as nice as if she had a maid".⁸⁹

Advertisers used market research to try to overcome consumers' resistance. Research helped marketers to learn "the exact language the consumer uses when speaking in terms of the product", and to use these comments "either directly as copy or as a guide to the kind of language the consumer will understand".⁹⁰ Printer's Ink emphasized manufacturers' interest in considering the customer's needs and desires, frankly describing this concern as an "outgrowth of the growing interest in getting 'selfish' profits".⁹¹ A 1931 ad for the J. Walter Thompson agency emphasized the value of market research to manufacturers wishing to sell to the modern young woman:

...Just as her forbears scrapped the bustle and the pin cushion, she and her young companions will scrap...what? Not YOUR product...if you make it and sell it skillfully ...and if you speak their language when you advertise."

These marketing surveys are useful today for their rare

⁸⁹ "Is Cosmetic Copy Believed by Women?", Marketing, March 18, 1939, 11.

⁹⁰ "Notes of the Speech made by Mr. Richmond Watson to the new members' group meeting, May 11, 1931"; JWT Minutes of Staff Meetings, Box 3, file 7. Many surveys gave useful qualitative information on customers' tastes. Quantitative information was less reliable because the samples employed were often tiny, and researchers had little knowledge of sample reliability until the 1930s. The earliest market research report in the JWT archives with tables giving margins of error for given sample sizes is dated 1939. The tables were copyrighted 1932.

⁹¹ "Is Capitalism Being Transformed By Advertising?", PI 16-5-29, 42.

⁹² Printer's Ink, April 2, 1931, 8-9.

insight into women's use of cosmetics in the past. Although advertisers tried to homogenize consumers' tastes in order to rationalize marketing, their surveys consistently found that these habits were influenced by a respondent's class, ethnicity, and whether she lived in an urban or rural environment.⁹³ In 1938, the J. Walter Thompson Co. surveyed 2776 women in Ontario and Québec on their face-washing habits and their use of face powder, lipstick, and rouge. The survey found that ninety-five percent of Ontario women and seventy-four percent of Québec women washed their faces regularly on arising. The greatest variation in this respect was between urban and rural women in Québec: eighty-five percent of Montréal women washed their faces regularly on arising, while only fifty-eight percent of rural Québec women did so. This difference must have been partly due to the limited availability of running water in rural Québec homes. There was no significant difference found in the frequency with which women of different classes washed their faces. Few women used cream to cleanse their faces, with the use of cream being more common among employed women, urban women, younger women, and wealthier women. Eighty-five percent of all women interviewed personally bought the soap they used for their face and bath.

Among all the women interviewed, powder was the most commonly used article of make-up: eighty-one percent of the women used it. Fifty-seven percent of respondents used rouge, and forty-

⁹³ "Face Washing Survey, Ontario and Québec--Prepared for Lever Brothers Ltd.", JWT Toronto office Research Department, April 1938; JWT 16mm microfilm, #232. 43.2% of the Ontario women lived in Toronto, 29.5% in small towns, and 27.3% in rural communities. Among the Québec women, 40.2% lived in Montréal, 30.2% in small towns, and 29.6% in rural communities. The respondents' answers were further broken down by occupations ("housewife" or "working woman"), age groups, and class (defined by family income). Classes were defined as "A" (\$5000 a year or more), "B" (\$3000 to \$5000), "C" (\$1500 to \$3000), and "D" (under \$1500).

seven percent used lipstick. The use of cosmetics was slightly greater in Ontario, where eighty-four percent of women surveyed used powder, than in Québec, where seventy-seven percent used it. There was less difference between the two provinces in their use of rouge: fifty-seven percent of Ontario women used rouge, compared to fifty-six percent in Québec. The greatest use of all cosmetics was among working women in the cities--perhaps women took to heart advertising's warnings about the need to look attractive on the job. The use of cosmetics declined with income: those with family incomes of at least \$3000 were the most likely to use cosmetics, while those with incomes of under \$1500 were least likely to use them.

