

Illustrated Soap Advertisements in *Myra's Journal* 1875-1912:

Hygiene, Beauty and Class in Victorian England

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ABSTRACT

The rapid emergence of the middle class in England during the nineteenth century affected many aspects of Victorian society. New social ideals required alterations to what had previously been perceived as correct values, and this era has become infamous for its repression. The new middle classes were especially insecure as to what constituted appropriate behaviour, and so sought guidance from authority figures. Middle class women found this guidance in magazines such as publisher Samuel Beeton's monthly magazine, *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*. Advice was provided in *Myra's* editorial column, "Spinnings in Town," written by Myra Browne. The counsel was given through clever advertorial plugs written into the monthly column. Social ideals were also communicated in illustrated advertisements via their imagery.

Advertisements for commercially manufactured soap were especially significant in recommending proper middle class behaviours and responsibilities. Victorian soap advertisements and recommendations not only sold the product to the consumer, they also created an idea of what constituted middle class behaviour and "sold" that to the willing and eager female consumers. Beauty was a main non-material commodity sold via soap advertisements to the middle classes, and quickly became integral to the creation and maintenance of the middle class female identity. Despite their intentions, acceptance of the concepts of appropriate and actual deportment were not always consistent. Even the purveyors themselves could become susceptible to censure due to the whims of the marketplace, ill health, or awkward social compromises. Such was the case with the house that Beeton built.

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CHAPTER 1

SOAP AND SOCIETY

In 1877, Queen Victoria of Great Britain (1837-1901) was declared Empress in recognition of Britain's rule over India. The Victorian era had already been marked by great cultural changes, technological advancements and the establishment of Great Britain as a world power. The British Empire was a powerful presence in every quarter of the globe and dominated international trade. The British Navy and Army were at the height of their power and influence, and the sun truly never set on the British Empire. The Victorian era is also remembered for its polarization and exaggeration of gender differences. Terms favoured when describing this era include "prudish" and "repressed."

Middle-class late Victorians (which for the purpose of this study are defined as those living in the last one-third of Victoria's reign) were renowned and envied by their contemporaries for the accessibility of and consumption of goods; it was a phenomenon never before witnessed on such a scale, made possible by falling prices of manufactured goods (edible and otherwise) in a highly developed consumer society. This culminated in well-off home country residents enjoying goods, varying in quality and price, both produced in Britain and imported from around the globe. As the consumer mentality became entrenched, it had spread beyond the upper and middle classes into the lower classes by the turn of the twentieth century. Victorian household consumption could be reduced to a simple matter of purchasing and consumption of a given product, whether it be staple or frippery, but is better understood as involving, to a certain extent, purchasing and consuming the ideas and ideals being promoted amongst the upper social classes

at that time and place.

Ideas about cleanliness were also changing in the time leading up to the Victorian era; the observance of being clean developed from an activity largely practised by monks and those of the religious community into an exercise that almost anyone could and should adopt, though cleanliness came to be defined as denoting both physical and moral purity. The development of a cult of cleanliness occurred during this time, where this society detested dirtiness to such an extent that in advertisements, cleanliness received praise but dirtiness was ridiculed.¹ Kelley Graham notes the far-flung after-effects of the Industrial Revolution and the influence of the middle classes by stating that cleanliness was becoming easier to achieve and maintain, due to Britain's increased prosperity after 1850, the greater number of middle class people who desired cleanliness, as well as the army of cheap domestic help that was available.²

Popular items in Victorian Britain and England, such as soap, tea, chocolate, silk and damask were available in a wide range of qualities; one could consume either higher quality and thus more expensive goods, or lower quality, mass-produced inexpensive goods. This was an industrialized world in which the middle and upper classes thrived. They possessed “the prosperity to shape their environment” and could afford to purchase and consume the goods that large factories and smaller workshops were producing at an astounding rate.³ These products contributed to a look and lifestyle that is now romanticized and promoted by contemporary nineteenth-century aficionados in magazines, calendars, china patterns, and bed and bath stores. Many lower middle and working class, meanwhile, desired to live as people of their class were told they should live, and consume. Unable to afford the expensive versions of the commodity

1 Kelley Graham, “Advertising in Britain, 1880-1914: Soap Advertising and the Socialization of Cleanliness” (PhD diss., Temple University, 1993), 17. This thesis contains useful historical context, but it is based on a random sampling of advertisements from a number of periodicals and makes little reference to *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*.

2 Graham, 20.

3 Graham, 66.

goods, many settled for lower-quality versions of Victorian paraphernalia. Since they could not afforded certain goods, they found alternate methods to exercise their powers as consumers.

By the Victorian era, traditional suspicions of luxury as being detrimental to state and society had diminished. The redefinition of luxury was due in part to the rapid rise of the middle classes and the increased availability of more “essential” luxury goods such as commercially manufactured soap. Manufactured personal cleansing products, like soap, not only affected ideas about luxury and commodity consumption, but were also closely intertwined with ideas of empire, gender, class and race, all of which were extremely important to the upwardly mobile middle classes of England. New arrivals to consumerism encouraged the creation of authority figures who could inform and guide the insecure middle class population in appropriate behaviour.⁴

One such authority figure, calling herself the Silkworm, wrote a monthly column, “Spinnings in Town” in the popular middle class monthly women's magazine, *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*, which was published from February 1875 to December 1912. The Silkworm endorsed goods and services in her editorial column, and used the authority that she had first established in *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* to guide the middle class female readers in their lifestyle choices. Both magazines were created by Samuel Beeton. The Silkworm, Myra Browne, relied on middle class ideals and her position of authority as a middle class woman, to sell the magazine, the column and the products she was promoting in her “advertorials.”⁵ Behind the pseudonym was a real, and quite remarkable woman about whom we are in a position to

4 Guide books were also popular among the middle classes. See *The Lady's Guide to the Ordering of her Household and the Economy of the Dinner Table, By a Lady* (London, 1861), <http://www.gender.amdigital.co.uk.cyber.usask.ca/contents/document-detail.aspx?sectionid=38045>. See also the working class guidebooks such as *A Handbook for Wives and Mothers of the Working Classes* (London, 1873), <http://www.gender.amdigital.co.uk.cyber.usask.ca/contents/document-detail.aspx?sectionid=151>.

5 The term “advertorial” is found in Margaret Beetham and Kay Boardman, eds., *Victorian Women's Magazines*, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2001), 15, 157.

know, or at least infer, some facts. As will be demonstrated, however, whether or not it was their goal to do so, neither Browne nor Beeton always lived up to the ideals they presented and represented to the readers.

This Discussion

This thesis explores the intersection of consumption, commodities, and society through the lens of the late Victorian era magazine. The next chapter of this study will examine certain theoretical concepts surrounding commodity consumption and late Victorian society. It will also review some of the pre-existing literature in this field. The third chapter of this study will explore consumption in late Victorian society, focusing on journals, especially *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*, and product endorsements in editorials. Also, this chapter will discuss the intersection between late Victorian ideals, morals and the publishing industry as exemplified by Samuel and Isabella Beeton, their sons, and Matilda “Myra” Browne.

The fourth chapter is a case study that examines the soap advertisements found in *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* in relation to the beauty criteria of the time. It offers a varied perspective on the well-trodden paths of advertising studies, suggesting a degree of indirect agency in historical subjects who have previously been viewed largely as bystanders. This study will suggest the concept that female readers not only influenced the advertisements in a popular middle class women’s journal, *Myra’s*, but also shaped the direction and advertising campaigns of soap advertisements in what was a reciprocal pattern.

The Importance of Studying Journals Such As *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*

Victorian ladies' journals are a wonderful and under-exploited resource for historians interested in gender history, business history, publishing history, and art history. The value of such journals is in the information they provide on a segment of the population that is difficult to

gain access to: middle-class women who were, for the most part, kept out of the workforce and economy. This is one instance, however, where women were very much part of four areas related to periodicals: they participated in the publishing industry, they purchased the magazine as a targeted audience, they purchased the products being presented in the magazine, and they provided feedback via letters to the editor.

Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion is notable both for its wealth of material and the fact that it has been under-represented in the historiography. *Myra's* was a publication that specifically targeted a middle class female audience. The targeting occurred both through price, which fluctuated between two pence and one shilling, and subject matter, which focused nearly exclusively on fashion and its “frivolity.” *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* was of little interest to the majority of men, especially since female fashion was not considered by most men worthy of their attention (though Oscar Wilde was keenly interested in this subject), but it was an important guide to many of its female readers.

In a world where journal advertisements had to compete with sandwich-men, posters, word of mouth and other forms of advertising that blanketed the landscape, magazine advertisements reached fewer people and were less visually aggressive. But despite this, journal advertising was important, since it allowed advertisers to win the focussed attention of particular readers in a receptive state, and to target an audience that was both literate and able to afford luxuries, such as the magazines themselves and (it is to be assumed) their advertised products. However, allotted advertising spots were not the only method by which ideals and goods were sold in journals and magazines; textual allusions could be embedded into the editorial content in order to promote products and ideals. These “advertorials” had additional value because they were a personal endorsement from a trusted and respected authority figure.

Limitations of this Study

Unfortunately, studying *Myra's* does have its limitations. Most of the periodical is only available as a microfilm, which does not permit a study of the quality of the original paper. Paper quality is important, as a heavier weight or better quality of paper denotes the importance and status of the publication. Also, the type of inks would have been another indicator of the quality of periodical. Due to most of *Myra's* being only available on microfilm, certain sections are unclear and have transfer from opposing pages, which creates issues of clarity when one attempts to use this source.

In addition, the original copy of the periodical was obtained from an unknown source for the purpose of filming. The original owner of the journal may have removed pages he or she deemed either important or not important. Also, advertisements tended to be removed from the magazines, which make it difficult to know how much advertising was in the original magazines.⁶ Further, the dressmaking patterns have often not been filmed onto the microfilms; they are often missing, and it is unknown whether they were deemed unimportant by the microfilm producers or were simply missing when the original was obtained. There is also the strong possibility that the original journal may have been obtained from one of the lending libraries. If so, it was common for patterns and certain pages to be removed by users.⁷

A trip to the British Newspaper Library at Colindale in London permitted the examination of several bound volumes of *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* in its original paper form, though this study relied heavily on the microfilmed copy of the periodical. It was both awe-inspiring to be allowed to handle these delicate artifacts as well as horrifying to see them crumble

⁶ Ibid., 157.

⁷ Chris Baggs, "'In the Separate Reading Room for Ladies are Provided Those Publications Specially Interesting to Them': Ladies' Reading Rooms and British Public Libraries 1850-1914" in *Victorian Periodicals Review* 38:3 Fall 2005, 288-9.

under my careful hands despite my turning the pages as gently as possible. The thought existed at the back of my mind the entire time in Colindale that there was the possibility, that I might be the last person to view these pages.

Fortunately, Victorian readers of *Myra's* likely did not have these concerns, as they were likely not concerned with preservation. In addition, the Victorian readers' environments likely differed as well, as they were able to read the magazine in a more intimate and comfortable setting such as in their own homes. In that case, the reader of the journal may have believed the journal to be communicating with them and addressing them on-on-one and in a more personal and direct manner.

Throughout the journal, the use of beauty in imagery and allusions can be found. Yet the attainment of this beauty could be achieved through different means, both products and advice. The editorial content, illustrations and advertisements worked together seamlessly to engage the audience. They worked together to create this seamlessness despite their coming from very different discursive positions.

The writers, editors and publishers of *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* constructed their audience and readership as both working and leisured women. The editorial "Spinnings in Town" appealed to the desire of women to appear beautiful, moneyed and urbane. As we will see, in contrast to these columns, the illustrated soap advertisements tended to be more conservative and often depicted traditional domestic images of women.

A distinctive feature of Victorian periodicals publishing is the separation of editorial content and advertising material. Previous studies have tended to regard these as two distinct and very different mediums, which have seldom been studied together. This study hopes to begin to bridge that gap between the study of advertising and editorial content in journals by recognizing

that despite the many differences, the journals in which advertisements and editorials appeared were targeting the same audience. Although they used different means and very different constructions of who their audience was, the advertisements and the editorial content have more in common than is realized, and they ultimately reached out to the same reader.

Furthermore, this study suggests that journals and magazines should not be studied in a vacuum; rather, the circumstances surrounding the publications should also be examined, and the actions and lifestyles of the people who were involved should bear consideration. *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* has been seldom examined, yet even here, due to the limitations of this study, it has not been done justice. Further studies and explorations of this fascinating journal will only yield a greater understanding of English late Victorian society.

The Seamless and Unseemly Lives of the Publishers

Despite the Silkworm's professional façade as a model to her readers, her personal life was anything but conventional. Mrs. Myra Browne's personal life was filled with questionable choices and behaviour that would have scandalized her middle class audience. At the heart of this scandal was her involvement with her publisher, employer and friend, Samuel Beeton, widower of the celebrated domestic goddess, Mrs. Beeton, and his motherless children. It is ironic, even hypocritical to the modern eye that these two people, who were regarded as the models of the middle class propriety to so many readers, lived lives that were in direct opposition to the lifestyle they were attempting to sell. Yet in a world and an era that was inundated with such hypocrisy, these authorities on middle class Victorian life and morality, Samuel Beeton and Myra Browne, were not perhaps entirely untypical Victorians.

Conclusion

The illustrated soap advertisements found in *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*, as

well as the advertorialised soap puffs in “Spinnings in Town,” sold ideas of middle class behaviour to a new female audience. Advertising agents also helped to construct the domestic aspirations of this audience, and in return, incorporated the ideas of the publication’s readership into their own approach. The advertisements and advertorials for personal beauty soap products not only sold ideas to the audience; they also absorbed their audience and society’s ideas and opinions, then regurgitated them in order to appeal to the female readers of the journal. The audience thus became the influential, rather than simply the influenced, and were not just subjects to whom advertisers pontificated. The audience became powerful in its own way and its own right, despite the stereotypical Victorian view of the domestic Angel in the House that ideally kept women out of the public sphere.⁸

8 Erika Rappaport, “Gender, Shopping, Advertising and Consumer Culture in the Victorian Period,” <http://www.gender.amdigital.co.uk.cyber.usask.ca/essays/content/rappaport.aspx>.

CHAPTER 2

THEORY AND 'UNDERPINNINGS'

“We are all anxious for the welfare of our country,
and should all bring what influence we may possess to bear
upon the furtherance of England’s commercial interests.”⁹

Empire, Victorian values and morals, identity, gender, commodity consumption and advertisements are not separate and distinct realms. They exist in relation to each other. In its theoretical basis, this study draws on work covering a variety of time periods and countries. In the transatlantic world of Victorian magazines, American magazines were read in Europe, especially in the United Kingdom and vice versa.¹⁰ Therefore, sources on American and Canadian advertising and consumption are relevant to this study, though these sources often discuss later time periods. The ideas, theories and methods they use in examining and analysing advertisements, consumption patterns and women, however, are often applicable. English advertisements and advertising business methods built significantly on the models of success or failure that were observed in North America.

Opportunities and Limitations of Gender and Class

Some scholars subscribe to the idea that Victorians were divided between separate, gendered, “spheres” of experience and influence, though the extent of this separation can be exaggerated. Although consumption emphasized male and female roles in late Victorian society, it also allowed each sex to briefly step into the socially designated spheres which society had

⁹ Silkworm, Spinnings in Town, *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*, October 1881, 459.

¹⁰ See Joel Wiener and Mark Hampton, eds., *Anglo-American Media Interactions, 1850-2000* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

earlier deemed binary and exclusive.¹¹ Victorian men were primarily identified with the public sphere, which emphasized engagement in business and economic affairs, whereas their female contemporaries were generally restricted to the private sphere, focusing on the household and the people within it. Victorian men were meant to limit themselves to the purchase of real estate and large properties, and their influence over the selection and purchases of everyday household goods was relatively small, apart from providing the funds. Yet the fast increasing consumption of commodities allowed men to briefly step into the private sphere by their construction of the female audience. In his pivotal works on British consumption, Christopher Breward contends that the existence of binary spheres was largely a fictional construction, especially where men and male fashions were concerned, since there was much blending between the genders' behaviours.¹² Nevertheless, certain men, such as those involved in advertising, were able to have greater access to the private sphere through their dealings with female consumers and their consumption of goods.¹³

Idealized middle class lifestyles were often exhibited in and assumed from the advertisements that appeared in various forms in order to promote various commodities and products. The upper and middle classes of Victorian women were able to purchase the products and goods that they saw advertised, but since the lower middle and working classes could not always afford to do so, they practised a new form of upward mobility. Rather than consume products sporting a high price point, lower middle and working class women often consumed and practised the ideas regarding class and status contained in the phrases and images the middle

11 Daniel Horowitz, *The Morality of Spending: Attitudes Toward the Consumer Society in America, 1875-1940* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 8.

12 Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion, and City Life, 1860-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999) and Christopher Breward, "Style and Subversion: Post-war Poses and the Neo-Edwardian Suit in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain," in Barbara Burman and Carole Turbin, eds., *Material Strategies: Dress and Gender in Historical Perspective* (Malden, Oxford: Blackwell, 2003).

13 Horowitz, 8.

class endorsed.¹⁴ They incorporated these ideas mentally and physically by consuming those advertisements which were aimed primarily at the female audience through journals and magazines.

Advertising and Wish Fulfilment

Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion was arguably the leading women's fashion magazine in the later Victorian era and remains indicative of the attitudes, norms and expectations of the middle class female Victorian reader. It discussed in great detail the fashions of the day and provided dressmaking patterns for the purchaser as well as several pages devoted to women's fashions. It also contained general advice on middle class female social norms.

This study examines and explores the ideals and morals which governed the behaviours of the late Victorians. To do so, it relies heavily on Roland Marchand's work and theories on fantasy and wish fulfilment, which contend that advertisements were a depiction of fantasy rather than a reflection of life as it truly was.¹⁵ Marchand theorised that advertisers knew that their readers wanted to see what their lives could potentially be, and so invested their products with class connotations. Historical, class and status fantasies that were popular with *Myra's* readers during the time of its publication will be compared with the actual advertisements to determine whether or not there was any correlation. For example, Grecian and Roman influences were popular during the late Victorian, and many of the advertisements reflect that. Also, upward social mobility was a popular fantasy and practice among many people. Whether or not this is reflected in the advertisements will be examined.

14 Mel Davies notes in her study of corsetry and population that ideas in regard to fashion started within the middle class, "but this ideal later percolated down to the working classes." Ideals could thus be stated as having a trickle-down effect; see Mel Davies, "Corsets and Conception: Fashion and Demographic Trends in the Nineteenth Century," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24: 4 (1982), 638 and Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985), 185.

15 Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), xvii.

Public visual saturation in the form of print advertising gradually moved into journals in the nineteenth century, and was first widely incorporated into publications in the United States in the 1880s and 1890s. British advertising practices closely mimicked North American advertising practices, so journal advertising in British publications followed American practice when the lucrative nature of the business became evident. Journal and magazine advertisements reached a more limited audience, but held the focussed attention of that audience, which explains why print media and other publications were so effective. This type of media worked particularly well at embedding their products within the public consciousness of the audience.¹⁶

The movement of advertisements into journals was not entirely welcomed by the editors or even their publishers; a love-hate relationship ensued, and due to the sheer quantity of printed advertising publicly displayed, many regarded it as a bane of society, while at the same time recognizing its economic clout.¹⁷ Advertisements were originally viewed by the early nineteenth century journal publishers and editors as a type of “contamination” which sullied the purity and ideals of journalistic integrity. But by 1905, *The Monthly Review* writer Michael MacDonagh could argue that although advertisements were over-running the articles in journals, “[u]nquestionably the advertisement has had a most potent influence for good in the development of journalism.”¹⁸ Advertisers also recognized that they needed to be both trend-affirming and trend-setting.¹⁹ Up until the late 1870s, advertisements were relegated to the end or beginning pages of the journal in a move some call “ghetto-isation.”²⁰ The last few pages of a journal were assumed by editors and publishers to not be thoroughly viewed by the reader and were often

16 Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets and Class at the Turn of the Century* (London, New York: Verso, 1996), 91.

17 Graham, “Advertising in Britain, 1880-1914: Soap Advertising and the Socialization of Cleanliness,” 2.

18 Michael MacDonagh, “The Craft of Newspaper Advertising,” *The Monthly Review*, August 1905, 102, 114..

19 Ohmann, 215.

20 Ros Ballaster, Margaret Beetham, Elizabeth Frazer and Sandra Hebron, *Women's Worlds: Ideology, Femininity and the Woman's Magazine* (Hampshire, London: MacMillan Education Ltd., 1991), 80.

stripped out when the magazine was bound into volumes.²¹ The advertisement content and revenue was deemed a sort of superfluous benefit—an extra form of income for a journal that was otherwise self-sufficient and self-supporting. It was a point of pride for journals to be able to sell themselves and make a profit based solely on their editorial and article content. Thus, it was a blow to editorial morale to initially realize that their journal relied on the lowly and common advertising revenue in order to continue publishing.

This attitude changed as publishers realized that the revenues generated by advertising sales allowed journals to operate at a loss on the editorial side, a phenomenon first recognized in the United States during the 1880s and 1890s. Soon, journals were substantially funded by the advertising revenues, or at the very least were heavily subsidized by advertisements; consequently, the status of advertisements rose. Some periodicals even allowed advertisements to roam amidst the editorial content, rather than be relegated to the back or front pages.²² Such was the case with *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* by 1878. *Myra's* publisher was allowing advertisements to be printed alongside articles *en masse* by 1891. The inclusion of advertising on the same page as articles and editorials signifies their importance to the journal's publishers and to the audience.

Commercially manufactured and produced soap was not ubiquitous until the soap companies had made tremendous efforts, through advertising in its many forms, to promote their products as a safe and gentle cleanser for delicate areas of the face and body. Pears' was the first to use this appeal by contending that it was “used extensively by the rich to cover up the damage caused by the harsh soaps then used in Britain.”²³ Other soap manufacturing companies soon

21 Ballaster et al., 80.

22 Ballaster et al., 80.

23 Mike Dempsey, ed., *Bubbles: Early Advertising Art from A. and F. Pears Ltd.*, With an Introduction by Tim Shackleton (London: Fontana, 1978), 3.

followed suit in an effort to match the success of Pears' Soap by promoting their product as either a personal or household use cleanser in numerous publications and through varied methods, but no other company made promotional and advertising expenditures to match that of Pears'. Although no other soap manufacturers' advertising campaigns were as prolific or arguably as successful as Pears', they provided competition to the soap making and marketing giant.

As this competition grew, soap makers used various approaches in their advertising campaigns to appeal to the consumer. Superiority was an important part of the approach as commercially produced soap retained luxury connotations due to the persistence of traditional knowledge and the possibility of soap production home. However, domestic soap production required large inputs of time and effort, and the use of corrosive products, the result being much more harsh than the beauty bars that speciality companies could provide. Advertising campaigns learned to appeal to consumers based on what they perceived consumers desired, be it convenience, beauty, class and status, affection, wealth or health.

Audience and Circulation

Literacy was a determinant in journal audience. The early nineteenth century British literacy rate was less than fifty percent, but by the mid-nineteenth century, the census reported that over half the adults in the country were literate.²⁴ The late Victorian era was a time of expanding educational opportunities, and the Education Acts of 1870 and 1891 in particular helped to further increase literacy by making it easier for children, especially those of the working class and especially girls, to become educated through the establishment of state-run schools and then via the abolition of most school fees for elementary education and the

²⁴ Sarah Freeman, *Isabella and Sam: The Story of Mrs. Beeton* (New York: Coward, McCann, and Geoghegan, 1978), 67. The mid-nineteenth century census stated that over half of the adults in the country could sign their names, and this was to be taken as a measure of literacy. The literacy rate in England in the same time is unknown, though one could hazard the guess that due to the close proximity of England to the capital metropolis, literacy and educational services would be more readily accessible.

subsequent enforcement of compulsory education.²⁵

Given the different degrees of literacy, periodical publishers made concentrated efforts to appeal to certain readership. A series of decisions determined the subject matter for a target readership: including sex, class, price and availability of the journal in a region.²⁶ Men and women may not have held the same interests, and the subject matter of a journal largely determined who would purchase it. The price of a periodical and whether or not it would fit into one's household budget are other factors in whether or not it would be purchased. Finally, whether or not a journal was available in a region or area would affect its potential audience.

