The Rise of An Innovation:

Framing Cosmetic Surgery in Print Media Coverage 1900 - 1931

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ABSTRACT

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Roxanne Girard

The commercial culture in which cosmetic surgery now thrives took shape between 1900-1931. In this period, cosmetic surgery was practiced by a variety of unregulated practitioners whose success, earned largely through publicity, led the medical establishment to regulate the practice by forming the American Society of Plastic and Reconstructive Surgeons (ASPRS) in 1931. However, the current literature provides little evidence of how cosmetic surgery, as a new innovation, was constructed to appeal to potential consumers. To answer this question, this study undertakes a framing analysis of cosmetic surgery in editorial content of popular periodicals. The result of this analysis produced two narrative frames whose themes and codes reflect the vision presented in the emerging consumer culture embodied in advertisements. Based on this evidence, this thesis concludes that the framing of cosmetic surgery constructed the practice as a good and naturalized its consumption within a culture that placed an increasing value on personal appearance. By presenting these considerations, the goal of this analysis is to shed new light on factors that contributed to the rise of cosmetic surgery before 1931.

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Cosmetic surgery is now both a global phenomenon and a leading industry in the sector of commercial medicine.[1] Cosmetic surgery services are available in most urban centers and increasingly in non-medical facilities, such as spas and beauty parlors, with services such as Botox injections and laser hair removal blurring the boundaries of where these services should be performed and more specifically by whom.[2] As Deborah Sullivan points out in *Cosmetic Surgery: The Cutting Edge of Commercial Medicine in America* (2001), cosmetic surgery operates like any other business interest; its success is dependent on the ability of producers to maximize sales and increase profit margins by selling a product for more than the cost of producing it. She elaborates that, "as with other commercial ventures, marketing is used to induce sales. It can take the form of paid advertising or unpaid public relations efforts to persuade the public that the product is desirable and worth the expense."[3] The expense in question is considerable in the case of cosmetic surgery, physical and emotional suffering being included in this "price".[4]

In order to produce the necessary demand for this industry to thrive, adequate information and publicity needs to be circulated to make individuals aware of the services offered and more pointedly, to induce their desire. As Sullivan points out, information about cosmetic surgery circulates both in indirect ways, such as in television programs, films and periodical articles, and more directly by surgeons, clinics and "medical spas" that advertise their services directly to the public on billboards, websites, and in print advertisements.[5]

In parallel, a dialogue has been taking place in cultural and academic circles, with the purpose of deconstructing the motivations of individuals who elect to undergo cosmetic surgery, as well as the various sites that promote the practice. Critical

perspectives on cosmetic surgery in popular and academic forums respond to the staggering increase in the number of procedures performed. In the United States in 2005, two million procedures were reportedly carried out, representing a four-fold increase over the previous twenty years.[6] In addition, over eight million nonsurgical procedures such Botox injections and skin-resurfacing were performed.[7]

Within the social sciences, two major debates regarding the practice of cosmetic surgery have retained the interest of scholars. The first focuses on the political motivations of individuals who elect to have cosmetic surgery. Critics such Kathryn Pauly Morgan, Eugenia Kaw and Susan Bordo have objected to the characterization of cosmetic surgery as a "choice", maintaining that the concept of choice is at best an illusory fabrication for women who face a vast network of social and political pressures created by the manufactured beauty standards of a white, patriarchal society.[8] Alternate views, often identified as post-feminist, such as those espoused by Kathy Davis, Ruth Holliday, Jacqueline Sanchez-Taylor and Debra Gimlin, have elected to consider more literally (and positively) the reasons provided by individuals who undergo cosmetic surgery.[9] For example, through the use of interviews, Davis shows how the woman who describes her choice to have cosmetic surgery as "liberating", can effectively "renegotiate her relationship to her body and, in so doing, construct a different sense of self."[10] In various ways, post-feminist scholarship on cosmetic surgery has argued that the practice empowers women by allowing them to overcome perceived physical abnormalities or to achieve the beauty ideals of a given society.[11]

In recent years, a secondary debate regarding the portrayal of cosmetic surgery in the media has emerged. Critics such as Cressida J. Heyes and Sue Tait have questioned

the normalized representations of surgical culture present in makeover television shows such as *Extreme Makeover, The Swan* and *Ten Years Younger.*[12] According to Heyes, these televised series "offer a scripted narrative of identity becoming in which the ordinary individual is aesthetically dramatically and rapidly transformed, while also making over her life and coming better to embody the virtuous person she allegedly truly is."[13] The debates on choice and normalization are reflected in the personal narratives of those who elect to undergo cosmetic surgery and the articulation of these narratives in the media.

While such debates are motivated by anxieties surrounding the ubiquity of cosmetic surgery services in our culture, views that question cosmetic surgery as a commercial practice and consumer good have for the most part remained unexpressed. However, two works published in the last decade have made important headway for this emerging sub-field within the study of surgical culture. In her comprehensive study of cosmetic surgery as commercial medicine, Sullivan has explored the various ways in which the supply of physicians offering elective aesthetic surgery has increased over the last century and the types of claims professional societies have made to legitimize and publicize the practice.[14] Similarly, Victoria Pitts-Taylor has examined how consumption of cosmetic surgery is managed in western cultures through the phenomenon of surgery junkies and how the theme of addiction is used to define the "healthy" and "unhealthy" consumption of surgical services.[15]

In recent years, other scholars such as Elizabeth Haiken and Sander Gilman have viewed the contemporary rise of cosmetic surgery as an opportunity to explore the rich cultural past of the practice. While criticism of surgical culture might appear recent, the

practice of cosmetic surgery itself is not. The reconstruction of facial deformities has been practiced since ancient times, and surgical interventions for purely aesthetic aims have been practiced with increasing intensity and regularity since the late nineteenth century. Professional accreditation and associations of plastic surgeons began to take form in the 1920's.[16] In 1931, the American Society of Plastic and Reconstructive Surgeons (ASPRS), now known as the American Society of Plastic Surgeons (ASPS) was formed, and it continues to be the largest organization of plastic surgeons in the world.[17] Originally founded by "serious" reconstructive plastic surgeons to distinguish themselves from "beauty doctors" (self-styled individuals with varying degrees of medical knowledge who practiced aesthetically-motivated procedures), the ASPRS, preceded by the American Association of Plastic Surgeons (AAPS) in 1921, sought to educate the public of the dangers of "beauty parlor surgery".[18] However, as Haiken has pointed out, physicians, realizing over time the profit and durable interest in "beauty surgery" also aimed to legitimize and reclaim the practice within the boundaries of their work.[19] Later followed by the American Board of Plastic Surgery (ABPS) in 1937, and culminating in 1941 with the acceptance of the American Board of Plastic Surgery as a full specialty in its own right, professional associations succeeded in integrating cosmetic surgery under the auspices of medical authority.[20] Of particular interest to this thesis is the ASPRS, founded in 1931 by decorated WWI veteran Jacques W. Maliniak, which quickly became the largest and most influential organization in the speciality."[21] The Society, unlike the AAPS and ABPS whose membership was too restrictive according to Maliniak, extended membership to those "borderline specialists, such as eye surgeons, otolaryngologists, oral surgeons, and dermatologists", indicating the extent of the impact he foresaw plastic

surgery would have on the larger medical community.[22] While professional associations such as the ASPRS brought cosmetic surgery under the umbrella of the medical establishment, both Haiken and Sullivan agree that the move to organize by plastic surgeons was a *de facto* consequence of the surgeries undertaken by beauty doctors and publicized by the media in the early free-market days of beauty parlor surgery.[23] As Haiken writes "while board-certified surgeons were among the most strident critics of the unashamed self-promotion practiced by their less restrained colleagues, they benefited from it in the end".[24] In other words, beauty doctors, through the use of publicity and public relations efforts, were responsible for making cosmetic surgery a cultural phenomenon at the turn of the century.

To date, the medical community has contented itself with brief chronologies on the evolution of surgical procedures and little research has been undertaken that clarifies the cultural and social circumstances in which cosmetic surgery evolved at beginning of the twentieth century.[25] In response to this, Gilman has explored the subject in order to "puzzle out the meanings associated with bodies, doctors, and patients, using an argument that is thematic as well as chronological."[26] Looking to literature, art, and film, Gilman examines how similar preoccupations about bodies and the individuals who inhabit them are reflected in both cultural and plastic surgery history. In comparison, Haiken uses the frame of American beauty culture to explain how cosmetic surgery came to be increasingly incorporated into a narrative of self-improvement from the 1920's onward. For a variety a reasons that shall be further explored in this text, both Haiken and Gilman have found the post-WWI era to be a key period in the cultural evolution of cosmetic surgery. Wartime developments in reconstructive surgery, the rise of beauty culture, and

the newfound importance of personal appearance in an emerging visual culture are but a few reasons for this.

Fleshing out the cultural history of cosmetic surgery is an important endeavor, considering that its procedures to alter the body and face have always been and continue to be elective, despite the myriad of sociological and psychological justifications provided for their recourse. Differing from reconstructive surgery that aims to correct deformities resulting from birth, injury, illness or accident, cosmetic surgery as it is commonly understood is the act of reshaping "healthy anatomical structures" in order "to make the patient's appearance more closely approximate the contemporary ideal".[27] More to the point, cosmetic surgery is a form of commercial medicine that operates within a consumerist framework.[28] Individuals seeking cosmetic surgery services must research and select the desired procedure and practitioner, and pay dearly to do so, both in cash and in health risks. Individuals currently have easy and plentiful recourse to the information required to make these consumer choices. Such information circulates in commercial, fictional, editorial and educational forms. However, very little existing scholarship examines earlier forms of information about cosmetic surgery, particularly in the era pre-dating the formation of the ASPRS in 1931, at a time when the practice of cosmetic surgery was brand new and unregulated. As Haiken notes,

> In the 1920s and 1930s, cosmetic surgery was transformed from a suspect practice at the specialty's borders to an approved practice at its center as plastic surgeons, bidding for credibility and recognition, brought the new specialty of plastic surgery under the auspices of the AMA [American Medical Association] and other professional organizations.[29]

While the prevailing accounts put forth by Haiken, Gilman and others offer persuasive theories for the rise of cosmetic surgery at the turn of the twentieth century, they do not fully explain the important commercial and editorial contexts in which information about cosmetic surgery was made available to potential clients. Building on the existing scholarship, this thesis provides an overview of frames that promoted cosmetic surgery consumption in the thirty-one years preceding the founding of the ASPRS (1900-1931). My research asks the following questions: What frames were adopted in popular periodicals to inform potential consumers about cosmetic surgery? How did these frames construct cosmetic surgery consumption as appealing and desirable? In what contexts were these frames employed? And how did these contexts contribute to the successful promotion of cosmetic surgery? Specifically, this thesis will focus on how editorial content in popular periodicals such *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* constituted important sources of promotional information for potential consumers of cosmetic surgery. I contrast my findings with the themes and codes found in advertisements from *Vogue* and *Ladies' Home Journal*, to demonstrate how new advertising techniques and institutional changes in publishing naturalized the subject of cosmetic surgery consumption. To elucidate this context, I draw on literature from the histories of advertising, popular periodicals and consumption. The goal of this analysis is to shed new light on factors that contributed to the rise of cosmetic surgery before 1931.

The topic of gender is important in cultural studies of cosmetic surgery. Feminist scholars such as Morgan view the practice as an issue that primarily affects women, given the cultural presumption that success "for virtually all women as women ... is defined in terms of interlocking patterns of compulsion: compulsory atttractiveness,

compulsory motherhood, and compulsory heterosexuality, patterns that determine the legitimate limits of attraction and motherhood."[30] From this perspective, while cosmetic surgery provides women with access to power and achievement, it paradoxically supports the patriarchal system that defines the limits of female power through the locus of subjective beauty.[31] Similarly, Davis takes issue with the "equality discourse" on cosmetic surgery as it "neutralizes the salience of gender...for understanding how men and women experience their bodies as well as the specific cultural modes of embodiment that are available to them."[32] Statistics are often used to support the position that women are the primary targets (and recipients) of cosmetic surgery.[33] When men are considered within the rhetoric of cosmetic surgery, their consumption of surgical services produces the construction of passive and feminized men whose anxieties about appearance "can sometimes underscore patriarchal values rather than recast them" according to Weber.[34]

While gender is an important consideration in examining the cultural construction of cosmetic surgery and its recipients, an overt focus on this analytical category limits the ways we can look at cosmetic surgery. Gimlin remarks that criticisms of cosmetic surgery based on gender often fail to account for other categories of difference with which gender intersects, such as "age, race, and ethnicity, and even class."[35] Other scholars, such as Holliday and Sanchez-Taylor, take issue with the presumption that "since aesthetic surgery exists within a misogynistic culture, it will only ever be an issue that affects women."[36] Their research seeks to redress this notion by pointing out that modern cosmetic surgery emerged from older procedures such as the reconstruction of gladiatorial wounds and drooping eyelids, which were destined specifically for rich and powerful male patients.[37] These procedures, practiced by surgeon Claudius Galen (*c.*130-

*c.*200 CE) within the equally misogynistic culture of the Roman Empire, when male beauty was highly valued, were considered "an act of aesthetic creation for men amongst the Ancients."[38] To Holliday and Sanchez-Taylor then, "what distinguishes these masculine practices from contemporary feminine ones is not the extent of the surgeries but rather the value attributed to them."[39] In their view, scholarship that identifies cosmetic surgery as a primarily female form of body modification therefore contributes to the construction of cosmetic surgery as a passive and victimizing practice for women, one which is intimately tied with the objectification of women within patriarchal society.[40] Furthermore, as Sullivan points out, statistics that identify women as the primary consumers of cosmetic surgery are inherently problematic given that there is no universal standard for collecting such figures, nor any governmental regulation that requires physicians to provide them.[41]

Given these considerations, this thesis does not use a specifically gendered framework to examine the history of cosmetic surgery. Shaping my analysis of cosmetic surgery around the category of gender would have limited the important conclusions I draw between the interrelation of cosmetic surgery and the issues of personal appearance, urbanization and consumption that are specific to the historical context I examine and that entailed consequences for both men and women. Furthermore, in line with the conclusion proposed by Holliday and Sanchez-Taylor, the cultural production of cosmetic surgery in relation to gender is fluid and the meaning of this construction has varied at different times in history. More importantly, the primary texts I examined did not indicate that cosmetic surgery was practiced exclusively on women, nor even do they suggest that women formed the majority of customers. As the reader will note in

subsequent chapters, the analyzed editorial content provided examples of both women and men undergoing cosmetic surgery.

The years 1900 to 1931 are an important period to assess in the cultural history of cosmetic surgery for other reasons as well. The unrecognized status of plastic surgery in these years, provided a rich ground for public debate about who was qualified to practice cosmetic interventions on the body, particularly at a time when other beauty specialists such as hairdressers and cosmetologists where lobbying for professional recognition.[42] As urbanization increased throughout the eighteenth century, the medical establishment also sensed the need to organize an increasing number of practitioners. Starting in 1900, the AMA began establishing county and state licensures in order to bring standardization and unity to the practices of American health professionals.[43] The effort was largely successful and by 1920, the AMA had secured a 60% membership rate among physicians across the nation.[44] However, measures to organize and eradicate irregularity in medicine were also symptomatic of the need to define for the public those deserving the title of doctor (and those who did not), a matter that continued to provoke confusion and public debate well into the 1930s.[45]

This thesis is composed of three chapters and a conclusion. In Chapter I, I present a short history of plastic surgery and review existing literature on the cultural history of cosmetic surgery. In Chapter II, the methodology is defined and background information on changes in advertising and publishing is provided. A qualitative framing analysis of selected periodical content is presented in Chapter III and findings are contrasted with advertisements represented in figures. The conclusion locates the findings of Chapter III within the advertising and publishing contexts of the period.

CHAPTER I: Cosmetic Surgery in Context

Cosmetic surgery as a social construct and "modern body custom" draws on wide range of influences: cultural ideals of body and facial beauty; professional norms that legitimize which procedures should be performed, where, by whom, and on which bodies; as well as the commercial practices required to make any service-based industry thrive.[46] More importantly, the "business" of cosmetic surgery relies on individuals to absorb, interpret and articulate these influences through the actions of choosing and purchasing cosmetic surgery services.

Cosmetic Surgery As Commercial Medicine

Cosmetic surgery differs in several ways from other forms of surgery, such as reconstructive procedures. Predominantly, cosmetic surgery has been understood to encompass "those procedures which society at any given time sees as unnecessary, as nonmedical, as a sign of vanity."[47] For this reason, cosmetic surgery is considered elective, is primarily funded by the individual undergoing the procedure, and is rarely covered by health insurance.[48] In contrast, reconstructive efforts, the "real" surgery according to a pioneering physician of the nineteenth century, are undertaken to correct or repair deformities of the body (and particularly the face) caused by injury, illness or congenital defects.[49] Such procedures are often included in health care coverage and are typically the product of necessity rather than choice.[50] Most notably, cosmetic surgery services, like any other consumer good, should be researched and sought out by the individual; the choices of procedure and practitioner must be carried out by an informed consumer, who relies on the availability of information to make these choices. However,

recipients of reconstructive surgery rarely select both their surgeon and the procedure to be performed, their experience typically being guided within the strictures, recommendations and institutional practices of an existing health care system.

Cosmetic surgery also demands different interactions between practitioners and patients. The commercial nature of cosmetic surgery encourages individuals to "shop around", gathering information regarding procedures and physicians, with the goal of selecting the "right" person for the job.[51] Shopping for cosmetic surgery is preceded by what Christine Rosen calls a "self-diagnosis" step.[52] She writes, "Patients are not physically sick, nor do they suffer from a diagnosable disease, nevertheless they come to a surgeon with their etiologies clearly worked out: one person feels her nose is misshapen, another thinks her thighs are too large, still another is unhappy with the bags under his eyes." While the internalization of beauty norms, physical ideals and media images may provide the inspiration for these diagnoses, individuals rely on information, advertising and promotional material to articulate cosmetic surgery as the solution to the their problem.

Advertising and literature about the practice invests potential consumers of cosmetic surgery with knowledge of procedures (products) and practitioners (producers). Knowledge of cosmetic surgery gained through these sources empowers individuals with a vocabulary with which to confidently discuss cosmetic surgery with both others and potential surgeons.[53] Those who provide cosmetic surgery services depend on the information gathering practiced by potential clients to attract consultations, where practitioners can conclude the sales process using a variety of marketing and institutional tactics.[54] The interrelated processes of self-diagnosis, information-gathering and selection

of procedures and practitioners all encourage the view of cosmetic surgery as a good, and the patient as a self-directed client or customer. Before ever setting foot into the office (or beauty parlor) of a practitioner, the prospective patient must make a considerable amount of choices, aided by any available information he or she can find; one must articulate cosmetic surgery as the "solution" to one's problem, often deciding in the process what intervention is required, where such an intervention should take place and by whose hand.