Other surveys backed up the finding that a woman's use of beauty products was influenced by her class, ethnicity, and other identities. A 1939 survey of Canadian homemakers found particular differences among different groups of women in the use of creams for facial cleansing. Forty-one percent of all Canadian women interviewed used cream to cleanse their face. Forty-eight percent of anglophone women used cream, while only twenty-two percent of francophone women did so. Urban anglophone women were the most likely to use cream (fifty-three percent), while rural francophone women were the least likely to use it (fourteen percent). Use of cream declined steadily with income, with fifty-six percent of women with a family income of over \$1850, but only twenty-five percent of women with income of under \$700, using cream. Ninety-six percent of women interviewed also used soap on their faces. The brand of soap used varied according to class and ethnicity. Lux Toilet Soap and Lifebuoy were least popular in rural francophone homes and stronger in urban anglophone homes, while Palmolive's appeal was the reverse. Palmolive was also most popular in the poorest homes--those with incomes of less than \$700. Lux was the favourite soap for women's faces

and hands while--despite an ad campaign aimed exclusively at women, emphasizing the need to enhance beauty to attract a man--Palmolive was the soap most used on men's faces and hands.⁹⁴ Perhaps purchasers of Palmolive were more attracted by the soap's low price (five cents a cake) than by its advertising slogans.

Through surveys, the J. Walter Thompson Co. found that women's interest in advertising, and how credible they found it, varied greatly. Pond's investigations from the late 1920s record a variety of reactions to the products and to the testimonial advertising.⁹⁵ One woman, pleased with samples she had received, wrote:

In using the two creams and skin freshener I find that it leaves the skin so delightfully fresh and "easy". It is especially trying when one must keep up appearances and do housework. Taking care of a furnace is so terribly trying on sensitive skin, and one that is oily as mine. With the use of the

⁹⁴ 1939 Lever Bros. General Market Survey--Canada; JWT 16mm microfilm, Reel #338. Interviews were conducted with 5162 housewives, distributed roughly evenly among four income quarters: A & B--over \$1850 (this category was sometimes broken down further into A--over \$3000 and B--\$1850-3000); C--\$1151-1850; D--\$700-115-; E--less than \$700). Seventy percent of the housewives stated their income, while the income of another twenty-two percent was estimated by the interviewer. Twenty-six percent of women interviewed were francophones, and twenty-nine percent lived on farms (many other interviews took place in small towns).

⁹⁵ In a 1927 survey done in Columbus, Ohio, 164 housewives and businesswomen "of all classes" were interviewed by three women investigators. No reason was given for choosing Columbus. In another investigation the same year, women were interviewed in Chester, Pennsylvania and Providence, Rhode Island. A 1928 survey was based on replies to a questionnaire received from 46 women who had returned advertising coupons requesting samples of Pond's products (the questionnaire had been sent to 150 women). The sample therefore included only women who were already interested in Pond's products.

[products] I find great comfort.⁹⁶

Women's opinions of testimonial advertising (sometimes paraphrased by the investigators in their reports) differed widely.

...could imagine a movie star getting money but never a queen.

Wondered why Mrs. Doubleday would--she's known to have money--Countesses sometimes poor.

Just looks at pictures. Doesn't read.

Just glances over advertising as she looks through a magazine.

Reads all--thinks them very pretty and clever.

Do not believe women advertised used creams.

Doesn't believe these women would endorse it if they didn't believe it.

Thinks if names of less prominent women were used the advertising would be more convincing to the middle classes.

Thinks a lot of people would be influenced by testimonials--she wouldn't.

Elizabeth Arden in their advertising show how to care for the face properly instead of just showing pretty women. Likes that best.⁹⁷

Account executives must have had some difficulty in developing a coherent advertising strategy based on such varied reactions. These surveys show that the buying public, although most often portrayed by advertisers as a homogeneous mass of consumers, held a variety of attitudes about advertising. The wealthiest women⁹⁸ were the greatest believers in testimonial advertising:

Ladies of this type would only lend names to a good product.

Women of that sort would have no reason for endorsing something that wasn't good.

Is there anybody who doesn't use Pond's? It was because of the advertising that I started--the

⁹⁶ Pond's Coupon Investigation, December 1928; JWT 16mm microfilm, Reel #52.

⁹⁷ The Pond's Extract Co. Consumer Investigation in Columbus, Ohio, November 1927; JWT 16mm microfilm, #52.