Many scholars of Victorian periodicals encounter difficulty tracking circulation and establishing number of readers when studying journals. Circulation sales and readership are not one and the same, though they are closely related. It is due to this characteristic that some scholars mistakenly assume a correlation between circulation sales and readership. The issue of circulation sales statistics is less of a problem in the United States, where a reliable independent authority for auditing journal circulation, the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC), was in operation by the end of the nineteenth century.²⁷

Readership of Victorian periodicals is difficult to determine and can be potentially misleading. Various factors may have increased the readership of a journal and its audience without increasing its circulation sales. One variable which may have increased readership and audience exponentially without increasing circulation sales to the same degree were the Victorian

25 Philip Harling, "The State" in Chris Williams, ed., *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd), 120; Philip Gardner, "Literacy, Learning and Education," in Chris Williams, ed., *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd), 362, 363; Michael J. Turner, "Political Leadership and Political Parties, 1846-1900" in Chris Williams, ed., *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd), 149.

26 This is evidenced by the extremely high degree of regimentation in Victorian periodicals as listed in the hundreds of titles listed in the Waterloo Directory.

27 This organization accurately provided statistics in the form of numbers and figures of the circulation sales of periodicals; this was a great boon to manufacturers and advertising agents, as it allowed companies to decide whether or not to invest advertising funds into any number of publications. It is also of great benefit to scholars who may wish to refer to a more accurate source for statistical figures in the course of research and study.

public libraries. Separate reading rooms for men and women were common and many people in Victorian Britain used the libraries to sit and read journals that were in high demand or that were popular.²⁸ The potential readership of a journal could thereby have been greatly or minimally increased. Another variable which affected the readership of a journal was the sharing of reading materials between friends and acquaintances, which is a common practice, even to this day.

Of course, the sale of a magazine was of the utmost concern to the publishers, whereas it may not be of such importance to an advertiser. The advertiser may have been more concerned about readership and the number of people an advertisement reaches. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this study, both the sales and readership of *Myra's* are considered.

The few issues of *Myra's Mid Monthly Journal* and *Children's Dress* which survive in its original print form and are located at the British Library's newspaper collections at Colindale, contain coloured pages of fashions which were printed on thicker and/or glossy paper. Certain issues also published sections of fiction. During its successful thirty-seven year publication run, from February 1875 to December 1912, *Myra's* provided its reader with dress patterns, as often mentioned in editorials and table of contents. The extent of its appeal can be judged from the fact that it ranked among the top twenty most popular titles in lending libraries from 1875 to 1914.²⁹ *Myra's* was initially funded by the sale of the magazine, though in later years, it is very likely that the income reaped through advertising revenue largely funded the publication. Toward the end of its run, *Myra's* was no longer commanding the advertisements that it did when it was at its height of popularity. Its cessation was likely due to growing competition, which included *Weldon's Ladies' Journal*, *The Queen*, *Woman* and *The Ladies*, eroding its audience and market share. Further, the cessation of "Spinnings in Town" by the Silkworm in 1899 contributed to the decline

²⁸ See Baggs.

²⁹ Baggs, 299.

of the magazine, as it was a very popular column.

The target audience of *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* was the middle class female reader and indirectly perhaps, the men who could afford to purchase this monthly journal for the women in their care. There was the assumption that these middle class households employed at least one servant, since that was one of the chief criteria of middle class status in Victorian Britain. *Myra's* was meant to appeal to the insecure new middle class woman who wished to be educated and guided on the correct behaviours for members of her class. Forms of guidance included "Spinnings in Town" - advice on suitable shopping choices among various west-end London shops.³⁰ This hypothesis is also based on the price of the journal, which cost two pence in its first year of publication, but then quickly rose to cost between three and six pence for the rest of its publication run; it also published special issues which cost one shilling and were usually published during the holiday season. In comparison, some of *Myra's* contemporaries, such as *The Women's Herald*, *Woman* and *Women's Penny Paper* cost only one penny per issue.

Myra's was also documented in *The Newspaper Press Directory and Advertiser's Guide*, commonly known as the *Mitchell Press Directory*, or *Mitchell's*, the most generally relied-upon surveyor of circulation and sales of journals and magazines.³¹ It was the means by which companies could decide whether or not to advertise their products and services in a particular journal or magazine, based on how many and what kind of people its advertisements could potentially reach. *Mitchell's* said of the journal in its first write-up in the Guide in 1885 (it had been listed since 1878):

30 "How to Organize a Little Dinner," *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* (June 1899), 12 and Silkworm.

31 Blanche B. Elliott, *A History of English Advertising* (London: Business Publications Limited, 1962), 160-1.

Myra's Journal is a valuable advertising medium... [and is] an especial favourite with Ladies of the higher and middle classes. Myra's Journal has a larger circulation than any other fashion journal. The best firms in London and elsewhere use Myra's Journal for their announcements, and from all parts of the Country, and the Colonies, enquiries are made for articles advertising in its pages.³²

Though *Mitchell's* fails to provide statistical data and proof of high circulation sales, the comment is indicative of *Myra's* importance.³³

Conceptualizing the Industry

Prior to the mid-twentieth century, advertisements were studied as economic rather than as cultural phenomena, and many publications focused their discussions on how to advertise successfully. Early monographs examining advertising phenomena, such as the 1897 publication *Successful Advertising: Its Secrets Explained*, usually took the form of guides for advertising agents. More than fifty years after the publication of this work, studies on advertisements and consumption were still very similar to those published at the end of the nineteenth century.³⁴ There was little discussion on the audiences of these advertisements apart from their existence as targets, and even less on how advertisements were internalized. Essentially, studies on advertisements took a top-down approach. No discussion was included on how these advertisements affected women, nor were any studies published on how or why late Victorian women changed their consumption practices due to various advertising endeavours. This is a notable omission, since the success and failure of advertisements and products depended on consumption and how they affected their audience. Instead, advertisements were studied as business endeavours, rather than “carriers of culture.”³⁵ This method and style of studying

32 *The Newspaper Press Directory and Advertiser's Guide* (London, Benn Brothers, Ltd., 1885).

33 Unfortunately, *Mitchell's* lacked a governing body and thus can not be wholly relied upon as an unbiased source. Despite these shortcomings, *Mitchell's* was widely used and was relied upon by those in the advertising business as the most accurate and best judge available, of the various periodicals.

34 See E. S. Turner, *The Shocking History of Advertising!* (London: Michael Joseph, 1952).

35 Lori Anne Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1994), viii.

advertising is indicative of the predominant historical method prior to the 1960s. By contrast, on a social level the consumption of specific goods is now understood as a way for people to purchase and create identities for themselves. The purchase of commodities dramatizes social status. The most successful recent studies of advertising and consumption are multi-disciplinary, incorporating influences from scholars of history, economics, anthropology, psychology and women and gender studies.³⁶

During the 1960s the study of women as advertising target and consumer of goods began in earnest. Betty Friedan's 1963 early feminist monograph, *The Feminine Mystique*, contends that women are the "dupes" of the manipulators; they are understood as the helpless and passive victims of advertisers.³⁷ She also proposes that the practice of consumerism is really the mass deception of the middle class American housewife.³⁸ This idea of women as the weak victims of advertisers and their own need to consume, dominated scholarship and studies of women, consumption and advertising from the 1960s to the 1970s.

36 This multi-disciplinary approach is exemplified by Christopher Breward's works, among others, as utilized in my study.

37 Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1963), 218.

38 Friedan, 218.

The 1980s saw more scholarly inquiry into the role of women in advertising and consumption. Meg Luxton's 1980 monograph, *More than a Labour of Love: Three Generations of Women's Work in the Home*, calls attention to the importance of women's consumption management, deeming it an aspect of women's domestic labour and lives that was socially unrecognized for its value to society.³⁹ She further contends that the housewife is a rational consumer, despite the pressures placed on her by the members of her household.⁴⁰ My study builds on the idea of the importance and value of women's consumption and suggests that it not only affected women's domestic labour and lives, it also may have affected the world of business advertising.

Jean Christopher Agnew's 1983 article, "The Consuming Vision of Henry James," suggests new methods of measuring consumption, disagreeing with Luxton's claim that consumption could only be measured by the completed act. Rather, Agnew suggests that scholars and academics should consider not only what was purchased by these consuming women, but also what these women wanted, but could not afford to buy. Agnew refers to this as "mental consumption;" or in layman's terms, "window shopping."⁴¹ I find this notion very useful, as in my own study, I examine not only the product which women purchased, but also the mental consumption of the ideas that were sold with the product.

Roland Marchand's important 1985 monograph *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* proposes that advertisements depict fantasy more than real life.⁴² Advertisers respond to the consumer's demands for fantasy and "wish-fulfilment" in

39 Meg Luxton, *More than a Labour of Love: Three Generations of Women's Work in the Home* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1980), 168-173.

40 Luxton, 162.

41 Jean Christopher Agnew, "The Consuming Vision of Henry James," in Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, eds., *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History 1880-1980* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 67.

42 Marchand, xvii.

advertisements, as well as their targets and goals.⁴³ Readers do not want to see life as it is; rather, they want to see what their life could potentially become should they purchase the advertised products. *Advertising the American Dream* proposes that advertisements communicate broader assumptions about societal values.⁴⁴ Advertisements produce, maintain and reflect social values. Marchand's work is critical to the study of advertising due to his argument that advertisements infuse images and slogans into the culture of consumption by producing frames of reference and perception.⁴⁵ He theorises that despite the geographic and cultural diversity of consumers, advertising images and slogans tie them together in a shared understanding.⁴⁶ He refers to this phenomenon as the "shared or common discourse" or "culture of a diverse group."⁴⁷ Thus, for our study of late Victorian English women, who by no means were a homogenous group, some commonalities in their lives, spending and consumption habits may be deduced from the advertisements and advertising campaigns which targeted them.

Thomas Richards' 1990 publication, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* studies advertisements that were directed at the women who were the purchasers of family and personal goods. Richards proposes that advertisements used the predominant ideas of gender and body in order to draw consumers, usually women, into purchasing the advertised goods.⁴⁸ Richards also builds on Marchand's theory of fantasy and wish fulfilment by contending that these ideas of gender and body played on the fantasies of its female audience by depicting that to which the target audience aspired, be it class or beauty. This study suggests that in addition to ideas of gender and body, advertisements used ideas of class and other

43 Jib Fowles, *Mass Advertising as Social Forecast: A Method for Futures Research* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976), 55, 63-80.

44 Marchand, xvii.

45 Marchand, xx.

46 Marchand, xx.

47 Marchand, xx.

48 Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 7, 206-7, 246-7.

societal expectations to sell their goods.

Lori Anne Loeb's 1994 monograph, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* examines the impact of advertisements on women of the late Victorian and early Edwardian eras in Britain. Like Lear's monograph, Loeb's study argues that the advertisements in journals and newspapers of the time helped to shape the national cultures and ideals.⁴⁹ Loeb contends in her study that these cultural ideals were created by advertisements, rather than the other way around, whereas this thesis believes that the advertisements and the cultural ideals created and maintained each other in a reciprocal process.

Helen Damon-Moore develops this reciprocity in *Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in the Ladies' Home Journal and the Saturday Evening Post 1880-1910* which studies the important role of women as consumers and audiences of advertisements in two leading American periodicals, the *Ladies' Home Journal* and the *Saturday Evening Post*. She shows the extent to which advertisers and producers of products recognized the importance of women as consumers and developed them to appeal to the target female audience.⁵⁰ This recognition of the important role of women as not only consumers, but also as influencing advertising programs aimed at female audiences, is one that this study seeks to further.

Richard Ohmann's 1996 study, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets and Class at the Turn of the Century*, surveys magazines in the United States and the advertisements that made up an increasing portion of their content. Ohmann contends that women were important as consumers to advertising agents.⁵¹ Ohmann's study also addresses the relationship between the images and the text in advertisements; his work focuses on the "gaps in meaning" within

⁴⁹ See Loeb.

⁵⁰ Helen Damon-Moore, *Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in the Ladies Home Journal and the Saturday Evening Post 1880-1910* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 182.

⁵¹ Ohmann, 91-2, 112.

advertisements and he argues that the audience participated by its own volition, that is to say, "readers had learned how to supply connections, fill gaps, participate in the construction of meaning."⁵² This thesis utilizes Ohmann's method of studying images and text in advertisements to demonstrate the importance of women as consumer.

Ellen Gruber Garvey builds significantly on the expanding discourse by examining both magazine articles and advertisements in her 1996 study, *The Adman in the Parlour: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s*. Gruber Garvey demonstrates the importance of looking at advertisements not as an exclusive item, but in conjunction with the material surrounding it in order to obtain a better understanding of the meaning and context of the advertisements. She examines the entire publication in order to establish the context in which the advertisement was received and understood, an important contribution as it has since been shown in advertising research studies that readers consume almost all aspects or read all pages of magazines and journals.⁵³ This study makes use of Garvey's work by looking at the soap advertisements as well as the promotions in the editorial content in order to obtain a better understanding of the meaning and context of the advertisements and how they stand in relation to each other and their surrounding text.

Exploring Stratification in the Empire

The scholarship of post-colonialism has brought another important dimension to the study of late Victorian advertising. The British Empire was built through the spread of influence through various means. In her 1995 monograph, Anne McClintock noted that European imperialism has historically been under the domain and control of men, as the physical

⁵² Ohmann, 199.

⁵³ B. Stuart Tolley and Leo Bogart "How Readers Process Newspaper Advertising" in Eddie M. Clark, Timothy C. Brock and David W. Stewart, eds., *Attention, Attitude, and Affect in Response to Advertising* (Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994), 70.

possession of territory was usually a violent affair, in which women were less able or willing to directly and actively participate.⁵⁴ The role of women in imperialising efforts was consequently less direct than that of their male counterparts. As McClintock states, “[c]olonial women made none of the direct economic or military decisions of empire and very few reaped its vast profits.... [I]t was white men who made and enforced laws and policies in their own interests.”⁵⁵ Though the active agents of imperial force were males, women played an important role in the spreading of ideas, of which the greatest was the idea of domesticity. Colonizing women instead imparted middle class values, morals and ideas in various colonies through their female colonized counterparts.

British middle class values, which largely consisted of English middle class values, morals and ideas, were spread by colonizing women to the far corners of the empire and included specific ideals in regard to monogamy, industrial capital, Christianity, class control and the imperial civilising mission.⁵⁶ The empire exerted an

expansive influence of Victorian moral standards for feminine propriety and the observance of social norms for conduct, whether public or private. Moral practice, as the English middle classes imagined it throughout much of the nineteenth century, encompassed a complex set of codes for regulating both the private and the public sphere of social interaction.⁵⁷

Domesticity and cleanliness, both moral and physical, were of the utmost importance to these processes.⁵⁸ A prominent Victorian ideal was that of the “Angel of the Household,” that is, female sway in the household and all under its domain so that the property and inhabitants were physically fit and pure. This same female dominance over the household and children extended to

54 Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London, New York: Routledge, 1995), 6.

55 McClintock, 6.

56 Anne McClintock, “Soft-Soaping Empire: Commodity Racism and Imperial Advertising,” in Jennifer Scanlon, ed., *The Gender and Consumer Culture Reader* (New York : New York University Press, 2000) 129.

57 Lise Sanders, *Consuming Fantasies: Labor, Leisure, and the London Shopgirl, 1880-1920* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2006), 101.

58 Graham, 17.

the moral care and regulation of all under the household via reading material.⁵⁹

This is evidenced in the literature provided to middle-class women. As Jennifer Phegley's monograph, *Educating the Proper Woman Reader: Victorian Family Literary Magazines and the Cultural Health of the Nation* contends, magazines and journals affected the middle class through its influence on female readers. They helped to create, establish and maintain ideas of correct middle class behaviour and taste as women who read the correct materials could work to improve themselves and help to build the nation by spreading middle class ideas.⁶⁰ In fact, the middle class began to think of beauty as goodness and taste as signs of moral and spiritual worth and cleanliness.⁶¹ Phegley establishes that certain family-oriented publications portrayed proper women readers as symbols of national health and that they taught women ways to portray themselves as tasteful, middle-class citizens.⁶² Further, these publications presented positive images of women readers in order to dispel any national cultural anxiety.⁶³

Identity is affected by patterns of consumption and purchase, as people are defined by that which they purchase and use. Paul Johnson notes that people consume to define their social position.⁶⁴ This is especially evident in the case of the members of the emerging middle class, who were attempting to carve an identity for themselves. Middle class identity was closely tied to commodity consumption, as Colin Campbell notes in his monograph, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*.⁶⁵ Campbell remarks that the middle class consumed and demanded luxury goods, beginning with their emergence in the second half of the eighteenth

59 Jennifer Phegley, *Educating the Proper Woman Reader: Victorian Family Literary Magazines and the Cultural Health of the Nation* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2004), 21.

60 Phegley, 1, 6, 7, 18, 21.

61 Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 205.

62 Phegley, 15.

63 Phegley.

64 Paul Johnson, "Conspicuous Consumption and Working-Class Culture in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Britain," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 38 (1987), 29.

65 This title consciously echoes Max Weber's celebrated *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism*.

century, and that these actions were an attempt at emulating social superiors.⁶⁶ The consumption of certain goods by middle and lower middle and working class populations, was also indicative of the idea that “one could become different by consuming differently.”⁶⁷ These behaviours contributed to a trickle-down theory of luxury consumption within and between the various classes in society.

The Mélange

This study will focus its attention on the one commodity that promoted cleanliness, soap. It was an agent for personal cleanliness and has interesting intersections with empire, late Victorian values and morals, middle class identity, gender, commodity consumption and advertisements. The commodity of soap, its use and consumption were connected to ideas of what it could potentially do for imperialising efforts, such as spread the ideas of Britishness.⁶⁸ Soap was meant not only to clean the physical body, but also the spirit and allow one to achieve spiritual salvation.⁶⁹ The consumption of soap aided in the creation and maintenance of identity.

The middle class identity of English late Victorians was determined and maintained via their purchasing power and the products and the brands they chose to consume.⁷⁰ Further, as Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace notes in *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century*, the definition of woman depended on the ideas surrounding commodity consumption.⁷¹

66 Campbell, 203-4.

67 Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985), 185.

68 McClintock, “Soft-Soaping Empire: Commodity Racism and Imperial Advertising,” 130-1.

69 McClintock, “Soft-Soaping Empire: Commodity Racism and Imperial Advertising,” 133.

70 Maggie Andrews and Mary M. Talbot, “Introduction: Women in Consumer Culture” in Maggie Andrews and Mary M. Talbot, eds., *All the World and Her Husband: Women in Twentieth-Century Consumer Culture* (London; New York: Cassell, 2000), 2.

71 Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects: Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (New York : Columbia University Press, 1997), 74. Their contemporaries in Paris noted the relationship between women, consumption and domesticity as well. See Whitney Walton, “‘To Triumph before Feminine Taste’: Bourgeois Women’s Consumption and Hand Methods of Production in Nineteenth-Century Paris,” *The Business History Review* 60: 4 (1986), 546.

Femininity and the practice of commodity consumption became closely intertwined, and was recognized in many other European nations, such as France.⁷² Ellen Gruber Garvey maintains that the practice of consumption helped maintain class and gender identity, as middle-class urban women understood themselves and their place in society through what they purchased.⁷³ Magazines that were addressed to middle class women, such as *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*, furthered the relationship between women and consumption.⁷⁴

The items and products purchased by English Victorians also suggested gendering, as most items for sale were directed or targeted toward a specific gender, and this specificity was instrumental in the promotion and maintenance of the separation of the public and private spheres, which were meant to remain under the domain of the male and female influences, respectively. The Victorian idea that “women should consume, men should earn,” was aided by women’s purchasing practices.⁷⁵ Women were the keepers of the private sphere, but the influence they exercised spread beyond that of the household, which Lise Sanders notes,

[a]s nineteenth-century conduct books and etiquette manuals reveal, middle-class women occupied an instrumental social position as upholders of propriety within the family and the home; in turn, their influence within the family was imagined to have wide-ranging effects outside the family circle.⁷⁶

Despite the existence and importance of the separate spheres for the sexes, it must be noted that the private and public spheres were not mutually exclusive, and the English late Victorians were notable for trespassing into their non-designated spheres of influence. Christopher Breward contends that “the language of separate spheres was largely a work of fiction” since men

72 Walton, 542.

73 Ellen Gruber Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlor: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 18.

74 Garvey, 8.

75 Damon-Moore, 155.

76 Sanders, 101.

consumed goods that were similar to those consumed by women.⁷⁷ Not only were men active in areas which were previously deemed to be under the domain of women, such as shopping for fashions, late Victorian women were also active in many aspects of the public sphere. Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger are quick to note that though women were confined to private and domestic space, the market, which was public, was depicted as female.⁷⁸

Christopher Breward contends that women engaged in the public sphere, on the evidence of the text and imagery in *Myra's*.⁷⁹ Further, though his examination of the articles and illustration in the journal, he suggests women were more active in the public sphere than conventional theories would have suggested.⁸⁰ He also suggests that the late Victorian woman's "forays into a wider market of consumption could thus be interpreted as a widening of experience and opportunity, in which female consumers fulfilled a role as economic representatives of the family in the public sphere."⁸¹ This thesis' research confirms that the notion of the complete and perfect separation of private and public spheres did not exist; in fact and that women were very much a part of the public sphere.

However, Victorian advertisements attempted to solidify class, and the gender separation of spheres, by advertising certain goods for specific gender consumers, while concurrently selling ideas of empire and economic trade. This was especially the case with soap advertisements, which were constructed to appeal to the primarily female audience by suggesting domestic bliss and ease, while also conjuring up connections to empire and national identity. McClintock

77 Christopher Breward, "Renouncing Consumption: Men, Fashion and Luxury, 1870-1914," in Amy de la Haye & Elizabeth Wilson, eds., *Defining Dress: Dress as Object, Meaning and Identity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 50.

78 Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, "The Rise and Fall of the Luxury Debates," in Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, eds., *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave, 2003), 19.

79 Christopher Breward, "Femininity and Consumption: The Problem of the Late Nineteenth-Century Fashion Journal" *Journal of Design History* 7: 2 (1994), 76-7.

80 Breward, "Femininity and Consumption: The Problem of the Late Nineteenth-Century Fashion Journal," 83.

81 Breward, "Femininity and Consumption: The Problem of the Late Nineteenth-Century Fashion Journal," 84.

remarks that advertising brought images of empire into the home,⁸² showing how in particular Pears' soap intertwined the ideas of domesticity and empire.⁸³

This study will utilize several of the theories and practices previously outlined. It will examine what women did to consume the ideas behind these advertised products in addition to the advertised product. This thesis will demonstrate in Chapter Four through the collection of illustrated soap advertisements in *Myra's* that women were influenced by the advertisements, and will propose that they also had a hand in creating ideas and ideals that advertisers took to heart when they created new advertisements and campaigns.

But first, the use of the late Victorian expert as an authority figure must be examined and explored. Victorian magazines like *Myra's* regularly made use of people who were perceived as knowledgeable or experienced in order to instruct the readership of correct behaviour. In the case of *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*, this expert was the Silkworm, who contributed her knowledge and expertise as a member of the respectable middle class through the monthly editorial column, "Spinnings in Town." The respectable persona of the Silkworm, however, masked the gritty reality of the Beeton publishing business.