Plastic Surgery: A Brief History

To properly contextualize the emergence of cosmetic surgery as a commercial enterprise, we must first turn to the history of reconstructive surgery from which the practice emerged. While plastic surgery has been practiced for thousands of years, it is only at the time of the Renaissance that physicians began making a distinction between reconstructive procedures and those whose goal was purely cosmetic.[55]

Before this period, surgical efforts were mainly undertaken to restore those body parts injured or deformed by accidents, illness, corporal punishment or congenital defects.[56] Reconstructive surgery can be traced back as early as 600 BCE, when Hindu surgeon Sushruta described a technique for rebuilding noses using a skin flap excised from the cheek (and later the forehead) and sutured to the nose, although actual accounts of the procedure being used do not appear until 1000 CE.[57] This technique, known as the "Indian method", appears to have remained in favorable use until the sixteenth century, when Gaspare Tagliozzi, credited as the "father of modern plastic surgery" pioneered what is now referred to as the "Italian method" of nose reconstruction.[58] In *De curtorum*

chirugia, (1597), he describes a method whereby a partially excised flap from the forearm would be draped and sutured around the missing or deformed nose, with the arm to be immobilized over the area until the graft would begin to attach.[59] This step of the procedure, often taking longer than a month (and a very painful one at that), would allow for the flap to be severed once the graft was complete, providing a primitive if not flawlessly, reconstructed nose.[60]

Reconstructive surgery would not make a significant resurgence again until World War I, although, "the impetus toward cosmetic surgery had been building among doctors and the public well before the First World War."[61] Medical advances of the nineteenth century also helped plastic surgery (the term standing in for both reconstructive and cosmetic surgery)[62] to evolve into the social and commercial phenomenon we now recognize today. The development of anesthesia and antisepsis in the nineteenth century paved the way for surgeons to develop and undertake more varied and complex interventions, with increased frequency and in less dire circumstances than those under which plastic surgery had been previously practiced.[63] The discovery of general anesthesia using ether in 1846, and later local anesthesia using cocaine in the 1880s, in addition to advent of antisepsis in 1867, attenuated the risks of pain and infection for prospective patients. It also emboldened those with less serious featural variations to undergo procedures such as the excision of superfluous skin in the forehead and eye area to remove wrinkles and the correction of protruding ears.[64] In addition, nasal corrections continued to be practiced, offering a viable solution for the improvement of the sunken-in, "saddle" nose associated with the syphilitic condition.[65] By the turn of the twentieth century, a number of procedures with exclusively cosmetic ends began to appear. In

particular, face-lifting techniques, the correction of facial wrinkles and gaunt cheeks using paraffin injections, and the augmentation of small breasts using both fatty tissue transplants or implants made of glass or ivory, appear to have been used to improve the appearance of individuals.[66] Moreover, facial peels using acids such as phenol, practiced since the previous century, continued to be viewed throughout the early 1900s as practical solutions for those ailed by blemishes and wrinkles.[67] While techniques continued to improve and demand for plastic surgery appears to have increased since the "Indian method" was first used in 1000 CE, records indicate that the practice remained at best uncommon and that knowledge of surgical interventions was not widespread in the nineteenth century.[68]

The Rise of an Innovation

Historians have argued that it is not until the beginning of the twentieth century, that the phenomenon as we now know it began to take shape. According to them, this period (approximately 1914-1930) corresponds with a formidable growth in both the demand for and the practice of cosmetic surgery. As previously noted, Gilman and Haiken have made significant contributions to scholarship about the cultural history of cosmetic surgery. Widely regarded as a comprehensive history of cosmetic surgery in the twentieth century, and often cited by contemporary body theorists, Haiken's *Venus Envy* (1997), provided the initial inspiration for this project. She identifies how the efforts of the early "advertising" plastic surgeons did much to shape the practice in the public eye. In her view, the publicity and press generated by these practitioners contributed to creating cosmetic surgery as a social phenomenon, one that grew so large that it incited

professional medicine to incorporate the practice within its field.[69] Gilman, in *Making the Body Beautiful: A Cultural History of Aesthetic Surgery* (1999) agrees with Haiken that a medical context alone is not sufficient to explain the history of cosmetic surgery.[70] According to him, advances in the field of medicine, coupled with the forceful demands of patients seeking happiness through self-transformation—one that would allow them to meet the aesthetic standards of the dominant social group—created a new field of medicine where patients took on the role of medical clients in determining their cures.[71]

Sullivan and Kathy Davis have made smaller but equally important contribution to this body of work. In her account of pioneering surgeon Suzanne Noël's career, Davis echoes Gilman's work in arguing that patients took the lead in requesting surgery to overcome the social prejudices they faced, particularly those associated with aging.[72] Davis argues that patients, aided by a sympathetic surgeon such as Noël, could be fully integrated as active participants in the surgical experience and they often suggested the appropriate procedure as well as the placement of incisions. Inspired by the work of Haiken, Gilman and Davis, Sullivan reframes the debate on the early years of cosmetic surgery practice. While acknowledging the excellent work of her colleagues, she finds their texts to provide only "partial histories" that do not fully address changes within medicine as necessary growth factors for cosmetic surgery to become a "modern body custom".[73] To her, patient demand is a "necessary, but insufficient, explanation" for the emergence of cosmetic surgery as both a cultural phenomenon and a practice integrated within mainstream medicine.[74] The work of this thesis is aligned with her perspective in this regard. However, while Sullivan posits that the participation of physicians and institutional changes in medicine were also required for the growth of cosmetic surgery, I

argue that too little emphasis has been placed in prevailing accounts on the role that information played in educating the public about the new innovation, and by extension creating new clients for cosmetic surgery.[75]

Patient Demand: The Birthplace of Cosmetic Surgery

Modern critics place a great emphasis on the role that media has played in the contemporary rise of cosmetic surgery.[76] Sullivan has provided an extensive overview of the information sources used by those who sell and select (practitioners and patients) in the surgical marketplace. Public relations efforts, telephone listings (Yellow Pages advertisements) and magazine articles number among these.[77] However, dominant views in the historical account argue that patients themselves originated the early twentieth century cosmetic surgery boom. According to Haiken, Gilman and Davis, the original requests for cosmetic surgery were initiated by individuals who sought to alter their appearance in order to correct both minor and major defects. Beginning with the case study of paraffin injections, Haiken shows how cosmetic surgery, as a solution to displeasing facial features, was consistently requested by patients.[78] She argues that the practice, originating in the late nineteenth century and used mostly to treat "saddle-nose" deformities associated with the syphilitic condition and the filling out facial wrinkles, was quickly adopted by practitioners in response to patient demand for the purely cosmetic ends that the intervention satisfied.[79] News of the practice travelled quickly and the widespread stigma associated with syphilis "drove public demand" for the paraffin cure to this very visible problem.[80] As Gilman recounts, such patients were likely to return for a new cure by the early 1920s,

> The intent of paraffin injections was to assure a happy outcome. The actual result was catastrophic. Shortly after injection, the paraffin wandered and clumped, resulting in disfiguring lumps and permanent draining fistulas in virtually all patients. Among the other complications, were blindness, pulmonary embolism, inflammation and necrosis....[patients demanded] treatment for their now too visible disfigurements.[81]

Not only did patients play an active role in requesting the correction of deformities, they continued to seek out treatment when the results of experimental procedures (paraffin constitutes a medical footnote, according to Haiken) were less than desirable.[82]

Gilman and Davis offer equally persuasive accounts of the dynamic influence patients used to devise invasive procedures, which they pressured surgeons to perform on them. According to Gilman, the first facelift was performed by Eugene Holländer in the 1880s but only recorded much later 1901.[83] The account, similarly reported by Davis, describes how the unwilling Holländer was compelled through "feminine persuasion" to perform a facelift on a Polish aristocrat armed with "a drawing that illustrated...how, if facial skin were removed at the front of the ear, the nasolabial fold and the corners of the mouth would be tightened."[84] Gilman recounts the story of a similar procedure undertaken on an actress in 1906 by Erich Lexer.[85] The patient came to him requesting a permanent solution after the temporary solution of taping her forehead had left her with permanently loosened skin. While the taping had caused the disfigurement, it also suggested "a model for how a corrective procedure could be undertaken."[86] Whether individuals used drawings or their imagination, Gilman argues that that these narratives are "vital to understanding the role that patients played in initiating treatment by aesthetic

surgeons."[87] To him, patients who expressed their discontent about features such as ears and noses to physician also offered "suggestions as to how these problems should be corrected. It was, of course, the surgeon's role to work out the specific techniques, the incisions, and to visualise the results."[88] In the case of Suzanne Noël's practice in the 1920s, Davis argues that patients came to her asking for help, primarily to overcome the visible signs of aging which caused them to suffer discrimination, and diminished their ability to maintain employment.[89] Offering more than mere suggestions, Noël's clients were active collaborators in the surgical process, often deciding what procedure best suited their lifestyle.[90] They often selected *la petite operation,* a facelift with small incisions that needed to be repeated every few years.[91] Noël encouraged her patients to practice at home and to select the best place for incisions to be made by pulling their faces.[92] While the arguments presented by Haiken, Gilman and Davis affirm that prospective patients turned to doctors for solutions with their problems of appearance, they also pointed to the role that clients played in the development of cosmetic surgery as a commercial practice. Indeed, Haiken comments that "in the case of cosmetic surgery...authority derives as much from the patient (and more broadly, from the realm of the consumer culture the patient both inhabits and embodies) as from the surgeon."[93] By playing an active role in suggesting or selecting procedures, patients created themselves as clients with the ability to make choices in respect to their "cure".

Patients who came to doctors with suggestions for cosmetic surgery procedures offered a variety of reasons for their desire to alter their appearance. Davis writes that Noël's patients (mostly women according to her account) were motivated by the "bitter need" for economic independence, one that could be secured and maintained by regaining

a youthful appearance.[94] As she recounts, Noël located her patients "desire to have their faces rejuvenated or their bodies improved in the difficulties that women of her day had obtaining and holding onto paid employment. For Noël, cosmetic surgery was just as much of a right for women as was their right to work or even to vote."[95] Gilman writes that the central goal of cosmetic surgery is happiness, which one can achieve, with the aid of a surgeon, by erasing the gap between the "perceived reality of the self and the ideal category into which one desires to move."[96] For him, the patient who seeks cosmetic surgery defines categories of inclusion and exclusion according to physical appearance and the skill of the intervening surgeon must be so that it provides the patient with the ability to "pass" as a member of the desired group.[97] Haiken incorporates both these concerns in her account by specifying that the rise of urbanization and mass culture, encouraged the development of a new visual culture, "where appearance seemed to rank ever higher in importance."[98] She writes:

> Although Victorian culture had held that beauty derived solely from internal qualities of character and health, by 1921 most Americans (and particularly American women) had come to understand physical beauty as an external, independent— and thus alterable—quality, the pursuit of which demanded a significant amount of time, attention, and money.[99]

In her view, early patients of cosmetic surgery were responding the receding prohibitions on self-care and vanity, as the pursuit of beauty moved from the realm of frivolity to a necessity located within "America's democratic tradition of self-improvement."[100]

Despite these pleas for surgical alterations, physicians in the first few decades of the twentieth century rarely performed procedures, which they considered to be purely

cosmetic. Accounts put forth by Haiken, Gilman, Davis and Sullivan all reiterate that requests for "beauty surgery" were seen as a sign of vanity to physicians, who categorically refused such demands and often ridiculed the patient as well.[101] Haiken reports that surgeon Joseph Beck writing in 1921, refused most requests for interventions that he considered cosmetic because "in most instances the correction was unnecessary and only giving in to a neurotic or self-centered, vain individual."[102] Even in cases of extreme emotional suffering, the surgeon who operated on imperfect (but functional) features could face heavy penalties. Pioneering surgeon Jacques Joseph was dismissed from his position at a Berlin clinic in 1896 after performing a procedure to re-pin the protruding ears of a young boy, who had suffered great humiliation at the hands of this classmates.[103]

Beauty Doctors: Building a Business for Cosmetic Surgery

The gap between patient's requests and the refusal of physicians was filled by enterprising beauty doctors who saw the growing interest in the cult of appearance as a profitable opportunity. To reiterate, Sullivan points out that most of the cosmetic surgery performed before 1931, was done so by practitioners who did not posses the skill level of nor commanded the respect of other reputable surgeons.[104] Some practitioners were formally trained as physicians, while others were not. According to Haiken, the distinction between beauty doctor and surgeons was further complicated by the fact that the former assumed a variety of titles (doctor, beauty doctor, plastic surgeon) in conducting their practices.[105] She states that the primary difference between beauty doctors and reputable surgeons as the public understood it, was that the former advertised

his services, while the latter avoided all forms of self-promotion.[106] Beauty doctors often, but not exclusively, offered their services in beauty parlors (which were becoming innumerable in large cites such as New York as consumer culture flourished) and practicing in such locations meant that they catered to the vanity of their predominantly female clientele.[107] However, it was beauty doctors such J. Howard Crum and Henry Junius Schireson, both regarded as "quacks" within the New York medical community where they practiced in the 1910s and 1920s, who were responsible for disseminating knowledge about cosmetic surgery to the public through publicity and their willingness to talk—"to anyone who would listen".[108] Haiken notes that it is this publicity and openness to accepting clients with less than dire physical flaws, both practices to be strictly avoided according to "legitimate" surgeons, that motivated physicians to organize in order to protect the public.[109] However, the organization of surgeons, according to Haiken, was also motivated by the increasingly lucrative profits that the practice of the cosmetic surgery offered.[110]

Opinions diverge on the importance of this early commercial phase of cosmetic surgery before the incorporation of the practice into the field of medicine in 1931. While both Gilman and Davis agree that the marketing and publicity efforts practiced by early beauty doctors constitute an important consideration in the history of the practice, their works focus almost exclusively on the motivations of patients at different moments in the last century. Like them, Sullivan acknowledges the key role that "entrepreneurial practitioners," aided by advertisements and public relations efforts such as magazine articles, played in the flourishing cosmetic surgery marketplace "before organized medicine in the United States succeeded in closing outlets for their advertising and

instituting licensure requirements."[111] However, of the four authors examined in this section, only Haiken has produced original research that investigates the variety of media coverage produced at the time in regards to cosmetic surgery. Through the inclusion of articles and advertisements from *Vogue, The New York Times, Delineator, Ladies' Home Journal* and other periodicals in her work, she argues that the media, and by extension the public, came in time to view cosmetic surgery as a justifiable recourse, given the increasing importance American society had begun to place on appearance.[112] Haiken's analysis offers a rich and compelling examination of the ways in which media participation brought cosmetic surgery into the public eye. Nevertheless, she limits the explanatory power of her research by selecting almost exclusively articles in popular publications before the 1930s that dismissed cosmetic surgery and the "quack" beauty doctors who practiced it. Although Haiken often acknowledges that beauty doctors were responsible for bringing cosmetic surgery into the public eye, her comments and selection of materials provide little evidence of what made cosmetic surgery appealing to potential clients.[113] An alternative viewpoint might ask: What frames were employed in editorial content to portray cosmetic surgery in a compelling and informative? In what contexts did these frames operate and by what means did they contribute to the rise of cosmetic surgery in the first decades of the twentieth century? By responding to these questions, this thesis offers a new way to think about the history of cosmetic surgery. Drawing parallels between the themes used to frame cosmetic surgery and new practices in advertising and publishing, contributes to the field a heightened understanding of the ways cosmetic surgery successfully integrated itself into a blossoming consumer culture.

CHAPTER II: Methodology and Historical Background

Theoretical Approach

The participation of clients is an integral part of making cosmetic surgery a profitable enterprise. Educating and informing prospective consumers about cosmetic surgery services thus becomes the key task of practitioners seeking to attract consultations with the eventual goal of selling procedures. Designed to make cosmetic surgery appealing, information about the practice sets expectations for consultations, surgeries and their eventual outcome.[114] The success of cosmetic surgery as a business is the result of an intricate set of exchanges between practitioners, those interests who seek to promote the practice (publishers & advertisers) and prospective consumers. Prevailing theories on the history of cosmetic surgery have examined the contributions of beauty doctors and surgeons in developing and controlling the business of cosmetic surgery. However, the goal of this study to analyze the ways in which information about cosmetic surgery, diffused in editorial content, solicited the interest and participation of patients in the process of cosmetic surgery consumption.

Historian Dominic La Capra, in his critique of dominant modes of history-writing, observes that "a vital task of historiography...[is] to reread its so-called founding fathers with a sensitivity to those sides of their texts that have been obscured, misinterpreted, or underplayed, often because of the documentary or narrowly 'scientific' grid through which they are perceived".[115] To La Capra, prevailing methods of historiography rely on a "documentary model" to write historical accounts; a model that utilizes "hard fact"—selected archival materials—to produce "narrative accounts or 'thick descriptions' of documented facts".[116] As an alternative, he offers rhetoric as an effective model through

which history writing can overcome the limitations imposed by the documentary model:

> Rhetoric highlights the problem of how one reads texts. It even raises the question of whether historians are trained to read. I have already noted the tendency of professional historians to see texts as documents in the narrow sense of the word and, by the same token, to ignore the textual dimensions of documents themselves, that is the manner in which documents 'process' or rework material in ways intimately bound up with larger sociocultural and political processes.[117]

The dominant accounts produced to date on the history of cosmetic surgery have relied heavily on the primary sources generated by physicians struggling to control and later integrate cosmetic surgery into their practice: journal articles and archival material such letters, meeting minutes and diary entries. This basis has yielded a professionally oriented history that seeks to legitimize the incorporation of cosmetic surgery within the field of medicine and asserts a coherent narrative of the evolution of the practice. Where non-specialist primary sources are included, such as the magazines examined by Haiken, their significance has been limited to "simple sources of information on the level of content analysis" and fail to acknowledge the contexts in which such information was presented.[118] Adopting La Capra's suggestion for the use of rhetoric in history-writing allows for a reconsideration of the early free-market days of cosmetic surgery through the eyes of prospective patients: considering not only the ways in which texts are "bound up with the larger sociocultural and political processes" of consumer and mass cultures but also the ways in which "texts may have a critical or even potentially transformative relations to phenomena 'represented' in them".[119] In connection with cosmetic surgery,

this approach allows us to reflect on how editorial content and more specifically, news stories, can also act as advertisements that inform prospective clients of new or previously unknown procedures.[120] Analyzing editorial content about cosmetic surgery as promotional material provides this thesis with the opportunity to reassess the contributions of "lesser actors" in the history of cosmetic surgery: potential consumers and more importantly, the texts themselves.

Framing suggests itself as a highly appropriate methodological approach to a study of this type as it offers a model through which we may consider the appeals used to solicit potential consumers of cosmetic surgery services as well as well as the necessary contexts for such appeals to be effective. One of the most widely accepted definitions of framing is provided by Entman who writes: "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral elevation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described."[121] Similarly, Reese describes framing as a method that is "concerned with the way interests, communicators, sources and culture combine to yield coherent ways of understanding the world, which are developed using all the available verbal and visual symbolic resources."[122] Monica Brasted in her study of advertising and WWI notes that a framing method can be used in studies of consumption and advertising as the process of "selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration...influence the way consumers think about the advertised good'".[123] More importantly, framing as a method of inquiry provides one with the ability to analyze texts within the frameworks in which they operate. For the method to be successful, according to Reese, the frames must be "carefully tied to frame sources and sponsors, social

practices and interests".[124] As a qualitative method, framing resists the urge to define quantity and repetition as the preeminent markers of significance in media analysis. According to Reese, "the most important frame may not be the most frequent", nor I would add, the most explicit.[125] Framing as a method provides tools with which to analyze texts qualitatively, attributing equal importance to the implicit and explicit messages carried in the texts themselves, the locations in which these operate and the beneficiaries of such messages. Accordingly, framing lends itself as a fitting way to envision the participation of consumers in the cosmetic surgery boom, which occurred between 1900-1931. Adopting this method also allows this study to position articles and advertisements as "communication texts" and to consider them as interchangeable sources of information. After a brief presentation of my sample, the remainder of this chapter is devoted to describing the advertising and publishing contexts that prepared turn of the century readers for the frames presented in editorial content about cosmetic surgery.

Sample

This study undertakes the analysis of ten articles selected from *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *Photoplay* and compares the themes they frame to advertisements found in *Vogue* and *Ladies' Home Journal*. *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* were selected for their broad appeal but also because their archives can be searched electronically for the span of selected period. Given that the terms "plastic surgery" and "cosmetic surgery" were not commonly used before 1931, the most useful keywords proved to be "beauty doctor" and "beauty surgery". A single article from

Photoplay was included in this study for its detailed discussion of cosmetic surgery. Due to a lack of electronic indexing and the breadth of years examined, my investigation of *Vogue* and *Ladies' Home Journal* was random and unsystematic. Typically, I reviewed only one to two issues per year according to the availability of the material.[126]

American publications were selected for their relevance to the promotional efforts of beauty doctors.[127] To be selected for analysis, the editorial content had to define procedures described within the text as "beauty" or "cosmetic" surgery and locate these practices within beauty culture. More specifically, the procedures they referenced had to be undertaken with the goal of improving the recipient's appearance. The resulting sample consists of six articles from *The New York Times*, three articles from *The Washington Post* and one article from *Photoplay*, published between 1905 and 1930.

Two major frames emerged in my analysis of the articles. The first frame concerns the theme of "cosmetic surgery as a solution". This frame provided readers with the means to identify the "problems" that cosmetic surgery could cure, encouraged its consumption as a logical solution and promised life-changing benefits for its recipients. In the second frame, the theme of "cosmetic surgery demystified" is represented by detailed descriptions providing readers with expert knowledge and the use of technical language that suggests a mechanized view of the body. Combined, these frames construct cosmetic surgery as a good, naturalize its consumption, and aim to produce knowledge, confident and receptive consumers. To highlight the cultural resonance of the frames, nine advertisements were selected from *Vogue* and *Ladies' Home Journal* and are analyzed in parallel to the editorial content.