⁹⁸ Respondents were divided into Classes A, B, C, and D; no definitions were given for these classes.

women are so beautiful.

A woman from a middle-income family, on the other hand, had less faith in the opinions of nobility and society women:

Interesting...[but] I would be more interested if my next-door neighbor told me what good results she had had. Some of the wealthy women probably don't have as bad skins to care for as people who have come from large families with small incomes where doctors were too expensive to be called in always, and skins sometimes suffered...So what Queen Marie uses for her skin which is probably very smooth to begin with, would not help me as much as what my next-door neighbor uses.

Another middle-class woman felt differently:

Find it very impressive--it brings the story home to you to read about women whose names are known to you. Pond's is the only cream advertising I can recall.

The poorest respondents, perhaps motivated by jealousy or perhaps simply more down-to-earth than bourgeois women, were the least impressed by wealth and social status. They pleaded for prettier models:

There was a Countess someone in the Saturday Evening Post--very homely...no beauty appeal. Beauty appeal should be greatest--name means nothing.

Pond's attract attention most but have terrible faces in them.⁹⁹

These reactions suggest that attempts to bring "public tastes" to a "higher level" through advertising, and to convince women of the status achieved through the use of advertised products, were not a complete success. This was probably of little consequence to the success of a business, however, since middle- and upper-class women, the most favourable toward advertising, were the most likely customers for facial creams. Sales of Pond's two creams increased from 1924 to 1929 by an

⁹⁹ Pond's Consumer Investigation, Chester Pa. and Providence R.I., 1927; JWT 16mm microfilm, Reel #52.

average of fifteen percent a year, slowing only in the early 1930s.¹⁰⁰ Pond's advertising of the late 1930s and early 1940s, which connected wealthy women with attractive "air hostesses", secretaries, and "ambitious salesgirls"¹⁰¹, may have been an attempt on the part of the Thompson agency to attract the attention of women from lower classes.

Advertisements and text in rural and francophone magazines were inconsistent with rural and francophone women's use of cosmetics--small compared to that of urban and anglophone women. This contradiction illustrated the tension between advertisers' goal of homogenizing their market and magazine publishers' support for advertisers, and women's own tastes, personal definitions of beauty, and spending priorities. After the mid-1920s there was no significant difference between images of beauty found in the Grain Grower's Guide and in general-interest Canadian magazines. The few differences which had existed between English-language magazines and Revue Moderne had also all but disappeared. The early 1920s' emphasis on a holistic idea of beauty, whose principal elements were good health, cleanliness, and good humour, was gradually replaced in the later 1920s by the conception of beauty as something to be constructed around the physical self through the use of mass-marketed cosmetics. Revue Moderne's standards of feminine beauty became virtually identical to those found in English-language magazines such as Chatelaine. The availability of good, inexpensive beauty products was emphasized as simply another reason why there was no excuse not to be well-groomed. A detailed article on manicure from 1940 declared:

¹⁰⁰ Pond's Extract Co. Account History, 1937; JWT Inactive Account Files, Record Group 4, Box 3 (Chesebrough-Pond's, Inc.)

¹⁰¹ See for example Chatelaine, July 1940, 31.

Haut les mains, madame! Les fêtes approchent...Vous ne pouvez cacher un vilain manucure. Et il est absolument inutile de le faire, car un traitement de beauté simple et efficace se trouve vraiment au bout de vos doigts...¹⁰²

The N.W. Ayer and J. Walter Thompson advertising agencies placed ads for several products, including Listerine, Lux Toilet Soap, and Pond's creams, in both English- and French-language Canadian publications. As in earlier years, francophone ads were direct translations from the English (see fig. 6). This minimal recognition of French-Canadian difference was not enough to overcome the significant cultural differences which continued to block the growth of consumer culture in French Canada. If one wonders how much credibility the testimonials of European nobles and American society women had with even the average American or English-Canadian woman, it is even more questionable how much of an impact this advertising had upon French-Canadian women. Readers of La Presse and Le Soleil were unlikely to respond to Lady Diana Manners or to Mrs. Reginald Vanderbilt, or listen to the "Pond's Players" radio show on NBC.