82 McClintock, "Soft-Soaping Empire: Commodity Racism and Imperial Advertising," 130.

83 McClintock, "Soft-Soaping Empire: Commodity Racism and Imperial Advertising," 134.

CHAPTER 3

ETHIC OR PRODUCT?: IMAGES OF BEAUTY AND DOMESTICITY, AND THE DIRTY SIDE OF VICTORIAN MAGAZINE PUBLISHING

“It is now pretty generally accepted as a fact, that although some people are born with innate good taste and refined perception, yet the bulk of us have our predilections formed by our surroundings, and our tastes are educated to one or the other standard of good or bad taste.”¹

Victorian codes of moral behaviour were rigidly defined and imposed in an effort to achieve respectability. Lise Sanders notes in her study of fantasies and the London shopgirl that

a discussion of the middle-class ideology of proper femininity... must take into account the expansive influence of Victorian moral standards for feminine propriety and the observance of social norms for conduct, whether public or private. Moral practice, as the English middle classes imagined it throughout much of the nineteenth century, encompassed a complex set of codes for regulating both the private and the public sphere of social interaction.²

Middle class virtues and morals were of the utmost importance, and the royal family won widespread popular support by presenting itself as a model of these ideals during the early years of Victoria's reign.

Despite the acknowledgement by the publishing industry that regular advertisements added greatly to their coffers and was important to both the publication and the audience, a love-hate relationship endured. There remained the view that there was something untrustworthy about advertising, and that it was low-brow. Michael MacDonagh's contemporary article, “The Craft of Newspaper Advertising,” an Edwardian commentary on how advertisements were over-running what he deemed the more journal-worthy news articles, states that “newspapers are nowadays but

1 Silkworm, October 1879, 221.

2 Sanders, 101.

purveyors of news in order that they may be medium for advertisements.”³ However, and perhaps to the chagrin of the editors of certain women’s journals, advertisements were successful and competed with editorial content for the reader's attention. Evelyn March-Phillipps noted the importance of advertising in her 1894 article where she explicitly states that women's newspapers survive due to their advertising revenues and “[readers] want to see advertisements.”⁴ Further, MacDonagh's 1905 article claims that “[u]nquestionably the advertisement has had a most potent influence for good in the development of journalism,” since advertising revenues allow news to be collected from around the world.⁵ Significantly in the case of *Myra’s Journal of Dress and Fashion*, editorial content and advertisements co-existed to seamlessly portray middle class Victorian life.

Ellen Gruber Garvey's study of American magazines and newspapers examines the immense public interest in advertisements, especially for women, to whom advertisements offered both entertainment and education. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century American public was so fascinated and enamoured with advertisements and advertising campaigns that people often collected, traded and scrap-booked advertisements; they also participated in and entered contests that were sponsored by the goods manufacturer or services provider.⁶ In Britain, contests were sponsored by the manufacturing companies that advertised in *Myra’s*. These promotions and contests were offered up regularly and were advertised in conjunction with the product on a regular basis. Perhaps it was due to this quasi-sensationalism and direct appeal to the audience that the presence of advertising was so unwelcome for editors. It was acceptable for advertisements to be silent and influential, but for them to directly appeal to

3 MacDonagh, 102.

4 Evelyn March-Phillipps, “Women’s Newspapers,” *Fortnightly Review*, November 1894, 663, 670.

5 MacDonagh, 114.

6 See Garvey.

the audience put them in competition with the editorial voice. Depending on the journal, publishers and editors believed themselves to be above making direct appeals, or indulging in the lowest common denominator of public interest, and so regarded themselves as intellectually and socially superior to their advertisers who catered to the basic wants and wishes of their readers.

It must be remembered that the ideals endorsed in both the editorials and the advertisements were rarely, if ever, achieved. While the accoutrements of morality, if corsets and complexion aids can be categorized as such, were routinely purchased, it cannot be assumed (or even suggested) that late Victorian people actually met their own standards for behaviour. The publisher and the editor of *Myra's* were acutely aware of this irony.

The Publishers of *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*

Samuel Beeton's personal and professional life contrasted sharply with the style of living he endorsed, that is, the ideal late Victorian middle class existence. Beeton is best remembered for his marriage to Isabella Mayson and the huge success of their collaboration on *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management*. The depiction of ideal middle class lifestyles and behaviour is consistent in Beeton's publications; however, this picture of purity and prosperity so enthusiastically consumed by the public at large was hardly a reflection of his own experience. During his professional career, Beeton attempted a variety of publishing ventures and suffered several severe financial difficulties, which only appear to have permanently ebbed once the formula of domestic-content-plus-product-placement was fully established in his later publications. Not only did the professional side of Beeton's life contrast with the lifestyle his publications promoted, his personal life contradicted all that his publications would represent. We can see from his personal lifestyle and his earlier publications a number of practices in which Beeton took an interest, that indicate a disconnect between his own life and his life as represented

in his publications. This strongly suggests that for Samuel Beeton, purity and domesticity was more a product to be sold than an ethic to uphold, especially as it pertained to his later personal and professional relationship with Myra Browne.

The House of Beeton

Samuel Beeton's father owned a tavern, and as Samuel was the eldest, he had the right to succeed to the tavern, but he decided that he wanted to make his career in the publishing industry.⁷ Beeton apprenticed for seven years in various aspects of the business, during which he published "two or three not very successful novels."⁸ In 1852, Beeton entered into partnership with Charles Clarke, a man he befriended during his apprenticeship with a paper merchant. They published and sold *Uncle Tom's Cabin* at an accessible price, which led to it becoming such a success that Beeton became wealthy, but he quickly lost most of that money on the sequel, *The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*.⁹ Beeton's partnership with Clarke soon ended, and he established the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, which, though important to both his and his future bride's lives, was not an original concept, as publishing journals exclusively for women was already routine.¹⁰ It created a distinctive niche for itself in the women's magazine market, as it was written to appeal to the female audiences at a cost of only 2 pence, which placed its blend of amusement with instruction within the reach of its intended audience.¹¹ In particular, Beeton's monthly column, "Cupid's Letter-Bag," which continued up until the year of his marriage, titillated readers with its daring publication of love problems, romantic agonies and the advice to those

⁷ Freeman, 60.

⁸ Freeman, 61-2.

⁹ Freeman, 71-2 and Kathryn Hughes, *The Short Life and Long Times of Mrs. Beeton* (London: Fourth Estate, 2005), 94-5.

¹⁰ Freeman, 72, 75.

¹¹ H. Montgomery Hyde, *Mr. and Mrs. Beeton* With a foreword by Sir Mayson Beeton K. B. E. (London: Harrap, 1951), 46; Cynthia L. White, *Women's Magazines, 1693-1968* (London: Michael Joseph LTD, 1970), 44; Ballaster et al, 89 and Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (London, New York: Routledge, 1996), 59, 66. Previously, women's magazines cost 1s, which was beyond the means of many, so the cheap monthly magazine gained a large readership.

who wrote correspondences to Mr. Cupid.¹² Although the respectable Victorian attitude toward love, sex and romance was that they were not discussed together, this column did so.

Isabella Mayson's engagement and marriage to Samuel was controversial. Middle class couples usually sought approval from family members before marrying, yet Isabella's family, including her middle-class step-father, Henry Dorling, did not approve of the union. Isabella's marriage to a man of whom her step-father did not approve led to an estrangement between the Dorlings and the Beetons that lasted well after Isabella's death.¹³ Isabella's family resented Beeton for the kind of life Isabella led; they may have felt that she had married beneath her, ruining their investment in her education as a middle class lady.

Samuel's living circumstances improved considerably after their marriage, due to the many wedding gifts and furnishings the newlyweds received, but it is notable that "this unaccustomed background of luxury did not alter Sam's habits a jot."¹⁴ While such a statement may be intended to demonstrate how frugal and hard-working Samuel Beeton may have been, it also indicates that he was not accustomed to luxuries, no matter how small, but accustomed to doing without; this is typical of his working or lower class background. Rumours also circulated that Beeton's financial troubles were taking their toll on the often-pregnant Isabella.¹⁵ As inadequate as Isabella's family considered Beeton's financial situation to be, it would have had another reason to dislike this in-law, had it known that Beeton suffered from a venereal disease, likely syphilis, which he may have contracted in his youth and before his marriage to Isabella.¹⁶ He appears to have infected his new bride, which probably contributed to numerous miscarriages and the early deaths of many of their offspring as well as Isabella's own early death from puerperal fever in 1865 at the age of

12 Freeman, 79-82 and Hughes, 174-5.

13 Freeman, 98.

14 Freeman, 131.

15 Hughes, 318.

16 Freeman, 65; Hughes, 182.

twenty-eight.¹⁷

Isabella's first contributions to the magazine appeared in the April 1857 issue, where she wrote on domestic affairs, such as cookery and housekeeping matters.¹⁸ There were short breaks in her contributions, corresponding with the birth of her children.¹⁹ She also started to compile *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management* in 1857, which took nearly four years to complete, the bulk of the research and writing being done between the death of her first baby in May 1857 and the arrival of her second in June 1859.²⁰ Samuel and Isabella appeared to have led a "divinely happy" life, despite the loss of two children and several miscarriages, as theirs was a partnership both personal and professional.²¹ In Sir Mayson Beeton's forward to H. Montgomery Hyde's monograph, the younger son of Samuel and Isabella describes his parents' life: "Their married life, though short, was a happy one, except for the loss of their first two children born to them."²²

Kathryn Hughes, historian and author of *The Short Life and Long Times of Mrs. Beeton*, suggests that Beeton's endemic financial crises hit a particularly low point later in 1864.²³ During the weeks and months immediately following Isabella's death, Samuel's financial situation was deeply troubled, as "bailiffs circled Mount Pleasant," the Beeton's residence.²⁴ They were somehow paid off, but a few months later, in the summer of 1865, Samuel was forced to give his publishing rival, Frederick Warne, an interest in his publications.²⁵

Beeton's next actions after his young wife's death, which Hughes refers to as "irrational"

17 Hughes, 183.

18 Freeman, 134.

19 Freeman, 137.

20 Freeman, 143 and Hughes, 195-6.

21 Hyde, 80.

22 Hyde, 9.

23 Hughes, 318.

24 Hughes, 339.

25 Hughes, 339.

and to which she attributes the disease of syphilis eating into his brain, further indicates the tension between Beeton's life and his publishing empire.²⁶ His first move was evidently a business necessity. Beeton not only recruited his neighbour, Myra Browne to work on *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* as a writer, he also quickly promoted her to the position of editor, effectively replacing Isabella within weeks of her death.²⁷ The importance of Myra to the magazine after the loss of his fortune and his wife was great, since Beeton had at that time less income than ever.²⁸ However, the situation was more complicated than it first appears, since Beeton replaced his wife with Myra both professionally and in the home. The Brownes, for Myra was married to a Charles Browne until his death in 1895, soon moved into and took over the Beeton residence of Mount Pleasant with the widower Beeton and his sons, as is evidenced by the 1871 census which listed Beeton as the Browne's boarder.²⁹ Myra became the young Beeton boys' "mother," and they were encouraged to assume that she was their biological mother, even calling her "Mama."³⁰ She also referred to the Beeton boys as "our boys" in her monthly editorials, "Spinnings in Town."³¹ Exactly to whom Myra was referring when she wrote of "papa" in her "Spinnings in Town" references to "our boys," remains uncertain. Mayson Beeton innocently explained the co-habitation of the Beetons and Brownes as an effort to "put their two poverties together" and made it a point to not address this strange domestic situation.³²

Samuel Beeton succeeded in replacing his wife in record time with a woman very much like her. Myra Browne not only looked like Isabella, she also had a very similar personality.

Hughes notes that

26 Hughes, 357-8.

27 Hughes, 334.

28 Freeman, 251.

29 Hughes, 335. The Brownes assumed the rent at Mount Pleasant, then later the Browne/Beeton family moved to a small middle class cottage due to the expense of maintaining such a large residence. See Hyde, 136.

30 Hughes, 335; Hyde, 136-7.

31 Silkworm, December 1875.

32 Hyde, 136.

[Myra] was exactly the same age as Isabella and, like her, was petite and attractive.... Just like Isabella too, Myra had a passion for French fashion.... Both women, too, were sharp but not brilliant, educated but not intellectual, and with an above-average capacity for languages. But perhaps the most striking parallel was that both Isabella Beeton and Myra Browne had contrived to marry men of whom their families disapproved but whose modest finances allowed – compelled, even – them to pursue a productive life outside the home... [and] both women had a reputation for being ‘managing.’³³

While the marriage of Myra to her husband, Charles, may have offered some form of protection from gossip it also served to raise potentially awkward questions, since the Brownes and Beeton were living in a blended family.³⁴ The most awkward question was whether or not this living arrangement extended to a possible sexual relationship between Samuel Beeton and Myra Browne. Though Hyde’s 1951 biography of the Beetons made it a point not to address the scandal and gossip that may have flown about due to the Beeton-Browne *ménage*, Sarah Freeman’s 1977 biography of Isabella and Sam notes the sentiment between the widowed Samuel and married Myra. She also hints at possibly inappropriate feelings, by stating that in regard to Samuel, “Myra, whatever may have been her deeper feelings, always remained devoted to Charlie.”³⁵ Hughes is quick to note that while Beeton may not have been a prime candidate for a love or sexual affair at the time immediately following his wife’s death, he was a “resolutely sexual man,” as evidence by his sexually active youth and the venereal disease which killed several of his children, his bride, and eventually, himself.³⁶

Professionally, Beeton’s life after the death of Isabella also took a bad turn. The May 1866 collapse of Overend, Gurney, and Co. Ltd., a major discount trading house, greatly affected Beeton’s publishing business, as he regularly used it as both lender and creditor.³⁷ Due to this

33 Hughes, 336-7.

34 Hughes, 335-7.

35 Freeman, 252.

36 Hughes, 337. There is no mention of Myra having contracted a venereal disease, though that of course does not discount an emotional love affair (or even, a physical/sexual affair) between herself and Samuel Beeton.

37 Hughes, 340; Beetham, 60; White, 72.

collapse, Beeton lost all his money and was not able to keep up with the costs of running his publishing business, though he never declared bankruptcy.³⁸ Samuel came to an arrangement to sell his business to the publishing firm of Ward, Lock, and Tyler, the publishers of *The Ladies' Treasury*.³⁹ They allowed him to remain as a salaried editor, and he spent eight years under their employ.⁴⁰ This partnership was not a happy or peaceful one, unfortunately. In the second year following Isabella's death, Samuel Beeton nearly ruined his most successful publication by allowing and encouraging risqué correspondences in the “Englishwoman’s Conversazione” page of *Englishwomen’s Domestic Magazine*.⁴¹

The first topic of contention was the March 1867 letter from a mother of a teenaged girl who complained that her daughter was tight-laced to the point where it affected her health for the worse.⁴² This opened the floor to debate from men and women who either supported or opposed the practice, the resulting small waists and their beauty or attractiveness.⁴³ This controversy was grounded on the aesthetic, sexual and social ideas of tight-lacing.⁴⁴ That same year, correspondence published in “Conversazione” addressed the whipping of children, young women and maidservants.⁴⁵ It evolved from the idea of discipline toward children into methods of flogging which would produce shame and pain in the recipient. Methods of inducing pain and shame included the stripping of clothing and the idea that the procedure should be witnessed for maximum effect.⁴⁶

The tight-lacing and corporal punishment topics in “Conversazione” scandalized the

38 Hyde, 134; Beetham, 60; White, 72.

39 Freeman, 248; Beetham, 60; White, 72.

40 Freeman, 248-9; Beetham, 60.

41 Freeman, 82.

42 Freeman, 261-2.

43 Freeman, 261-7.

44 Freeman, 266.

45 Hughes, 349.

46 Freeman, 267-77.

publishing industry and the public, due to their highly eroticised, sado-masochistic and even pornographic connotations. The writers of letters were able to indulge in a sort of public soft-core pornographic voyeurism in a respectable middle class publication for women by reading about and writing in with their stories of being confined and disciplined via tight-lacing and whippings. Yet such controversial topics may not have been so very unusual; other publications in the late 1860s printed correspondence of a highly erotic nature, though nothing quite like *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine's*.⁴⁷ Despite this, Samuel Beeton's publication of the correspondence on tight-lacing and whipping was deemed "unsavoury" by his employers. His anti-establishment political and satirical publications in the early 1870s caused further controversy, yet this was not the cause of alienation between Beeton and his employers.⁴⁸ What caused a rift was that at the same time Beeton was publishing rival annual publications under the Beeton name with the Weldon publishing firm, though he had already sold the rights to do so to Ward and Lock (Tyler having by this time left the business).⁴⁹ Ward and Lock applied for a court injunction, and the hearing decided in their favour.⁵⁰

Beeton infuriated his employers by publishing a rival work. Ward and Lock had published a prose satire, *The Fijiad*, which was based on *The Iliad*, under the Beeton name.⁵¹ Beeton responded with *Jon Duan*, which he modelled on Byron's *Don Juan*.⁵² He published it as a Beeton Christmas annual, and used it as a political vehicle.⁵³ He further infuriated his employers by denigrating the *Fijiad* while proclaiming *Jon Duan* superior and true in full page announcements in the *Athenaeum* and the *Standard*.⁵⁴ And to add insult to injury, Beeton and his

47 Hughes, 350.

48 Freeman, 278-286.

49 Freeman, 286-7.

50 Freeman, 286-7.

51 Hughes, 354.

52 Freeman, 280.

53 Freeman, 280.

54 Hughes, 354.

co-conspirators described Ward and Lock's publication as "vulgar" and "worn out."⁵⁵

Samuel Beeton's employment with Ward and Lock was thus terminated, and

Myra also left, not only on his account, though no doubt she would have resigned with him in any case, but also because she too had had a part in *Jon Duan*: at the conclusion of the poem (which, like *Don Juan*, was left without an end) was a rhyming version of Spinnings in Town, spattered with apologies for her ineptitude at writing in verse - which, on this showing, was certainly not her forte.⁵⁶

This worked out for the best for both parties. Ward and Lock could express relief at ridding themselves of Beeton and Myra, as this pair was causing them considerable professional grief, yet they were able to keep the titles Beeton had brought with him and which were well known.⁵⁷ Beeton and Myra were then free to pursue other publishing opportunities. The scandal surrounding these two people who would soon present themselves as models of the middle class is therefore doubly curious. Of course, this level of financial difficulty, unsavoury scandal-mongering, and improper living arrangements make it clear that Samuel Beeton was never part of a respectable middle class at all, which makes the next turn of events especially curious.

Fortunately, as was almost inevitable after so much publicity, *Jon Duan* was easily the most successful of the annuals so far, and netted its authors and publisher a handsome profit. This enabled Beeton and Weldon to set Myra up with a magazine of her own, *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*. Thus, the meltdown with Ward and Lock freed Beeton to establish a new magazine especially for Myra.

Myra's Style

A central feature of *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* was the editorial, "Spinnings in Town." It originated in *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* under the authorship of Myra Browne, but moved to *Myra's* along with Beeton and Myra Browne. The first column appeared in

⁵⁵ Hughes, 354.

⁵⁶ Freeman, 287.

⁵⁷ Freeman, 287.

the journal's first issue, February 1875, and Myra Browne, who wrote as the Silkworm, noted her long absence from the column with her first sentence. She reflected that “[i]t is indeed a pleasure to write once more the word “Spinnings,” and to feel that I am again addressing old and kind friends, as well as many new and welcome readers. And I think it an especial good fortune to begin again in the month of February.”⁵⁸ This column appeared in nearly every issue until November 1899.

Myra, as the Silkworm, spun a new fictional life in the monthly editorial for herself and Beeton in the eyes of their audience, even while Beeton's health steadily deteriorated through the few remaining years of his life.⁵⁹ Myra made a point during its run to create separate identities for Myra's editorial persona and the writer of “Spinnings,” the Silkworm, for instance, by stating, “[t]hese our MYRA much approves, for in them her hobby of good will to all is exemplified, and she says ‘Do quote these pretty verses for your Spinnings,’ so I obey, for I think with her in most things.”⁶⁰ Most people did not know that the Silkworm and Myra thought alike because they were the same person, although very different personalities.⁶¹

Aside from the Silkworm editorials, the magazine featured a monthly column on appropriate work for gentlewomen, clothing patterns for women and children, and, although initially resistant to dwelling on the food preparation interests of a female middle class audience it eventually gave in to demand for such articles. This is evidenced by a note on the first page of recipes in the March 1876 issue, which was a response to reader demand, where the editor stated, “my readers will see that I have at last complied with their request.”⁶²

58 Silkworm, February 1875, 5.

59 Freeman, 287-8.

60 Silkworm, December 1878, 269.

61 This practice started in the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, where Myra pioneered this distinct persona which was unabashedly female and differed from the editor. Other journals later adopted this practice as well. See Beetham, 80, 128.

62 Breward, “Femininity and Consumption: The Problem of the Late Nineteenth-Century Fashion Journal,” 7.

The Silkworm as Teacher: Being Middle Class

New middle class people were regularly rising from their lower class roots, and were often unsure of their new social responsibilities, and so sought help and guidance; they found it in magazines and journals such as *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*. This is evidenced by the perennial advice, such as that offered in the June 1899 article which offered tips to the middle class in a section entitled "How to Organize a Little Dinner," which was particularly important, as dinner parties were an especially trying test of a wife's domestic skills.⁶³ The "Spinnings in Town" monthly columns also instructed the new middle class readers by educating them on proper taste, since "[i]t is now pretty generally accepted as a fact, that although some people are born with innate good taste and refined perception, yet the bulk of us have our predilections formed by our surroundings, and our tastes are educated to one or the other standard of good or bad taste."⁶⁴ Further, "these indeterminate and 'socially paranoid' classes who were most vulnerable to the propaganda of correctness"⁶⁵ were the largest consumers of both commodity goods and ideas. Status and class were important to these people, as "households would put up with hardship, even to the extent of damaging their health, in order to keep up appearances."⁶⁶

The Silkworm/Myra offered commentary on a variety of subjects, including the correct role of women in the household and in relation to their husbands and children. These correct roles were not simply roles, but were "duties," as stated in the July 1886 "Spinnings in Town" column: "we must not forget to practice the duties which devolve upon good housewives, duties which will bring in their turn their own reward in the peace of mind which attends upon a well ordered household."⁶⁷ The Silkworm tended to hold conservative and traditional views in regard

63 Silkworm, June 1899, 12.

64 Silkworm, October 1879, 221.

65 Christopher Breward, "Femininity and Consumption: The Problem of the Late Nineteenth-Century Fashion Journal," 73.

66 Johnson, 40.

67 Silkworm, July 1886 340.

to women's household duties, as evidenced by her inaugural column in *Myra*'s first issue. She stated that

I think we shall not be less likely to rule our households well, to be companions to our husbands, guides and examples to our children, for a little study in household matters, a little care to learn the best way of doing everything; so that we may become the best of women. No girl is too young, no wife too old, to learn how to make home happy; it is our noblest duty - it is our dearest task. Let us keep our homes with the same care we spend on our persons; let us study to bring perfection into everything we do. Order is one of the first laws of Nature; let us so order our households, our ways, and ourselves, that we leave no talent unimproved, no path of usefulness untrodden.⁶⁸

Discussions of what makes good housewives and women inevitably included domestic duties, such as the "making for their wardrobes the yearly addition of underclothing, which all good housewives begin in February."⁶⁹ Their ability and duty to keep clean homes was mentioned regularly. The Silkworm maintained that previous generations

had intense cleanliness; floors scrubbed weekly, spotless coverlets, snowy dimities, immaculate toilet-covers, our marble washstands were polished with more care than is now bestowed on drawing room sculptures, and our pretty toilette services shone and glistened like diamonds.⁷⁰

She likened cleanliness to morality, as it "implies a corresponding purity of mind and a perfectly healthy constitution, qualities which all sensible men would prefer in a wife."⁷¹

The importance of economy was paramount and was the duty of the good housewife, as the Silkworm noted when she wrote, "we may hope...to turn aside the stream of wastefulness."⁷² She was very concerned with women's duties and expressed concern that her contemporaries were becoming lax. She included herself in an indictment of her contemporaries, whom she described as "we, degenerate housekeepers of the present day"⁷³ and promoted methods of education and

68 Silkworm, February 1875, 19.

69 Silkworm, February 1880, 66-7.

70 Silkworm, March 1886, 117.

71 Silkworm, February 1888, 87.

72 Silkworm, July 1886, 340.

73 Silkworm, April 1896, 7.

training by which these problems may be solved. For example, she described how

an enterprising lady, Miss Bichford, distressed by the daily declining domestic utility of our girls, has set up at Barton Bickington (a pleasant village near Newton Abbot) a School for Housewifery, where ladies are taught bread-making, how to cook, make pickles, sauces, and jams, how to manage a poultry farm, a dairy, a laundry, how to make their dresses; in fact, all domestic arts which are needed for ladies of moderate means who seek a livelihood not overstocked, or who are going out to their affianced husbands in the colonies. A year's training here would be a decided advantage, to complete a girl's education.⁷⁴

She also held contradictory views of the male head of household's role in relation to the people under his care and in his family. She wrote that "the modern Husband and Father is of an altered type; he delights in making his household and home happy."⁷⁵ This meant he was the traditional and conservative breadwinner, but was also liberally kind and considerate.