I would be remiss not to mention that these findings are not complete and by

no means exhaustive. However, even if they appear to represent "ideal types", as Ohmann's notes in his analysis on 1920s advertisements, "they demonstrate a point of great importance: that the codes upon which they depend *were available* for use."[128] The articles and advertisements I have selected, and the framing they represent, provide added contextualization to the conclusions of previous scholarship, and they supply a glimpse into the missing commercial "piece" of the cosmetic surgery puzzle before 1931. While Sullivan notes that "at least some regular physicians had to be willing to accommodate the demand" for cosmetic surgery to flourish as a cultural practice, this study argues that at least some marketing efforts were required to inform and attract potential consumers for cosmetic surgery services.[129] By approaching cosmetic surgery as a consumer good, predicated by commercial choices based on information, promotion and advertising, this study makes a contribution to a small but important sub-field that studies the culture of cosmetic surgery consumption. To date, the political implications of and personal motivations for cosmetic surgery have been mobilized by scholars in order to understand the efficacy of the practice's integration within our culture. However, this thesis reframes cosmetic surgery as a business first, and body modification second, in order to position the practice more closely to the promotional efforts on which it relies, both then and now.

Cosmetic Surgery and the Rise of Modern Advertising

In early twentieth century America, creating consumers for new innovations like cosmetic surgery involved changes at the level of culture and society. In order to understand the appeal of the frames used to interpret the practice before 1931, we must first examine the social and cultural changes that facilitated the promotion of the practice.

Doing so involves tracing the social impacts of the industrial context of the early twentieth century that made advertising necessary. Increases in urban living and a rise in the importance of appearance precipitated changes in the social landscape that facilitated the marketing of cosmetic surgery procedures. Magazines and newspapers acted as cultural guides in new, urban lifestyles. Changing institutional practices in journalism succeeded in integrating new advertising content and techniques within their business model. Such changes impacted both the form of periodicals and the way readers interacted with their content. Creating consumers for cosmetic surgery at the turn of the century demanded that information be supplied to potential clients in way that made sense within the particular historical moment and in forms that audiences were familiar with. The guiding questions of this section are: What made it easy or easier for practitioners to promote cosmetic surgery before 1931? What social and cultural changes made editorial content about cosmetic surgery appealing?

Production and Consumption

The years 1900 to 1931 saw a variety of changes occur in the social and economic landscapes of the United States. Stuart Ewen, in *Captains of Consciousness,* recounts how mass consumption and modern advertising, both summarized by the term mass culture, evolved as social phenomena at the turn of the twentieth century, as a result of the American industrialization that had begun during the previous century.[130] Industrialization involved changes both at the level of labor practices and the production of goods. However, Ewen writes that the process represented "more than a question of producing more goods in a new way. It also entailed a process of socialization which

aimed at stabilizing and inculcating fidelity among those whose labor was being conscripted".[131] Ensuring control of the workforce was a persistent concern among industrialists of the early twentieth century, as resistance to factory modes of production and industrial capitalism was common among the working class.[132]

The theory of Scientific Management, developed by Frederick W. Taylor at the end of the nineteenth century, emerged as model through which industrialists could quell the individual impulses of the workforce and guarantee the stability and predictability of labor for business interests.[133] Indeed, according to a Boston business leader in 1915, "the biggest of all industrial problems is the problem of handling men."[134] At the close of the 1910s, the social sciences allowed for an expanded conception of factory control, as social scientists looked for ways the working classes might be further integrated into the industrial process, allowing for greater social control.[135] It became widely accepted that "handling the men" must not be limited to the factory, but must also include control over the ways in which the communities where workers lived.[136] "The juncture of working-class resentment and the expansion of productivity" Ewen notes "called for a vision of social order in which the two might operate integrally rather than at odds with one another ... The development of an ideology of consumption responded to both the issue of social control and the need for goods distribution."[137] Business leaders, formerly "captains of industry", emerged as "captains of consciousness" with the goal of employing advertising to modify old consumption habits and of creating new ones as well.[138]

Others, such as Grant McCracken have objected to the top-down theory that industrialists created consumption and invented advertising to serve the needs of

production and industrial capitalism. As he writes, it is erroneous to assume that "North Americans took immediately, enthusiastically and effortlessly to new patterns of consumption ... Fundamental shifts had to take place in the psychological context of consumption before we could become fully fledged consumers."[139] He argues that historians and scholars have long neglected the consumer revolution as the "necessary historical companion" of the industrial revolution.[140] McCracken defines the history of consumption as a "neo-natal" field worthy of further consideration by historians and consumer studies scholars alike.[141] According to him, the history of consumption must be examined in a variety of contexts in order to understand its role as a "total social phenomena...taking into account a wide range of disparate considerations."[142] Successful histories of consumption must acknowledge the psychological dimension of consumption by making a study of the ways in which "new attitudes, new sources of information, new kinds of information processing and new decision-making activities" emerged.[143] Sociological changes also affected the way goods were purchased. McCracken notes that from the 18th century onward, patterns of consumption shifted from a focus on the family to a focus on the individual.[144] Freed from an "extended genealogical net", the individual nestled in the now much smaller nuclear family, "emerged as an increasingly autonomous consumer."[145] The history of consumption contributed to the development of "Western individualism in other ways as well."[146] While at present the cultural notion that individuals must undergo continual self-transformation is common, McCracken argues the development of consumption behaviors helped to instill the idea in our culture and "has supplied a source of meaning with which the process of transformation could be undertaken."[147] Changes in marketing also affected the history of consumption, the most

notable of which was the rise of department stores in the nineteenth century that made it possible to browse without buying.[148] Department store shopping served a higher purpose; "individuals were now the subjects of sophisticated persuasive marketing efforts beyond the point of purchase. Marketing was now a full scale, continual and ubiquitous influence, the individual a full-time target."[149] Inviting consumers to walk around the store, without committing to buy goods, opened individuals to receive a stream of continual commercial messages.[150]

On the surface, drawing together notions of psychology, sociology, culture and marketing within the history of the Western world might seem best suited to a larger-scale studies. However, McCracken argue that the "full complexity" of the history of consumption requires "the skill of the miniaturist" to be captured. He writes, "Indeed, until the history of consumption is a place in which these smaller scale studies are undertaken, we cannot expect to see in a fully sophisticated way just how consumption has played its vital role."[151] The cultural history of cosmetic surgery represents an excellent basis for this type of study, not only for its small scale within the larger field of medicine, culture and consumption at the turn of the century, but also because the practice could not have flourished without shifts in the larger sociocultural contexts of American production and consumption. McCracken's framework for the study of consumption resonates with the necessary developments in the psychological, sociological and marketing contexts of the United States from 1900 to 1931 that played a vital role in creating consumers for cosmetic surgery.

Industrialization also affected living habits, and urbanization grew as "the percentage of the labor force engaged in agriculture declined" and "the percentage of

population living in urban areas" grew to 51% by 1920.[152] Urban living represented more than just an increase in densely populated areas, "it was also the center of new types of activities...more was going on in the city than anywhere else."[153] Leisure-time activities, including sports, theater, reading, hobbies and music as well as shopping in larger department stores, all facilitated and encouraged active consumption on the part of city dwellers.[154] Urbanization and the space constraints it entailed also represented new opportunities to see and to be seen; "Urbanization entailed a propinquity of people—and strangers at that—so tight as to be imaginable only at the most congested camp meeting of the nineteenth century."[155] The experience of being with others was not limited to sight; it entailed a new sensual experience altogether. "The coming of an urban society and the increase in person-to-person contact", Lears points out, "engendered a growing anxiety about offensive breath, perspiration odors, and other bodily exhalations."[156]

Increases in urban population and forms of leisure, such as cinema, in addition to a greater use of images in newspapers, magazines and advertising, all encouraged the development of a new visual culture in which "American eyes became more critical. As they paged through advertisements and papered their walls with pictures of movies stars, Americans created and participated" in a culture where attention to one's personal appearance became essential to success.[157] Indeed, the cosmetics industry alone, boasting sales of $100,000 in 1906, grew formidably in the first three decades of the twentieth century. By 1938, it had grown into an industry worth greater than $180 million.[158] Beauty and hair-dressing salons became a staple of life in the city by the late twenties and "for many women a trip to the beauty parlor had become a weekly habit."[159]

More than matter of good looks, the shift towards visual culture and the cult of appearance provoked new ways in which individuals viewed themselves. As Vinikas notes in his case study of deodorant and mouthwash marketing during the 1920s, "Americans began to invest in the acceptance and attention of others as the basis for their own self-esteem to the degree that it became a cultural preoccupation."[160] The opinion of others took on a heightened meaning in a new urban, visual culture and advertisers quickly seized this opportunity in the marketing of their goods; "by the end of World War I, fear of social stigma and the desire for social acceptance were major themes in creating demand for cosmetics and toilet articles."[161] While many Americans objected to the new cultural imperatives of beauty and impeccable appearance, others lauded the beauty industry for democratizing the pursuit of beauty, bringing it within reach of most consumers.[162] In any case, the emergence of the cosmetics industry and beauty parlor was wildly successful. As Haiken reports, the combined economy of beauty parlors and cosmetics had reached the half-billion mark by 1927.[163]

The flourishing business of beauty relied on newspapers and magazines, and the advertising found within their pages, to create this new industry.[164] Beauty doctors worked to establish continuity with the beauty business in order to sell their services and close the gap between "going to the beauty parlor and having surgery."[165] Beauty doctor, Dr. Charles C. Miller, a trained physician who advocated the benefits of cosmetic surgery and "the financial potential it offered" but who earned the reputation of "quack" among his peers for the publicity he garnered, wrote in 1907:

> For years, the newspapers and magazines have been devoting many pages to 'Beauty Chats', 'Beauty Hints', etc. and the people have gradually developed a

> desire for knowledge of those means which will enable him to appear at his best advantage...the 'Beauty Page' continually hints at the possibilities of surgery.[166]

I proposed earlier in this chapter that the cosmetic surgery boom that occurred between 1900 and 1931 cannot be explained in full by examining the turf war for control of the practice that was being waged between physicians and beauty doctors. We must also consider the commercial process through which clients were solicited to purchase cosmetic surgery services. Miller's comment suggests that some practitioners were aware of the need to inform and educate clients about cosmetic surgery if they were to succeed at selling their services. Miller's comment also suggest that, as early as 1907, magazines and newspapers were considered appropriate and credible forums for such information and it was assumed that readers would look to these sources for content on the topics of beauty and cosmetic surgery.

Print Media and Advertising: Providing a canvas

Informing clients to attract their business was not restricted to the field of cosmetic surgery but was used by a multitude of advertisers in order to promote new products. The promotion of cosmetic surgery at the turn of the century was facilitated by changes in the content and advertising in periodicals. Advertisements had chiefly been used during the nineteenth century by independent storeowners to inform local consumers of the products in stock.[167] However, early twentieth century advertising took on a multitude of new functions in the emerging national markets made possible by the industrialized production of goods, by decreases in the cost of transportation and by the

expansion of new outlets for the sale of goods, such urban department stores.[168] Advertising was now used in hopes of creating demand for new products, inculcating brand fidelity and socializing readers to consume increasingly specific products for distinct uses.[169] Changes in the business structure of magazines and newspapers meant that publishers now took active roles in shaping their periodicals and found new ways of integrating advertising within their structure.[170] As periodicals became dependent on advertising revenues to keep their prices affordable, the relationship between content and advertising changed and so did the way the public interacted with them. The development of the advertising and public relations professions also provided new opportunities and ideas for increasingly subtle and integrated forms of marketing. All these changes enhanced the way that cosmetic surgery could be marketed, and they provided readers with opportunities to learn about the innovation of cosmetic surgery in a new commercial language that was increasingly being used to market everything from soap to cars.

Periodicals in Early Twentieth Century Life

Newspapers and magazines gained popularity throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as lowered prices made them accessible to middle-class audiences.[171] Newspapers in particular developed rapidly over the course of the nineteenth century, evolving in the 1830s from partisan papers to penny papers which sought "large circulation and the advertising it attracted, rather than by trusting the subscription fee and subsidies from political parties."[172] Changes in newspapers took place as a result of growing business interests; what Michael Schudson refers to as "the industrialization of the newspaper" began to occur in the nineteenth century.[173] By 1900, advertising revenue

represented 55% of total newspaper income and newspapers such as the *New York Times* succeeded in tripling its circulation by dropping the price from 3 cents to 1 cent.[174] According to Garvey, magazines evolved similarly in the late nineteenth century, as they too shifted from sales to advertising as their main source of revenue. In the 1890s, established monthly magazines such as *Munsey's, McClure's* and *Cosmopolitan,* dropped their prices to ten cents, in an effort to court the middle-class readership they sought.[175] In doing so, they were able "to achieve circulations in the hundreds of thousands."[176] New magazines such *Ladies' Home Journal* imitated this pricing strategy and were able to reach similar circulation figures, numbers well out of reach for older, elite magazines such as *Harper's*, *The Atlantic Monthly* and *The Century* that maintained their thirty-five cents a copy pricing.[177]

Periodicals played a vital role in the new industrialized cityscape. Newspapers informed readers of "key local concerns such as smallpox or unsanitary living conditions" and by, providing general coverage, they "helped readers keep abreast of general events in their city."[178] They reflected the daily ongoing of urban life both to those who inhabited the city and those outside the city that the newspaper reached.[179] Newspaper critic Will Irwin commented in 1911 that *The New York Times* "came nearest of any newspaper to presenting a truthful picture of life in New York and the world at large"[180] Conservative newspapers such as the *Times* scorned sensationalism and strived to provide in readers with "useful knowledge."[181]

Similarly, turn of the century magazines offered a plethora of informational content, from news items to advice columns on beauty, cookery and child-rearing, in addition to *divertissements* such as new songs and short stories. While magazines such as

Ladies' Home Journal primarily targeted a female readership, they were also meant to offer material that would suit the tastes of all the members of the household and organized their editorial content accordingly.[182] While newspapers reported on regional concerns for local readers, magazines were clustered by social class (at least in the mind of editors and advertisers) and provided "their readers with a range of information and interests that linked them conversationally to other readers in the same circle of acquaintances, and culturally to like-minded readers across the nation."[183]

While editors of magazines and newspapers often reiterated their desire to benefit the public, turn of the century periodicals remained first and foremost business enterprises with the goal of making a profit from advertising revenues.[184] In the late 1890s, Cyrus H.K. Curtis, publisher of *Ladies' Home Journal* told an audience of manufacturers "Do you know why we publish the *Ladies' Home Journal*? The editor thinks it is for the benefit of American women. That is an illusion, but a very proper one for him to have. But l will tell you; the real reason, is to give you people who manufacture things that American women want and buy a chance to tell them about your products."[185] Similarly, Adolph Ochs, who took over the failing *The New York Times* in 1896 told readers that same year that he would strive to make the newspaper "a forum for the consideration of all questions of public importance, and to that end to invite intelligent discussion from all shades of opinion."[186] In an effort to grow the newspaper's readership, Ochs lowered the price of the newspaper from 3 cents to 1 cent and in doing so, succeeded in growing circulation rates from 25,000 in 1898 to 343,00 in 1920. Such increases in circulation helped the *Times* increase its appeal with advertisers as well; agate lines of advertising jumped from 2.4 million lines in 1897 to 23.4 lines in 1920.[187]

Informing and Advertising

In this new advertising-dependent model, editors of early twentieth century periodicals actively participated in shaping the image of the magazine in order to attract advertisers.[188] Editors now took on the dual task of attracting advertisers while continuing to create appealing content for readers.[189] Whether by soliciting articles or striving to maintain a particular image, editors worked to bolster the value of their publication in the eyes of advertisers. For example, opting to live up to its newly minted motto "All the news that's fit to print" after being taken over by Adolph Ochs in 1896, *The New York Times* was intent on maintaining the image of a decent, respectable publication.[190] As historian Ira Wasserman recounts,

> Adolph Ochs...positioned the *Times* as the 'paper of record' opposed to more sensational journalism of the mass circulation dailies owned by William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer...Carl Van Anda, the managing editor of the *Times* from 1904 to 1929, enforced Ochs's policy of scorning stories with sensational, cheap, or tawdry appeal.[191]

Such displays of ideals helped Ochs to promote the newspaper in the eyes of both readers and advertisers, using slogans that referred to the newspapers high-minded image in order to build solicitation and subscription campaigns.[192] For example, in an advertising for a contest offering a bicycle tour of Europe to the 100 persons who brought in the most new subscribers, readers and advertisers could be told: "To be seen reading *The New York Times* is a stamp of respectability."[193] Claims of this type helped readers to emulate the higher classes the *Times* was thought to address, all the while extending its readership

and increasing circulation figures for the benefit of the advertiser.[194]

Advertisers expected more than just a credible image in order to continue their patronage of a given publication. Publications courted advertisers by providing appropriate editorial transitions to the advertising found in their back pages. Beginning in the early 1900s, magazines and newspapers regularly featured columns devoted to beauty and personal care, while their advertising spaces were filled with copy devoted to practitioners who provided such services.[195] Including content that appealed to the interests of advertisers and increased the readership of a publication was often used to attract the former. As Schudson notes "Advertisers, and especially the department stores, sough a female audience and were surely impressed by newspapers which made conspicuous efforts to attract women readers."[196] He continues by adding that "while the advertisers had no vested interest" in matters of importance to women such as suffrage, "they must have favorably impressed by the growing coverage of fashion, etiquette, recipes, beauty culture, and interior decorating" found in newspapers in the early 1900s.[197]

As newspapers and magazines became increasingly dependent upon advertisers, forms of free publicity were generally expected from the latter to ensure their continued financial support of a publication.[198] Given that by 1900, advertising material now equaled editorial content in a 50-50 split, editors and publishers often had very little choice in acquiescing to such demands.[199] Forms of free publicity varied greatly and at times could be quite subtle, notes historian Gerald Baldasty.[200] Puff pieces or the puffing system, now commonly referred to as product placement, disguised advertising as editorial matter.[201] According to an advertising manual published by Nathaniel Fowler in

1897, "the puff should be newsy, or should give information with its sales point disguised as much as possible" with the ultimate goal of creating "a sufficient amount of good-natured talk as to assist in selling."[202] The most successful puff pieces completely disguised their commercial goal and provided advertisers with the opportunity to transform commercial messages into "good-natured talk."[203] "The less it seemed like an ad" Garvey notes "the greater its value to the advertiser."[204] Puff pieces could either be offered by the editor or demanded by the advertisers. By the early 1900s, The Singer Manufacturing Company had established a complex marketing system that included coercing editors to write favorable copy about the company in publications where it had placed advertisements.[205] However, it is difficult to distinguish where pressure from advertisers for product placement ended and where cooperation by editors began, since both stood to profit from the commercialization of the periodical.[206] The task of editorial material was to provide an appropriate climate in which advertising and the consumption it encouraged appeared continuous and natural.[207]

Undaunted, publishers yielded to the requests of advertisers for another reason; they were convinced that advertising material would be of service to readers and that advertisers and readers shared common interests.[208] From the early 1900s onwards, the term "progressive", a favorite word of the era, was used to define the new emerging specialty of advertising, in an attempt to distance itself from older associations with traveling medicine shows and patent medicines.[209] Editors saw no issue in including advertising in their publications and conflating the boundaries between editorial content and commercial messages as "advertising educated readers and improved their lives."[210] Editorials in magazines counseled readers to pay close attention to advertisements in their

publications; the ads performed the valuable function of explaining products and "their uses to the uninitiated."[211] However, advertising was more than an education in consuming new products; it performed a civilizing function by introducing readers to the "right methods of living."[212] In the first decade of the twentieth century, "arguments on behalf of advertising as popular education frequently emphasized that it taught people how to make their lives more pleasant and comfortable."[213] Advertising was the means by which modern conveniences and progressive technologies such as vacuum cleaners, automobiles, kitchen cabinets and prepared foods were introduced into the home.[214] The public had been "taught to use, to believe in and to demand" such products through the advertising found in magazines and newspapers.[215] As the advertising manager of *Collier's,* E.C. Patterson told readers in 1909, "The advertiser and publisher bring the reader in touch with the latest and best of everything in every nook and corner of the country."[216] Unlike the simple notices of nineteenth century advertising, the new twentieth century advertising helped to keep readers abreast of new products and innovations. "Advertising became the news of modernity" Garvey writes.[217]