Between the mid-1920s and the early 1940s, the scope of consumer culture broadened in Canada, as part of a North American trend. The advertisement and use of beauty products drew women further into the modern culture of consumption, in which individuals defined and redefined themselves through the use of mass-produced goods. Advertisers developed more sophisticated methods of determining consumers' tastes and identifying the best approaches to use in their campaigns. New media, radio and film, became a vital part of consumer culture, bringing the world of mass-marketed fantasies and

¹⁰² "De la beauté jusqu'au bout des doigts", RM, December 1940, 19, 26.

goods closer to Canadians. Women did resist the homogenization of consumer culture, and differences in buying patterns based on class, ethnic, and geographical differences continued. Their resistance, however, could not match the strength and growing presence of consumer culture. The tension between advertisers and buyers, mediated by cultural institutions, made advertising a forum in which the conflicts and contradictions of modern Canada were played out. The crushing imbalance in the power relations of advertising--the values and ambitions of the bourgeoisie and business elite versus popular aspirations, masculine ideals of femininity versus women's own priorities and self-image, the objectification of the consumer versus the consumer as an independent, multi-faceted person--ensured that the images and ideas which advertising presented served above all to uphold the institutions and social relations of monopoly capitalism.

Chapter Four

Conclusion

An understanding of consumer culture as an integral part of monopoly capitalism, and of advertising as one of the principal institutions of that culture, illustrates the need for business history to open up to cultural approaches to the discipline. Business histories informed by cultural studies must appreciate the importance of gender in business relations and the ways in which oppositions between masculinity and femininity, and gendered language and metaphors, legitimize the oppressive relations and institutions of capitalism. Such an approach to business history will not only deepen our understanding of the past, it will also serve as a foundation for an effective critique of present-day consumer culture. An awareness of the symbiotic relationship between cultural institutions and monopoly capitalism, growing out of mass magazines and newspapers to encompass radio, film, and later television and the recording industry, will give us a base from which to launch a radical critique of the culture, its bases, and its forms.¹

Consumer culture developed as an integral part of monopoly capitalism: a system maintained not only by the concentration of economic power or the threat of force, but also--and essentially--by consumer culture. Consumer culture and its principal institution, advertising, incorporate the beliefs,

¹ One of the most inspiring cultural critics in North America today is bell hooks. Her latest collection of essays, Yearning: race, gender, and cultural politics (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1990), discusses cultural criticism as "...a force promoting critical resistance" (3) and looks toward the future with the statement that "...resisting oppression means more than just reacting against one's oppressors, it means envisioning new habits of being, different ways to live in the world" (218).

hopes, fears, and language of different and opposing classes and of both women and men. Because consumer culture does not act as a voice for fundamental change in the distribution of power among these groups, this process of incorporation ensures the survival and strength of consumer culture and of capitalism.² Along with advertising's ubiquity and banality, it gives consumer culture a non-threatening appearance and makes the culture--and capitalism--seem a natural part of life. In modern industrial economies, people have been able to fulfill needs and dreams through consumer goods, at the price of deepening their own immersion in the exploitative relationships which define modern capitalist, sexist society. The fact that people have fun with consumer goods masks the exploitation of themselves and others that they perpetuate through their very enjoyment of these goods.³

Advertising for beauty products brought modern values and the logic of the capitalist marketplace into a traditionally important and complex area of women's culture: the desire for, and cultivation of, beauty. Within consumer culture, the definition of beauty and the means used to attain it are different from earlier ideals of beauty, but one thing remains constant: beauty is about power. In modern capitalist society, the power relations inherent in the definition and cultivation of women's beauty are those at work within the larger consumer

² Consumer culture even incorporates elements of countercultures which reject it, thus neutralizing the threat posed by the alternative culture. For example, the hairstyles and jewelry of punk culture were incorporated into mainstream fashion in the 1980s.

³ The exploitative relationships of consumer culture of course extend beyond the industrialized countries where the culture is strongest, to encompass people of non-industrialized or industrializing countries who provide many of the resources or finished goods that end up in our stores, at irreparable cost to themselves.

culture. In the early twentieth century, beauty was defined by the dominant players in the consumer culture: advertisers, magazine editors, film-makers--not by the women who were supposed to live up to it. Beauty was defined by the masculine corporate world in a way that implied a need to judge oneself with the eyes of others, so that the definition and creation of the personal, physical self was outer-directed and always subject to external evaluation. Although women's interpretations of advertising and use of cosmetics were influenced by their class, ethnicity, geographical environment, and personalities, advertising continued to provide an ideal of feminine beauty against which they had to define themselves.