The Silkworm could also be remarkably astute in her analysis of the mechanism of the consumer economy as evidenced in her April 1894 issue of "Spinnings in Town," where she noted that "[w]omen are very unfairly accused of giving too large a portion of their time and thoughts to the pursuit of fashion[but that] we do nothing of the kind, it is the manufacturers who spend time and thought in devising irresistible temptation for us."⁷⁶ She further noted the importance of women and their fascination with beauty and fashion to the economy and the public sphere of influence by contending that "[i]t makes one gasp to think of the manu-factories that would be closed, and the numbers of people who would be thrown out of employment, if women made up their minds that their dresses were not worth thinking about."⁷⁷

The Silkworm's adherence to imperial and patriotic notions, is evident in her commentary on English goods: "London shopkeepers are as patriotic as any other class, and their customers, to a woman, are always delighted to buy English goods."⁷⁸ She reminded the female consumer of

74 Silkworm, May 1898, 13.

75 Silkworm, February 1880, 65.

76 Silkworm, April 1894, 7.

77 Silkworm, April 1894, 7.

78 Silkworm, October 1881, 459.

her patriotic duty to her country as a consumer in her May 1881 issue where she stated that “ladies who desire to show their patriotism by encouraging the manufactures of their own country, should send for patterns of these silks to the Royal Wellington Woollen Company.”⁷⁹ She reiterated these sentiments in her May 1894 article by stating, “[w]e women have it in our power, however, to make patriotic and protective laws for ourselves, by steadily insisting on buying and wearing, whenever we can, fabrics that are made in our own country.”⁸⁰

Domestic Ideals Versus Domestic Reality

Perhaps this curious co-mingling of liberal and conservative ideas was connected with Myra Browne's own domestic arrangements, particularly her co-opting of Samuel and Isabella Beeton's children as her own. In the first issue of “Spinnings in Town,” the Silkworm mentioned her children, though Myra's son was not born until 1877.⁸¹ She wrote more in the December 1875 “Spinnings in Town” about her children, making fun of their precociousness: “[t]he other day they were discussing their parents - that was all! - and I found that a few silver threads which are beginning to appear in their papa's hair are regarded as especial marks of esteem from the higher power. Papa is their ideal of 'goodness.’”⁸² She mentioned her big boys and children numerous times from the first issue of Myra's to the late 1880s.⁸³ Prior to her having her own child, she mentioned “her” children by name regularly, particularly the adventures and mis-adventures of one she called “Tots.”⁸⁴ After the birth of Myra's own child, Meredith Browne, in 1877, the Silkworm only referred to him as “Baby” or “Toby” and the “children” are never again mentioned by proper name. She only referred to them as “the boys” or “my children” and she

79 Silkworm, May 1881, 214.

80 Silkworm, May 1894, 7.

81 Hughes, 374.

82 Silkworm, December 1875, 237.

83 Silkworm, December 1875, 242; Silkworm, January 1876, 204.

84 Silkworm, February 1876, 10; Silkworm, March 1876, 31; May 1876, 82; Silkworm, July 1876, 125; Silkworm, August 1876, 154; Silkworm, February 1877, 32; Silkworm, July 1877, 149.

refrained from discussing Meredith at length in comparison to her earlier “children” in earlier writings.⁸⁵

“Spinnings in Town” was written as an editorial, but it also set the tone for each issue and often plugged the products of select manufacturers in long “puffs.”⁸⁶ The Silkworm both provided advice and promoted products in a conversational tone such as in the July 1899 advertorial where she wrote that

[w]e all need some lotion for the face and hands during the holiday season, to remedy the disfiguring after-effect of sunburn, which in its way is as disagreeable as the intolerable smart of a freshly scorched skin. A lotion which is efficacious and has the additional merit of cheapness is the Lait Zotis, which tones down the blazing colour and tends to refine the coarsened skin.⁸⁷

In contrast to the illustrated soap advertisements, which tended to be more conservative and depicted traditional images of women, hearth and home, “Spinnings” advertorials tended to describe professional, liberal women. This is interesting, since both were directed to the same readership. However, it is indicative of how the editor and advertisers appealed to different aspects of the same audience. The Silkworm appealed to the desire of women to appear beautiful, moneyed and urbane; whereas the illustrated soap advertisements confirm that the readers of *Myra’s Journal of Dress and Fashion* were domestically inclined, middle-class females who were also interested in fashion and beauty. The advertising agents were also helping to construct the domestic aspirations of this audience, and in return, came to include the ideas of the publication’s readership into their own approach.

The methods of and audiences addressed were different as well. Whereas the advertisement targeted the homogenous general reader, by blanketing all, the advertorial addressed the reader in

85 Silkworm, June 1878, 129; Silkworm, January 1880, 9; Silkworm, January 1888, 23; Silkworm, April 1888, 219; Silkworm, May 1888, 277.

86 It makes one wonder what, if any benefits, products or payments Silkworm received for her services.

87 Silkworm, July 1899, 11.

a more direct, intimate and personal manner. The “one” reader could distinguish herself from the rest and imagine that she was “special” and so was the sole recipient of these addresses.

End of an Era

Beeton died in 1877, and the July issue of *Myra's* and “Spinnings” published a great deal on the subject. The Silkworm wrote half a page in “Spinnings” on the loss she felt and gave the impression to her readers that she had lost the partner who aided in the discipline of her children. She wrote that “[h]e quite recently spoke of the duties of parents to their children, and sent me a beautiful extract for the benefit of Tots. How much I wish all mothers could be impressed with his ideas for the welfare of their children.”⁸⁸ Perhaps she meant Samuel Beeton to be regarded as a friendly “uncle” to her children, at least in the eyes of Myra's readership, but it raises questions about how appropriate it was for Myra to assume parental authority over the Beeton boys.

The death of Samuel Beeton affected not only his children's lives, and the Brownes but also the publishing world. The after-shocks of Beeton's death were far reaching, as

the EDM [*Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*], crippled beyond recovery by the loss of its two leading spirits, had also been terminated. Ward and Lock ended it in the same year as Sam's death, and, unless they let it remain out of a gentlemanly regard for the feelings of its founder, which once he had left them they did not display over other matters, it is surprising that they allowed it to limp on for as long as they did.⁸⁹

It must be remembered, that ideals and practice rarely ever merge seamlessly. This is no less the case with Victorian ideals and people. Though the themes of morality, purity and middle-class lifestyle were dominant, Victorians often failed to achieve or even rejected those ideals in their personal lives, whether by wilful choice or inability to achieve them. In the meantime, a new standard for the purveying of products had been set; Victorians discovered that they could create an identity for themselves, if they only used the right products as recommended by the right

⁸⁸ Silkworm, July 1877, 149.

⁸⁹ Freeman, 287.

people.

CHAPTER 4

SOAP ADVERTISEMENTS IN MYRA'S JOURNAL OF DRESS AND FASHION: A CASE STUDY

“It is hardly necessary in these enlightened days
to impress on educated people the necessity of cleanliness,
as everyone knows its importance in domestic economy.”¹

During the Victorian era, beauty was often considered a frivolous end that people in the private sphere, mostly women, attempted to attain. But was it so frivolous? And where did women get their ideas about what beauty constituted? After all, the female pursuit of beauty was so clearly defined and thoroughly consuming that it came to influence and direct entire commercial enterprises, including soap advertising campaigns.

Soap advertising campaigns were a result of the meeting of the masculine and feminine spheres of influence. Since soap was a household good, its purchase fell under the feminine domain and sphere of influence. However the emerging advertising industry, not to mention the manufacturing industries, were very much in the masculine domain. What occurred at that intersection was a public discussion of domestic ideals that took place through soap campaigns. Late Victorian print advertising occurred as combinations of text, image and ideas being presented to the public. The response to the presentation determined the success or failure of the product. Using these responses, the advertisements and products could be refined, and presented to the public again. With the soap advertisements, over time these presentations and representations amounted to a standard of beauty being engineered and established that, in return,

¹ Silkworm, July 1894, 8.

the masses appreciated and aspired to attain. The method of attaining this beautiful dream was recognized and accepted by both parties; it would occur through the purchase of a given brand of soap.

The consumer does not purchase beauty itself; instead, the consumer purchases a medium through which beauty can be achieved, as evidenced by the fulsome July 1879 advertorial in “Spinnings in Town” for Pears' Soap, which stated,

Of all the known aids to beauty, I do not think there is one more important than good soap; nor one which, if we choose, is more easily obtainable, for we are all familiar with the portly, glossy, dark brown, semi-transparent cakes of Pears' soap, and if we purchase and use this we may be quite sure that we are showing our wisdom by using what we know to be pure and wholesome, although the soap is perhaps less attractive than other kinds which are coloured in more than all the hues of the rainbow. I have always used Pears' Transparent Soap in my nursery, and my boys still prefer the dark brown soap to any other; their reasons for the preference are ‘that it takes the dirt off a fellow’s hands, you know, and hasn’t got any nasty smell.’”²

There are two distinct items being presented in most late Victorian advertisements for luxury goods: the invocation of beauty through text or image, and the product being offered for sale. The idea of beauty, or cluster of ideas, was a specific type of lifestyle and the domestic idyll in which the consumer was meant to exist. This idyll reflected the geography and pre-occupations of the time. The archetypes that successfully inspired or provoked people into purchasing goods came to be recycled repeatedly and crossed product boundaries. In other words, the same beauty type was invoked to sell a variety of luxury goods, including tea, chocolate, expensive fabrics and furs.

Of course, only the privileged middle and upper classes could afford many of the luxury edibles and fabrics being offered. Realistically, in the increasingly urbanized, industrial world of the nineteenth century, a century notable for harsh factory conditions and international military

2 Silk Worm, July 1879, 152-3.

aggression, very few lived the idealized sheltered life depicted and advocated in these magazines. However, soap is the one product that came to take on the status of an accessible, essential luxury.

During the Victorian era a culture of cleanliness took hold, best summarized by the idea that one may not have much but one should always be clean. Growing public awareness of the relationship between cleanliness and disease led to considerable government legislation. But at the personal level, the most direct path to cleanliness was via the use of soap. Soap-advertising campaigns came to take on an increased amount of significance where changing social expectations met with the results of the industrialised production practices of soap-making. The most successful soap campaigns were constructed to create wealth for the companies and advertisers, by drawing upon and contributing to an evolving discussion on domesticity. This discussion not only touched on emotional tones in order to sell products like soap, it also was part of the establishment of standards for cleanliness fashion, deportment and style for a new culture. Indeed, they were selling their ideas about beauty, to the masses.

The late Victorian world and its people were fairly sophisticated about advertising, being conscious of and sensitive to its power. Sandwich men, hat carts, and other striking forms of promotion utilized people and the world around them to convey a message. Advertisements in the form of people actively and verbally promoting their wares were also common, though records of verbal promotions do not exist. Advertisements for goods and services often began as word of mouth, with satisfied and dissatisfied customers spreading the stories of their experiences. Handbills became common when paper and the printing press became accessible and posters soon followed. In this form, street advertising became widespread to the point where it could be deemed visual pollution.³ Kelley Graham describes the advertising onslaught, observing that

3 T. R. Nevett, *Advertising in Britain: A History* (Heinemann: London, 1982), 59-60, 94-6.

Britain seemed to be on the verge of saturation by advertising: advertisements were commonly posted and chalked on every available surface, creating a relentless visual assault in the small towns and great cities. Public space was most at risk. Walls and hoarding were frequently posted and pasted over with advertisements.⁴

Laws were eventually introduced to control the visual contamination where it was deemed excessive. These laws restricted, among other factors, the size and content of publicly posted advertisements via the Advertisements Regulation Act of 1907 and the Indecent Advertisements Act of 1889.⁵

Classification and Methodology of the Collection of Advertisements

Advertisements in *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* can be separated into two distinct types: the copy and the illustrated advertisements. There are several advantages to each type of journal advertisement. On one hand, the illustrated advertisements are more visually impressive and appealing than ones comprised of only words. A person with limited literacy could still look at the pictures and illustrations and understand or recognize the situation or advertised product. On the other hand, illustrated advertisements were not found in the advertorials and were not promoted by the editor of the journal.

The first category of advertisement involves those in which there is only copy. That is, there are no illustrations and only the printed word promotes the product. This type of advertisement has been in circulation for the longest period of time and is referred to as copy advertisement. This form of advertisement dominated society for many centuries, due to the relatively primitive woodcuts being costly and complicated to reproduce.⁶ It was not until the late nineteenth century that technology progressed to the point where illustrations became easier to mass reproduce and offered a clear and recognizable image of the original illustration or subject.⁷

4 Graham, 2.

5 Nevett, 118, 127-8, 137.

6 Ballaster et al., 80.

7 Ballaster et al., 80.

The addition of colour in advertisements occurred later, creating a more visually impressive advertisement.

The second type of advertisement is that in which an illustration is included. Even where the illustration occupied less than the majority of the advertising space, it could still dominate the entire advertisement. Approximately 80 different illustrated advertisements met with the requirements of this study and were drawn from a complete survey of the entire publication run of *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* for the purpose of this study. Only advertisements consisting of an illustration taking up at least one half of the total advertisement were considered to be illustrated advertisements. The white space surrounding an illustration was considered part of the illustration, thus the advertisements which consist of a great deal of white space, though with a smaller illustration, were considered to qualify for this study and were subsequently added to the collection. Only illustrated advertisements were considered in this study.

All advertisements in *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* were targeted toward the female audience. The illustrated soap advertisements found in *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* not only sold the product, they presented an ideal that the customers were urged to attain by whatever means necessary. Beauty was an expression of the aesthetic ideal, and while women purchased these commodity goods and the ideas surrounding them for use in the home, they were also demonstrating their economic clout as well as societal influence. This particular version of beauty was loaded with endorsements of standards of hygiene, and of the importance of British- or English-ness. The purchase of the product subsequently confirmed to the company, the advertiser, and to society at large that the ideas being sold were indeed valued by the audience.

To these ends, advertisers used text and images to appeal to potential customers in either a positive or negative way. They would take a positive approach by obtaining the endorsement of

celebrities or by touching on emotional notes through the suggestion that the product would aid in creating a happy, healthy family. Advertisements could also take a negative tone, appealing to the customer's anxieties about maintaining health or status. This could be invoked with aggressive text, or the use of unattractive images, which were meant to be ridiculed. The most common and successful campaigns, however, focused on the presentation of attractive pictures and images. This approach was embraced by the Pears' company and resulted in the famous Pears' Soap advertisement campaigns. These were so successful that the images are still reprinted as art to hang in homes today.

The achievement of beauty was a central theme in illustrated soap advertisements in *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*, and indeed was the main theme of the journal itself. This was not the only similarity. The art styles of the soap ads were quite harmonious with the content of the magazine, which included illustrations of dress and fashion, sewing patterns and fashion advice for women. In fact, as blatant endorsements of various products occurred throughout the columns of "Spinnings In Town," this co-habitation of editorial endorsement of product alongside advertisements using the fashion art style produces a seamless effect.

Fashion and Beauty in Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion

The changeability of fashion and beauty criteria contributed to the predominant idea in late Victorian England that fashion and beauty were frivolous. Fashion and beauty were seen to be wasteful and non-functional even though they carried significance in late Victorian English society. Though beauty can be deemed superficial, it is a key component to natural selection and the theory of survival of the fittest (who were, of course, the most beautiful).⁸

Theories of natural selection and survival of the fittest as defined by Charles Darwin came

⁸ Iwan Rhys Morus, "The Sciences" in Chris Williams, ed., *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd), 467-8.

into vogue in the nineteenth century following the publication of *Origin of Species* in 1859.⁹ Darwin based much of his work and theory about natural selection on the theories of Thomas Malthus' eighteenth century work, *Essay on the Principle of Population*, which contends that unchecked populations would increase exponentially to the point where the world would be unable to support this life.¹⁰ The result of this over-population would be famine and death.¹¹ Darwin adapted Malthus' social principle and turned it toward nature and the natural world by making the contention, among others, that in a natural regime of scarcity and competition for resources, only the best adapted would survive.¹² This fitness also involved beauty, which directly influenced whether or not one would reproduce. These ideas filtered into fashion magazines and other publications, though of course the competitive aspects of beauty were recognized long before Darwin's writings.

A good complexion and unmarked skin were held up as a standard of beauty and health, while worries over 'dark' skin abounded, which the Silkworm emphasized time and time again in her columns and as they appeared in the 1889 guide, *Beauty and How to Keep It*.¹³ The Silkworm held to the popular current ideas in regard to facial beauty by writing that women should seek to “ensure a clear, pure complexion and white hand and arms.”¹⁴ Further, she contended that complexions should not suffer “unpleasant sunburn, freckles, and tan,” and that summer causes “our complexions [to] lose their delicacy, and roughen and coarsen” which would be unattractive.¹⁵ “Spinnings in Town” also described the ideal condition of skin and stated that

9 Morus, 467.

10 Morus, 467.

11 Morus, 467.

12 Morus, 467.

13 *Beauty and How to Keep It, By a Professional Beauty* (London, 1889), <http://www.gender.amdigital.co.uk.cyber.usask.ca/contents/document-detail.aspx?sectionid=192>, 7-17.

14 Silkworm, August 1877, 175-6 and Silkworm, February 1888, 87.

15 Silkworm, June 1888, 349.

“white smooth hands are the ambition of all.”¹⁶ The desire for and importance of white skin was noted by the Silkworm, as she promoted the use of products containing arsenic in her September 1895 editorial by stating that “[a]rsenic in some form is known to be the drug that has the most beneficial effect on the complexion” as it “keeps the skin soft and white.”¹⁷ The ideal beauty according to the Silkworm and “Spinnings in Town” was “[t]he Englishwoman, [who was] renowned for her blonde chevalier and her perfect complexion.” and who possessed “the bright, laughing English eye of brilliant blue.”¹⁸

People were coming to expect a degree of luxury in their lives. In not only the soap advertisements, but most of the advertisements in fashion magazines, the possession of thick and luxurious hair by women was deemed a central criteria for beauty.¹⁹ The Silkworm noted the importance of hair in most of her advertorials from the first to the last of her contributions. For example, she wrote in her April 1882 edition of “Spinnings in Town,”

Baldness is a disfigurement to which women are not often liable, that is to say, complete and undisguisable baldness; distressingly wide partings, however, are too common by far, and are so unsightly, that the least vain of the sex are only too glad to avail themselves of some means of hiding the defect.²⁰

The late Victorian infatuation with elaborate hairstyles was evident in the illustrated soap ads of *Myra*’s, where women were depicted with beautiful, thick, long and healthy hair, whether it was flowing loose and long or elaborately pinned and dressed in beautiful styles. In adult late Victorian women, loose and long hair intimated the boudoir or bedroom, hence the erotic connotation of the phrase, “let her hair down.”²¹ We see this in the Cuticura Soap advertisements

16 Silkworm, July 1881, 319.

17 Silkworm, September 1895, 7.

18 Silkworm, June 1896, 8.

19 Lois Banner, *American Beauty* (New York: Knopf, 1983), 208.

20 Silkworm, April 1882, 164.

21 One of the great passages in female life was the age (around fifteen or sixteen) when a girl first “put up” her hair or “turn it up” in womanly fashion”; see Silkworm, March 1885, 120.

of July 1896 and June 1897 (See Figure 1²²), February 1898, February and March 1899 (See Figure 2²³), October 1899 and September 1900 (See Figure 3²⁴) and January 1901 (See Figure 4²⁵). The use of words such as “luxuriant” and “lustrous” in these advertisements sold these features in addition to the soap.

The removal of facial hair was also equally important to the achievement and maintenance of beauty, which the Silkworm confirmed by stating, “[t]here are many cases, however, in which the removal of superfluous hair is imperatively called for - from advancing age or other causes.”²⁶ The illustrations of women in all of the soap advertisements in *Myra's* do not, of course, depict them with facial hair, excluding eyelashes and eyebrows.

Feminine Beauty Takes Shape

Body shapes, builds and types were and are a major determinant of beauty. Lois Banner's 1983 book, *American Beauty*, categorizes several types or fashions of female beauty in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Two of them will be referenced in this study: the “Voluptuous Beauty” and the “Gibson Girl.”²⁷ Though Banner's examination is mainly focussed on American standards and fashions of beauty, she is careful to also take notice of comparable or antithetical notions in Europe and Britain. British and American standards and criteria of beauty and fashion were generally remarkably similar, with the exception of several cases where one continent lagged behind the other in a category or where one nation produced a public figure so prominent that she surpassed or was made exempt from the societal standards of the time.

The heyday of the Voluptuous Woman lasted from the post Civil War era to the 1890s in

22 *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*, July 1896, ii and June 1897, iv.

23 *Myra's*, February 1898, 4, February 1899, 4 and March 1899, 4.

24 *Myra's*, October 1899, 6 and September 1900, 4.

25 *Myra's*, January 1901, 4.

26 Banner, 214 and *Myra's*, July 1880, 319.

27 The term, “Gibson Girl” has been attributed to Irene Langhorne Gibson, wife of Charles Dana Gibson, author of *The Widow*. See Banner, 158.

America and was emulated with only a slight delay in Britain.²⁸ The Voluptuous Woman was one whose body was plump and rounded.²⁹ She had a fleshy body with a large bosom and hips, a small waist. Her body resembled that of an hourglass.³⁰ The fashions and dress of this era emphasized and exaggerated this hourglass shape by use of corsetry; they created large bosoms that were pushed upward and forward, and tiny compressed waists and flaring hips via the bustles that were attached to the dresses.³¹ This standard of beauty converged with nature, as voluptuousness was seen to indicate sensuality, health and happiness.³² This is understandable, as the means to becoming plump and voluptuous could be afforded by the presumably happy and wealthy, and the large bosom and hips are representative of sexually and reproductively healthy females.

During the “Voluptuous Woman” era, the illustrated soap advertisements from *Myra’s* which feature a full-length depiction of women tend to show women who fit this type. The Ivy Soap advertisement fantasy depiction of April 1889 and January 1890 (See Figure 5³³) shows two attractive women who are dressed in classic Greco-Roman attire and who possess large bosoms and soft rounded bodies, lounging on a large bar of the floating soap. Pears’ March 1889 historical depiction of Queen Charlotte’s 1789 visit to the soap-makers features a voluptuous queen’s descent from a carriage (See Figure 6³⁴).