The educational function that advertising was thought to perform also stemmed from the new advertising and public relations professions that began to appear in 1910s and 1920s. In the nineteenth century, advertisers mainly created their own advertisements and advertising agencies were usually employed to broker space in publications. However by the 1920s, advertising agencies had succeeded in assuming control of the advertising market and "claimed authority in creating advertisements" that would directly benefit advertisers by increasing sales.[218] Techniques such as editorial-style or "reason-why" advertising, which had been used by the first copywriters in the 1880s, gained new

legitimacy in the early twentieth century as advertising professionals allied themselves with the scientific, rational or more aptly "progressive" dimensions of their discipline and used the technique to market everything from automobiles to cereal.[219] Reason-why advertising could include a detailed description of the product, it uses and its advantages for the consumer. Its lengthy copy and appeal to reason combined to form a productive approach to selling for the many newspaper professionals who now composed the emerging field of copywriters and who believed the very best of advertising should appear to be written like newspaper articles.[220] The reason-why technique was particularly useful in introducing new products in unregulated marketplaces and gave readers the confidence to trust unknown products by empowering with them with a "language and framework within which to think and talk about the products.[221] Not unlike the "good-natured talk" that puff pieces were thought to generate, the reason-why approach were often used to market "new, expensive, complex technology" such as automobiles, by providing readers with a "manageable lexicon with which to feel expert and conversant about the new intimidating technology."[222] Detailed copy and instruction added legitimacy to arguments that sought to persuade readers to seek out advertisements and consider them as a part of their education in mass culture.[223] More importantly, reason-why advertising, like puff pieces, contributed to the conflation of editorial and advertising material within the periodicals. By the 1920s, advertisements often resembled the advice literature popularized in national magazines.[224] Publishers also helped to bridge the gap between editorial and commercial content. The mixing of advertisements and editorial content throughout publications, practiced by some publications in the late nineteenth century, became widespread in the late 1910s.[225]

The development of public relations in the 1910s also provided advertisers and editors alike with an opportunity to promote products while maintaining the credibility of useful knowledge.[226] Public relations professionals, employed by businesses as well as government agencies and public officials, offered journalists with prepared material for print. By the 1920s, "news appeared to become less the reporting of events in the world than the *reprinting* of those facts in the universe of facts which appealed to special interests who could afford to hire public relations counsel."[227] Accordingly, in 1926, out of 255 stories reported on December 29 in *The* New *York Times*, 147 articles, more than half, originated in news items provided by press agents.[228] Employing news items provided by press agents made sense to the new publisher of the advertising-driven publication; in shaping the magazine and newspaper to suit the tastes of advertisers, he abandoned his role as journalist concerned mainly with creating editorial content for his readers.[229] "He became a producer; his readers became consumers of the goods and services. Publishers provided a media for their advertisers' message" and "publishing became large enterprise" that facilitated "the entire system of marketing and distribution."[230] In the end, publications fulfilled their roles as guides to consumer culture. They "assumed the task of advising readers how to use the continual stream of new domestic appliances, processed foods, and cleaning products spun off by industrialization."[231]

The result of the changes described above was that "ads came to seem natural and ordinary to readers" in the new advertising-dependant periodicals that emerged in the 1900s.[232] As the advertising resembled ever more the editorial content and the latter became increasingly inspired by the needs of advertisers, readers experienced the

magazine as a whole and found value in both types of content.[233] Advertising and editorial content were of equal value because each instructed the readers in important ways. Editorial content attracted readers by including topics of interests and providing useful knowledge for readers living in increasingly large, urban and confusing spaces. Advertising content for its part, kept readers *au courant* of the latest products and services. More importantly, both types of content provided readers with a new vocabulary with which to discuss goods—those they daydreamed of purchasing, those they planned to purchase and those that had already been acquired.

Extending the history of cosmetic surgery to include considerations in the histories of publishing and advertising, provides productive ways to think about how changes in consumer culture facilitated the solicitation of clients for cosmetic surgery between 1900-1931. The findings I present in the next chapter locate editorial content about cosmetic surgery within the larger contexts I have described in this chapter. In their framing, the primary sources I examine hereafter represent a continuity with the same forms of advertising and editorial content that were employed at the turn of the century to market other new innovations such as vacuums and automobiles.

CHAPTER III: Cosmetic Surgery And The Consumer

Cosmetic surgery flourished in the first decades of the twentieth century in great part due to the promotional efforts of beauty doctors who talked "to anyone who would listen."[234] Beauty doctors:

> advertised in phone directories and newspapers, gave public demonstrations of the their work at beauty conventions and in department stores, published books and pamphlets extolling their skills, and generally conducted themselves in manner abhorred by most physicians who considered themselves professional. Precisely because of this conduct...it was these practitioners whom the American public knew and accepted as plastic surgeons.[235]

However, this is an insufficient explanation for the rise of cosmetic surgery as a cultural phenomenon, one that grew so large (and lucrative) that physicians were forced develop new ethical frameworks in order to incorporate the practice within the boundaries of medical authority, eventually forming the ASPRS in 1931.[236] Indeed, there is more to the story of cosmetic surgery's popularity before this year than the publicity efforts of enterprising beauty doctors. We must also define the role that communication texts played in promoting specific interpretations of cosmetic surgery and how these interpretations may have facilitated the consumption of cosmetic surgery. We must ask: What frames were used to interpret cosmetic surgery for potential consumers? How did this framing construct cosmetic surgery consumption in appealing and engaging manner? What larger themes in advertising content made these frames compelling? It is only by providing preliminary responses to these questions that we can begin to understand the

contribution of popular literature in shaping the new clientele for cosmetic surgery before the establishment of the ASPRS in 1931.

To reiterate, efforts to promote cosmetic surgery coincided with what McCracken refers to as "new attitudes, new sources of information, new kinds of information processing and new decision-making activities", operating in the service of an emerging consumer culture.[237] New sources of information, such as detailed advertising copy or commercialized editorial content such as puff pieces, were in part responsible for the new ways that readers interacted with the information found in periodicals. In time, readers viewed the publication as a whole and made little distinction between editorial and advertising content.[238] Commerce and consumption weaved themselves throughout magazines and newspapers. In editorial and advertising content, consumers were taught how to purchase, what to purchase and the reasons to purchase a plethora of goods, from automobiles to breakfast cereals.[239]

As noted above in the description of the methodology utilized in this thesis, the findings presented in this chapter are divided into two categories, representing the most common frames used to articulate cosmetic surgery in selected editorial content published between 1900-1931. This study found that cosmetic surgery was defined by frames of: (1) "cosmetic surgery as a solution"; and (2) "cosmetic surgery demystified." None of the articles adopted one frame exclusively. Rather, a combination of these frames was employed to inform readers and to stimulate the consumption of cosmetic surgery. Within the texts, the frame of "cosmetic surgery as solution" positions aesthetic surgery as a logical consumer choice for specific conditions (wrinkles, lines, variations in nasal shapes, etc.) resulting in a positive outcome. In the second frame, the use of

technical language and detailed descriptions demystifies cosmetic surgery for the reader, constructing a mechanized view of the body and promotes the view of cosmetic surgery as easy and casual.

On the one hand, the adoption of these frames indicates a presumed lack of knowledge on the part of readers and situates their framing within an educational order. On the other hand, much like the new forms of advertising that appeared at the turn of the century (facilitated by the emergence of advertising professionals), these frames constitute consumer-oriented "messages...designed to appeal and influence consumers by calculating what visual and verbal stimuli can evoke the desired" consumption activities, chief of which is purchasing.[240] Combined, these approaches seek to produce knowledgeable, confident and receptive consumers.

The conclusion drawn is that the rise of cosmetic surgery was facilitated by the adoption of consumer-oriented frames that mirrored the codes and themes supplied by advertising content of the period. The result was that cosmetic surgery was constructed as a good and its consumption was naturalized within consumer culture. The texts do so both implicitly, by reaffirming the themes located in advertisements, and explicitly, by coding cosmetic surgery as a product and by emphasizing the practice as a consumer choice.

1. Framing "Cosmetic Surgery as a Solution"

Nine of the selected ten articles fit into the frame of "cosmetic surgery as solution" in at least one of the following variations: cosmetic surgery as a solution to specific problems; cosmetic surgery as a logical solution; and cosmetic surgery as a

solution with a positive outcome. Each of these variants suggested to readers the construction of cosmetic surgery as product choice and the naturalization of its consumption. Each editorial displays significant continuities with the themes evoked in advertising texts of the period.

Cosmetic Surgery as a Solution to Specific Problems

Between 1900-1931, readers learned about a variety of conditions that cosmetic surgery could cure or improve. The frame of cosmetic surgery as solution in editorial content operates by identifying specific conditions and suggesting procedures for their treatment. As I shall detail, this framing mirrored the themes of industrial progress, youth culture and self-consciousness that advertisements sought to promote to readers.

Sign of progress

At their most basic level, the identification of specific conditions informed readers about the availability of products to treat them, perhaps where none had existed before (or insofar as readers were aware). In this regard, articles that emphasized the problems that cosmetic surgery could remedy offered potential clients a marketplace "solution" (product) for their treatment.[241] Highlighting the availability of treatments for conditions such as lines, wrinkles and moles not only informed readers of new consumer choices but also kept them abreast of the general developments in industrial progress. For example, a 1905 article describes what is today commonly understood as a facelift:

> We do wonderful work...We do not fool with massage. When a face is wrinkled or grows flabby, we simply cut out a little piece of the skin a little beyond the temple of the skin and draw into shape. Then for the creases around

> the mouth that may remain we inject a fluid that does away with the crease—we inject it in the crease. In others words, we pad it out.[242]

Similarly, the reporter of a *Times* article from 1920 described for readers the use of paraffin injections, equivalent to the contemporary use of "injectables" such as Botox and Restylane :

> One dark beauty stunt is so subject to danger that only the brave risk it. But it has been known to do wonders in imparting youth and freshness to an otherwise withered skin. The process is secret, to be sure, but is has to do with injecting a solution containing paraffin under the skin so that it fills out the hollow places, makes plump, the spots that should be and are not and generally speaking, does the youthful trick to the last ounce of perfection.[243]

Articles such as these called attention to the particular conditions that cosmetic surgery could correct; "when a face is wrinkled or grows flabby", "the creases around the mouth", "withered skin" and "hollow places" could all benefit from the described procedures. Similar representations of cosmetic surgery proposed to treat a multitude conditions. In 1907, readers of an article titled "Here's One More Thing That Radium Will Do", ("that modern philosopher's stone") featured in *The New York Times* learned how "the ordinary birthmark" and "the mole", those "troublesome disfigurements", could be corrected:

> A plate smeared with a paste containing a certain percentage of the salt of radium is laid upon the mark and remained there for a certain length of time at the judgment of the operator. Two to four applications of this description cause the birthmark to painlessly and gradually fade away and disappear.[244]

Cosmetic surgery offered new choices to treat other conditions as well; articles proposed that it was possible to correct variations such as ears that "stood out in a way that was anything but beautiful" (1910) and "abnormal duck noses, pointed noses, overhanging noses and all the other freak noses of which the human face is capable." (1920)[245] Expressions such as "all the other freak noses" expanded the horizon of possibilities for corrections via cosmetic surgery. They implied that surgery could improve conditions other than those described, perhaps inspiring readers with the notion that the beauty doctor's skilled hand could treat their own problematic noses. Likewise, *The New York Times* article titled "Will Transform Ugly Ducklings Into Swans, Says Beauty Doctor" (this article also implies progress) (1907) advised readers that "changing the *shape of the features* when they are defective is done by surgery."[246] Highlighting what procedures could do is significant within the frame of cosmetic surgery as solution given that "confusion about what was and was not possible and safe...was widespread" at the turn of the century.[247] By defining specific conditions and recommending procedures for their treatment, articles acted as forms of both popular and consumer education, at once informing readers of new developments in industrial progress and clarifying the product choices available in cosmetic surgery treatments.

The identification of problems in articles also gave readers a meaningful way to interpret classified advertisements for beauty doctors. For example, in a 1913 issue of *Vogue*, Mrs. R. H. Laird, promoted her "Facial Treatments that give life and nourishment to neglected skin. Sagging muscles and wrinkles remedied."[248] Similarly the frame of solution was used to promote the services of practitioners such as "Mme Mays, Face Specialties" who in 1919 offered the correction of "freckles, lines, wrinkles and muscles"

at her office on "50 West 49th St., N.Y.C."[249] In 1927, "Mme. Estelle" located at "79 Madison. Ave., Suite 1203, N.Y" offered "treatment for satisfactory restoring of youthful contour. Removes wrinkles, baggy eyes, double chin, sagging face muscles."[250] Pointing out the specific sites that cosmetic surgery could improve assisted readers in identifying beauty doctors who performed the new procedures they could read about in editorial content.

The identification of conditions (and the corresponding procedures that promised to remedy them) in editorial content about cosmetic surgery did more than simply inform readers of new products: it suggested the industrial progress of modern society. In their editorials, magazine editors such as Frank Munsey advised their readers about the beneficial qualities of advertising: "the advertiser is 'a public benefactor...It is through him that the reader keeps in touch with progress, with the trend in prices, with inventions and improvements...In this age of invention, of mechanical perfecting, you are sure to wake up and find that you have bought something that is out of date, unless you watch the advertising pages."[251] Framing cosmetic surgery as a solution for the treatment of specific conditions aligned the practice with the civilizing mission that both advertisers and editors were credited with undertaking.[252]

> Advertising's educational potential....comprised 'news' enhanced by 'psychological power'. Combining these two attributes, advertising benefitted people by making them require new and improved acquisitions to be content, such as, by 1908, the safety razor and breakfast cereal, which had clearly improved consumers' lives.[253]

According to Truman A. DeWeese, who published one of the first books on advertising strategies in 1908,

> advertising 'enlarges and expands the horizon of a man's life and experience by bringing to his attention new commodities designed for his comfort and convenience, without which he would have been perfectly happy in his ignorance; *but, having learned of their existence, he cannot find it in his heart to be happy or contented until he possess them'*.[254]

Through narrative accounts, the articles suggested that patients who had learned about the cosmetic surgery, could not be "happy or contented until" they had acquired it. In 1905, an investigative reporter for *The Washington Post* recalling her consultation at a beauty doctor's office wrote: "At the door a large snub-nosed woman was met coming in, lured by the hope of having her heavy features made classic."[255] *The New York Times* in 1907 seemed certain that the mole removal surgery they described would inspire readers: "This will be welcome news to many whose soul is vexed even more than their face is disfigured by some provoking mole strawberry mark or port wine stain."[256] These examples suggest that editorial content about cosmetic surgery embodied the compelling "educational potential" of advertising and stimulated readers to seek out cosmetic surgery as a (potentially new) treatment course for specific conditions.

Similarly, like the "advertising pages" that Munsey cautioned his readers to watch for, the frame of cosmetic surgery as solution for specific conditions encouraged readers to view cosmetic surgery as a positive outcome of industrial progress. For the author of a 1926 *Times* article, cosmetic surgery (and the prosperous beauty business it entailed) represented a new and fulfilling consumption habit:

> What has happened here is only another instance of specialization and the factory system replacing domestic industry. As the making of bread has moved out of the kitchen into the huge plants of the bakery mergers, so the care of the person had been moving out of the boudoir into the beauty parlor. The development of the factory system has brought comforts and even luxuries within reach of the masses. And the beauty specialist has become accessible to a population that never could afford the luxury of a boudoir and a capable ladies' maid. Considering the amount of time and energy expended by individual women through the ages in striving for beauty and against the onset of time, the present system probably represents an economic gain.[257]

This example not only suggests the construction of cosmetic surgery as a good, much like factory-made bread, but also highlighted the increased leisure that such a new consumption habits would entail.

Cosmetic surgery and aging

The majority of the articles examined framed cosmetic surgery as a treatment for a specific category of conditions: those related to aging. For example, the facelift promised to "draw into shape" the "wrinkled" or "flabby" face of advancing years.[258] Similarly, paraffin injections offered readers a new means of "imparting youth and freshness to an otherwise withered skin", assuring readers of their capacity to relieve the appearance of "hollow places", thereby doing "the youthful trick to the last ounce of perfection."[259] Within this frame, the articles suggested that cosmetic surgery could restore vitality to the amorphous and desiccated appearance caused by aging. Beauty doctors offered cosmetic surgery as an alternative to other treatments in the quest for a

more youthful appearance: note the beauty doctor who contrasts his "wonderful work" against the work of those who "fool with massage."[260] The age of clients figured too; in the 1910 *Times* article, the beauty doctor describes his patient for whom he has "cut open the bags under his eyes" and "sewed up the wrinkles around his mouth" as an "old beau" who is "85 if he is a day."[261] Likewise, according to *The New York Times* article from 1920, paraffin injections was the secret weapon of "a well-know actress, noted for the fact that she keeps her good looks while time raves on, is said to have employed this method with distinguished success."[262]

Framing cosmetic surgery as a solution for conditions associated with aging encouraged a view of the practice as a beauty treatment in competition with other types of anti-aging cures in the era of pre-medicalized beauty parlor surgery. Classified advertisements for cosmetic surgery established continuity between surgical and non-surgical services; facelifts, electrolysis, and face creams were all categorized under the heading of "Beauty Culture" in 1910s and 1920s issues of *Vogue*.[263] For example, in 1919, beauty doctor "Dr. Dys" from the "V.Darsy—Salon de JEUNESSE," who offered "Face & Neck treatments by the great French specialist" competed alongside "Sara scientific facial percussion" to "restore contour...fill hollows" and "remove lines."[264] Similarly, in 1927, beauty doctor "Evelyn Jeanne Thompson" and her "scientific treatment for face and throat rejuvenation" which promised "Tissues lifted—contour restored" vied for potential clients with the "Viking Beauty Crème and Astringent" to "remove droopings...and impart to the skin a firm, young texture."[265] The integration of cosmetic surgery within the context of classified advertisements suggested to readers its position as product choice among various other consumer options.[266]

The frame of "cosmetic surgery as solution" both problematized signs of aging and promoted the necessity of a youthful appearance. However, the framing of cosmetic surgery was not alone in highlighting these preoccupations; turn-of-the-century readers would have found these concerns paralleled in other types of editorial and advertising content. According to Lears, youth became a primary preoccupation of the new corporate advertising of the 1910s and 20s.[267] Emerging national advertising campaigns for diverse products, from toilet powder to tobacco, framed youth as a prized attribute: "The Gibson Girls and Yale men, later the flappers and frat boys who populated the national advertisements of the early twentieth century, seemed emblems of youthful exuberance....The newer corporate advertising contained almost nothing but sweet young things."[268] Advertisements such as those for Phoenix Silk Hose (see fig. 1) exemplified the "perpetually boyish husband and his giggling girl-bride—two icons who came to dominate the fiction as well as the advertising pages of the national magazines during the 1910s and 1920s."[269] Advice literature in magazines also mirrored this trend. In 1924, *Vogue* advised readers that the "double chin" was "the disfigurement that women fear most with the advance of age."[270] Advice columns, such as "How Can I Keep Young" featured in *Ladies' Home Journal,* warned readers in 1911 that "A woman's desire to preserve her youth is a fundamental feminine trait. This department maintains that this desire is not only right but that it is also a woman's duty to herself, her health and her family."[271] Almost two decades later, the magazine made it clear to readers what expectations were placed on their appearance: "This the way you should now look: Lean and light on your feet; tanned—all over if possible; eyes clear with blue whites...The eyes should not be sunken and dull like an old vulture's...they should be clear, bright, with that

Figure 1. Advertisement for Phoenix Silk Hose, *Ladies' Home Journal*, October 1913.

half-shut,slippery look of a child's eyes, and this whether you are twenty or forty or sixty. It can be done and it is being done these days"[272] According to one reporter from the *Times*, such demands enhanced the appeal of cosmetic surgery as a treatment for signs of aging:

> For the better part of a generation the doctors have preached hygiene—with a tranquil soul—as the only way to true beauty; and one result has been a tremendous increase in beauty doctors...The doctors have taught that the only real adornments of youth are those which come from fresh air: exercise, diet, sleep and healthful thoughts. But youth seems to have gone in for artificial reinforcements. How is one to reconcile the dominant note in clothes which is 'le sport' with the 'five-angle facial lift'? It is the striving for youth in cases where the older health prescriptions are of little avail.[273]

Such advice suggested the construction of cosmetic surgery as a viable alternative to other, perhaps less effective, treatments for signs of aging. In doing so, the framing of cosmetic surgery echoed the youth-centric culture promoted in advertisement during the first decades of the twentieth century.