In the early twentieth century as today, beauty was advertised as a way for a woman to find security in a world where women's experience was circumscribed by insecurity--in the labour force, in the home, and on the streets. But the security offered by the promise of beauty was, ultimately, no security at all. Advertising invited women to cultivate personal beauty in order to exchange it for a place in the very relationships and institutions which oppressed them. Advertising urged women to use the power which, they argued, beauty conferred to carve out a more comfortable place within these relationships. Rather than demand economic power, a woman--according to advertisers--should get a typist's job by a dazzling smile. Rather than demand equality in marriage, a woman should ensure her economic security by captivating a husband with her blond hair. The idea of beauty as a marketable commodity, exchangeable for a (perhaps fleeting) sense of security, underscored the reality of women's commodification in sexist society. Women were to trade their potential for true self-liberation for some security, obtained through their physical beauty.

Advertising distorted human relationships, showing women and men as unthinking creatures driven by customs which endured in the face of modernity, and by the opinions of others. Advertising presented a one-dimensional view of relations within the work force and within the home and marriage, ignoring the clashes, negotiations, and compromises which continually recur between powerful and relatively less powerful groups. At the same time, however, advertising acted as a trick mirror, reflecting, in a distorted way, the power relations of modern society. By constantly recreating images of exploitation and labelling them natural, advertising perpetuated them.

The consumer culture that existed in North America in the first few decades of this century had much in common with the consumer culture which defines modern capitalist nations today. Most of the key institutions of consumer culture were firmly established by the 1920s, although the culture was to enter a new, stronger phase in the 1940s and 1950s with the advent of television and, to a lesser extent, with new developments in photography. Like any culture, consumer culture lives, changes, and is never stagnant. It accomodates new social and economic relations and new technology and gains in strength by virtue of this accomodation.

Consumer culture is the smiling face of monopoly capitalism. The icons of consumer culture are our friends: Ronald McDonald, the Pillsbury Dough Boy, Mr. Clean, the Avon lady. Consumer culture's friendliness makes it appear non-threatening and its ordinariness makes it seem natural and belies its strength. An important part of this strength comes from the fact that consumer goods fill needs, both physical and emotional, within us. Consumer culture is so pervasive that even the strongest critics of capitalism can hardly live

outside it.⁴

⁴ Some of the instruments of consumer culture can co-opt protest movements. For example, in the 1980s "affinity" credit cards have been issued by a number of non-profit organizations. McGill University has just issued a Mastercard. A tiny percentage of the value of each purchase goes to a special fund to be allocated to libraries and student aid, badly in need of funding. Interest rates are the same as for regular Mastercards. This practice perpetuates the idea that people can buy their way to social change, without questioning why universities are in such dire financial straits, and why credit card companies are permitted to charge usurious rates.

List of Abbreviations

CG--Country Guide (Grain Grower's Guide until April 1928)

CM--Canadian Magazine

GGG--Grain Grower's Guide (Country Guide after April 1928)

JWT--Archives of the J. Walter Thompson Co.

LHJ--Ladies' Home Journal

PI--Printer's Ink

RM--Revue Moderne

SN--Saturday Night

Warshaw--Warshaw Collection of Business Americana

Bibliography

1. Archival Sources

Archives of the J. Walter Thompson Co., Manuscript Department, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Archives of the N.W. Ayer Co., Smithsonian.

2. Magazines

Canadian Magazine, 1901-1937.

Chatelaine, 1928-1941.

Grain Grower's Guide (Country Guide after April, 1928), 1911-1939.

Ladies' Home Journal, 1902-1938.

Maclean's, 1911-1939.

Revue Moderne, 1919-1940.

Saturday Night, 1901-1939.

3. Trade Publications

3.1 Periodicals

Marketing, 1919-1941.

Printer's Ink, 1901-1941.

3.2 Textbooks

Calkins, Earnest Elmo and Ralph Holden. Modern Advertising. New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1985. Originally published New York: D. Appleton, 1905.