Advertisements often communicate fantasies about health, beauty, fame, sex and gender roles, race and romanticism, as they do in *Myra’s*. Roland Marchand’s *Advertising the American Dream* emphasizes the importance of fantasy depiction in advertisements and notes that class

28 Banner, 5.

29 Banner, 106-7, 111.

30 Banner, 111.

31 Banner, 119.

32 Banner, 113.

33 *Myra’s*, April 1889, 171 and January 1890, 7.

34 *Myra’s*, March 1889, 115.

image was an aspect used by advertising agents to entice the audiences.³⁵ Advertisements' use of romanticism in addition to history to appeal to the readers of *Myra's* is evident in seven of the illustrated soap advertisements collected. Early Victorian society was greatly influenced by the romantic poets of the pre- and early Victorian period, such as Byron and Wordsworth, who composed works that idealized nature and all things natural. The romantic age and its influences on the arts continued well into the later half of the nineteenth century via its perceptions of the exotic, nature, symbolism and myth. The August 1897 and September 1898 Cuticura advertisement contains the image of a cherub whispering in a beautiful woman's ear (See Figure 14³⁶) while the other four advertisements ranging from the years 1889 to 1901 depict illustrations of people in various forms of Greco-Roman dress (See Figure 15,³⁷ 16,³⁸ 5,³⁹ 17⁴⁰).⁴¹ With the exception of two advertisements, these figures of mostly women are mostly relaxed, and lounging in languid poses in scenes with backgrounds of nature. These historic and romantically themed advertisements present the fantasy of romantic and less harsh times, where women lounged in barges, rather than having to deal with everyday concerns like running the household or caring for children. These advertisements emphasise the significance of this type of fantasy, despite its being realistically unattainable.

During the era of the "Voluptuous Woman," the facial features of the conventionally beautiful woman appeared regularly in illustrated soap advertisements. Light blonde hair for women was en vogue, and was made particularly popular in the United States of America via the arrival and performances of the "British Blondes," a performing troupe headed by noted music

35 Marchand, xvii.

36 *Myra's*, August 1897, iv and September 1898, 4.

37 *Myra's*, March 1888, 156 and May 1888, unknown.

38 *Myra's*, November 1900, 19, December 1900, 19, January 1901, 19 and February 1901, 19.

39 *Myra's*, April 1889, 171 and January 1890, 7.

40 *Myra's*, February 1900, 42.

41 Roman popularity was associated with baths, cleanliness and of course, imperial power.

hall performer Lydia Thompson in the 1870s.⁴² The beautiful women of the era were to have a satiny texture to their skin and possess fair complexions, as “the delicate alabaster complexions [were] then in favour (the upper classes unfavourably associated tanned faces with those of the lower orders who were obliged to toil out of doors for a living).”⁴³ Lillie Langtry, who was considered by the English to be their most beautiful woman, possessed these features, and was represented in a Pears’ Soap advertisement published in the April 1887 issue of *Myra’s* (See Figure 7⁴⁴). It was also fashionable for women to possess the long, Grecian nose paired with a small mouth; this is observed in the December 1887 Cherry Blossom soap advertisement which showed a nun or novice with these features as well as the Pears’ Soap advertisement which ran in October and December 1887 and was repeated in October 1888 and January 1889 (See Figure 8,⁴⁵ 9⁴⁶).⁴⁷

However, the majority of advertisements that featured women during this time contained illustrations of dark haired women; a possible reason for this may have been the greater visual impact of dark hair in a black and white publication. Hair shade is difficult to establish in a colour-less publication, and fair hair is decidedly so. This is not to state that advertisements never printed illustrations of fair-haired women or men; two advertisements issued by Cuticura brand products during the “Voluptuous Woman” era featured fair-haired women with the popular beautiful facial features of the time. These were published in July 1885 and June 1888 (See Figure 10,⁴⁸ 11⁴⁹). The illustrations of these women still allows them to retain the popular Grecian nose, small mouth and beautiful, fair skin of the “Voluptuous Woman.” Unfortunately, when these

42 Banner, 121.

43 Banner, 138; Dempsey, 3.

44 *Myra’s*, April 1887, 163.

45 *Myra’s*, December 1887, 645.

46 *Myra’s*, October 1887, 495, December 1887, 649, October 1888, 569, and January 1889, 9.

47 Banner, 138.

48 *Myra’s*, July 1885, 326, October 1885, 468, April 1886, 160 and July 1886, 326.

49 *Myra’s*, June 1888, 371.

Cuticura advertisements are compared to other advertisements published in the same month or year, they lack the visual impact of their contemporaries. This is also the case with the previously mentioned Ivy Soap advertisements.

The criteria for beauty change over time, often with little forewarning of what direction it will take, and with little indication of how much difference there will be between the old and new standards of beauty. The criterion for ideal beauty changed around the turn of the century, when artist Charles Dana Gibson's drawings were published to great acclaim and a tall, athletic and patrician beauty reigned in popularity from 1895 to the outbreak of World War I.⁵⁰ The body of the popular beauty during this time continued to be somewhat plump by our standards, despite the popular fad for dieting, but the standardized beauty of this era was no longer as rounded and voluptuous as the beauty of yesteryear.⁵¹ This new beauty was tall and commanding, and was thinner, but still retained the generous bosoms and hips of the “Voluptuous Woman.”⁵² The Gibson Girl clothed herself in blouses and skirts, and dressed her body in a similar fashion to the reformer and was athletic, having engaged in exercise and sports.⁵³ Beauty as defined by the “Gibson Girl” differed not just in body type, but also in facial features from the “Voluptuous Woman.” The English beauty from 1895 to the outbreak of WWI possessed dark, thick hair.⁵⁴ She also possessed a snub nose, as opposed to the Grecian nose shape that was so popular with the “Voluptuous Woman,” but the popularity of the small mouth was retained through this era.⁵⁵

The illustrated advertisements for the Cuticura Soap company dominated *Myra's* during this period, due to their sheer number. The majority of the Cuticura advertisements that feature illustrations of women show them with long, dark hair and decidedly smaller noses and mouths.

50 Banner, 154.

51 Banner, 152.

52 Banner, 154.

53 Banner, 156.

54 Banner, 156.

55 Banner, 156.

Also, these women still maintain rounded features, and of course, a good complexion was still held up as a standard. This is evident in the women depicted in the August 1900 “Before and After” type advertisements which display the healing properties of Cuticura brand products (See Figure 12⁵⁶). In this era, the collected advertisements indicate that soap producers and advertising agents placed comparatively fewer illustrated soap advertisements where full-length images of women are featured. The main target of the soap advertisement was the most visible skin, that of the face. In fact, Cuticura published only one full-length image and one image of a woman from the waist up, and both images feature women with rounded curves and bosoms. The full-length image advertisement of July 1900 features a “Gibson Girl” who is dressed in a blouse and belted plaid long skirt; she is golfing and is presumably athletic (See Figure 13⁵⁷). She possesses a less voluptuous build, though her hips are rounded and she presents an hourglass shape figure.

Conceptualizing Male Beauty

Interestingly, the advertisements which feature illustrated images of men all contain the word “beauty.” The illustrations are usually of handsome and beautiful men, as defined by Victorian society. Due to women being responsible for the purchasing of all household goods, it is likely that the fantasy of the attainment of certain types of male beauty was broached as part of the advertisement’s appeal to women. The advertisements communicate that should the men in these women's lives use the advertised product, they would be as beautiful as those imaged.

Male beauty was also featured, although less frequently than female, in *Myra's*. Banner notes that “[i]n the nineteenth century the term most frequently used to describe a pleasant appearance in a man was neither “handsome” nor “good-looking,” but “manly.”⁵⁸ Banner notes that despite the many differences, there were also a large number of similarities in appearances

56 *Myra's*, August 1900, 4.

57 *Myra's*, July 1900, 4.

58 Banner, 226.

between men and women, such as the small statures, waists and mouths of both men and women in the early nineteenth century prints and fashion plates.⁵⁹

John Bull personified the ideal man in the late 1860s for the English. John Bull was the national personification of the British male (again, according to the English), though he was more readily accepted in England than in Scotland and Wales, which tended to view him as English. During this time period, beards became fashionable and few men were clean shaven.⁶⁰ But there were no advertisements in *Myra's* featuring men while the beard was in fashion.

The idealized male image changed in the 1890s and at the beginning of the twentieth century, as the new image of ideal masculinity became that of the tall, athletically built and facially clean-shaven young man with neatly trimmed, short hair.⁶¹ Previously, it was believed by the later Victorians that only philistines wore short hair, so most men kept longer hair.⁶² Beardless men were thought to look more sensitive and artistic right up to the end of the century.⁶³ It may have been due to the changing societal expectations and social liberalism of the Edwardian era and burgeoning acceptance of perceived sensitivity in men that prompted the acceptance of the change in the ideal male image. Sensitive, artistic-types may have been regarded as more acceptable and desirable in the Edwardian era. This tall and athletic male was a masculine version of the Gibson Girl.⁶⁴

The various ideals that contributed to the standard of late Victorian masculinity and beauty are evident in an overwhelming majority of the illustrated soap advertisements that feature men. Almost all of the advertisements portray men with full heads of hair. The majority of the illustrated advertisements display men's faces. Only one advertisement features a clean-shaven,

59 Banner, 226.

60 Penelope Byrde, *The Male Image: Men's Fashion in Britain 1300-1970* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1979), 168.

61 Banner, 240; Byrde, 168.

62 Byrde, 168.

63 Byrde, 168.

64 Banner, 242-3.

well-built and shirt-less young man, which was published first in October 1897 and repeated in November 1898 (See Figure 18⁶⁵). This advertisement is indicative of the fashionable look of men in that time period. It is also interesting that this advertisement depicts a muscular semi-naked man, thereby conveying a hint of sexuality. Significantly, the 1890s saw something of a vogue for body-building in men, expressed by the celebrity of the muscular Eugen Sandow, the late Victorian strongman and father of modern-day body-building.

Women may have also affected the more revealing illustrations in certain advertisements by helping to popularize them through word of mouth. In an era famous for its outwardly sexually repressive practices (which included the lack of frank discussion and education for women on most matters sexual), the October 1897 and November 1898 Cuticura advertisement of a half-dressed adult man in his prime may have fed the voyeuristic tendencies of *Myra's* female readers, whether or not these readers wished to acknowledge or admit it (See Figure 18⁶⁶).

Discussing Beauty and Age

Another factor in the presentation and selling of ideal beauty via the soap advertisements was the presence of youth. Youth and beauty were assumed to be synonyms, as is evident in the promises for smooth skin that various products made via the Silkworm in “Spinnings in Town.” Older women were subject to discrimination and prejudice while beauty appeared to be the domain of the more youthful. For example, in the April 1880 column of “Spinnings in Town,” the Silkworm declared that “[o]ne must be young to wear a cornfield costume.”⁶⁷ However, since older women were an important segment of the soap market, they could not be entirely neglected, as the guide, *Beauty and How to Keep It* noted by stating, “[n]o woman should think that, because she is past her first youth, she is no longer attractive, on the contrary, she can be more so,

65 *Myra's*, October 1897, iv and November 1898, 4.

66 *Myra's*, October 1897, iv and November 1898, 4.

67 Silkworm, April 1880, 169.

and should endeavour by every means in her power to make herself pleasant to look at.”⁶⁸ Pears' Soap's June 1888 advertisement featuring the famous Mrs. Georgina Weldon, challenged the assumption that youth and beauty go hand in hand by stating, “I am 50 to-day but thanks to Pears' Soap My COMPLEXION is only 17” (See Figure 19⁶⁹). Youthful women, whom Banner defines as those who have not yet reached the age of thirty-five, are over-represented in the images of female characters in *Myra's* illustrated soap advertisements. There are almost six images of young women to each older woman.⁷⁰

The women in illustrated soap advertisements are usually young women of marriageable age, or are young mothers. This was presumably intentionally done in order to appeal to the ideal demographic of *Myra's*, young women, who were also young mothers. Of the collection of illustrated soap advertisements obtained from *Myra's*, only one advertisement contains an illustration of an elderly man; this man, an authority figure, is a doctor, who is portrayed as elderly and wise. Whereas older women were not revered for whatever beauty wisdom or experience that they may have possessed (with the significant exception of Queen Victoria), older men were regarded as wise and experienced. This was due to how the later Victorians perceived age; men and women were considered adult or old based less on their numerical age, than on whether or not they were married or held political or fiduciary power over others.⁷¹

Displaying Children

The children imaged in the soap advertisements that appear in *Myra's* are of English stock. The infants are plump and well-fed, with plump arms and legs and rounded stomachs. Almost all of the children in *Myra's* soap advertisements are attractive, and resemble the adults

68 Beauty and How to Keep It, By a Professional Beauty, 8.

69 *Myra's*, June 1888, 325.

70 Banner, 219-20.

71 Banner, 219-20.

depicted in the other soap advertisements, though they still retain the appearance of children (See Figure 20⁷²). They are usually beautiful and smiling, with the exception of a few satirical or sympathy-inducing images. A March 1887 Cuticura product advertisement shows an image of an African girl dressed in frilly clothing standing slightly behind a Caucasian boy who is wearing a sailor suit (See Figure 21⁷³). This image coincides with the copy of the advertisement, “As Different As Black From White.” This illustrated advertisement literally proclaims that Cuticura products are as different from other inferior products as the colour black is from the colour white. The popular boys' sailor suit was also a symbol of the imperial might of the British navy.⁷⁴ In a society where white and whiteness had attained fetishistic proportions, the juxtaposition of black and white, in both word and image, denoted clean and dirty, advanced and primitive, moral and immoral. Of course, the symbolic message of this advertisement could be that Cuticura products will clean one so well that a dark skin could be scrubbed white. Pears' Soap had also previously produced an advertisement with that very message, though it did not appear in *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*.

The theme of race and the fantasy conveyed by advertisers regarding race, was that it was preferable to be Caucasian, better yet to be British and best of all, to be English. The few advertisements depicting non-Caucasian people also contain copy which states that the product can provide “fair” and “white” complexions (See Figure 18,⁷⁵ 23⁷⁶). The fantasy conveyed by these illustrated soap advertisements reminded the late Victorian reader of how preferable it is to be Caucasian, rather than a dark-skinned race. Most of *Myra's* readers were already living the fantasy, since Victorian England's population was composed of an overwhelming majority of

72 *Myra's*, April 1890, v.

73 *Myra's*, March 1887, 147.

74 The sailor suit became very popular in the United Kingdom from the mid-nineteenth century after Queen Victoria dressed her own son in the outfit.

75 *Myra's*, November 1900, 19, December 1900, 19, January 1901, 19 and February 1901, 19.

76 *Myra's*, March 1887, 147.

Caucasians.

By way of contrast, Pears' Soap published two full-page illustrated advertisements in *Myra's* in which the images failed to meet the societal criteria of beauty. These images of children's dissatisfaction are satirical and are meant to induce the audience to join in laughing at the unfortunate characters and to feel superior for not having to face these situations themselves. The March 1888 advertisement was the first of a two part advertising campaign which features an image of an unhappy baby who is unable to reach his bar of Pears' soap from his bath basin (See Figure 26⁷⁷). His expression of extreme unhappiness fails to fulfill the beauty standard that society has established. The December 1893 Christmas Supplement Pears' advertisement depicts an old woman who is washing the ears of a protesting boy (See Figure 22⁷⁸). Both characters fail to appear beautiful, due to the woman's age and her dress, and due to the child's grimace. The January 1898 Cuticura advertisement which displays the satirical image of the unattractive man previously mentioned, also depicts an image of a crying baby, who is not attractive (See Figure 23⁷⁹). The association of unhappy babies with older adults might also be seen as a validation of the maternal duties of *Myra's* favoured demographic, the young mother.

Class Considerations

Exceptions where the illustrated images of women, men and children do not meet the criteria of beauty, usually involve class issues. For example, female servants are usually depicted as older and/or haggard women who were unattractive. They possess many wrinkles, their hair is hidden under a cap and their clothing is not fashionable, as in the Pears' soap advertisement of December Christmas Supplement of 1893 (See Figure 22⁸⁰). In an illustrated soap advertisement

77 *Myra's*, March 1888, 127.

78 *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion Christmas Supplement*, December 1893, 3.

79 *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*, January 1898, 4.

80 *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion Christmas Supplement*, December 1893, 3.

of January 1898, a working class man is unfavourably depicted; he is losing his hair and gradually going bald. He is comforting a crying baby, which in the Victorian world, was an activity usually confined to the female sphere of influence and responsibility (See Figure 23⁸¹). Interestingly, these ads indirectly reinforced conventional societal standards of beauty and correct gender roles. The satirical portrayal of the working class was likely meant to engage the humour and condescension of the middle and upper class female reader by encouraging her to feel superior. The target audience is that of the middle class woman, so the exaggeration of the impoverished lifestyle of the working class via the presentation of clothing and cramped living quarters, as well as the assumption of incorrect gender roles, behaviours and responsibilities was meant to evoke both ridicule and feelings of eminence. Further, *Myra's* audience usually included women who were young and married, thus the inclusion of older, unattractive women aided in the audience's development of feelings of prestige due to their youth and beauty. These satirical illustrated advertisements validate by means of contrast the ideal lifestyle of the targeted middle class audience.

The dress of the female figures in the illustrations is indicative of the class in which advertisers attempted to place the subject and the fantasy they aimed to create. The clothing of the women illustrated in the advertisements for Salvine Scientific Soap indicates that the characters are wealthy. The women in the March 1892 advertisement wear elaborate evening dresses and are preparing for an evening event (See Figure 24⁸²). A July 1900 Cuticura Soap advertisement depicts a woman golfing. Golf was a newly fashionable and expensive sport for women; it can be assumed that this woman is also wealthy since she is dressed in the appropriate clothing and has the proper sporting equipment (See Figure 13⁸³). An April 1899 and May 1899

81 *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*, January 1898, 4.

82 *Myra's*, March 1892, xiii.

83 *Myra's*, July 1900, 4.

Ivy Soap advertisement depicts what appears to be a nanny or hired female caregiver, judging by her clothing, bathing two children (See Figure 25⁸⁴). These advertisements made the implicit claim that those, who had the wealth to purchase goods and enjoy hired help, purchased and used the advertised product. The fantasy projected by the dress of the characters in the advertisements is that the product enable the user to somehow partake in a higher status and standard of living.

Audience and Advertisers: A Reciprocal Relationship

Women were not active in the preparation of advertisements during *Myra's* publication run, as male advertising agents dominated the field. Despite this, women may have had influence in the field of soap and personal cleanser advertising and promotion. I propose that women may have had a great deal of influence in creating and maintaining the criteria for style, fashion and beauty. For example, women may have helped to maintain the fame of famous beauties such as Lillie Langtry via their continued fascination with the actress and royal mistress; this, in turn, maintained both her status and their perception of her beauty.

Male beauty and the criteria for attractiveness to men and women may have been established by male ideas as to what defined maturity and dominant masculinity, but it must be noted that had women objected strongly to these ideas or had they applied them to their own sex, those criteria and standards for male beauty would have been re-defined. Thus, by accepting and choosing not to challenge the definitions for male beauty, women influenced the appearance of men. These two factors for the definition of male and female were affected by women, and these definitions were strongly represented in the soap advertisements in *Myra's*.

Women's fashionable clothing influenced advertising campaigns, as advertisements try to remain contemporary, and therefore the images of women in illustrated advertisements often sought to portray female images in the most fashionable dress. Fashionable clothing variables and

84 *Myra's*, April 1899, 21 and May 1899, 19.

accessories, such as lace, necklines and trim were determined by women, fashion designers and manufacturers and this was reflected in advertisements. Thus, it is feasible that the images of women and men in late Victorian advertisements may have been influenced by women, at least in part. Soap companies also realized that they could sell beauty via the commodity. They recognised that decisions regarding household purchases were made by women, and that in order for their company to be successful, they needed to adjust their advertising campaigns to appeal to the demands of the female population. Women may have greatly and indirectly affected advertisement's imagery, copy, content and style, despite their not being aware of having such power.

Soap companies utilized beauty to sell their products. By using images of beautiful women, men and children, as well as celebrities and public figures, advertisements conveyed the message that if a product was purchased and used, the consumer would achieve the beauty and ergo the lifestyle that was portrayed in the advertisements. It was in this manner that advertisements influenced the patterns of consumption and induced a type of feedback for advertising campaigns.

Promoting Health and Beauty

The illustrated soap advertisements that appeared in *Myra's* often focus on the health and physical prosperity of its illustrated subjects. Even when advertisements pointedly mention that the attainment of health and well-being is the main objective of the product, personal attractiveness is still an important and intertwined aspect of most of these health-focussed advertisements. Thus, the March 1898 Peerless Erasmic Herb Soap advertisement states that it is "Recommended by the Medical Profession," though its health benefits are not mentioned directly; rather, it contributes to achieving beauty by "Improving and Preserving the

Complexion” (See Figure 27⁸⁵).

Healthy hair is extremely important, as it is an indicator of both health and beauty. *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* published four illustrated soap advertisements that successfully emphasize hair. These advertisements focus on the benefits of soap to hair by way of their copy as well as their illustrations. The products claim to be “the great skin cure” and promise to “cure the scalp” of various afflictions. The language used by these advertisements is emphasises medical or health terminology. Though these advertisements dealt with health, the cosmetic and aesthetic factors are highly valued and are not over-looked. The health of hair is important, but still seems to be made secondary to the importance of the achievement of beauty. The advertisements still attempt to sell the fantasy of health and with that, beauty as well. This presumably is a fantasy that is attainable in short order.

The condition of a Victorian woman's skin also was a variable in which health and beauty intersected. Numerous illustrated soap advertisements that were published in *Myra's* from 1887 to 1906, most of which were from the Cuticura campaign, focussed on skin rashes and skin blemishes, and discussed the importance of the achievement of good health and good skin conditions. The words, “prevent,” “cure,” “preservation,” “treatment” and “relief” are used in these advertisements with the express purpose of drawing connections between skin conditions and medical or health care (See Figure 28,⁸⁶ 29,⁸⁷ 30,⁸⁸ 31,⁸⁹ 32,⁹⁰ 33,⁹¹ 34,⁹² 35,⁹³ 36,⁹⁴ 37,⁹⁵ 38,⁹⁶ 1,⁹⁷

85 *Myra's*, March 1898, 2.

86 *Myra's*, April 1892, i and June 1892, i.

87 *Myra's*, June 1887, 284.

88 *Myra's*, March 1888, 179 and *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion Supplement*, October 1888, unknown.

89 *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*, May 1891, i and June 1891, i.

90 *Myra's*, February 1895, iv.

91 *Myra's*, April 1895, iv.

92 *Myra's*, May 1895, iv, June 1895, iv, July 1895, iv, September 1895, iv, January 1896, iv and October 1896, iv.

93 *Myra's*, November 1895, iv.

94 *Myra's*, April 1896, iv and March 1897, iv.

95 *Myra's*, May 1896, ii and April 1897, iv.

96 *Myra's*, June 1896, iv and May 1897, iv.

97 *Myra's*, July 1896, ii and June 1897, iv.

39,⁹⁸ 27,⁹⁹ 14,¹⁰⁰ 40,¹⁰¹ 23,¹⁰² 2,¹⁰³ 41,¹⁰⁴ 42,¹⁰⁵ 43,¹⁰⁶ 12,¹⁰⁷ 44,¹⁰⁸ 4,¹⁰⁹ 45¹¹⁰). Again as with the advertisements that focus on the health of hair, it is noted that health or medical issues are portrayed to be as important as the achievement of beauty for the women and children. This is made abundantly clear by the use of the word, “disfiguring,” which would usually apply to medical conditions, but is used in these advertisements as pertaining to aesthetics. The advertisements provide and push the attainability of clear and healthy skin and its attendant beauty.