Self-criticism

Lastly, the frame of cosmetic surgery as solution for specific conditions encouraged readers to analyze their own appearance according the logic of the article. Woodstock notes that articles about cosmetic surgery that describe facial features in detail (dimension, proportion, etc.) promote the adoption of a self-critical perspective which readers are likely to adopt.[274] For example, *The Washington Post* in 1905 cautioned readers that eyes could be "sunken" and aged skin when "untreated" "looked

like a piece of leather."[275] Similarly, a 1920 *Times* article titled "Cosmetic Surgery", informed readers about a variety of nasal imperfections to look for; the reader could suffer from "a humped nose, a nose that is too long or too short or broken or twisted or in any way malformed."[276] The article also offered cosmetic surgery as a solution for "wrinkles in the forehead" and "wrinkles around the nose and mouth."[277] A later article from a 1930 issue of *Photoplay*, described a variety of corrections being practiced in Hollywood. Cosmetic surgery improved several normal variations such as "a button at the end of the nose", "a tip-tilted nose", the nose with "too much of an incurve" or "the outcurve model."[278] Different ear shapes too could benefit from surgical intervention: "Flop ears" that "stuck out like a mad elephant's" were "pinned back" and "sail ears" were "pulled back out of the wind."[279] However the article, suggestively titled "Would You Like a New Nose?" advised readers that cosmetic surgery was not exclusively practiced in Hollywood. In comparison to the "more than two thousand faces" which had been "remodeled for the screen", author Harry Lang informed readers that "if we could look into records, we would probably find as many New York society women in the plastic surgeons' consulting rooms."[280] The leading title of the article engages readers, asking them to consider if they would indeed like a new nose, but more importantly highlights the reason why a new nose might be desirable (too big, too small, etc). Similarly, within the article, the critical (and at times cruel) descriptions of the "problem" areas suggests that readers should apply these interpretations to their own faces. Critical self-consciousness is further mirrored in the Lang article by the accompanying image of a seated woman admiring her reflection in a hand mirror while a beauty doctor, standing

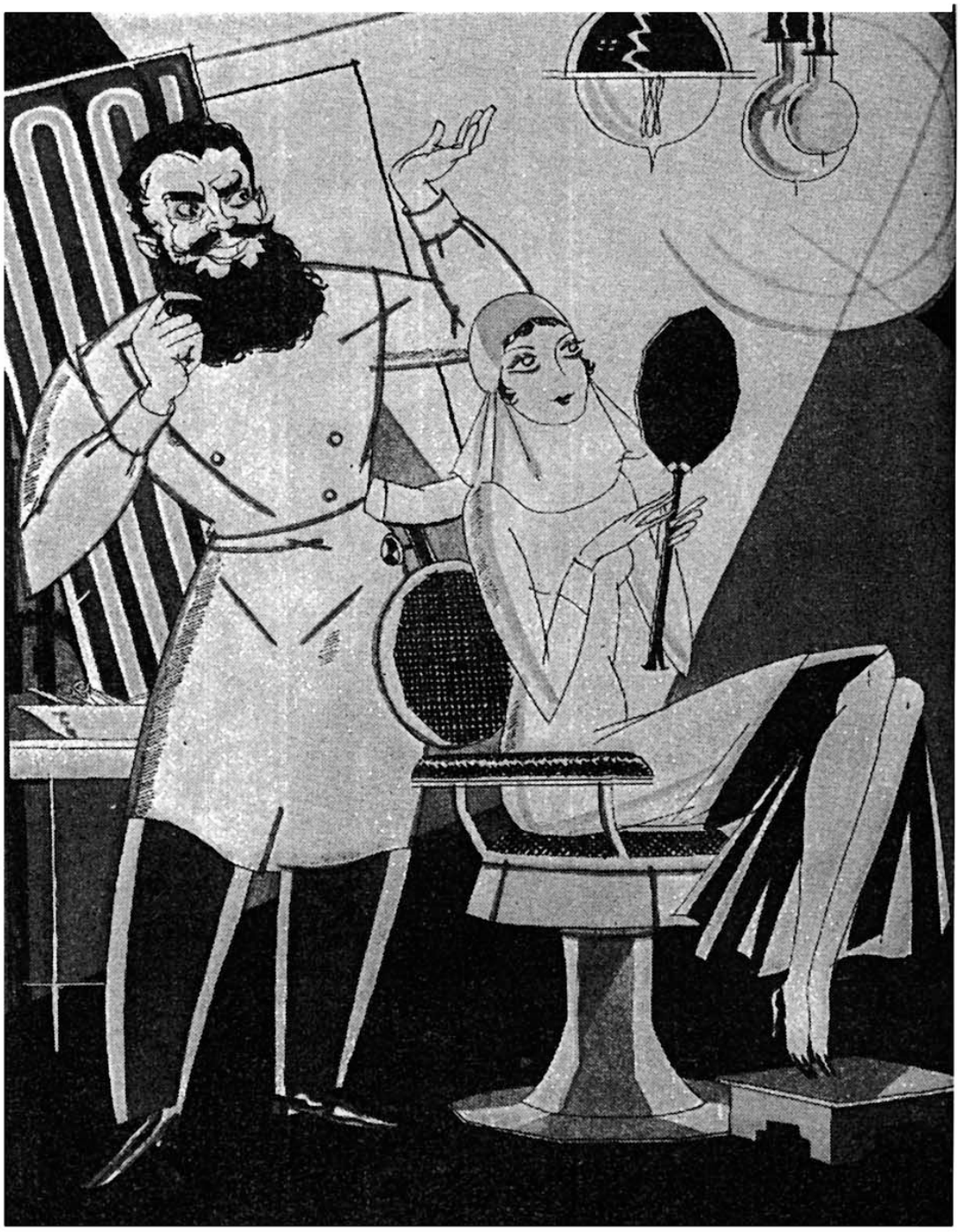


Figure 2. ***Photoplay,*** **August 1930.**

behind her, displays the results of his latest procedure and waits for the reaction of his client. (see fig. 2)

In identifying particular "symptoms" it could remedy, the frame of "cosmetic surgery as a solution" played on the insecurities of readers and encouraged them to self-diagnose their own shortcomings. Articles that identified and described the defects that cosmetic surgery could correct, such as "sunken" eyes and "a humped nose", coincided with the advice of advertising experts who counseled that persuasive advertisements could be achieved by "creating a new habit of thought in order to make unconcerned people take notice".[281] Using this new habit of thought, readers were encouraged to analyze their own features in comparison with "defects" described in the articles and to self-diagnose the nature of their problem.[282] The frame of cosmetic surgery as solution and the self-diagnosis it suggested, encouraged potential clients to view cosmetic surgery as a consumer-driven practice, in which their own expertise regarding the nature of the problem was an essential motivator in seeking treatment.

Likewise, the new advertising techniques that emerged at turn of the century sought to create responsive consumers through similarly exacting copy. Such measures were necessary as:

> there seemed to be a profusion of goods that were little used or wholly unknown a generation beforehand: radios, refrigerators, and rayon; a maze of devices for the home; gas stoves and oil furnaces; wrist watches, phonographs and cigarette lighters; mechanical pencils; airplanes, autos, and antifreeze; trucks and tractors; conveyor belts, spray painters, and excavating machines."[283]

Assuring the consumption of new products required socialization to new methods of consumption; readers were encouraged to buy ever more specific products each with its own unique use.[284] A variety of consumer industries, but particularly those related to the grooming of home and self, relied on this tactic.[285] Norris reports that "household cleaning agents followed a path similar to cosmetics in their development, that is, from a few simple general-purpose products to a wide diversity of specialized items for specific purposes."[286] The body, like the home, lent itself particularly well to the "accumulation of various products, each for a separate objectified portion of the body...each portion of the body was to be viewed critically, as a potential bauble in a successful assemblage."[287]

Consequently, rhetorical types of advertising, exemplified in the reason-why technique, actively sought to create doubt in the mind of readers and draw them in with detailed copy about how the product could correct the problem in question. Advertisers "recognized that in order to get people to consume and more, importantly to keep them consuming, it was more efficient to endow them with a critical self-consciousness in tune with the 'solutions' of the marketplace than to fragmentarily argue for products on their own merit."[288] Ads such as those for Alabastine "The Sanitary Wall Coating" (1911) and the Hygeia Nursing Bottle (1917), published in the *Ladies Home Journal,* sought to stimulate consumption by manufacturing fears that their products could soothe.[289] (see fig. 3 and fig. 4) Alabastine warned readers: "Your child spends five to six hours in one room each day. Doesn't that make you vitally interested in *Clean* School walls and in colors that will not strain eyes or irritate nerves?"[290] The Hygeia advertisement similarly questioned readers "Did your doctor warn you? A bottle may *look* clean but still not be surgically clean."[291] Likewise, it has been suggested that the impressive commercial

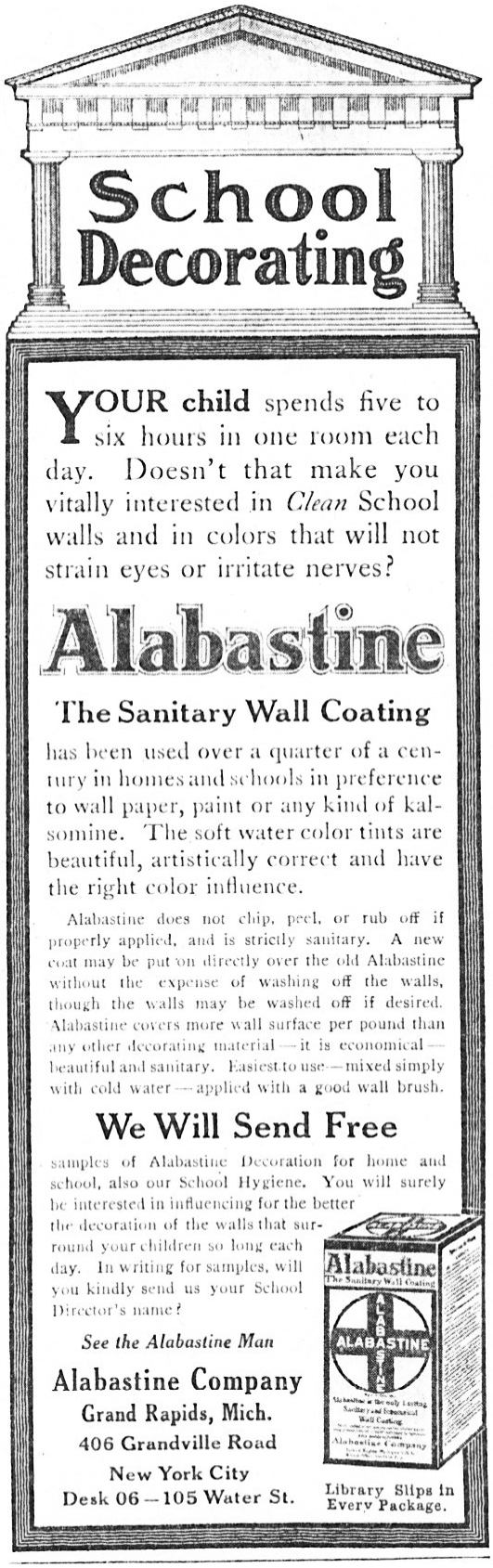


Figure 3. Advertisement for Alabastine Wall Coating, *Ladies' Home Journal,* July 1911.

Figure 4. Advertisement for Hygeia Nursing Bottle, *Ladies' Home Journal,* April 1917.

success of Listerine mouthwash during the 1920s and 1930s (it had been a failing company in 1921) was largely a result the company' popular ad campaigns that sought to keep "people worried about halitosis."[292] The popular ads asked readers to consider "Did you ever come face to face with a real case of halitosis (unpleasant breath)? Can you imagine yourself married to a person offending this way? Halitosis is the unforgivable social offense, and don't fool yourself by thinking you never have it."[293] New advertising techniques were guided by the notion that "the determining factor for buying was self-critical and ideally ignored the intrinsic worth of the product."[294] In their study, *Middletown,* published in 1929, the Lynds made a similar observation regarding modern advertising. Unlike the techniques used a generation earlier, advertising in the 1920s was

> concentrating increasingly upon a type of copy aiming to make the reader emotionally uneasy...[the] copy points an accusing finger at the stenographer as she reads her motion picture magazine and makes her acutely conscious of her unpolished finger nails...and [it] sends the housewife peering anxiously into the mirror to see if her wrinkles look like those that made Mrs. X in the advertisement 'old at thirty-five' because she did not have a Leisure Hour electric washer.[295]

Articles about cosmetic surgery suggested a similar form of comparative self-criticism in the myriad ways the reader was left to interpret the identified "defects" for which surgery offered a solution.

Editorial content, however, was not limited to identifying "problems" for cosmetic surgery to remedy. It also provided readers with an introduction of how to analyze their features. Narrative vignettes in articles invited readers to carefully examine their

appearances for symptoms that cosmetic surgery could correct. In this sense, the framing of "cosmetic surgery as solution" emulated the "accusing finger" noted by the Lairds. For example, *The Washington Post*'s investigative reporter in 1905 relayed the following account of her consultation with a beauty doctor:

> "Ah, now I have you in a better light—I see your nose is crooked! That could be easily remedied—
>
> "My nose!" gasped the investigator. "My nose!" If there was anything she had ever plumed herself on it was her nose, which she had always been told was classic.
>
> "It would only cost you a $100" he continued. But the woman wasn't listening; she was looking around for a mirror.[296]

Such exchanges promoted to readers the need to carefully scrutinize their features, even those they had previously considered acceptable. Similarly, in the Lang article, a beauty doctor noted that his clients "use mirror-analysis—try to find their facial shortcomings, and then come to us and buy our services" (1930).[297] In viewing cosmetic surgery as a solution for the improvement of specific conditions, the texts not only encouraged consumers to adopt a self-critical awareness of their appearance but also suggested how such an analysis could be undertaken.

Within the youth-centric, self-conscious consumer culture I have described above, editorial content encouraged readers to view cosmetic surgery as a solution for the mounting "flaws" that one could that one possess. Such themes were similarly evoked in advertising texts to attract the attention of readers and interest them in the product for sale.

Cosmetic Surgery as a Logical Solution

Like the emerging reason-why advertising techniques that copywriters used to "project an apparently logical argument", appeals for cosmetic surgery within the frame of solution presented the decision to undergo cosmetic surgery as a product of sensible consumer choice-making.[298] This common-sense approach often entailed addressing the reader directly and the texts employed questions and statements to engage readers. Turn of the century advertisements often mimicked this strategy and used a tone of neighborly advice to counsel readers about their purchasing activities.[299] Reason-why strategies in advertisements sought to emulate "salesmanship in print" and trade publications such *Printers' Ink* encouraged advertisers to employ simple, common language, devoid of "conventional superlatives", in their effort to appeal to readers.[300] In constructing "an apparently logical argument", however, advertisements promoted a particular type of rationalization; a "logic of consumption" in which the consumption of goods defined "the world of facts."[301] Advertisers worked to create advertisements that "would increasingly define the accepted cultural idiom."[302]

In reference to cosmetic surgery, editorial content presented surgery as a logical consumer choice. For example, the investigative reporter from *The Washington Post* informed readers that "according to beauty specialists, there in no reason *every woman* should not be as beautiful as a houri and as graceful as a fawn" (1905).[303] Similarly, *The New York Times* in 1920 informed readers that cosmetic surgery (via facelift) was an obvious choice: "One would refresh a dress that was slightly dragged looking. Why not a face? Why not indeed? It is being done all the time all about us."[304] These types of statements engaged the audience within the discussion of the text and spoke to the reader

directly, using a voice imbued with common sense. Ohmann notes that writers used this mode of address to convey to readers "tacit knowledge" of their "principles of meaning and acceptance" and of their "taken-for-granted values."[305] This technique mirrored the personal forms of address that advertising had adopted starting in the twentieth century: "advertisers learned to speak to the consumer as one person rather than a vague anonymous aggregation. 'You' became their audience."[306] Cosmetic surgery, was, as the texts implies, within the reach of "every woman" who had "no reason" to refuse it; it was after all as sensible to refresh the face as it was to mend a "slight dragged looking" dress.

The new "logic of consumption" the same 1920 article confirmed, entitled readers to take advantage of the benefits of cosmetic surgery.[307] In reference to a woman who had been visiting a beauty doctor "for years now", the text informed readers that "she had recognized her right and seized the opportunity of doing her utmost to preserve her gifts...Religion and tradition and conscience and all that sort of thing stand very much in the way of interfering with what are termed the ways of nature. How about helping out nature?...She who looks 30 when the age gauge measures 56 thinks it is silly to allow nature to become dusty and moth eaten."[308] In this example readers were encouraged to align themselves with the "smart" woman, *une habituée,* who had who had avoided becoming "dusty and moth eaten" by visiting a beauty doctor for "years now." In this context, the answer to a question like "How about helping out nature?" seems almost obvious. Cosmetic surgery appeared as a logical product choice (it would, after all, be "silly" to forego it) for the woman sensible enough to recognize "her right." Such descriptions evoked comparison with the parable of the smart shopper in advertising texts: "ads flattered women...as capable choosers" with the ability to recognize and make

wise consumer choices.[309] Advertisements were designed to persuade readers, the majority of whom were thought to be women, that the judicious selection of goods, (in great quantities) would assure for their family "satisfactions for today and the best sequence of satisfactions for the future."[310] For example, an advertisement for Colgate's Ribbon Dental Cream in *Ladies' Home Journal* dated 1926 (see fig. 5) presumed that readers would recognize Colgate as "the modern dentifrice" which will "help you keep the priceless gift of healthy, glistening teeth."[311] The sensible reader (and by extension consumer) could avoid the ills ("rheumatism, heart disease, kidney trouble, even insanity and death") accompanying "bad teeth" by judiciously selecting and purchasing Colgate's, recommend by both druggists and dentists.[312] Conversely, as Ewen and Norris have noted, advertisements depicted the unwise shopper as "old-fashioned": someone whose failure lies in her inability to "keep up with the times."[313]

The use of questions in editorial content about cosmetic surgery ("Why not a face?", "How about helping out nature?") evoked "the feeling of personal communication" advertisers used to present their arguments to readers.[314] Advertisers articulated this feeling by assuming the conventions of face-to-face conversation and delivering the manufacturers arguments in the voice of a "cheerful, wise, helpful neighbor."[315]

> The new voice of advertising positioned the company close to the reader in concern, familiarity and social standing...the neighborly person [in advertisements] claims the right to advise the reader, a right grounded in expertise and worldliness...But even when he parades his special knowledge...he does so in a manner that levels and ingratiates...he lets the

This might have been prevented

Bedridden because of infected teeth!

Invalidism Traced To Neglected Teeth

Authorities Say That Many Are Bed-ridden Because of Dental Decay

No advancement in recent years is more important to humanity than the new science of preventive dentistry.

You may think that the statement, "Bad teeth may even shorten life itself", is the remark of an alarmist. If it seems absurd to you—or an exaggeration—ask your dentist. Let him tell you how serious the results of tooth decay may be.

Scientific research traces rheumatism, heart disease, kidney trouble, even insanity and death, to bad teeth. Doesn't that prove the importance of preventive measures?

Do you realize the prevalence of tooth decay? At the meeting of the American Dental Association, in Dallas, Texas, an authority summarized as follows:

"If every cavity in America were fixed it would take the present generation of dentists about 116 years, working eight hours a day, to do it."

Importance of preventive dentistry is more apparent every day. Tooth decay is almost a national menace. It must be fought with every means which science can command.

Give yourself a chance!

Special Trial Tube Offer

COLGATE & CO., Dept. 641
581 Fifth Ave., New York City

I enclose two cents in stamps. Please send me a generous trial tube of Ribbon Dental Cream.

Name_____

Address_____

In Canada, 72 St. Ambroise St., Montreal

Look for this new salesgirl at your dealer's

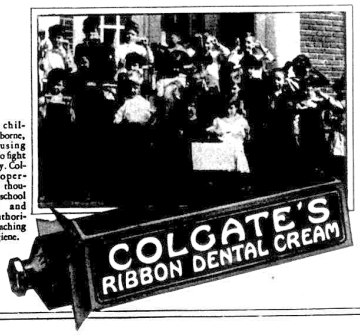
THIS attractive young lady has been given a place in your favorite store. She is there to recommend Colgate's to you—to help you keep the priceless gift of healthy, glistening teeth.

The recommendation of Colgate's Ribbon Dental Cream which you get both from your dentist and your druggist, is something more than mere casual endorsement. Your dentist, of course, has been graduated from a college of dentistry. Your druggist is a graduate of a recognized college of pharmacy.

These men know—and when they recommend Colgate's their endorsement is unbiased and professional. It is significant that, in the face of all sorts of "cure-all" claims and wonder-working promises, more professional men endorse Colgate's than they do any other dentifrice.

Colgate's is the modern dentifrice. It cleans your teeth safely and thoroughly. It *removes causes* of tooth decay. Thus it helps prevent tooth trouble, protects your health and safeguards the attractiveness of your smile.

Large tube 25c. On sale everywhere.