DeWeese, Truman A. The Principles of Practical Publicity: Being a Treatise on "The Art of Advertising", 3rd edition. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Co., 1906 and 1908.

Scott, Walter Dill. The Psychology of Advertising, 8th ed.

Boston: Small, Maynard, and Co., 1916.

4. Other primary sources

Angus, H. F., ed. Canada and Her Great Neighbor: Sociological Surveys of Opinions and Attitudes in Canada Concerning the United States. New York: Russell and Russell, 1970. Originally published 1938.

The Canadian Almanac--1926. Toronto: The Copp Clark Co., 1926.

Census of Canada, 1921, 1931, 1941.

Eaton's Fall and Winter Catalogue, 1916-1917, 1930-1931.

Interview with the late Édouard Desbarats, Georgeville, Québec, July 29, 1989.

McClung, Nellie. The Stream Runs Fast. Toronto: T. Allen, 1945.

5. Secondary references

Althusser, Louis. Lenin, Philosophy and Other Essays. Translated by Ben Brewster. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971.

Ayer, Margaret Hubbard and Isabella Taves. The Three Lives of Harriet Hubbard Ayer. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1957.

Banner, Lois W. American Beauty: A Social History through Two Centuries of the American Idea, Ideal, and Image of the Beautiful Woman. New York: Knopf, 1983.

Baran, Paul A. and Paul M. Sweezy. Monopoly Capital: An Essay on the American Economic and Social Order. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1966.

Barthel, Diane. Putting on Appearances: Gender and Advertising. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988.

Barthes, Roland. Système de la mode. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1967.

Batterton, Rosemary, ed. Looking On: Images of femininity in the visual arts and media. London and New York: Pandora, 1987.

- Bennett, Tony, Colin Mercer, and Janet Woollacott, eds. Popular Culture and Social Relations. Milton Keynes and Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1986.
- Benson, Susan Porter. Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986.
- Berger, John. Ways of Seeing. New York: Viking Press, 1973.
- Berman, Ronald. Advertising and Social Change. Beverley Hills and London: Sage Publications, 1981.
- Bliss, Michael. A Canadian Millionaire: The Life and Business Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle, Bart., 1858-1939. Toronto: Macmillan, 1978.
- A Living Profit: Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business, 1883-1911. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974.
- Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987.
- Bouwsma, William J. "Intellectual History in the 1980s: From History of Ideas to History of Meaning". Journal of Interdisciplinary History 12:2 (Autumn, 1981), 279-291.
- Brandt, Gail Cuthbert. " 'Weaving It Together': Life Cycle and the Industrial Experience of Female Cotton Workers in Québec, 1910-1950". Labour/Le Travailleur 8 (Spring, 1981), 113-126.
- Braverman, Harry. Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century. New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1974.
- Brownmiller, Susan. Femininity. New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1984.
- Bushman, Richard L. and Claudia L. Bushman. "The Early History of Cleanliness in America". Journal of American History 74:4 (March 1988), 1213-1238.
- Chandler, Alfred D., Jr. The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press, 1977.
- Chapkis, Wendy. Beauty Secrets: Women and the Politics of Appearance. Boston: South End Press, 1986.

- "The Gender Divide and Eroticism", Socialist Review 80 (1985), 109-118.
- Chernin, Kim. The Obsession: Reflections on the Tyranny of Slenderness. New York: Harper and Row, 1981.
- Collectif Clio. L'Histoire des femmes au Québec depuis quatre siècles. Montréal: Les Quinze, 1982.
- Corson, Richard. Fashions in Makeup from Ancient to Modern Times. London: Peter Owen, 1972.
- Davies, Margery W. Women's Place is at the Typewriter: Office Work and Office Workers, 1870-1930. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982.
- Donovan, Josephine. Feminist Theory: The Intellectual Traditions of American Feminism. New York: Ungar, 1985.
- Dodd, Diane, "Women in Advertising: The Role of Canadian Women in the Promotion of Domestic Electrical Technology in the Interwar Period", in Marianne Gosztanyi Ainley, ed., Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science. Montréal: Véhicule Press, 1990.
- Ehrenreich, Barbara and Deirdre English. For Her Own Good: 150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women. New York: Doubleday, 1978.
- Elkin, Frederick. Rebels and Colleagues: Advertising and Social Change in French Canada. Montréal and London, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1973.
- Ewen, Stuart. Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture. New York and Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1976.
- Ewen, Stuart and Elizabeth Ewen. Channels of Desire. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982.
- Foucault, Michel. The History of Sexuality, Vol. I: An Introduction. New York: Pantheon, 1978.
- Fox, Richard Wightman and T. J. Jackson Lears. The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980. New York: Pantheon books, 1983.
- Fox, Stephen R. The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and its Creators. New York: William Morrow

and Co., 1984.