It is worth noting at this point that the respectable Victorian woman was not supposed to use cosmetics, which was deemed the domain of the actress and the prostitute; the issue of naturalness in beauty was central to the Victorians. Many Victorians were somewhat suspicious of cosmetics, which they deemed artificial. Beauty was God-given and was naturally occurring, though soap aided in bringing the hidden luminosity to the surface without altering what was already inherent. One could have beautiful skin and hair, yet not be beautiful, though the advertisements failed to mention that.

The importance of personal physical comfort is also evident, as the terms “itching,” “irritating,” and “torturing” are used in conjunction with illustrations of men, women and children, who have not yet used the product. The advertisements depict both illustrations of people in great discomfort as well as people who do not or are no longer suffering from the skin

98 *Myra's*, January 1897, ii.

99 *Myra's*, March 1898, 2.

100 *Myra's*, August 1897, iv and September 1898, 4.

101 *Myra's*, November 1897, iv and December 1898, 4.

102 *Myra's*, January 1898, 4.

103 *Myra's*, February 1898, 4, February 1899, 4 and March 1899, 4.

104 *Myra's*, April 1898, 4 and May 1899, 4.

105 *Myra's*, July 1898, 4.

106 *Myra's*, June 1900, 4.

107 *Myra's*, August 1900, 4.

108 *Myra's*, October 1900, 4.

109 *Myra's*, January 1901, 4.

110 *Myra's*, November 1906, 45.

discomforts. They offer the prospect of personal physical comfort or relief and promise the audience that should the advertised product be purchased and utilized, all will be well and the discomforts suffered from the use of the home-made or harsh products will disappear.

Implying Wealth and Status

Roland Marchand notes that audiences wanted to see what their life could potentially become were they to purchase and use the advertised products. Therefore, advertisers “gave their products a ‘class image’ by placing them in... ‘upscale’ settings.”¹¹¹ Breward notes that the use of members of the royal family was prevalent in the advertising of many products, as the members of the “royal family were an early and popular means of propagating an ideal of respectable and conservative fashionability.”¹¹² It is unlikely that members of the royal family were asked to give permission for the use of their images in various advertisements. The wealth and status of the characters in the illustrated soap advertisements are portrayed in their clothing, circumstances and surroundings.

The physical state of the body is also indicative of the status and class of the illustrated characters. The illustrated soap advertisements in *Myra's* focus on the fit body of the people in the advertisements, but four of the advertisements specifically display illustrations of hands. These hands are well manicured and appear smooth and soft (See Figure 46¹¹³, 47¹¹⁴). They give the impression that their owners do not experience hard or rough labour. As these hands are not work-roughened, advertising agents are portraying the expectation of a middle or upper class lifestyle, where manual labour was not performed. In addition to selling a Victorian middle class identity to the audience via soap, advertisers and *Myra's* sold ideas about non-middle class life.

¹¹¹ Marchand, xvii.

¹¹² Breward, “Femininity and Consumption: The Problem of the Late Nineteenth-Century Fashion Journal,” 79.

¹¹³ *Myra's*, February 1897, iv.

¹¹⁴ *Myra's*, August 1899, 4.

These advertisements cautioned readers against becoming members of a lower class. Since *Myra's* was attempting to help create and maintain an English middle class, advertisers were not reaching out to a lower economic bracket.

Recruiting Celebrity

The use of celebrity endorsements was extremely common in late Victorian England, where the nineteenth century saw the rise of the “celebrity;” Pears' Soap acquired the endorsement, “I have found it matchless for the hands and complexion” from opera star Adelina Patti as well as the endorsement, “[s]ince using Pears' Soap I have discarded all others” from actress Lillie Langtry for use in the April 1887 advertisement (See Figure 7¹¹⁵). Members of the royal family were often used in many soap advertisements. Both the glamorous and beautiful young queen as well as the aged and matronly sovereign were utilized to sell products. In addition, any company, soap or otherwise, that was issued a Royal Warrant often made sure to publicize that fact, since it was believed that any product that a member of the royal family used would be the best available. On the other hand, some soap companies' advertisements in *Myra's* purposely used “regular people” to show the average consumer that the product was so good that they did not require someone famous to sell it. This is demonstrated in the Cuticura June 1888 advertisement where the 'dull normal', Elizabeth Edwards of Buckingham Road, N. endorsed the product by writing, “[a]llow me to express to you my heartfelt thanks for the good which your CUTICURA REMEDIES have done me” (See Figure 11¹¹⁶). Yet in a manner, this type of endorsement from regular people made them minor celebrities amongst their friends and family.

The fame of public figures can also be attributed to several factors: the talent or infamy of the person and whether or not they are accepted by the public. The public figure is kept famous at

¹¹⁵ *Myra's*, April 1887, 163.

¹¹⁶ *Myra's*, June 1888, 371.

the discretion of the reader. Thus, feminine influence helps to decide whether or not a figure remains in the public eye, as female peers fantasize about becoming them. Figures such as Lillie Langtry, Georgina Weldon and members of the royal family appeared in advertising campaigns (See Figure 7,¹¹⁷ 6,¹¹⁸ 21¹¹⁹). This was in itself a sign that they were accepted and celebrated by the public. Breward notes that the “promotion of actresses as fashionable models” in *Myra's* encouraged “an engagement with a luxurious fantasy... [by] responding to [women's] desires and drawing them into a language of consumption.”¹²⁰ The advertised products implied that should their products be purchased and used, fame and celebrity status could be in some way shared. There was the implication that the user of the products could have other commonalities with the celebrities in addition to the commonality of using the same branded commodity.

Advertisers used history and romanticism in the realm of fantasy to appeal to *Myra's* audiences. Pears' Soap used the image of Queen Charlotte's 1789 visit to the soap-maker in their March 1889 advertisement (See Figure 6¹²¹) to fuel the audience's fantasy of having a brush with royalty or greatness, no matter how small or insignificant. Advertisements used the fantasy of the Queen's lifestyle, role in history and status in order to appeal to *Myra's* audience.

Invoking the Cautionary Fantasy

Beauty and its antithesis are an integral part of advertisements. Subjects are attractively placed and arranged to highlight the best qualities of the product. Conversely, these subjects can also be unattractively situated in order to demonstrate a life without the product. Whether the advertisement features attractive or unattractive people and situations, the goal of the advertisement is to be memorable and eye-catching, since as Roy Church maintains it was during

117 *Myra's*, April 1887, 163.

118 *Myra's*, March 1889, 115.

119 *Myra's*, June 1888, 325.

120 Breward, “Femininity and Consumption: The Problem of the Late Nineteenth-Century Fashion Journal,” 89, 79.

121 *Myra's*, March 1889, 115.

the Victorian period that “the process by which associational images began to take precedence over informational content on utility, price, and quality of a product.”¹²²

Several of the *Myra's* advertisements could be deemed satirical, due to their imagery. Their copy communicates the same message as other advertisements, that is, they offer the much desired fantasy of good health and beauty. However, they were meant to be viewed as fantasies of what one did not wish one's life to become or have to withstand, or the “anti-fantasy.” For example, the November and December 1900 and January and February 1901 Icilma Soap advertisement depict a dark-skinned woman standing at a water fountain, while a Caucasian woman is seated (See Figure 16¹²³). Again, the dark-skinned woman stands slightly behind, while the Caucasian woman stands in the foreground of the illustration, while the copy claims that the product will keep the “skin free from tan, freckles, black points and wrinkles.” In the case of this advertisement, it is clear that to the late Victorians, skin that was tanned or had imperfections was not as desirable as skin that was blemish free. The dark-skinned woman would never be free of her “tan.”

Contributing to the Fantasy

The fantasies that these advertisements broadcast were not simply dreamed up by advertising agents or producers. Rather, the fantasies portrayed in these advertisements were a result of the fantasies already held by women, since advertisers responded to the consumer's demands for fantasy and “wish-fulfilment” in advertisements, as well as their targets and goals, by featuring their aspirations.¹²⁴ Women held hopes, wishes and fantasies in regard to their health, wealth, beauty and attractiveness, fame and celebrity status, and the gender and sexual roles of

122 Roy Church, “Advertising Consumer Goods in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Reinterpretations,” *The Economic History Review* 53: 4 (2000), 640. *Myra's* illustrated advertisements did not contain much information, though the Silkworm's “Spinnings” fulfilled that particular void by providing information on how to use the products and what they contained.

123 *Myra's*, November 1900, 19, December 1900, 19, January 1901, 19 and February 1901, 19.

124 Fowles, 55, 63-80.

their family members. Further, the popularity of certain historical figures and eras had already been decided and it was not solely directed by advertising agents. Late Victorian advertisers researched women's wishes and fantasies in order to create advertisements that would effectively target their audience. Graham notes that “values were chosen in a calculation to sell goods,” as

[a]dvertising which reflected values found in only a small segment of Victorian society, or advertising which offended the majority of Briton, was shunned or abandoned, not merely because it offended, but because offending consumers depresses sales. The advertising of the period seems to confirm and reflect the values and beliefs of the period, which were most firmly rooted in the dominant middle classes.¹²⁵

The fantasy of family members' good health was very likely one in which the hopes and wishes of Victorian women and mothers was heavily unveiled. The health of the head of the household was of the utmost importance, since he was the primary wage earner; without him, the household would fall into poverty. A woman's or the children's financial contributions would have been minimal and seen as secondary income. Despite their low economic contribution to the middle class household, the health of children was important, since children were valued for emotional, future economic and social considerations.

Wealth and status fantasies were also influenced by women, since they were often the first to display and benefit from the increased wealth and status of a middle class family. A sign of Victorian middle class status was the ability of the male to provide adequately for the females under his care; this meant the ability to provide adequate dress and housing. Increased wealth and higher social status were beneficial to women because it resulted in better diets and housing. In turn, increased wealth and social status could result in happiness.

Beauty and its criteria were largely established and maintained by women, who then hoped to achieve these high standards and lofty goals for beauty. Women created the ideals in

¹²⁵ Graham, 148-9.

regard to male beauty and dreamed of their own creations. This was to some degree, a feedback loop, as women established beauty standards, which were presented by advertisers and editors, encouraging women to fantasize about achieving them. Women created these aspirations, but illustrated soap advertisements captured, refined and projected these hopes back toward women in an attempt to help create a middle class consciousness. This was also the case with sex and gender role fantasies. Society and women already held ideas in regard to proper male, female and children's appearances and acceptable behaviours. Advertisers acknowledged the fantasies and wishes of women and interpreted them through various advertisements and illustrations.

Influencing the Concept of Beauty

The concept of beauty was largely influenced, if not made, by the late Victorian public and women, though advertisers and advertisements also held a very large role in the creation and maintenance of the criteria for beauty. Women and advertising agencies influenced and affected each other in what became a reciprocal pattern, though the influence and power that women exerted was not conventionally recognized. Victorian women did not hold a large role in the active creation and sale of advertising space and concepts, but despite a lack of direct influence, women's ideas were highly regarded and often utilized in the highly competitive male-dominated world of advertising.

The illustrated soap advertisements that appear in *Myra's* did not serve as simply another item for Victorians to read or look at. These advertisements were a way for women to indulge in their own fantasies, wishes and dreams, albeit in some instances, in an almost voyeuristic style. At the same time, these advertisements fuelled women's fantasies by way of their sometimes unexpected and titillating illustrations.

The importance placed on information collected from consumer groups demonstrated the

influence of women in a society and culture where women were not previously noted to have much influence. Women held aspirations that they communicated to advertising agents via letters to the company and through the purchase of the advertised product, and advertising agents used reader-produced fantasies to appeal to and entice more female readers of *Myra's*.¹²⁶ Fantasy and wish fulfilment in advertisements were established and maintained by women, were absorbed by companies and advertising agents, and were ultimately then aimed at these same women who helped to create these fantasies. The fact that late Victorian women held fantasies and desires demonstrates that they were not without imagination and that they were not the shrinking violets that some may have believed.

The fantasy and wish fulfilment presented by these illustrated soap advertisements also served another purpose. These advertisements sold a lifestyle that included ideas about health, wealth, beauty, fame, sexual and gender roles, race and the acceptance of fantastical and romantic fantasies. The target audience of these advertisements and fantasies were the female readers of *Myra's*, though the advertisements' influence did not end there. Late Victorian women may have been influenced by the fantasies depicted in *Myra's* illustrated soap advertisements but perhaps they also went on to influence the men in their lives by way of their purchases.

These soap advertisements gave their readership something to which they could aspire and in purchasing the product, they also bought into the ideas behind the product. In this case, the ideas behind the product were beauty and respectable middle class fantasies and lifestyles. This purchase not only confirmed the idea that “if I purchase this product I will be beautiful” or, “if I purchase this product I will live the fantasy depicted;” the purchase of the product confirmed to

126 Silkworm mentioned instances where she received letters from her readers: “I am indeed pleased at receiving such grateful letters from readers who are as pleased as myself with Brecknell's skin soap....” Silkworm, March 1885, 121. She also makes note of cases where the “editress” of the journal, “Myra,” would relay information, questions and concerns from letters written and sent in by the readership: “[s]ome years since American ladies have again and again remarked to Madame Myra, ‘There is no pleasure in store shopping, but here in England shopping is an enjoyment.’” Silkworm, May 1886, 223.

the company, the advertiser, and greater society that the ideas being sold by *Myra's* were valid and valued. *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* was a method of providing escape to the reader. Breward states that “[f]or the 3d price of a journal, women bought the opportunity to peruse a fantasy world which released them from the immediate pressures of home.”¹²⁷ Further, women learned through advertisements to consume middle class ideals and virtues, all for the price of a bar of soap.

¹²⁷ Breward, “Femininity and Consumption: The Problem of the Late Nineteenth-Century Fashion Journal,” 87.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

Late Victorian women likely aspired to the advertised standards of beauty and the fantasies that they helped to create and maintain. They consumed products and/or ideas about beauty, identifying middle class behaviours, ideas and beliefs that the advertisers and editors of *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* deemed they should consume.

The increased commodity consumption in the nineteenth century allowed late Victorian women to appropriate several activities that were previously meant for their male contemporaries, just as men were assuming behaviours that were previously deemed female.¹ The consumption of commodities and goods emphasized late Victorian women's role and place in society as spenders of the household purse. Women derived power from the domestic sphere by controlling what was brought into the house, and they found pleasure in the consumption of goods because of the power it afforded them in a significant sector of the public economy.²

Respectability commanded status, both economic and social. Late Victorian women tended to be most concerned about the achievement and appearance of proper behaviour, since it was largely due to their efforts that their families were able to achieve higher status. Respectability and cleanliness were often synonymous in this late Victorian world, and one invariably implied the other. Cleanliness was a particular a preoccupation of the middle and upper classes, but it was also one in which the upwardly aspiring "respectable" working class was also increasingly invested. This group drew many of its ideas of what constituted respectability from

1 Horowitz, 8.

2 Horowitz, 8.

the the experience of those young working class girls who became servants in middle class homes. It is safe to assume that a proportion of these workers looked to their mistresses' copies of *Myra's*.

On one level, this was a revival of the old, as Greek and Roman practices, including ideas of bathing, were greatly admired by the late Victorians. On another level, cleanliness took on English Protestant connotations, especially in the oft-repeated maxim on that-which-is-next-to-Godliness. In this milieu, the commodity of soap came to take on a peculiar importance to the English Victorians. Soap and the consumption of that commodity heralded more than the absence of dirt and grime, or the ability of the middle class to be able to afford the product. It served a dual purpose, providing both status from the purchase of the product and status from the use of it, which was publicly noticeable.

Women, advertising and consumption have been studied together, often with the assumption or basis that women were the sole consumers of goods, and that men had little, if any, direct influence on the choices of household matters. There has been a pervading idea that advertisements, which were mostly in the business sphere of men, influenced women's actions. There has also been a lack of scholarly historical work that addresses whether late Victorian women influenced, either directly or indirectly, the patterns of advertising. Most earlier academic works on advertisements and advertising during the late Victorian era focus on the business aspect of advertising, and the roles men played in producing and promoting those advertisements. Later scholarly works, especially those written and published in the mid to late twentieth century, on women and advertising, note the profound effect of advertisements on women and their patterns of consumption. By examining a journal that has received little previous attention, this study suggests that it is possible that late Victorian women affected advertising through a

reciprocal relationship with the editor in her persona of the Silkworm. The Silkworm addressed and advised her readers as consumers and her comments suggest that her readers responded.

The confines of this study limited the scrutiny of *Myra's* to a limited area of its editorial content and advertisements due to the constraints of space and time. An examination of its treatment, including advertising of other consumable goods, such as food or medicines, or material goods, such as clothing, would have provided an even more complete portrait of late Victorian middle class society. An examination of the journal's articles and columns could have completed that exploration in order to more fully answer the questions surrounding what late Victorian women wanted, what was provided to them, and how these desires met in an age where wants and needs were gaining more distinction and differentiation. However, I believe that this initial examination of a journal which has been so seldom studied, but which was so significant to its readers, manufacturers and retailers, has added to the discourse on middle class late Victorian women and the society in which they existed.

The illustrated advertisements used in this study were chosen due to their enticing visual appeal, despite their initially comparatively primitive appearance. The progression of artistry, which is evident even to this untrained eye, and the consensus or disagreements between the messages in the illustrated soap advertisements to what is generally accepted as true of late Victorian society were immediate lures. The adage, "A picture is worth a thousand words" was never more true than in this instance. When the editorials were examined, it raised questions of whether or not there was any possible conflicts of interest or questioning of impartiality (as there would be now), though there is no method of determining if there were. Further scrutiny of the Silkworm's writings on her family and her boys in the monthly column, combined with a greater knowledge of her familial relationships, raised questions of how much and whether or not the

editor and publisher of *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* conformed to the very ideas they promoted and supposedly represented to their readers. The analysis of the two different types of advertisements offers another view on women's consumption and the different means by which advertisers appealed to readers by constructing them as people who desired to be known by varying characteristics. This is a journal that is unique in giving the scholar an identifiable editor who projects her personality consciously, speaks in her own voice, addresses her readers one on one, exercises her authority in providing examples to her readers as a person of authority and functioned as a professional platform for Myra and other women.

During the late Victorian era, soap companies and advertisers emphasized that soap should be considered an “essential luxury” and its regular use constituted a social expectation. The overarching associations with cleanliness were intrinsic to the commodity itself, but its connections with internal purity, not to mention broader notions of gender, and imperial and economic advantage, were not as obvious. Rather, these ideas formed part of a constructed message and reflected the ideals and priorities of the time. Ultimately, the advertisements and advertorials in *Myra's* were not just selling a good. They were promoting a standard of beauty heavily influenced by gender expectations, class aspirations and imperial complacency. This particular version of “quiet domestic bliss” was very specific to the social geography and atmosphere of the time in which it was created, even if its creators did not always reflect the high moral standards they presented.

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Cuticura

For the

HAIR and
SKIN



A warm shampoo with CUTICURA SOAP, followed by gentle applications of CUTICURA (ointment), the great skin cure, will clear the scalp of crusts, scales, and dandruff, allay itching, soothe irritation, stimulate the hair follicles, and produce a clean, healthy scalp and luxuriant hair, when all else fails.

Sold throughout the world. Sole U.S. depot, F. Newman & Sons, 1, King Edward-st., London, E. C. 4. Agents, JACO and CAROLINE CAROLAN, Sole Proprietors, Boston, U. S. A.

Figure 1: "Cuticura For the HAIR and SKIN"

CUTICURA

FOR THE

HAIR



LUXURIANT LUSTROUS HAIR

With clean, wholesome scalp, free from itching, bleeding, and scaly eruptions, provided by warm showers with Cuticura Soap, and frequent dressings with Cuticura, greatest of scalp-boots and purers of skin cures. This treatment clears the scalp and hair of crusts, scales, and dandruff; soothes irritated and itching surfaces; stimulates the hair follicles, nourishes the roots and makes the hair thick, soft, and glossy.

Sold throughout the world. Mailed, except U. S. Dispensary & Sons, London, Parry, Harris and Co., Ltd., 100, Pall Mall, London, W. 1. U. S. Dispensary & Sons, 100, Pall Mall, London, W. 1. U. S. Dispensary & Sons, 100, Pall Mall, London, W. 1.

Figure 2: "CUTICURA FOR THE HAIR; LUXURIANT LUSTROUS HAIR"



Make Your Hair Grow

With warm shampoos of CUTICURA SOAP and light dressings of CUTICURA, pursuit of emollient skin cares. This treatment at once stops falling hair, removes crusts, scales, and dandruff, soothes irritated, itching surfaces, stimulates the hair follicles, supplies the roots with energy and nourishment, and makes the hair grow when all else fails.

CUTICURA SOAP is not only the most effective of skin purifiers and beautifiers but the purest and sweetest of toilet, bath, and baby soaps.

Sold everywhere in the world. London agents: E. J. Newman & Sons, Limited. French agents: G. Noye, Paris.

Figure 3: "Make Your Hair Grow"



Falling Hair

Prevented by Warm Shampoos of CUTICURA SOAP, followed by light dressings of CUTICURA, purest of emollient Skin Cures. This treatment at once stops falling hair, clears the scalp of crusts, scales, and dandruff, soothes irritated, itching surfaces, stimulates the hair follicles, supplies the roots with energy and nourishment, and makes the hair grow on a clean, wholesome scalp, when all else fails.

Cuticura Complete External and Internal Treatment for Every Humour, consisting of CUTICURA SOAP (2s.), to cleanse the skin of crusts and scales and soften the thickened cuticle, CUTICURA PREPARATION (2s. 6d.), to instantly allay itching, irritation, and inflammation, and soothe and heal, and CUTICURA RESOLVENT (4s. 6d.), to cool and cleanse the blood. A SINGLE SET is often sufficient to cure the severest humours, when all other remedies fail. Sold throughout the world. Prepared by F. NEWBERRY & SONS, 57 CHANCERY LANE, LONDON, E.C. "All About the Skin, Scalp, and Hair," post free. POTTER DYES AND CHEM. CO., Sole Props., CUTICURA EXHIBITS.

Figure 4: "Falling Hair"

The Latest Development in the Art of Soapmaking!

IVY SOAP

QUEEN OF LAUNDRY
AND
HOUSEHOLD SOAPS.

FLOATS ON WATER.

is entirely NEW SOAP of Guaranteed Purity,
composed of the very Best Materials.

Ladies will find this Soap especially adapted for Washing
Linen, Infants' Clothing, Silk Hosiery, Cleaning Gloves, and all
articles of fine texture and delicate colour, and for the
varied uses about the house that daily arise requiring
the use of Soap that is above the ordinary and
common Yellow Household Soaps.

Many of the skin diseases arise from the
colouring matter and impure materials used
in Soap. The whiteness of the "IVY" is
a perfect guarantee of its Purity, and
the pure materials used in it, being
cooling and healing in their effect,
leave the skin soft, smooth, and
healthy.

SOLD EVERYWHERE.

41 per Cake.



Figure 5: "The Latest Development in the Art of Soapmaking!"