Here are children in Osborne, Kansas, using Colgate's to fight tooth decay. Colgate co-operates with thousands of school officials and health authorities in teaching dental hygiene.

Colgate & Co.
Established 1806

Figure 5. Advertisement for Colgate Ribbon Dental Cream, *Ladies' Home Journal,* January 1926.

> reader in on his knowledge, crediting him with good sense and practicality [for following his advice].[316]

Witness the intimate tone of an advertisement for the Tycos Stomormoguide, published in *Vogue* in 1924 (see fig. 6) as it counsels the reader:

> Don't give her spoons. You may not know her pattern, and the family will have set her up in silver. Nor a lamp. She has more lamps already than any house has outlets. Nor any of the obvious gifts that every bride has had duplicated since weddings were invented. Give something novel. And useful too, Why not give a Stormoguide? It will look so well on one of the mantles in the new house, or hanging against the hall wall. And then the convenience of knowing twelve to twenty-four hours in advance, what the weather is going to be! So many open·air picnics made—so many Spring frocks saved![317]

The advertisement addresses the reader in mid-conversation, appearing as the response to the imagined question "What gift should I buy for the wedding" and counsels the reader directly through the question, "Why not give a Stormoguide?" Employed both in texts about cosmetic surgery and in advertisements, writing styles that evoked "personal communication" heightened the credibility of arguments presented to persuade readers to purchase.[318]

According to the texts, the logic of cosmetic surgery consumption within the context of commercial beauty culture was based on several grounds. For example, the texts claims of popularity hinted at the mass consumer appeal of the practice: "It seems to be the ruling fad with New York face specialists to cut out skin on

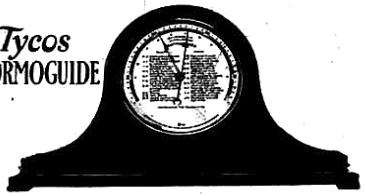
A New Wedding Gift

DON'T give her spoons. You may not know her pattern, and the family will have set her up in silver. Nor a lamp. She has more lamps already than any house has outlets. Nor any of the obvious gifts that every bride has had duplicated since weddings were invented.

Give something novel. And useful too. Why not give a Stormoguide? It will look so well on one of the mantles in the new house, or hanging against the hall wall. And then the convenience of knowing, twelve to twenty-four hours in advance, what the weather is going to be! So many open-air parties made—so many Spring frocks saved! He'll appreciate it too, if he's a golfer or any kind of an outdoor man.

The Stormoguide is a scientifically accurate forecasting instrument, made so simple that anyone can read it at a glance. It makes an ideal gift for any occasion. Particularly as a gift for your *own* home.

Tycos STORMOGUIDE



Stormoguide 2554, as illustrated, has a 5-inch silver metal dial set in a 7-inch frame, mahogany stand, 17½ inches wide at the base. Highly polished, it is an ornament to any home, club or office. Price, $50.00.

Stormoguide 2256X, first quality movement, compensated to overcome changes in temperature. Antique finished, round brass case. Five-inch silvered-metal dial in 7-inch frame. Made to hang or stand. Price, $25.00.

If for any reason your dealer cannot supply you with a Stormoguide, one will be sent direct upon receipt of price—postpaid and safe delivery guaranteed

Taylor Instrument Companies
ROCHESTER, NEW YORK
and
110-112 Church Street, Toronto, Canada

Figure 6. Advertisement for Tycos Stormoguide, *Vogue,* June 1 1924.

the face that gets too loose from age or other causes. Injecting fluid into the face seems another favorite pastime."[319] (1905) A *Post* article, published two years later as a special correspondence, commented similarly: "Beauty doctoring has become a rage here [in New York]."[320] Such statements encouraged readers to interpret the consumption of cosmetic surgery as an acceptable and popular consumer choice. A later article published in 1926 in *The New York Times,* titled "Facial Surgery Now A Routine", corroborated this fact. Cosmetic surgery when practiced by "beauty specialists, many of them graduates of reputable colleges" was safe and common; "the operation of lifting a face or removing wrinkles is not very serious, nor very difficult."[321]

According to another article, cosmetic surgery could even be beneficial to health. When speaking of the removal of beauty marks by a beauty doctor, one reporter in *The New York Times* in the 1907 affirmed:

> Though largely a matter of cosmetics, there is one aspect to them which is a little more serious, and that is that both the distended tiny blood vessels of the red marks and the pigmented thickenings of the moles are a little more apt than the surrounding healthy skin to become the starting point of tumors...The danger is not a very serious one, probably not more than one in five hundred of the port wine stains, or one in a hundred moles, will ever undergo this change. But they are good things to get rid of wherever this can safely be done"[322]

Such descriptions encouraged readers to view cosmetic surgery as a logical consumer choice whose benefits extended beyond the obvious enhancement of appearance to include health benefits as well.

Other commentators, such as the reporter of a 1926 *Times* article, insisted that cosmetic surgery (and the beauty industry to which it belonged), legitimized itself on the grounds of new social relations:

> With the help of the plastic surgeon, faces are now being 'lifted' in a sense not mentioned in the Bible. But if the motive is earthly, it is not necessarily wicked. There is danger of exaggerating the moral implications of a cosmetics and beauty-parlor industry, with an annual output, as the United States Census would say, approaching half a billion dollars. The age is frivolous, perhaps, but not to the extent that would seem to be indicated by this lavish expenditure on the adornment and refinement of the flesh...What does count is the newer, and, on the whole, admirable frankness. Formerly the world agreed to overlook the vast secret labor that entered into the maintenance of feminine beauty. Today we resort to the beauty-parlor as openly as to the barber's; and frequently the same person resorts to both.[323]

Within the frame of solution, the texts presented readers with a variety of reasons to interpret the consumption of cosmetic surgery as logical consumer choice. With advertising texts, these appeals shared a common desire to address consumers through the projection of an apparently logical argument. The assumption of logic in texts about cosmetic surgery ordered the practice within the "world of facts", in which facts consisted of consumable goods and services.[324]

Cosmetic Surgery as a Solution with a Positive Outcome

The frame of cosmetic surgery as solution highlighted the positive outcomes of surgery. Such appeals constituted "emotional reasons-why" in their appeal to desires, and

they often articulated the life-changing benefits of cosmetic surgery through personal narratives.[325] Emotional appeals complemented the logical arguments that portrayed cosmetic surgery as solution. Though the use of personal narratives, readers were invited to imagine the wondrous outcomes of their own surgery.[326] Similarly to advertising texts, the use of "emotional reasons-why" attempted to "reach a mass audience" through "a universal appeal" grounded in "human instinct" for happiness, pleasure and success.[327] In words of Lears, advertisers "correctly sensed that advertising was not about the things themselves, but about the representation of wishes for things."[328] Successful advertising, as argued by Ewen, was determined by its "ability to release people from the limitations of their own lives."[329]

Within the editorial content I examined, the recipients of cosmetic surgery bettered their lives in both material and psychological terms. In the frame of "cosmetic surgery as solution", among the benefits suggested to readers undergoing cosmetic surgery were that the process gave access to fame, marriage, professional success, psychological contentment, or peace. For example, *The Washington Post* in 1907 maintained that the success of "a French singer who came here many years ago" was largely the result of several cosmetic surgery procedures.[330] According the article, "one of the peculiar operations she underwent was the slitting of the outer corners of the eyes, which characteristic has proved one of her charms."[331] The "course of treatment" had proven successful, and the text informed readers that the singer had now "achieved stardom."[332] Similarly, a 1910 article of *The New York Times* suggested that women who underwent cosmetic surgery could regain lost love and achieve success in marriage. The text reported the story as told by the beauty doctor who had performed the operation:

> There was a young woman who came from a small town in Pennsylvania to have her nose straightened...She had been engaged for several years, but her sweetheart kept putting off the marriage until finally she came to the conclusion that it was her nose. He made several slighting remarks about it. That was why she thought so, and so she made up her mind to come to me. I straightened it. When she left the city you'd have hardly recognized her she was such a handsome girl...Her sweetheart fell in love with her all over again the moment he saw her. She has two beautiful children now.[333]

This story is exemplary in the way it links the variants that formed the frame of cosmetic surgery as solution; the problem, logical solution and positive outcome are explicitly connected for the reader. Like the earlier examples, the story first suggests acute self-consciousness and awareness of one's flaws ("she came to conclusion that is was her nose"), followed by logical course of action ("she made up her mind to come to me") and concluded with a positive outcome ("she has two beautiful children now"). For those seeking professional success in Hollywood, cosmetic surgery was proclaimed to have a direct impact on the career of aspiring actors. In *Photoplay*, Lang recounted the stories of several actors who improved their job prospects by undergoing cosmetic surgery procedures:

> Marie Wood was an extra girl who couldn't get work because her nose looked 'funny' on the screen, so she had it fixed and got more jobs afterward. Le Roy Mason, who had trouble getting film jobs, finally had his pugilistic style nose rebuilt and now works steadily. Paul Lukas had the tip of his nose narrowed and won a contract with Paramount for reward.[334] (1930)

In describing the positive impacts that cosmetic surgery could effect in the narratives, the texts invited readers to imagine and construct their own stories of positive transformation.

The texts often used dramatic narratives to illustrate the "miracles of consumption" that happened to individuals who elected (or not) to undergo cosmetic surgery.[335] In 1905, a *Times* reporter described the case of a man who had turned to the services of a beauty doctor because, "unless a mole was removed from his face his girl would not marry him."[336] In this instance, the man would benefit from marriage to "his girl" only if he underwent cosmetic surgery. In Hollywood, refusing surgery could signify the beginning or end of a career according to *Photoplay* in 1930:

> "Belle Baker and Vivienne Segal came to Hollywood. Both of them had noses that didn't photograph well...Both registered splendidly in their voice tests, but not in the lens tests. Belle Baker thought it over, and decided to do nothing about it. She's not in pictures any more. Vivienne Segal, on the other hand, decided that no nose was going to cheat her out of success...Now she has contracts for five pictures ahead."[337]

Personal narratives about cosmetic surgery used dramatic comparisons to illustrate to readers the benefits that would result from cosmetic surgery and conversely, the negative outcomes if they did not.

The articles also suggested that cosmetic surgery could have a positive psychological impact on clients. In a *Times* article from 1910, a beauty doctor told the reporter of the transformation undergone by one of his clients: "You see those photographs on the mantel, before and after operations? They are of a young Kentucky distiller, whose nose was so sunken he was a fright. You can see how handsome he was

when I finished with him...Grateful! I should say that he was. He not only paid me what I asked him, which was no small sum, but he sent me three barrels of the finest Kentucky whiskey you ever tasted."[338] In alluding to the before and after pictures and addressing directly the reporter (and by extension the reader), the promise of a positive outcome is evidenced by the sentence, "You can see how handsome he was when I finished with him" and invites the reader to picture the outcome in his own mind. However, cosmetic surgery not only represented the possibility to achieve beauty (and all its implicit advantages) but also a sense of well being, as implied in the gratitude of the client who gifted the beauty doctor with his best product in return. In describing the state of mind of client after surgery, the story suggested to readers the inner transformation that would occur as well. Another article from *The New York Times,* published a decade later, suggested the psychological benefits of cosmetic surgery more explicitly. The reporter described a 56-year-old woman who had undergone cosmetic surgery:

> She was indeed a perfect specimen of beauty cultured and pampered to its nth degree. From within, her spirit shone radiantly to meet the standard set by the vividness of the front she presented to the world. There was no ulterior sign of decay to drag down the youthfulness of the expression of her soul.[339]

Here once again it is suggested that cosmetic surgery could not only transform appearance (and by extension, the material circumstances of the beneficiary), but also provide consumers of cosmetic surgery the opportunity to express their soul, their true selves.

The connection depicted in turn of the century advertisements between product consumption and positive outcomes has been documented by a number of advertising

historians. Ohmann refers to the phenomenon as the "magical promise" of advertising: "It had (and has), really just one general form: if you used X, you would become Y or like Y, or your life would be changed in way Z."[340] Similarly, Lears define this quality as "self-transformation through purchase" and attributes the prevalence of this quality in advertising to nineteenth century traditions of carnivalesque medicine shows and Protestant conversion narratives.[341] For Laird, the connection between products and positive outcomes constitute "emotional reasons-why" in their ability to "argue" claims that would appeal to readers' desire for elitism and prestige.[342] Likewise, in Ewen's analysis, positive outcomes in advertisements appealed to '"instinctive strivings" for status; "within the vision offered by...ads, not only were social grace and success attainable: they were also defined through the use of specific products."[343] Each of these definitions highlights the way, between 1900-1931, advertisements invited consumers to participate in the fantasy of consumption, by alleviating readers from the hardships of their current circumstances through product consumption: "ad men linked...products to envied social status, inviting consumers to rise though their purchase and use."[344] For example, Woodbury's soap offered readers of *Ladies' Home Journal* in 1929 (see fig. 7) several positive outcomes through the consumption of their product.[345] The advertisement promised readers that the use of Woodbury's would assure that their skin gained "clearness, suppleness and fineness of texture", thereby transforming "your skin" of "today-if it is excessively oily or rough and dry." More importantly, in reference to the pictured "most alluring Woodbury users", the copy asserted that "what Woodbury's Facial Soap has

December, 1929 LADIES' HOME JOURNAL

You can keep YOUR skin LOVELY as THEIRS

by using this famous 3-step Woodbury Treatment

THESE beautiful types were chosen from thousands of entrants in forty-eight States as the loveliest, the most alluring Woodbury users.

What Woodbury's Facial Soap has done for them it can do for you.

No matter what the condition of your skin is today—if it is excessively oily, or rough and dry, or if blackheads and blemishes embarrass you—do not be discouraged. Your skin, you know, is constantly changing—old dead cells are being replaced by new ones. Let Woodbury's make this new skin what you want it to be. Let it make *you* more attractive, more desirable.

Get a cake of Woodbury's today and give your skin the famous Woodbury treatment described above. This treatment was developed by a celebrated skin specialist after years of experience in treating all types of skins. It cleanses and stimulates the skin just as the expensive beauty treatments of the famous salons do. Follow it faithfully and watch your skin gain in clearness, suppleness and fineness of texture until you, too, possess "a skin you love to touch"! The Andrew Jergens Co., Cincinnati, O.

1 Wring a cloth from hot water and hold it against the face to open the pores.

2 With tips of fingers work a rich, antiseptic lather of Woodbury's Soap and warm water well into the skin to dissolve all dust, powder and rouge. Wash away with clear, warm water.

3 Rub a small piece of ice lightly over the face to close the pores and tone up the skin. If your skin is very thin or dry, do not use ice. Apply Woodbury's Cold Cream and leave it on overnight. This will keep your skin soft and vital.

"A DEBUTANTE has to have a good skin. That is why I never use any soap but Woodbury's on my face. It keeps my skin just the way I want it to be."
—Natica de Acosta, *prettiest debutante.*

"I LOVE the feeling of my skin after Woodbury's—refreshed, invigorated, deliciously smooth."—Julia D. Evans, *most beautiful woman in the arts.*

"IT'S TERRIBLY HARD to keep your face clean in Chicago. Woodbury's is wonderful for cleansing; it leaves your skin so deliciously soft and smooth. We *love* it!"—Lois V. Dodd and Helen E. Dodd, *prettiest co-eds.*

"ALL THE GIRLS in New Orleans are beautiful. Yes, eight out of ten are not just pretty—they're beautiful! And nearly all of us use Woodbury's for our skin. We think it is marvelous. If a girl has any trouble with her skin—she goes right after it with Woodbury's Soap. It surely helps to keep your skin lovely and smooth!"—Lolita Gladys Gelpi, *loveliest sub-deb.*

"WOODBURY'S is wonderfully cleansing, yet with a delicacy and mildness that I've never found in any other soap."—Mrs. George Franklin Hester, *most beautiful young wife.*

Six most beautiful Woodbury users . .
chosen by John Barrymore . . F. Scott Fitzgerald . . Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr.

Figure 7. Advertisement for Woodbury's Soap, *Ladies' Home Journal,* December 1929.

done for them it can do for you."[346] This statement implied that readers could become like the privileged debutantes and college girls and gain access to the status and social approval ("chosen by John Barrymore...") they represent by using Woodbury's soap.

Summary

In employing the codes and themes of advertising texts, the framing detailed above gave readers the opportunity to recognize, articulate and interpret cosmetic surgery as a solution. In the first variant, "cosmetic surgery as a solution to specific problems", the texts did so by highlighting for readers the conditions that surgery could correct, often identifying the conditions as signs of aging and participated in the problematization of conditions through critical descriptions. In the second variant, "cosmetic surgery as a logical solution", the texts employed a familiar tone to convince readers that the consumption of cosmetic surgery consisted of a sensible consumer-choice. Lastly, in the variant of "cosmetic surgery as a solution with a positive outcome", the texts portrayed the practice as a means to better their lives in both material and psychological terms. Within the context of these variants, the frame of cosmetic surgery supplied readers with a meaningful way to order cosmetic surgery consumption within their worldview. In the parallels I have drawn between texts about cosmetic surgery and advertisements, I hope to have shown similar cultural significances between purchasing surgery and purchasing products. In the fears and fantasies it is built upon, the frame of "cosmetic surgery as solution" helped readers to create a "story" about cosmetic surgery that resonated with the anxieties and desires evoked by advertising texts between 1900-1931. In the next section, I focus on how texts employed detailed descriptions and technical descriptions to

overcome reader's apprehensions about cosmetic surgery, portraying the practice as easy and casual.

2. ***Framing "Cosmetic Surgery Demystified"***

The frame of demystification was observed in six of the selected ten articles. For the purposes of this analysis, the term demystification refers to the ways in which the text provided readers with a sense of expert knowledge about cosmetic surgery. As stated earlier in this chapter, providing readers with detailed explanations was essential to marketing the practice, given the confusion and misinformation surrounding cosmetic surgery and its procedures and effects, in the early twentieth century.[347] The frame of demystification empowered potential consumers and assisted in overcoming "buyer resistance" by providing factual information (or more aptly what appeared to be objective information—it is impossible to know if the descriptions where in fact accurate) conveyed through detailed descriptions and technical language.[348] The texts complimented this demystification by portraying cosmetic surgery as easy and casual. The desired result was to produce confident consumers who were comfortable with the idea of cosmetic surgery and who, armed with expert knowledge, would feel at ease seeking out the services of practitioners. In this way, the specialized knowledge disseminated in the texts naturalized cosmetic surgery consumption by encouraging readers to think of cosmetic surgery in the expert's terms. Imparting expertise to readers is an integral part of cosmetic surgery marketing and has been noted more recently by Brooks.[349]

While the fantasies and fears portrayed in the frame of cosmetic surgery as solution were destined to entice readers, supplying them with a framework to consider cosmetic surgery as a product and to liken its consumption to shopping, the frame of demystification familiarized readers with the actual surgical process and provided them with the necessary expertise to become competent consumers. Advertisements of the same period supplied readers with similar expertise in the form of advice and instruction to "personalize their relationship" with the promoted good.[350] As Marchand writes in *Advertising the American Dream*, "Advice or 'coaching'...aligned advertiser and potential consumer on the *same side* in opposition to a task or problem confronting the consumer."[351] The goal of this section is to show how the demystification of cosmetic surgery, articulated through technical descriptions and jargon, personalized readers' relationship to cosmetic surgery and in so doing mirrored techniques employed more broadly by advertising texts in this period, namely to counsel consumers and encourage consumption.

Demystifying Cosmetic Surgery Procedures

Detailed descriptions of cosmetic surgery procedures managed expectations for surgery and aimed to soothe potential anxieties and objections by imparting readers with technical expertise. Through descriptions, the texts aimed to make cosmetic surgery seem easy and familiar. For example, in 1919, Wendell V. Hubbard, reporting in *The Washington Post*, gave readers an extensive description of "scarless surgery for ugly noses."[352] The text described each step of the procedure in-depth, from the anesthesia to recovery:

> The surgeon paints the mucous membrane lining of the nose with a 10 per cent solution of cocaine. This he repeats once, and then follows it with an application of a solution of pure adrenalin, whIch checks bleeding...The surgeon next injects the same solution into the exterior part of the nose all the way down to the tip. Through these measures he is able to perform an absolutely painless and bloodless operation...Now comes the actual work of cutting the unsightly bump from the bridge of the nose. The surgeon pushes his delicate, keenly sharpened scalpel or knife up the nostril and makes an incision in the mucous membrane lining of the nose, beginning at the lower edge of the nasal bone and running downward about an inch...The surgeon then detaches and lifts up the soft tissues of the nose and also a part of the cheek from the bone, so that it will be possible to move the soft tissues in any direction...He takes a fine saw, and, always working from within, saws away the bony excrescence from the bridge of the nose...After the excrescence on the nose has been completely removed and trimmed down to ideal, agreeable proportions, the surgeon presses the skin down over the remodeled foundation in the position and form desired...The nose is held in its newly fixed position by means of a nasal splints until the parts have healed. This usually takes two to three weeks. At this stage the nose may still show a moderate degree of swelling, which however, will gradually recede, and within a few weeks more will have disappeared entirely.[353]

One year later, *The New York Times* offered readers a similar, abridged, description for nasal procedures. According the reporter, the beauty doctor "gives a local anesthetic and

proceeds to cut away bone, cartilage tissue, anything that seems to interfere with the creation of the perfect nose. All this cutting is done from inside the nose so that there are no outside scars."[354] Descriptions such as these offered readers detailed knowledge about the procedures and gave potential consumers the opportunity to trust cosmetic surgery as a good resulting from sophisticated expertise. Through extensive detail-oriented copy about the procedures, the texts conveyed this expert knowledge upon readers and enabled them to confidently understand and shop for cosmetic surgery.