Freedman, Rita. Beauty Bound. Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1986.

Genovese, Eugene. Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made. New York and Toronto: Random House, 1974.

Gramsci, Antonio. Selections from Cultural Writings. Edited by David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, translated by William Boelhower. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1985.

-----Selections from the Prison Notebooks. Translated and edited by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith. New York: International Publishers, 1971.

Harker, Douglas E. The Woodwards: The Story of a Distinguished British Columbia Family, 1870-1975. Toronto: Mitchell Press, 1976.

Haskell, Molly. From Reverence to Rape: The Treatment of Women in the Movies. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973.

Kearney, Richard. The Wake of Imagination: Toward a Postmodern Culture. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988.

Kerr, Donald and Deryck W. Holdsworth, eds. Historical Atlas of Canada, Vol. III: Addressing the Twentieth Century. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

Kessler-Harris, Alice. "The Just Price, the Free Market, and the Value of Women". Feminist Studies 14:2 (Summer 1988), 235-250.

Kracauer, Siegfried. "The Mass Ornament", in Stephen Eric Bronner and Douglas MacKay Kellner, eds, Critical Theory and Society: A Reader. New York: Routledge, 1989.

Lakoff, Robin and Raquel Scherr. Face Value: The Politics of Beauty. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984.

Leach, William R. "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890-1925". Journal of American History 71 (September 1984), 319-342.

Lears, T. J. Jackson. "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities". American Historical Review 90 (June 1985), 567-593.

Lowe, Graham S. "Mechanization, Feminization, and Managerial

Control in the Early Twentieth-Century Canadian Office", in Craig Heron and Robert Storey, eds., On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada. Kingston and Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986.

-----Women in the Administrative Revolution: The Feminization of Clerical Work. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

Marchand, Roland. Advertising the American Dream: Making Way For Modernity, 1920-1940. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985.

Matthews, Jill Julius. "They Had Such a Lot of Fun: The Women's League of Health and Beauty Between the Wars". History Workshop 30 (Autumn, 1990), 22-54.

McCalla, Douglas. The Upper Canada Trade, 1834-1872: A Study of the Buchanans' Business. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979.

McClaren, Angus and Arlene Tiger McClaren. The Bedroom and the State: The Changing Practices and Politics of Contraception and Abortion in Canada, 1880-1980. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986.

McCracken, Grant. Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988.

-----"Textile History and the Consumer Epidemic: An Anthropological Approach to Popular Consumption and the Mass Market". Material History Bulletin (Spring 1990), 59-63.

McKendrick, Neil, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb. The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.

Miller, Michael B. The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981.

Millman, Marcia. Such a Pretty Face: Being Fat in America. New York: Berkley Books, 1981.

Morgan, Robin. Sisterhood is Powerful: An Anthology of the Women's Movement. New York: Vintage Books, 1970.

Morris, Peter. Embattled Shadows: A History of Canadian

- Cinema, 1895-1939. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978.
- Niosi, Jorge. La Bourgeoisie canadienne: La Formation et le développement d'une classe dominante. Montréal: Boréal Express, 1980.
- Nochlin, Lynda. Women, Art and Power. New York: Harper and Row, 1988.
- Nunes, Maxine and Deanna White. The Lace Ghetto. Toronto: New Town Press, 1972.
- O'Brien, Patricia. "Michel Foucault's History of Culture", in Lynn Hunt, ed., The New Cultural History. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989.
- Orbach, Susie. Fat is a Feminist Issue. Middlesex: Hamlyn Paperbacks, 1979.
- Ouellet, Cécile, ed. Souffrir pour être belle. Québec: Musée de la Civilisation, 1988.
- Parr, Joy. The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- Peiss, Kathy. "Culture de masse et divisions sociales: Le Cas de l'industrie américaine des cosmétiques". Translated by Jean-Michel Galano. Le Mouvement social 152 (juillet-septembre 1990), 7-30.
- Poovey, Mary. Uneven Developments: The Ideological Role of Gender in Mid-Victorian England. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Pope, Daniel. The Making of Modern Advertising. New York: Basic Books, 1983.
- Postman, Neil. Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business. New York: Penguin Books, 1985.
- Prentice, Alison et al. Canadian Women: A History. Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988.
- Presbrey, Frank. The History and Development of Advertising. New York: Greenwood Press, 1968; first published 1929.
- Richards, Janet Radcliffe. The Sceptical Feminist. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980.