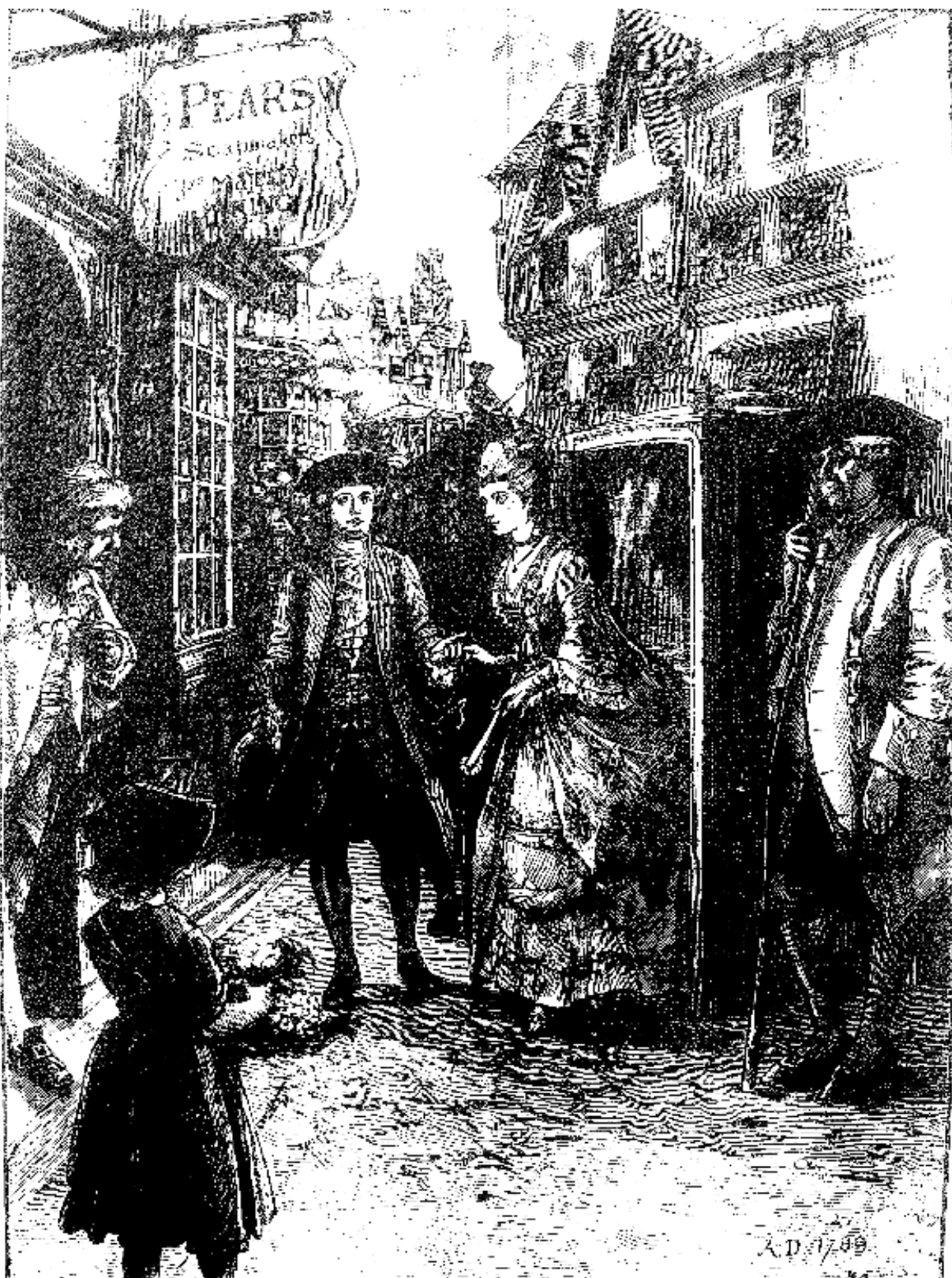


Figure 6: "PEARS Soapmakers to Hys Majesty ye King; A.D. 1789"

Pears' Soap

*I have found
it matchless for the
hands and complexion.*

Lucy Patten

*Since using Pears'
Soap I have discarded
all others.*

Ellie Langtry

*For preserving the Complexion, keeping the skin soft,
free from redness and roughness, and the hands in
nice condition, it is the finest Soap in the world.*

M. Fortescue

Figure 7: "Pears' Soap"

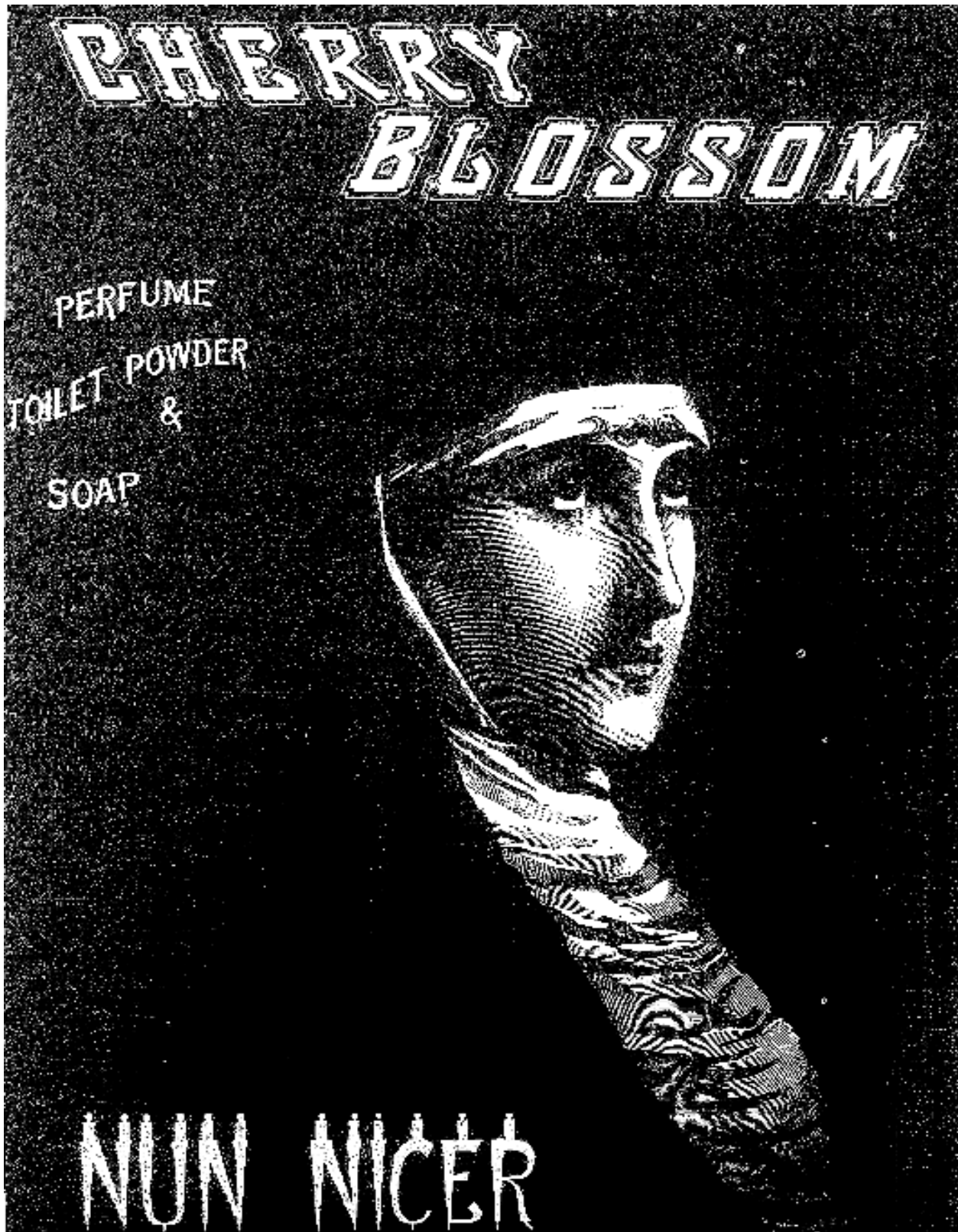


Figure 8: "Cherry Blossom"



Figure 9: "PEARS' SOAP; a Specialty for Children"



A Skin Without Blemish.

Everywhere a network of sudorific ducts, veins, and pores, the skin constantly renews itself, and not only with its ceaseless desquamation, but with its natural functional action, eliminates all waste, accumulation, and disease. Hence, a skin without blemish means more than beauty; it means health.

CUTICURA, the great skin cure, and **CUTICURA SOAP**, an exquisite skin beautifier, prepared from it, externally, and **CUTICURA RESOLVENT**, the new blood purifier, internally, cure every species of torturing, disfiguring, itching, scaling, and pimply diseases of the skin, scalp, and blood, with loss of hair from pimples to scrofula.

My wife has been suffering from chronic eczema for two years. After we took advice from our local doctors, then she went to one in one of the Skin Hospitals, and at last, being nearly "done up," she went to one of the most eminent physicians, but all in vain. She then determined to try the **CUTICURA REMEDIES**, and in one week after taking them she was able to walk and attend to her regular duties as lady of the house, and after the second week, I must say, there was no sign of eczema to be seen.

W. F. W.

Full address of Messrs. Newbery.

Sold by all chemists. Price: **CUTICURA**, 2s. 6d.; **RESOLVENT**, 2s. 6d.; **SOAP**, 1s.; or a set of the three preparations post free for 2s. 6d., of P. NEWBERRY & SONS, 7, King Edward Street, Newgate Street, London, E.C.

BABY'S Skin, scalp and hair preserved and beautified by the use of **CUTICURA SOAP**.

Allow me to express to you my heartfelt thanks for the good which your **CUTICURA REMEDIES** have done me. I have suffered for the past three years of seasons of the hands and arms, and have endured a great amount of suffering, and expended untold sums of money on doctors, attending various skin hospitals, and seen on remedies of one kind or another, but all to no purpose, as my arms got worse instead of better; in fact, they were perfectly insensible to relief. At last I was persuaded by a lady friend of mine to try the **CUTICURA REMEDIES**, and after using these preparations the disease disappeared like magic. **ELIZABETH EDWARDS**,
Buckingham Road, N.

When I wrote you last year I was suffering with a very bad leg. It was swollen to more than twice its natural size, and broke out in four great sores, attended with most intense itching. Added to this, I had most dreadful attacks of sick headache. All my friends thought my work was done, when seeing **CUTICURA REMEDIES** advertised, I procured a set, which, I can thankfully say, quite cured my leg, and I have never had a sick headache since. Indeed, I was never better in my life than I am now. You are at liberty to make what use you like of this letter.

ELIZA PAYNE, Nurse,
Canton, Portland.

Prepared by the **POTTER DRUG AND CHEMICAL CO.**, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. Send to Messrs. Newbery for "How to Cure Skin Diseases," 64 pages, 50 illustrations, and ten testimonials.

PIMPLES, blackheads, red, rough, scaly and oily skin prevented by **CUTICURA SOAP**.

Figure 11: "A Skin Without Blemish."

Cuticura SOAP

Before Using
**CUTICURA
SOAP**

After Using
**CUTICURA
SOAP**

To Prevent Facial Blemishes

Pimples, blotches, blackheads, yellow, mothy, oily skin, rashes, irritations and redness, red, rough hands, itching palms, shapeless nails, and painful finger ends, dry, thin, and falling hair, with itching, soaly scalp, and simple baby rashes and irritations, no agency in the world so pure, so sweet, so speedily effective as CUTICURA SOAP, greatest of skin purifying and beautifying soaps. It is so because it removes the universal cause, viz., the clogged, irritated, indamed, and sluggish condition of the Pores.

Sold throughout the world. - POTTER, DRUG AND CHEM. CO.,
50 N. Hope, Boston, U. S. A. - Branch depot: F.
NEWBURY & SONS, London. "How to
Have Beautiful Skin, Nails,
and Hair," free.

Cuticura SOAP

Figure 12:” Cuticura SOAP; Cuticura SOAP”



FOR GOLF RASH

Heat Rash or any itching, irritation, inflammation, or chafing, produced by exercise or heat, for undue or offensive perspiration, and for many sanative uses, a bath with

Cuticura SOAP

the most effective skin purifying soap in the world, as well as purest and sweetest for toilet, bath, and nursery, when followed by gentle anointings with CUTICURA, the great skin cure and purest of emollients, is most cleansing, cooling, purifying, and refreshing.

SAVE YOUR HAIR

Warm shampoo with CUTICURA SOAP, followed by light dressings with CUTICURA, purest of emollients, will clear the scalp and hair of crusts, scales, and dandruff, soothe irritated and itching surfaces, stimulate the hair follicles, and produce luxuriant, lustrous hair, with clean, wholesome scalp, when all else fails.

Sold throughout the world. British depot: F. NORTON & SONS, London. French depot: L. KURY, Paris. Australian depot: R. TOWN & CO., Sydney. POWELL & COY., Melbourne. Sole Agents, U.S.A.

SAVE YOUR HANDS

Baths and soaks the hands, on resting, in a strong, hot, creamy lather of CUTICURA SOAP. Dry thoroughly, and anoint freely with CUTICURA, greatest of emollient skin cures. Wear during the night, old, loose, bid gloves. For sore hands, itching palms, and shapeless nails, the treatment is simply wonderful.

Figure 13: "FOR GOLF RASH"



Whispering in Beauty's Ear

The secret of preserving, purifying, and beautifying the skin, scalp, and hair to be found only in CUTICURA SOAP, greatest of skin purifying and beautifying soaps, as well as purest and sweetest for toilet, bath, and nursery. The only preventive of unsightly blemishes, red, rough hands, and falling hair, because the only preventive of inflammation and clogging of the PORES

Sold throughout the world. Wholesale: FRANKS, NEWBURY & SONS, 1, King Edward-st., London. Foreign Distributors: FRANKS, NEWBURY & SONS, 1, King Edward-st., London. U.S.A. Sold to Misses, Newbury & Sons, "The Fair, Soft, and Hair," a book of 64 pages, fully illustrated, with complete directions and treatment, post free.

Figure 14: "Whispering in Beauty's Ear"

It is well known to the medical faculty that the majority of Skin Diseases are caused, and the complexion ruined, by the use of impure and irritating soaps. The most delicate the skin, the quicker its ruin.

The Albion Milk & Sulphur Soap is the purest, the mildest, and most efficacious of all the many Toilet Soaps before the public. It is a combination of the two articles having a softening action on the skin, the milk gives suppleness and softness, the sulphur purification.

Unequalled for the Complexion. Invaluable for Children. Delicately Perfumed.

"RAYNOLD'S HERALD," LONDON, 1887.—"For 50 years I have tried all the various soaps that have been recommended, and I candidly state that the Albion Milk and Sulphur Soap has no equal." J. W. GILCHRIST, Esq., F.R.C.S., Late Surgeon to Her Majesty's Royal Army Hospital.

Recommended by the entire Medical Profession.

Sold in Tablets by all Chemists and Perfumers.

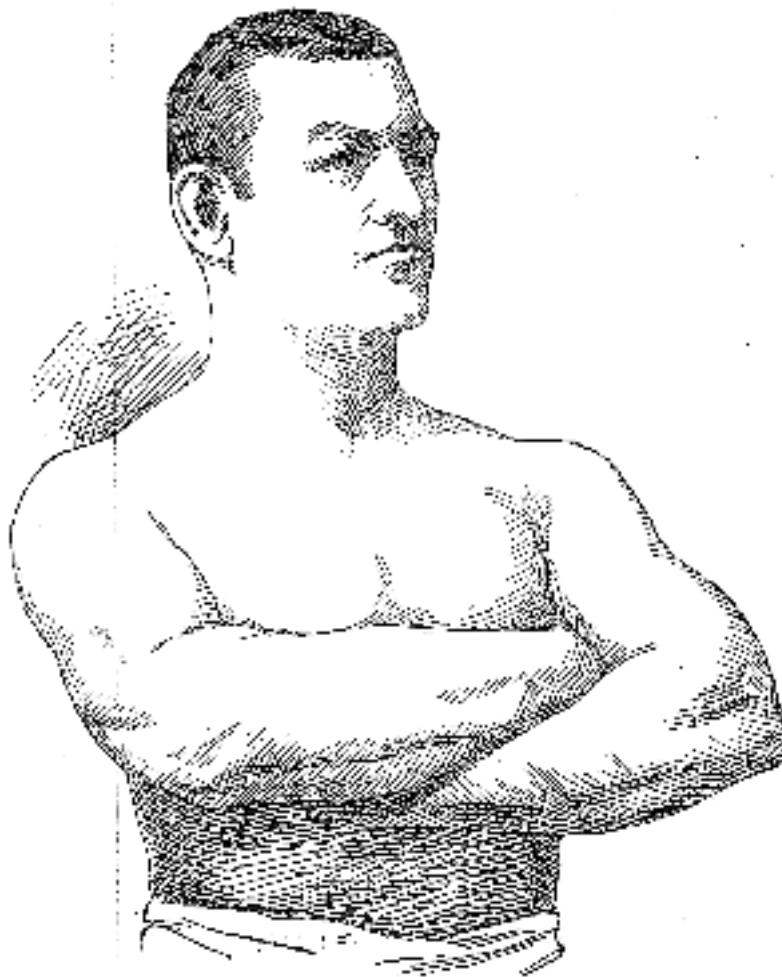
THE PUREST OF ALL SOAPS.

[illegible]



<p>Softens Hard Water.</p> <p>LUX Is made of pure, refined ingredients, and is the best soap for hard water.</p> <p>LUX Does not irritate the skin, and is the best soap for the face.</p> <p>LUX Does not irritate the skin, and is the best soap for the face.</p>	<p>L U X</p> <p>WHAT FOLKS SAY:</p> <p>"LUX softens readily, is convenient to use, and makes our water, which is very hard, as soft as rain water."</p> <p>"LUX imparts a softness and a pleasant feeling to the hands."</p> <p>"The cleansing quality of LUX is remarkable, making hard water seem as soft as rain water."</p> <p>LEON BROTHERS, LIMITED Sole Manufacturers, London.</p>	<p>Soothes the Skin.</p> <p>"To soothe the sensitive skin, and to prevent the 'stinging' and 'burning' of the skin."</p> <p>"To soothe the skin, and to prevent the 'stinging' and 'burning' of the skin."</p>
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Figure 17: "Softens Hard Water. LUX Soothes the Skin."



Manly purity and beauty are inseparably associated with CUTICURA, the world's greatest blood purifier and skin beautifier.

Sold throughout the world. Sole U.S. Agents, J. C. Kennerly & Sons, 11 King Street, London. Wholesale and Retail, U.S.A. "Give to Puffy Mr. Blood and Hearty the Skin." put this.

Figure 18: "Manly purity and beauty are inseparably associated with CUTICURA, the world's greatest blood purifier and skin beautifier."

MRS GEORGINA WELDON

WRITES:
"24 MAY 1887

"I am

50
to-day

"but thanks to

Pears' Soap

My COMPLEXION is only 17."

Figure 19: "MRS GEORGINA WELDON WRITES: '24 MAY 1887 'I am 50 to-day 'but, thanks to Pears' Soap My COMPLEXION is only 17.'"



Figure 20: 'Pears' Soap'

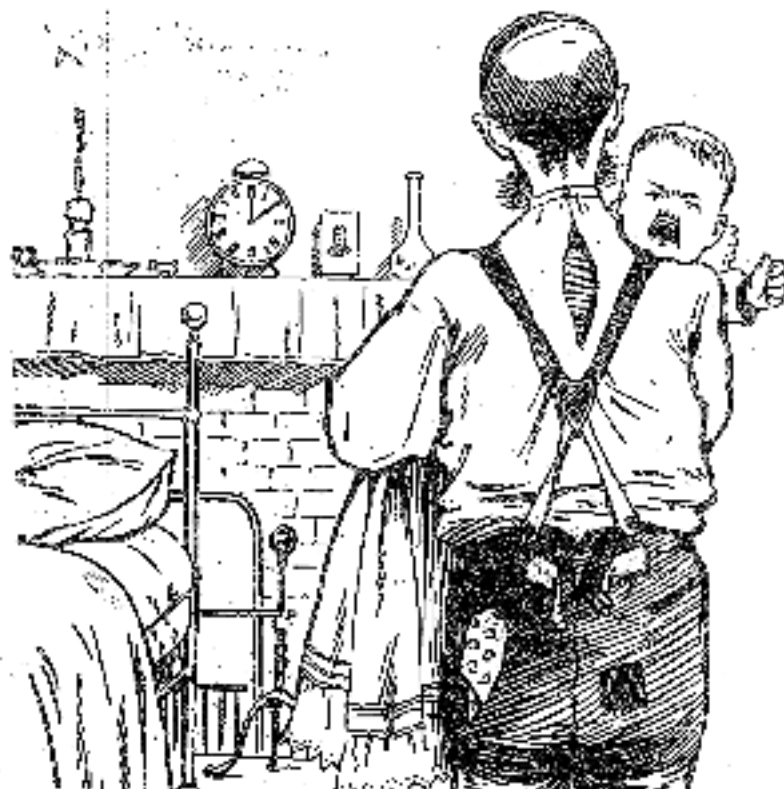
NO simple, no blackheads, no rough, obtained, or oily skin! CUTANOURA MEDICATED SOAP is your

Send stamp to Messrs. Netherby for "How to Cure Skin Diseases," 54 pages, 500 diseases, 100 treat-ments, and 30 illustrations.

CUTICURA MEDICATED SOAP realizes the finest complexion and softest, whitest hands.



Figure 22: "Pears' Soap Makes the Hands white and fair, the Complexion bright and clear, and the Skin soft and smooth as velvet."



INSTANT RELIEF FOR SKIN-TORTURED BABIES

and rest for tired, worn-out parents in a warm bath with CURICURA Soap, and a gentle anointing with CURICURA, the great skin cure.

The only speedy, safe, permanent, and economical cure for the most distressing of itching, burning, bleeding, and scaly skin and scalp humours of infants and children. CURICURA REMEDIES are guaranteed absolutely pure by chemists of the highest standing, and may be used from the moment of birth.

Sold throughout the world. British agent: F. H. K. & Co., Ltd., London. Foreign agent: J. H. K. & Co., Ltd., London. U.S.A. agent: J. H. K. & Co., Ltd., New York.

BABY SOAPS

For soothing, purifying, and beautifying the skin, scalp, and hair of infants, and eradicating the first symptoms of distressing rashes, nothing so pure, so gentle, so wholesome, as CURICURA Soap, the greatest of skin-soothing and beautifying preparations with its purest and most delicate perfume. For itching, bleeding, and scaly skin, CURICURA Soap, the greatest of skin-soothing and beautifying preparations with its purest and most delicate perfume. It is simply indispensable. It produces the whitest, smoothest skin, the softest hair, and most luxuriant hair. Absolutely pure, deliciously perfumed, exquisitely protected, compellingly effective.

Figure 23: "INSTANT RELIEF FOR SKIN-TORTURED BABIES"



“Salvine” Scientific Soap

AN IDEAL TOILET SOAP.

FOR DELICATE SKINS—THE TONIC, NURSERY, AND BATH.

Carbolic Acid Green. Essential Soothing. Shave. A Natural Lubricant. Does not dry the skin and hair.

SUPER-FATTED. DEALKALISED. DE-HYDRATED.

SALVINE Scientific SOAP differs from all other soaps in that it is not only a gentle cleanser, but it is also a tonic, a nursery, and a bath. It is the only soap that is so perfectly adapted for the skin and hair. It is the only soap that is so perfectly adapted for the skin and hair.

SALVINE Scientific SOAP is the only soap that is so perfectly adapted for the skin and hair. It is the only soap that is so perfectly adapted for the skin and hair. It is the only soap that is so perfectly adapted for the skin and hair.