Descriptions of other procedures similarly clarified the technical aspects of cosmetic surgery and framed the procedures as easy and casual. As the writer of the 1920 *Times* article reported: "Being bored with one's face is no longer the sad experience that is used to be. Of course, there are limits even to face reproduction. If an entirely new face is demanded, the surgeons will demur, but alteration of features may be accomplished with dispatch."[355] This statement grounded cosmetic surgery in realism and corrected the sometimes fantastic (mis)information circulated about the practice, all the while reaffirming the simplicity with which the procedures could be performed ("accomplished with dispatch").[356]

By framing cosmetic surgery as casual and familiar, the texts often downplayed the side effects that could result from surgery. In doing so, the texts assisted in overcoming buyer resistance by offering readers the authoritative and expert knowledge of those already acquainted with cosmetic surgery. For example, *The New York Times* reported in 1920: "Wrinkles in the forehead are wiped out by cutting the nerve of the forehead somewhere underneath the hair so that the scar does not show. After the nerve has been cut it is impossible to have any control over the forehead. One cannot frown, but

then frowning is considered unnecessary."[357] This statement aimed to overcome the anxiety of potential consumers by exposing the side-effect of the procedure—loss of mobility—but quickly reassuring the reader that the lost function is unnecessary, at least to those in the know ("but then frowning is considered unnecessary"). That same year, the *Times* offered readers similar technical information accompanied by the assurance of simplicity: "Then there are the tucked faces. This sounds quite ominous but it is quite simple to the initiated. Way up under the hair where it never would show there is a tiny scar where the skin has been cut, the covering of the whole face dragged up into position and the cut sewed up with several close stitches."[358] Similar to the previous example, the text reassures the readers of the procedure's simplicity, despite its apparent complexity ("sounds quite ominous") and provides them with a detailed description of the operation, which they too will find simple once "initiated." Statements of this kind aimed to produce confident consumers by imparting them with technical knowledge and naturalizing the consumption of cosmetic surgery by providing the reader with the expertise of those acquainted with the procedure. The latter *Times* article concluded that cosmetic surgery was in fact so easy that clients required no recovery time. A woman present at a dinner party who had undergone the aforementioned facelift procedure "divulged the fact that only that very morning she had spent in the office of a surgeon who had done the trick of eradicating the drooping, tell-tale lines about her mouth and eyes."[359] The later *Photoplay* article, published in 1930, used similar phrasing to frame cosmetic surgery in easy terms: "The facial lift calls for the cutting away of tissue at the ear and the sewing together of the wound, which, automatically, pulls up the flabbiness of the face and removes years from the looks."[360] While the technical knowledge dispensed in this

example familiarized readers with the procedure, the word "automatically" supported them in interpreting the intervention as easy and simple. Other examples cited in earlier in this chapter similarly characterized the uncomplicated nature of cosmetic surgery procedures. The mole removal procedure described in the 1907 *Times* article titled "Here's One More Thing That Radium Will Do", was described as "simplicity itself."[361] Likewise, note the reporter who commented in same publication in 1926, that the "operation of lifting a face or removing wrinkles is not very serious, nor very difficult."[362]

In dispensing expert knowledge, the texts specifically excluded or minimized other aspects of cosmetic surgery procedures, such as recovery, side effects and health risks. While the texts appeared to present objective and expert knowledge, the constantly reiterated claims of ease and simplicity that accompanied the descriptions, obscured the very complexity they attempted to present. Lears has noted a similar paradox in advertising texts of the 1920s: "Corporate advertising aimed to clarify confusing claims by presenting a transparent window on the product for sale. Yet the appearance of transparency was often merely a surface effect designed to win the confidence of the consumer—mystification in the guise of demystification."[363] Likewise, advertisers of complex technical products such as radios, automobiles and refrigerators often distilled their explanations of the product's functioning through a single accessible feature.[364] Advertisers were counseled to provide consumers with an understanding of complex products that could be distilled into a singular and memorable interpretation:

> Dramatize the qualities of General Motors' car engines by proclaiming their Knee-Action—even if this phrase was useless as a literal description or

> explanation. Provide them with all they needed or wanted to know about the 'cold-making mechanism' of the new Frigidaire by labeling it a Meter-Miser. In short, give the consumers such competence as they seemed to as they deemed to want and to be capable of acquiring—the competence to speak of the results of technology by reciting the proper slogans.[365]

Marchand adds that advertisers who conducted early market research "noted how often housewives spoke of certain brands in the exact phrases used in the advertisements..." leading them to assume that "the most successful campaigns were those that educated consumers by inducing them to adopt the advertiser's formula for talking and thinking about the product."[366] The demystification of cosmetic surgery similarly encouraged readers to abbreviate the expertise dispensed in texts through the constantly reiterated themes of simplicity and ease. The descriptions of procedures provided readers with sufficient knowledge to encourage trust and familiarity, while the accompanying claims of ease provided them with a singular, memorable "slogan" or feature by which to remember the procedures.

However, the instructional value of advertising went beyond distilling expert knowledge; advertisements actively advised readers on the consumption of all products. Advertisements assumed the vital task of instructing consumers about products choices in an increasingly crowded consumer marketplace: "During the 1920s and 1930s a proliferation of products, brands, and styles of goods presented consumers with a multiplicity of choices....Advertisers quickly embraced a broader advisory role in helping people with an enlarged freedom of choice."[367] Indeed, the rapidly multiplying selection of goods, "had created a vacuum of advice" and advertisers "recognized that consumers

might well fail to realize the benefits of technological and stylistic advances until advertising actively advised them."[368] The authoritative advice and instruction provided in advertisements removed the need for consumers to make critical reflections about their product choices, and offered readers instead counsel that would induce them to arrive at a "premade decision."[369] As Marchand notes, "the efficacy of the premade decision was particularly important in the case of what theorist now classify as 'experience goods'—products whose qualities and consequences can be determined only by use, not by examination prior to purchase."[370] For example, an advertisement for Mulsified Cocoanut Oil Shampoo, appearing in a 1926 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal*, offered readers a trustworthy "quick and simple method", supported by the first hand experience of "thousands of women, everywhere" for "proper shampooing" to achieve "soft and silky" hair.[371] (see fig. 8) In offering readers counsel on the best method for hair washing, the advertisers not only promoted their product, but assured them that they too could experience the same wonderful results enjoyed by the many women who already employed the recommended product and method.

To be sure, the experience of hair washing and that of undergoing cosmetic surgery were (and remain) vastly different and one might assume each of them to entail different degrees of consumer anxiety and consequence (although, based on the previous examples cited in this chapter, cosmetic surgery at the turn of the century belonged to same order as other beauty parlor practices, such hair care).[372] But the "premade decisions" they offered readers were essentially the same; both types of texts encouraged readers to adopt a singular interpretation of the practice they promoted.[373] In providing (limited) expertise about cosmetic surgery procedures, the examples presented above

Your Hair Appears Twice as Beautiful—*when Shampooed this way*

Try this quick and simple method which thousands now use. See the difference it makes in the appearance of your hair.

Note how it gives new life and lustre, how it brings out all the wave and color. See how soft and silky, bright and glossy your hair will look.

THE alluring thing about beautiful hair isn't the way it is worn.

The real, IRRESISTIBLE CHARM is the life and lustre the hair itself contains.

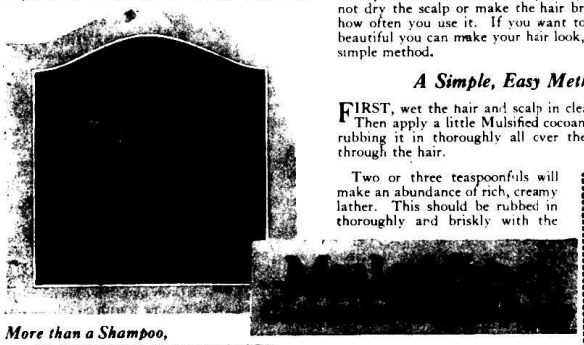
Fortunately, beautiful hair is no longer a matter of luck. You, too, can have beautiful hair if you shampoo it properly.

Proper shampooing is what makes it soft and silky. It brings out all the real life and lustre, all the natural wave and color and leaves it fresh-looking, glossy and bright.

When your hair is dry, dull and heavy, lifeless, stiff and gummy, and the strands cling together, and it feels harsh and disagreeable to the touch, it is because your hair has not been shampooed properly.

While your hair must have frequent and regular washing to keep it beautiful, it cannot stand the harsh effect of free alkali which is common in ordinary soaps. The free alkali soon dries the scalp, makes the hair brittle and ruins it.

That is why thousands of women, everywhere, now use Mulsified cocoanut oil shampoo. This clear, pure and entirely greaseless product brings out all the real beauty of the hair and cannot possibly injure. It does not dry the scalp or make the hair brittle, no matter how often you use it. If you want to see how really beautiful you can make your hair look, just follow this simple method.



More than a Shampoo,
it's "BEAUTY INSURANCE"

A Simple, Easy Method

FIRST, wet the hair and scalp in clear, warm water. Then apply a little Mulsified cocoanut oil shampoo, rubbing it in thoroughly all over the scalp, and all through the hair.

Two or three teaspoonfuls will make an abundance of rich, creamy lather. This should be rubbed in thoroughly and briskly with the finger tips, so as to loosen the dandruff and small particles of dust and dirt that stick to the scalp.

After rubbing in the rich, creamy Mulsified lather, give the hair a good rinsing. Then use another application of Mulsified, again working up a lather and rubbing it in briskly as before.

After the final washing, rinse the hair and scalp in at least two changes of clear, warm water. This is very important.

After a Mulsified shampoo you will find your hair will dry quickly and evenly and have the appearance of being much thicker and heavier than it really is.

If you want to always be remembered for your beautiful, well-kept hair, make it a rule to set a certain day each week for a Mulsified cocoanut oil shampoo. This regular weekly shampooing will keep the scalp soft and the hair fine and silky, bright, fresh-looking and fluffy, wavy and easy to manage.

You can get Mulsified cocoanut oil shampoo at any drug store or toilet goods counter, anywhere in the world. A 4-ounce bottle should last for months.

Mail This *Coupon and* Try it FREE 26M-28

THE R. L. WATKINS COMPANY
1276 West 3rd Street, Cleveland, Ohio

Please send me a generous supply of "Mulsified" FREE, all charges paid. Also your booklet entitled "Why Proper Shampooing is BEAUTY INSURANCE."

Name .....

Address .....

In Canada address THE R. L. WATKINS CO., 462 Wellington St., West Toronto, 2-Ont.

Figure 8. Advertisement for Mulsified Cocoanut Oil Shampoo, *Ladies' Home Journal,* July 1926.

encouraged readers to adopt a premade decision about the surgical experience: that cosmetic surgery was easy, casual and familiar. Within this context, the frame of "cosmetic surgery demystified" assisted readers in overcoming anxieties about surgery and naturalized the consumption of procedures by providing reader with the necessary knowledge to feel expert about the practice.

The Mechanical Body and Technical Vocabulary

The frame of "cosmetic surgery demystified" also encouraged the naturalization of cosmetic surgery consumption by providing readers with expert terminology. Often found in the detailed copy of reason-why advertisements, the technical jargon used in texts about cosmetic surgery invited readers to adopt the expert's terms, providing them with the necessary vocabulary to discuss, think about, and articulate desires for cosmetic surgery procedures.[374] The jargon employed in texts about cosmetic surgery identified new areas of the body (and new ways for them to be manipulated) in harmony with new mechanistic interpretations of the body promoted in advertisements.

Technical terminology explained for readers the underlying causes of the conditions the practice sought to remedy. For example, a 1907 *Times* article describing mole and birthmark removal surgery provided readers with a scientific interpretation of their cause: "The ordinary birthmark simply consists of an unusual enlargement and overgrowth of the surface blood vessels of the skin, in a particular, limited area. The mole is the same condition with the addition of some thickening of the layers of the skin, the deposit of an unusual amount of the pigment, or coloring matter which is present in all skins."[375] Terms such "surface blood vessels" and "pigment" provided readers with a new vocabulary for identifiying the conditions that afflicted them. Similarly, the "scarless

surgery for ugly noses" described in *The Washington Post* in 1919 offered readers a variety of new words to articulate their condition.

> In some cases the patient will be afflicted with a nose somewhat too long, a condition usually fatal to feminine beauty...Always operating within the nose, the surgeon cuts out a triangular piece of cartilage, including the mucous membrane, beginning near the tip...The surgeon is very careful not to remove too large a piece, as otherwise the nose might be too much shortened, a condition that would be difficult to correct. In order to avoid this danger, the surgeon removes the cartilage piece-meal. During this stage of the operation he presses the tip of the nose upward. This guides him in determining the amount of cartilage to be removed. When the proper amount of cartilage has been removed, the tip of the nose is raised and kept in place by stitches.[376]

By using technical terms such as "mucous membrane" and "cartilage", the text encouraged readers to adopt expert language to describe their condition; an excess of "cartilage" was responsible for "a nose somewhat too long." Such technical understandings of cosmetic surgery assisted in overcoming buyer resistance by promoting a mechanized view of the body, in which each portion body could be controlled and corrected. For example, *The New York Times* in 1920 informed reader that "Wrinkles around the nose and mouth are done away with in a different manner. Behind the ears incisions are made. The superfluous skin, the unnecessary tissue that is making cheeks sag or puff out and wrinkle is removed. The skin is tightened up, pulled back, 'elevated' is the technical term."[377] In this instance, the terms "superfluous skin" and "unnecessary tissue" are presented to readers as more technically precise accounts of the cause of "the

wrinkle." Furthermore, the text provided readers with the appropriate term to describe the desired result; upon removal of the "unnecessary tissue", the skin would appear "elevated." Similarly, in his 1930 *Photoplay* article, Lang used the terms "removing superfluous tissue" and "excess tissue carved" to describe the to goal of cosmetic surgery procedures.[378] Such descriptions encouraged readers to adopt technical language to articulate the nature of their conditions. More importantly, technical vocabulary desensitized readers to the prospect of surgery by providing them with new terms to identify and classify various parts of the body.

In this respect, the texts invite comparison to advertisements of the era. Garvey, paraphrasing the work of Judith Williamson, notes that "promoting and framing a product creates new categories of seeing and new classifications for reading the world. A booklet advertising Hoover vacuum cleaners, for example, names and diagrams five kinds of carpet dirt, defines three as most important and dangerous to carpets" and "shows how the Hoover removes these three important kinds."[379] In doing so, the product defines "the world around it, creating new categories out of previously undifferentiated areas of experience."[380] Witness the evocative "scientific chart of the face" in an advertisement for the Primrose Face Molding Set.[381] (See fig. 9) The chart defined a multitude of smaller regions on the face, each representing a "muscle lines to be followed in face molding."[382] The underlying message aimed to deconstruct the face into a multitude of sections, each to be "guided along the lines of loveliness."[383] "It is a scientific fact", affirmed the advertisement, "that the muscles of the face which control the contour are plastic, like the sculptor's clay."[384] In connection with depictions of cosmetic surgery, technical terms assisted readers in identifying increasingly specific body parts; the texts informed readers

You can mold youth into your face by this scientific method

The world's most famous beauty salon now offers free instruction. The Primrose course in face molding teaches you to mold loveliness into your face as surely as a sculptor molds life and beauty into clay. Mail the coupon now!

HAVE you ever watched the deft fingers of a great sculptor mold a thing of grace and beauty from common clay? With his expert knowledge of anatomy, how swiftly he strips away the ugliness and leaves a living figurine of grace and beauty.

It is a scientific fact that the muscles of the face which control the contour are plastic, like the sculptor's clay. By right molding and manipulation they too can be guided along the lines of loveliness.

It was left to Primrose House to develop and perfect the science of face molding. Now, by the exclusive Primrose method it is possible in your own boudoir to correct the sagging lines of age and mold youth and beauty into the face.

Please accept this free instruction

Will you please accept a free course of face molding instruction with the compliments of Primrose House, the world's most celebrated beauty salon? Without charge or obligation on your part we will gladly forward direct to your home, complete instruction in the Primrose method, a method we have devoted years and thousands of dollars to perfect.

Wholly unlike the ordinary massage which is so apt to stretch the skin and cause the facial muscles to sag, Primrose Face Molding consists of gentle yet definite pressure and relaxation of the fingers, following the muscles with a firming, upward motion.

By this method, which you can learn easily at home, you can mold loveliness and youth into the face as surely as a sculptor molds beauty into plastic clay.

America's most fashionable women come regularly to Primrose House

Once the charming home of Julia Marlowe, Primrose House is now the rendezvous of America's most fashionable women during their stay in New York. To the peace and quiet of our restful salon daily come Gotham's socially elect, famous women of the stage and people who are constantly in the public eye.

Here in our treatment rooms registered nurses with deft, capable fingers give the face molding treatments that have made Primrose House famous all over the world. And the same effective methods they use may easily be followed in your own boudoir.

A scientific chart of the face below, showing muscle lines to be followed in face molding. Complete, simple instructions are given in our free book, "Here Dwells Youth."

Send for this free course today

Snip the coupon at the foot of this page and send it to Primrose House this very day. By return mail we will send you our book, "Here Dwells Youth," which contains simple instructions in the famous Primrose Method.

If you will buy the few Primrose preparations called for in the course and follow the instructions for a week we promise you will be delighted at the results as you see them clearly reflected in your mirror. It is amazing to see how quickly drooping muscles become firm, how your skin blooms and thrives and how joyous youth drives back the distressing signs of neglect and age.

An exclusive list of shops sell Primrose House preparations throughout the country. We shall be glad to direct you to a representative or fill your needs by post. PRIMROSE HOUSE at 3 E. 52nd St., New York, in the heart of the smartest shopping district.

Send this Coupon

If you desire a complete Primrose House Face Molding Set check the square in the coupon for that purpose and send check or money order for $10.00. Mark the other square if you desire the Free Face Molding Course.

PRIMROSE HOUSE, 3 East 52nd Street, New York City. A

☐ Please send me your free booklet, "Here Dwells Youth."

☐ I enclose check/money order for $10.00 for a Primrose House "Face Molding" Set.

Name .....

Street .....

City .....

HERE DWELLS YOUTH

Figure 9. Advertisement for Primrose House Face Molding Set, *Vogue,* January 1 1927.

of the various parts that composed the nose ("cartilage" and "mucous membrane"), whereas skin was depicted as "tissue" of which some parts were "unnecessary" or "superfluous." Through such categorizations, the texts encouraged readers to problematize a specific portion of the feature, rather than the feature itself; excesses of tissue and cartilage were all that stood between readers and the perfect nose (or face, etc.)

More broadly, the use of technical language to demystify cosmetic surgery mirrored the larger movement of advertising to promote mechanistic understandings of the body, rooted in the Scientific Management theories of Frederick Winslow Taylor.[385] As Lears writes, the "efficiency craze...reinforced a host of fundamental changes in the ways people construed their own physical experience."[386] Advertisements depicted this new experience with increasingly distinct consumer needs to control objectified portions of the body. Advertisers asserted the need (and offered products) for consumers to their own control bodily functions, ranging from intestines to underarm perspiration.[387] National advertising of the 1920s and the "mechanistic habits of mind" it promoted, "threatened to reduce humankind to a sack of guts."[388] This tendency was accompanied by an attack on various bodily functions; germs, bodily fluids and perspiration in advertisements were subject to control and elimination.[389] "Much advertising copy seemed animated by an itch to eliminate all signs of organic life from a pristine home environment" and the bodies who inhabited it "and assumed that the audience felt a similar urge."[390] In doing so, advertisers constructed a physical experience in which readers was increasingly pitted against themselves or more aptly, parts of their bodies[391] Advertisements supported this dismembered view of the body by encouraging readers to externalize those undesirable aspects of themselves and offered products by which they

could be controlled or eliminated.[392] As Lears notes, "Perfect 'naturalness' required the subordination of nature to technology."[393] Mechanistic views of the body helped readers to identify undesirable aspects of physical experience while at the same time and normalized treatments within an ideology of control and elimination.