- Riley, Denise. "Am I That Name?" Feminism and the Category of "Women" in History. London: Macmillan, 1988.
- Rosen, Marjorie. Popcorn Venus: Women, Movies and the American Dream. New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1973.
- Rubinstein, Helena. My Life for Beauty. London: Bodley Head, 1964.
- Ryan, Mary P. "The Projection of a New Womanhood: The Movie Moderns in the 1920s", in Jean E. Friedman and William G. Shade, eds., Our American Sisters: Women in American Life and Thought, 2nd ed. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1976.
- Santink, Joy L. Timothy Eaton and the rise of his department store. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- Schudson, Michael. Advertising, the Uneasy Persuasion: Its Dubious Impact on American Society. New York: Basic Books, 1984.
- Scott, Joan Wallach. "Deconstructing Equality-Versus Difference: Or, the Uses of Poststructuralist Theory for Feminism". Feminist Studies 14:1 (Spring 1988), 33-50.
- Gender and the Politics of History. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Singer, Benjamin D. Advertising and Society. Don Mills, Ontario: Addison-Wesley, 1986.
- Stearns, Peter N. "Old Women: Some Historical Observations". Journal of Family History 5:1 (Spring 1980), 44-57.
- Steedman, Mercedes. "Skill and Gender in the Canadian Clothing Industry, 1890-1940", in Craig Heron and Robert Storey, On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada. Kingston and Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986.
- Steele, Valerie. Review of Lois W. Banner, American Beauty. Journal of Social History 18 (1984-1985), 300-301.
- Stephenson, H. E. and Carlton McNaught. The Story of Advertising in Canada. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1940.
- Strong-Boag, Veronica. "The Girl of the New Day: Canadian Working Women in the 1920s". Labour/Le Travailleur 4 (1979), 131-164.
- "Keeping House in God's Country: Canadian Women at Work

in the Home", in Craig Heron and Robert Storey, On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada. Kingston and Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986.

-----The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939. Copp Clark Pitman, 1988.

Thompson, John Herd with Allan Seager. Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985.

Tobias, Andrew. Fire and Ice: The Story of Charles Revson. New York: William Morrow, 1976.

Veblen, Thorstein. The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions. First published New York: Macmillan, 1899.

Vipond, Mary. "The Image of Women in Mass Circulation Magazines in the 1920s", in Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice, eds., The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977.

-----The Mass Media in Canada. Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1989.

Walden, Keith. "Speaking Modern: Language, Culture, and Hegemony in Grocery Window Displays, 1887-1920". Canadian Historical Review (September 1989), 285-310.

Ward, W. Peter. Courtship, Love and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990.

Weedon, Chris. Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987.

Weeks, Jeffrey. "Foucault for Historians". History Workshop 14 (Autumn 1982), 106-119.

Williams, Neville. Powder and Paint: A History of the Englishwoman's Toilet, Elizabeth I-Elizabeth II. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1957.

Williams, Raymond. Culture. Glasgow: Fontana, 1981.

-----"You're a Marxist, Aren't You?", in Resources of Hope: Culture, Democracy, Socialism. London and New York: Verso, 1989.

Williams, Rosalind H. Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late

Nineteenth-Century France. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1982.

Wilson, Alan. John Northway: A Blue Serge Canadian. Toronto: Burns and MacEachern, 1965.

Wilson, Elizabeth. Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity. London: Virago, 1985.

Wolf, Naomi. The Beauty Myth. Toronto: Random House, 1990.