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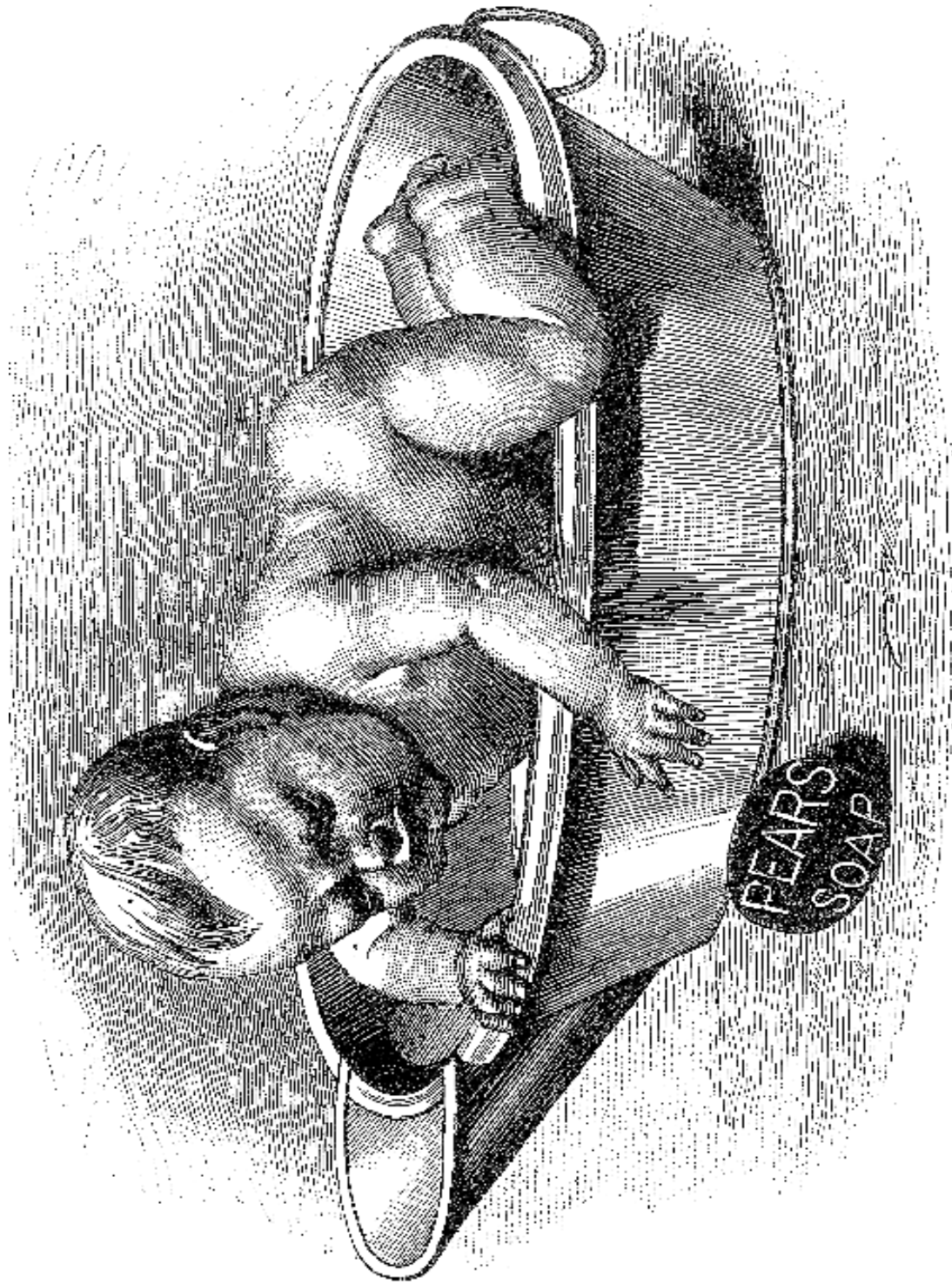
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SALVINE Scientific SOAP is the only soap that is so perfectly adapted for the skin and hair. It is the only soap that is so perfectly adapted for the skin and hair. It is the only soap that is so perfectly adapted for the skin and hair.

Figure 24: “SALVINE' SCIENTIFIC SOAP”



Figure 25: "IVY Soap IT FLOATS. A Pure White Soap"



He won't be happy 'till he gets it!

Figure 26: "He won't be happy 'till he gets it!"

PEERLESS ERASMIC HERB SOAP

RECOMMENDED
BY THE
MEDICAL PROFESSION
FOR
IMPROVING & PRESERVING THE
COMPLEXION



Figure 27: "PEERLESS ERASMIC HERB SOAP"



Figure 28: "PEARS' SOAP; A SPECIALTY FOR INFANTS"

HIGHEST AWARDS EVERYWHERE.

London, Paris, Boston, Philadelphia, Santiago,
Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, Edinburgh, &c.

Pears' Soap.

FOR
TOILET and
NURSERY.

pecially prepared for the delicate skin of Ladies and Children,
and others sensitive to weather, winter or summer. REDNESS,
ROUGHNESS and CHAPPING prevented.

**FAIR WHITE HANDS,
BRIGHT CLEAR COMPLEXION,
SOFT HEALTHFUL SKIN.**

ADELINA PATTI writes:

"I have found it matchless for the hands and complexion."

(Signed) ADELINA PATTI.

MRS. LANGTRY writes:

"I have much pleasure in stating that I have used your Soap for
some time, and prefer it to any other."


(Signed) MRS. LANGTRY.



PEARS' SOAP

IS SOLD EVERYWHERE, in Tablets at 1s. each. Larger sizes 1s. 6d. and 2s. 6d. The 1s. 6d. Tablet is
perfumed with One of Roses. A smaller Tablet (concentrated) is sold at 6d. but **INSIST** on having **PEARS'**, as
wily injurious imitations are often substituted for extra gain.

Figure 31: "HIGHEST AWARDS EVERYWHERE."



Distressing
Irritations
of the
SKIN
Instantly
Relieved
by
CUTICURA

Distressing irritations, itching and scaly skin and scalp diseases, torturing and disfiguring humours are speedily cured by **CUTICURA REMEDIES**. The cures daily effected by them are simply wonderful. No other remedies are so pure, sweet, gentle, speedy, and effective. They are beyond all doubt the greatest skin cures, blood purifiers, and humour remedies of modern times, and especially appeal to mothers and children. Their use preserves, purifies, and beautifies the skin, and restores the hair when physicians, hospitals, and all other methods fail.

Sold throughout the world. Price, **CUTICURA**, 25¢ per lb.; **SOAPS**, 25¢ per box; **RESOLVENT**, 25¢ per lb.
S. S. NEWELL & SONS, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

Figure 32: “Distressing Irritations of the SKIN Instantly Relieved by CUTICURA”

From the
Moment
of Birth use
CUTICURA
SOAP



It is not only
the purest, sweetest,
and most refreshing
of nursery and toilet soaps,
but it contains delicate emollient properties, which purify and
beautify the skin, and prevent skin blemishes, whether simple
or hereditary, from becoming life long afflictions.


Mothers
Mothers

To know that a single application of the Cuticura Soap will afford
instant relief, relieve red and sore, and point to a speedy and complete
cure of itching, disfiguring, itching, burning, and scaly humors, and
not to use them without a moment's delay, is to fulfill your duty. Cuti-
cura is an efficient and gentle, economical, and permanent.

Sold throughout the world. Price, Cuticura, one penny; Soap, one penny; Rosewater, six pence.
F. H. M. & Co., 101, Regent Street, New York, U.S.A.
40- A. and B. Baby's Skin, Soap, and Hair, mailed free to any address.

Figure 33: "From the Moment of Birth use CUTICURA SOAP"

IRRITATING SKIN DISEASES



Instantly Relieved by CUTICURA

A warm bath with **CUTICURA SOAP**, and a single application of **CUTICURA**, the great skin cure, will afford instant relief, permit rest and sleep, and point to a speedy, economical, and permanent cure of the most distressing of itching, burning, bleeding, scaly, and crusted skin and scalp diseases, after physicians, hospitals, and all other methods fail. **CUTICURA WORKS WONDERS**, and its cures of torturing, disfiguring, humiliating humours are the most wonderful ever recorded in this or any age.

See "All about the Itchy, Bumpy, Scaly, and Hairy" condition. **CUTICURA** Remedies are sold all over the world. Price: **CUTICURA**, 25c; **SOAP**, 10c. Prepared by **DR. J. C. WOOD**, 11 King Edward St., Birmingham, London, E.C. 4.

Women and Women Only

As most women are fully acquainted with the purity, softness, and delicacy of **Cuticura Soap**, and to discover more uses for it. In the preparation of emollient and soothing solutions, for the annoying irritations, chafings, and excoriations of the skin and mucous membranes, or for the most offensive eruptions, it has proved most useful and comforting. In all cases of the skin, at once, the **Cuticura Soap** appears to be relief and comforted every where, as the most effective and soothing and beautifying ever in the world, as well as purest and sweetest for use.

Figure 34: "IRRITATING SKIN DISEASES Instantly Relieved by CUTICURA"



**TORTURING
DISFIGURING
SKIN DISEASES**
Instantly Relieved
And Speedily Cured
By **CUTICURA**

To cleanse the blood, skin, and scalp of every eruption, impurity, and disease, no agency in the world of medicine can for a moment be compared to the CUTICURA REMEDIES, the greatest of skin cures, blood purifiers, and humour remedies. They afford immediate relief in most torturing and disfiguring of itching and burning eczemas, and other itching, scaly, and crusted skin and scalp diseases. They speedily cure humours of the blood and skin, whether simple scrofulous, hereditary, or ulcerative. They prevent inflammation and clogging of the pores, the cause of pimples, blackheads, baby blotches, and falling hair. In a word they cleanse the blood and skin of every humour, purify and beautify the skin and hair, and constitute the most effective treatment of modern times.

Sold throughout the world. Price, Cuticura, one shilling; Soap, sixpence; or three shillings for a box of Cuticura and Soap. E. N. S. & Co., 11, King Street, London, E.C. 4.

For All Aches and Pains, Itch, Scalds, and Burns, to which, and to the Hair, it is applied.

Figure 35: "TORTURING DISFIGURING SKIN DISEASES Instantly Relieved And Speedily Cured By CUTICURA"



Because the only preventive of clogging, inflammation, and irritation of the pores, the CAUSE of pimples, blackheads, blotches, rough, red, oily skin, baby blemishes and falling hair

* N. B. CUTICURA SOAP is not only the most effective skin purifying and beautifying soap in the world, but the purest and sweetest for toilet, bath, and laundry.

Sole purveyor, the largest stock of all other skin and complexion soaps, both foreign and domestic, sold throughout the world. Retail dealers: F. Schuyler & Son, Ltd., King Edward-st., London, E. C. 4. Thomas Hays and Co., Ltd., 20, Regent-st., London, W. 1.

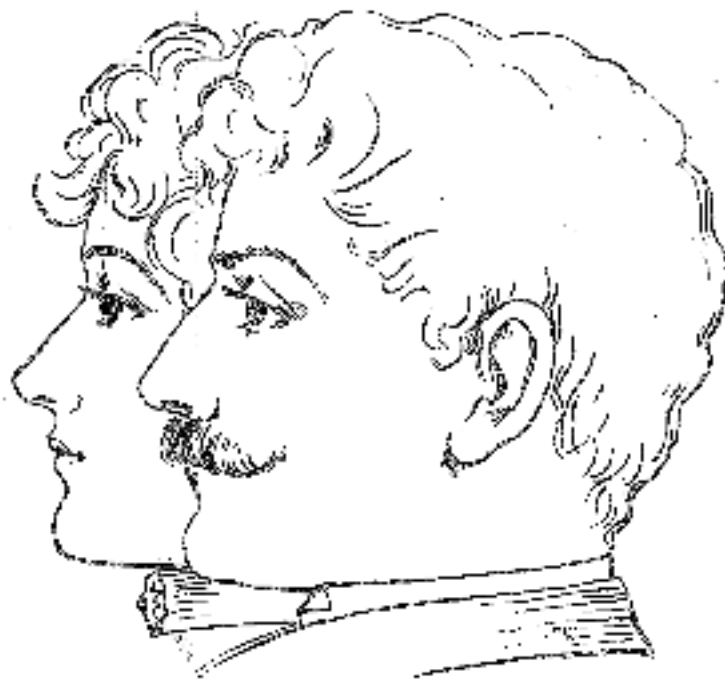
Figure 36: "FOR PIMPLES USE Cuticura SOAP"



Nothing so pure, so sweet, so wholesome as CUTICURA SOAP, greatest of skin purifying and beautifying soaps. It prevents chafing, redness, and roughness of the skin, soothes inflammation, allays irritation, and when followed by gentle applications of CUTICURA (ointment), the great skin cure, speedily cures all forms of skin and scalp diseases.

Sold throughout the world. British depot: J. W. & S. S. L. King, Edward-st., London, E. C. American Trade and Chemical Corporation, New Brighton, New York, U. S. A.

Figure 37: "Cuticura SOAP FOR Baby's Skin"



Beauty and Purity Found in Cuticura

CUTICURA realizes the greatest of human blessings, a skin without Blemish and a Body nourished with Pure Blood.

SPEEDY CURE TREATMENT for every form of Skin, Scalp, and Blood Disease, with loss of Hair. — Warm baths with CUTICURA SOAP, gentle applications of CUTICURA (ointment), the great skin cure, and mild doses of CUTICURA RESOLVENT, the new blood purifier.

Sold throughout the world. British depot: J. Sawman & Sons, 1, King Rowland St., London. Foreign Depot and General Commission: E. C. Frothingham, Boston, U. S. A.

Figure 38: "Beauty and Purity Found in Cuticura"

SLEEP & REST

For Skin Tortured

BABIES

And Tired

MOTHERS

In One
Application of



Cuticura

A warm bath with CUTICURA SOAP, and a single application of CUTICURA (ointment), the great skin cure, followed by mild doses of CUTICURA RESOLVENT, the new blood purifier, will afford instant relief, permit rest and sleep, and point to a speedy, permanent, and economical cure of the most distressing of itching, burning, bleeding, scaly and crusted skin and scalp diseases, when all other methods fail.

Sold everywhere in the world. Retail depot: F. W. Johnson & Sons, Ltd., 215, Strand, London. Agents: Burt & Co., 11, Colburn Street, New York, U. S. A.

Figure 39: "SLEEP & REST For Skin Tortured BABIES And Tired MOTHERS In One Application of Cuticura"

PURE AND SWEET

and free from every blemish
is the skin, scalp, and hair
of infants, cleansed, purified,
and beautified by

**Cuticura
SOAP**

The most effective
skin purifying and
beautifying soap in
the world, as well as
purest and sweetest

for toilet, bath, and nursery. For distressing facial eruptions, pimples,
blackheads, red, rough, oily skin, irritations of the scalp with dry, thin,
and falling hair, red, rough hands with shapeless nails, and simple rashes
and blemishes of infancy it is incomparable. Guaranteed absolutely
pure by analytical chemists of the highest standing, whose certificates
of analysis accompany each tablet.

Sold throughout the world. British depot, J. N. GOSWAMI & SONS, 1, King Edward-st., Lon-
don. FROTH DEER AND CARR, CORN, 201, FIFTH, BOSTON, U. S. A. Ask your dealer for our "Treat-
ment of Baby's Skin," a book of 36 pages, fully illustrated, containing all that every intelligent
mother would know about the skin, scalp, and hair, sent free.

MOTHERS! We know that a warm bath with CUTICURA SOAP, and a slight anointing with CUTI-
CURA, the great skin cure, will afford instant relief in the most distressing of itching, burn-
ing, and scaly infant eruptions and irritations of the skin and scalp, and not to use them, is
to inflict pain daily. This is not a mere assertion, and not the promise of a wonderful
balm and refreshing sleep for the child, and is pure, clear, safe, speedy, and successful.



Figure 41: "PURE AND SWEET"



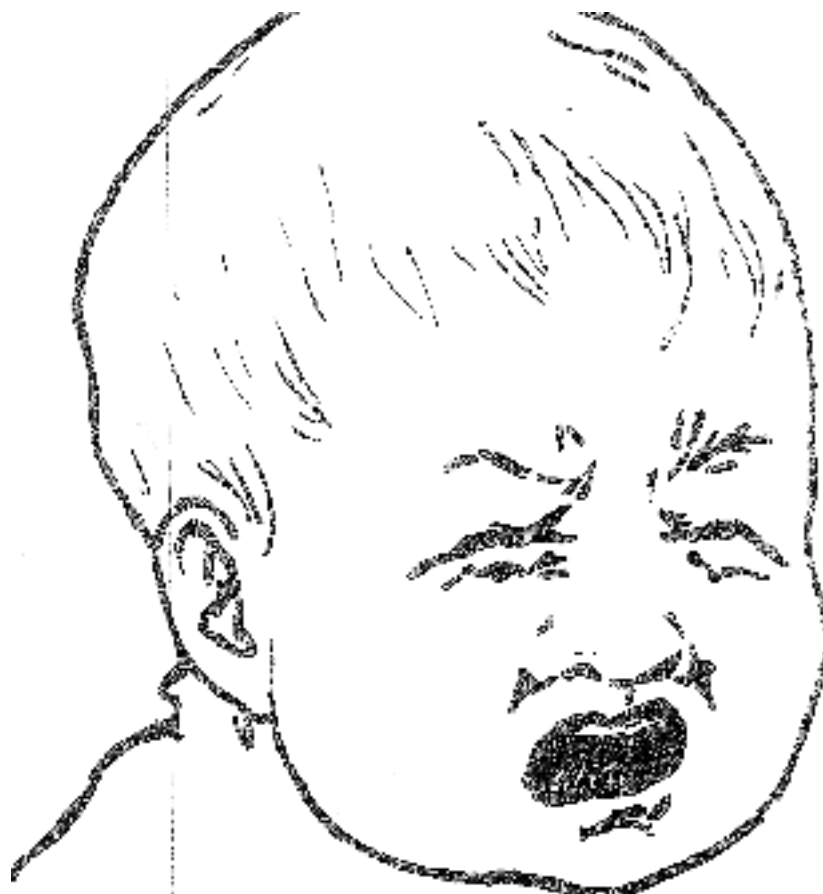
INFANTILE LOVELINESS of the skin, scalp, and hair is assured by the use of CUTICURA SOAP, the most effective skin purifying and beautifying soap in the world, as well as purest and sweetest for toilet, bath, and nursery.

To preserve, purify, and beautify the skin, scalp, and hair of infants and children, and restore them to a condition of health when affected by distressing, itching irritations and scaly eruptions, no other treatment is so pure, so safe, so speedy, as warm baths with CUTICURA SOAP, assisted, when necessary, by gentle anointings with CUTICURA, purest and sweetest of emollients and skin cures.

For bad complexions, pimples, blotches, red, rough hands and shapeless nails, red, rough, oily, milky skin, dry, thin, and falling hair, itching and scaly eruptions of the skin and scalp, and simple baby blemishes, it is simply wonderful.

Sold Everywhere in the world. British depot, F. STURGEON & SONS, London. FOREIGN DEPOTS AND
 QUINCY, Drake, Sole Proprietor, Russia, U. S. A. "All about Baby's Skin," a 24 page book, post free.

Figure 42: "INFANTILE LOVELINESS of the skin, scalp, and hair is assured"



Skin-Tortured Babies

And Tired Mothers Find Comfort in CUTICURA

A warm bath with CUTICURA SOAP, and a single application of CUTICURA Ointment, the great skin cure and purifier of eruptions, will afford instant relief, permit rest and sleep, and point to a speedy, permanent, and economical cure of the most torturing, disfiguring, and humiliating skin and scalp humors, rashes and eruptions, with loss of hair, when all else fails.

SAVE YOUR HAIR

Head and Skin by using CUTICURA Soap, the most refreshing and invigorating, beautifying soap, purest and sweetest for toilet, bath, and laundry. Sold throughout the world. British agents: J. N. GOSWAMI & SONS, London. French agents: L. FRERE, Paris. American agents: R. T. GOSWAMI & CO., Sydney. Export Agents and Distributors, San Francisco, Boston, N. Y. & C.

Figure 43: "Skin-Tortured Babies and Tired Mothers Find Comfort in Cuticura"

Sleep for Skin-Tortured Babies

And Rest for Tired Mothers



In a warm bath with CUTICURA SOAP and a single anointing with CUTICURA, purest of emollients and greatest of skin cures. This is the purest, sweetest, most speedy, permanent, and economical treatment for torturing, disfiguring, itching, burning, bleeding, scaly, crusted, and pimply skin and scalp humours, with loss of hair of infants and children, and is sure to succeed when all else fails.

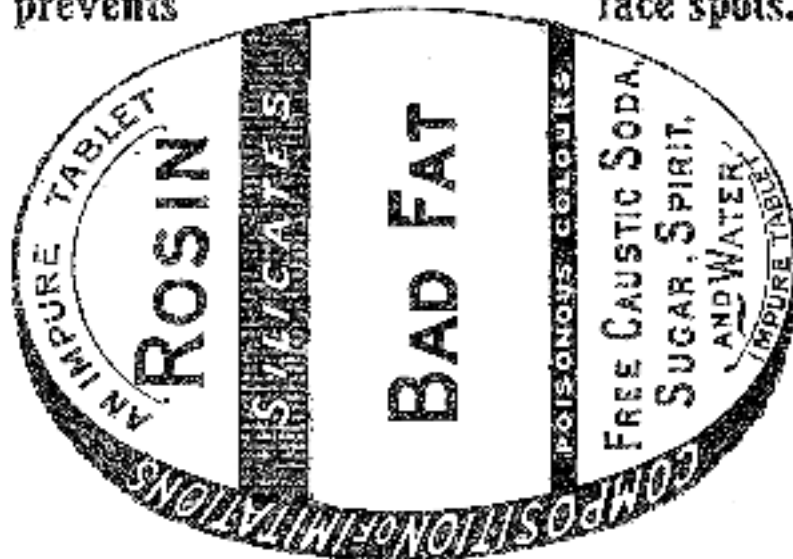
Complete External and Internal Treatment for Every Humour, etc.
Consisting of CUTICURA SOAP to cleanse the skin of crusts and scales, CUTICURA OINTMENT (which is a perfect daily healing and friction and soothe and heal), and CUTICURA RESOLVENT (which is a cure and cleanser of the blood). A Single Box is often sufficient to cure the severest humours when all else fails. British Agents: Messrs. J. & S. Sons, London; L. C. Forster, Dublin and Cork; Messrs. J. & S. Sons, Glasgow; U. S. & S.

Figure 44: "Sleep for Skin-Tortured Babies And Rest for Tired Mothers"

ILLUSTRATIONS SHOWING

VINOLIA Soap and an impure one.

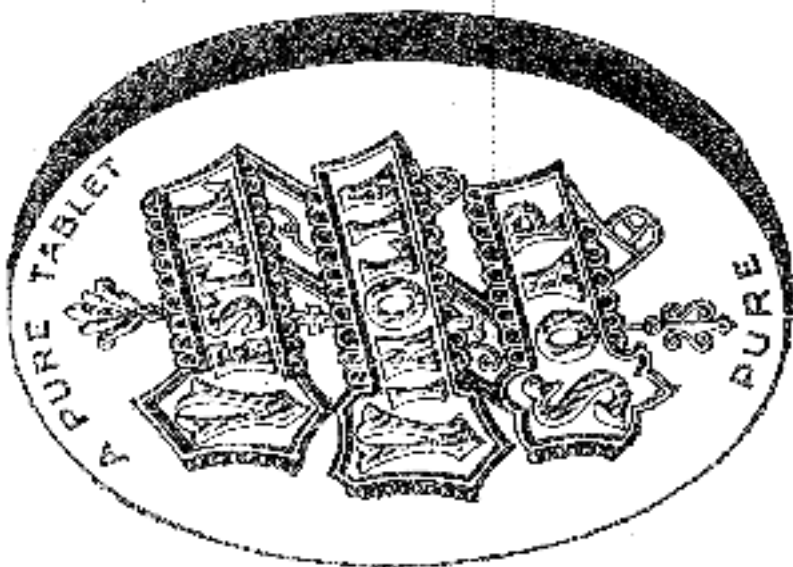
VINOLIA
prevents face spots.



This Diagram Illustrates
AN IMPURE SOAP

VINOLIA

keeps the skin white, smooth, soft.



This Illustrates Vinolia
PUREST SOAP MADE

VINOLIA is nice for Teeth, Hair & Nails.

Figure 45: "ILLUSTRATIONS SHOWING VINOLIA Soap and an impure one."



Figure 46: “Cuticura SOAP MAKES SOFT WHITE HANDS”