Such views were compatible with the construction of the body in texts about cosmetic surgery. In their use of technical terms to identify portions of the body to be removed, the texts assisted readers in normalizing cosmetic surgery consumption. Technical language assisted readers in distancing themselves from those portions of the body that cosmetic surgery sought to eliminate, for example "excess tissue." In this view, the readers were encouraged to view cosmetic surgery as natural recourse, as it would allow them to externalize and subordinate those less desirable aspects of their bodies.

Summary

In this section, I have sketched the outline of considerations that frame the demystification of cosmetic surgery. First, I demonstrated how detailed descriptions in the texts, accompanied by claims of ease and simplicity, provided readers with the necessary technical language to feel like experts about cosmetic surgery. This tendency mirrored the authoritative advice advertisements sought to provide to readers. Second, I showed how the use of technical vocabulary within the texts encouraged readers to identify and externalize undesirable parts of the body, in tune with the mechanized view of physical experience promoted by many other advertisements in the early twentieth century. These considerations reflect an effort to demystify cosmetic surgery through the mobilization of expert knowledge and language. The frame of "cosmetic surgery demystified" aimed to familiarize readers with the practice and assisted them in

overcoming buyer resistance by making the practice appear to be easy, casual and unthreatening.

CONCLUSION

> Now look at the needles and at the knives. Look at them carefully. Look at them for a long time. Imagine them cutting into your skin...Imagine the beauty that you have been promised...[394] (Morgan, *Women and The Knife: Cosmetic Surgery and the Colonization of Women's Bodies,* 1991)

> The woman with a broom certainly felt "a vague unspoken desire" for relief from drudgery. But she could not have imagined a vacuum cleaner, much less demanded one, without the advice of advertising.[395] (Marchand, *Advertising The American Dream,* 1985)

In *Women and The Knife: Cosmetic Surgery and the Colonization of Women's Bodies*, Morgan neatly summarizes the central paradox of cosmetic surgery: How can we reconcile the material reality of surgery with the uncertainty of its effects? What makes cosmetic surgery so appealing that individuals are willing to overlook the pain, cost and health risks associated with the practice? In the early twentieth century, patient demand in the face of increased social pressure for improved appearances provided a partial explanation for the rise of cosmetic surgery. However, it is does not fully explain the growth of a practice that grew quickly and rapidly, so much so, that the medical establishment was forced to incorporate the practice under the auspices of professional authority. The growing popularity and acceptance of cosmetic surgery required the active participation of potential consumers and depended on them to interpret and absorb messages that promoted the consumption of such services. This thesis has argued that

more evidence was needed to explain why the practice so effectively latched on between 1900-1931 and nestled itself within a blossoming consumer culture.

The practice of cosmetic surgery is now ubiquitous and continually referenced in popular and consumer cultures.[396] Nevertheless, in investigating the cultural history of cosmetic surgery, we must avoid the lure of "tempocentrism"; we must abstain from investigating "the past with ideas from the present" as McCracken counsels.[397] While the contextualization supplied in Chapter II certainly suggests that individuals looked to personal appearance with new exigency, we cannot assume that they all would have "imagined...much less demanded" cosmetic surgery "without the advice of advertising."[398]

In parallel to the rise of cosmetic surgery, advertising grew increasingly sophisticated from 1900 onwards, as the practice gained new legitimacy at the hands of emerging advertising professionals.[399] Periodical editors actively worked to supply a favorable environment for the advertisements that assured their revenue.[400] Within this context, advertisers devised new strategies to appeal to readers. Detailed, reason-why copy provided them with a forum to interact with readers and contributed to the overlap of advertising and editorial content.[401] The result was that readers came to find advertising normal, even ordinary.[402]

In examining the similarities between editorial content about cosmetic surgery and the codes and themes of early twentieth century advertising, this thesis offers a new way to explain the cosmetic surgery boom of the early twentieth century. By evoking the same desires and anxieties that dominated advertisements, the frame of "cosmetic surgery as solution" assisted readers in constructing narratives that framed cosmetic surgery as a

good and naturalized its consumption. The frame of "cosmetic surgery demystified" complemented these appeals by providing readers with sufficient knowledge to legitimize claims of ease and simplicity. In doing so, the frame mirrored the mechanized representations of physical experience found in advertising texts. Combined, these two frames supplied a context in which cosmetic surgery "made sense" and together they aimed to produce knowledgeable, confident and receptive consumers.

Based on this evidence, this thesis concludes that the framing of cosmetic surgery in editorial content contributed to the rise of the practice that occurred between 1900-1931. The adoption of frames that were at once educational and consumer-oriented produced a context in which cosmetic surgery could be considered as a good and its consumption could be naturalized, thus establishing cosmetic surgery within the consumer culture where it is now embedded.

Notes

[1] Deborah A. Sullivan, *Cosmetic Surgery: The Cutting Edge of Commercial Medicine in America* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 13.

[2] Camille Sweeney, "Surgery at a Spa? Buyer Beware," *The New York Times*, November 5, 2009.

[3] Sullivan, 13.

[4] Louise Woodstock, "Skin Deep, Soul Deep: Mass Mediating Cosmetic Surgery in Popular Magazines 1968-1998," *The Communication Review* 4, no. 3 (2001): 421.

[5] Sullivan, 14.

[6] Victoria Pitts-Taylor, *Surgery Junkies: Wellness and Pathology in Cosmetic Culture* (New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 2007), 3.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Kathryn Pauly Morgan, "Women and the Knife: Cosmetic Surgery and the Colonization of Women's Bodies," *Hypatia* 6, no. 3 (Fall 1991): 28 ; Eugenia Kaw, "Medicalization of Racial Features: Asian American Women and Cosmetic Surgery," *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (March 1993): 75; Susan Bordo, *Twilight Zones: The Hidden Life of Cultural Images from Plato to O.J.* (University of California: Berkeley, 1997).

[9] Kathy Davis, *Dubious Equalities and Embodied Differences: Cultural Studies on Cosmetic Surgery* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003); Ruth Holliday and Jacqueline Sanchez-Taylor, "Aesthetic Surgery as False Beauty," *Feminist Theory* 7 no. 2 (August 2006): 179-195; Debra Gimlin, "Cosmetic surgery: Beauty as commodity" *Qualitative Sociology* 23, no. 1 (2000): 77–98.

[10] Bordo, 85.

[11] Abigail Brooks, "Under the Knife and Proud of It: An Analysis of the Normalization of Cosmetic Surgery," *Critical Sociology* 30, no. 2 (March 2004): 209.

[12] Cressida J. Heyes, "Cosmetic Surgery and the Televisual Makeover," *Feminist Media Studies* 7, no. 1 (2007): 17-32; Sue Tait, "Television and the Domestication of Cosmetic Surgery," *Feminist Media Studies* 7, no.2 (2007): 119-135; *Extreme Makeover,* Lighthearted Entertainment, 2002-2007; *The Swan,* Fremantle Media, 2004; *Ten Years Younger,* Evolution Film and Tape, 2004-2011.

[13] Heyes,17.

[14] Sullivan, x.

[15] Pitts-Taylor.

[16] Elizabeth Haiken, *Venus Envy: A History of Cosmetic Surgery* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 61.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid, 47.

[19] Ibid, 48

[20] Ibid, 47.

[21] Ibid, 61.

[22] Ibid, 60. According to Sullivan, the practice of cosmetic surgery by other medical specialists continues to persist: "The American Academy of Facial Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery (1999) an organization mostly made up of otolaryngologists, reports that in 1996 its approximately 2,600 members averaged 241 cosmetic procedures, about two times their reconstructive average." (15)

[23] Haiken, 48-49, 55; Sullivan, 52. Haiken cites Human Growth Hormone and Prozac as contemporary examples in which public demand and publicity where largely responsible for the medical developments necessary to make these products available for the consumer market. (6)

[24] Haiken, 90.

[25] Sander Gilman, *Making the Body Beautiful: A Cultural History of Aesthetic Surgery* (Princeton University Press: New Jersey, 1999): xvii.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Sullivan, 13.

[28] Julien Mirivel, "The Physical Examination in Cosmetic Surgery: Communication Strategies to Promote the Desirability of Surgery," *Health Communication* 23, no. 2 (2008): 153.

[29] Haiken, 123.

[30] Morgan, 32.

[31] Brenda R. Weber, "Beauty, Desire, and Anxiety: The Economy of Sameness in ABC's *Extreme Makeover*" *Genders Online Journal,* under "Recent Issues," http://www.genders.org/g41/g41_weber.html (last accessed 16 June, 2012); see also Morgan, 34.

[32] Davis, 128-129.

[33] Morgan, 30; Davis, 117.

[34] See also Heyes, 21.

[35] Gimlin, 80.

[36] 185.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid. For more on gender and the development of plastic surgery, see p. 15-16 of this thesis.

[39] 186.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Sullivan, 14-15. She writes "Tracking the growth of this industry [cosmetic surgery] in the United States is difficult...The only available data are from physicians' professional associations that voluntarily collect information from a sample of members to project practice rates for the organization's members. Not all associations collect information. Moreover, there is no legal requirement that a physician who does cosmetic surgery be a member of a professional association, nor that a physician who is a member report personal statistics to the association." (15)

[42] Vincent Vinikas, *Soft Soap, Hard Sell: American Hygiene in the Age Advertisement* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1992), 61.

[43] Haiken, 46.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Sullivan x, 13-16.

[47] Gilman, 8.

[48] Sullivan, 13.

[49] Gilman, 12. According to Gilman, German facial surgeon Johann Friedrich Dieffenbach (1792-1847) is credited as the "father of plastic surgery" in most histories of reconstructive surgery. Diffenbach commonly used the label "beauty surgery" with negative overtones to establish the importance of his reconstructive surgeries. (12)

[50] Sullivan, 13-14.

[51] Mirivel, 153.

[52] Christine Rosen, "The Democratization of Beauty," *The New Atlantis* (Spring 2004), under "Publications," http://www.thenewatlantis.com/publications/the-democratization-of-beauty (last accessed 26 March, 2012); Mirivel 156

[53] Sullivan, 156.

[54] Mirivel, 154.

[55] Gilman, 10.

[56] Gilman, 13.

[57] See Sullivan, 33 and Haiken, 4 for additional details regarding the "Indian method" of nasal reconstruction.

[58] Sullivan, 35-37; Haiken, 5; Gilman, 67-71.

[59] Sullivan, 35; Gilman, 68.

[60] Gilman, 68.

[61] Haiken, 18.

[62] Haiken, 4.

[63] Gilman, 16-17; Sullivan, 39.

[64] Sullivan, 46-47.

[65] Gilman, 16-17; Sullivan, 46-47. According to Haiken the "saddle-nose deformity can be inherited or caused by trauma, an abscess, or infection, but scrofula, lupus and especially syphilis were the more common causes." (20)

[66] Sullivan, 47.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid, 39, 47.

[69] Haiken, 76, 90.

[70] Gilman, xvii.

[71] Gilman, 16-18.

[72] Davis, 27.

[73] Sullivan, xii-xiii.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Sullivan, 55.

[76] Brooks.

[77] Sullivan, 131-186.

[78] Haiken, 27-28.

[79] Ibid, 21.

[80] Haiken, 22.

[81] Gilman, 254-255.

[82] Haiken, 22.

[83] Gilman, 310.

[84] Gilman, 310. See also Davis, 30.

[85] Gilman, 310.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid, 309.

[88] Ibid, 309-310.

[89] Davis, 27. Although the findings of this thesis focus on an exclusively American context, the career of Suzanne Noel offers evidence that the rise of cosmetic surgery in the early twentieth century was not a uniquely North American phenomenon. Sullivan has also noted the parallels between early practitioners of cosmetic surgery in America and Europe. (49)

[90] Davis, 29-31.

[91] Davis, 29-31.

[92] Davis, 29-31.

[93] Haiken, 7.

[94] Davis, 27.

[95] Davis, 35.

[96] Gilman, 22.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Haiken, 43, 92.

[99] Haiken, 19.

[100] Haiken, 23-24.

[101] Gilman, 249, 309-311; Haiken, 92-94; Davis, 27, 34; Sullivan, 53.

[102] Haiken, 93.

[103] Gilman,125-126.

[104] Sullivan, 49. Haiken offers similar evidence. She writes: "During the 1920s and 1930s, in short, most of those who practiced plastic surgery remained unaffected by professional organization." (48)

[105] Haiken, 52-54.

[106] Ibid, 53.

[107] Ibid, 54.

[108] Ibid, 54, 76-87. Schireson is most widely remembered for having performed stage actress' Fanny Bryce's nose job in 1923, the incident receiving much publicity due to Bryce's level of celebrity at the time. (82)

[109] Ibid, 90.

[110] Ibid, 90.

[111] Sullivan, 49.

[112] Ibid, 94.

[113] Haiken, 48-49.

[114] Sullivan, 156.

[115] Dominic LaCapra, *History and Criticism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 40.

[116] Ibid, 18.

[117] Ibid, 38.

[118] Ibid.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Robert Entman, "Framing Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," *Journal of Communication* 43 no. 4, (1993): 52.

[122] Stephen D. Reese, "Framing Public Life: A Bridging Model for Media Research," in *Framing Public Life: Perpectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World* ed. Stephen D. Reese, Oscar H. Gandy, Jr., and August E. Grant (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001), 11.

[123] Monica Brasted, "The Reframing of Traditional Cultural Values: Consumption and World War I," *Advertising & Society Review* 5, no. 4 (2004), http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/advertising_and_society_review/toc/asr5.4.html(last accessed 26 March, 2012).

[124] Reese, 9.

[125] Reese, 8.

[126] *Ladies Home Journal* is indexed electronically in the ProQuest American Periodical Series from 1889 to 1907. The years of *Vogue* (New York: Conde Nast Publications)examined were: 1913, 1914, 1919, 1924,1927 1929, 1930, 1931. The years of *Ladies Home Journal* (Philadelphia: Curtis Publishing) examined were: 1908, 1911, 1913, 1915, 1917, 1926, 1929.

[127] Haiken, 48.

[128] Richard M. Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century* (London: Verso, 1996), 175. Italics in the original.

[129] Sullivan, 55.

[130] Stuart Ewan, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of Consumer Culture* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976).

[131] Ibid, 6.

[132] Ibid, 9.

[133] Ibid, 13.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Ibid, 15.

[136] Ibid, 18.

[137] Ibid, 19.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Grant McCracken, "The History of Consumption: A Literature Review and Consumer Guide," *Journal of Consumer Policy* 10, no. 2 (1987): 151.

[140] Ibid, 141.

[141] Ibid, 139-140.

[142] Ibid, 140, 143.

[143] Ibid, 151.

[144] Ibid.

[145] Ibid, 150.

[146] Ibid, 145.

[147] Ibid.

[148] Ibid, 156.

[149] Ibid.

[150] Ibid.

[151] Ibid, 142.

[152] James D. Norris, *Advertising and the Transformation of American Society, 1865-1920* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1990): 10.

[153] Gerald J. Baldasty, *The Commercialization of in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992): 50.

[154] Ibid, 50, 56.

[155] Vinikas, 42.

[156] Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 171.

[157] Haiken, 91, 94.

[158] Teresa Riordan, *Inventing Beauty: A History of the Innovations That Have Made Us Beautiful* (New York: Broadway Books, 2004), 152.

[159] Kathy Peiss, *Hope in Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture* (Metropolitan Books: New York, 1998), 106.

[160] Vinikas, 42. Haiken makes similar observations using Alfred Adler's inferiority complex to demonstrate how surgeons used psychology to justify the practice of cosmetic surgery, effectively circumventing objections to the vain nature of cosmetic surgery procedures. (108-130)

[161] Norris, 66.

[162] Haiken, 99.

[163] Ibid, 99.

[164] Haiken, *Venus Envy,* 27.

[165] Haiken, 92.

[166] Haiken, 27. According to Haiken, Miller's status as "an unabashed quack" made plastic surgeons reluctant to include him in their histories. (25)

[167] Norris, 13.

[168] Ellen Gruber Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlor: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 15.

[169] Norris 50, 68; Vinikas, 26.

[170] Garvey, 9.

[171] Ibid.

[172] Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (Basic Books: New York, 1978): 18.

[173] Schudson, 88.

[174] Ibid, 93, 110.

[175] Garvey, 9.

[176] Ibid.

[177] Ibid.

[178] Baldasty, 50.

[179] Schudson, 107.

[180] Ibid.

[181] Ibid, 119.

[182] Ohmann, 225.

[183] Ohmann, 220.

[184] Norris, 35.

[185] Norris, 37.

[186] Schudson, 111.

[187] Schudson, 114.

[188] Garvey, 9.

[189] Garvey, 11.

[190] Schudson, 109.

[191] Ira Wasserman, "Suicide and the Media: The New York Times' Presentation of Front Page Suicide Stories Between 1910 and 1920" *Journal of Communication* 44, no. 2 (Spring 1994): 66.

[192] Schudson, 112.

[193] Schudson, 112.

[194] Schudson, 116.

[195] Haiken, 27.

[196] Schudson, 100.

[197] Schudson, 100.

[198] Baldasty, 70.

[199] Schudson, 93; Garvey 9-15.

[200] Ibid.

[201] Garvey, 94-95. For more on the puffing system, see Linda Lawson, "Advertisement Masquerading as News In Turn of the Century American Periodicals," *American Journalism* 5, no. 2 (1988): 81-96.

[202] Nathaniel Fowler, *Fowler's Publicity: An Encyclopedia of Advertising and Printing, And All That Pertains to the Public-Seeing Side of Business* (New York: Publicity Publisher, 1897), 455-457, quoted in Garvey, 94-95.

[203] Ibid.

[204] Garvey, 95.

[205] Pamela Walker Laird, *Advertising Progress: American Business and the Rise of Consumer Marketing* (Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 1998), 37.

[206] Ibid, 71.

[207] Garvey, 14

[208] Garvey, 12.

[209] Garvey, 13.

[210] Garvey, 14.

[211] Laird, 372.

[212] Laird, 354.

[213] Laird, 356.

[214] Laird, 355.

[215] Laird, 355.

[216] Garvey, 168.

[217] Garvey, 169.

[218] Laird, 211, 273.

[219] Laird 295; Norris, 43. According to Norris, John Powers, hired by department store magnate John Wanamaker in 1800 exclusively to write copy for his magazine and newspaper advertisements, is known as the "father of modern advertising". (17, 43)

[220] Laird, 278, 295.

[221] Laird, 295.

[222] Laird 296-297.

[223] Laird, 295.

[224] Lears, 169.

[225] Garvey 4; Laird 220.

[226] Schudson, 134.

[227] Schudson. 138. Italics in the original.

[228] Schudson, 144.

[229] Norris, 41.

[230] Norris, 41.

[231] Sullivan, 156.

[232] Garvey, 4.

[233] Garvey, 4.

[234] Haiken, 54.

[235] Haiken, 48.

[236] Haiken, 48-49.

[237] McCracken, 151. See also Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

Marchand writes, "Advertising spoke a language of urbanity. To learn it, just as to learn the language of another national culture, was to experience a transformation—to acquire new perspectives, accept new assumptions and undergo an initiation into new modes of thinking". (335)

[238] Garvey, 4.

[239] Laird, 293-297.

[240] Laird, 250.

[241] Ewen, 38.

[242] "The Cost Being Made Beautiful," *The Washington Post*, December 17, 1905.

[243] "Recapturing Feminine Charm," *The New York Times,* January 25, 1920.

[244] "Here's One More Thing That Radium Will Do," *The New York Times*, December 8, 1907.

[245] "Vanity of Vanities," *New York Times,* August 14, 1910; "Cosmetic Surgery," *The New York Times,* December 12, 1920.

[246] "Will Transform Ugly Ducklings Into Swans, Says Beauty Doctor," *The Washington Post*, September 8 1907. Italics are my own.

[247] Haiken, 98.

[248] "Shoppers' and Buyers' Guide," *Vogue*, December 15, 1913, 14.

[249] "Shoppers' and Buyers' Guide," *Vogue*, June 15, 1919, 21.

[250] "Shoppers' and Buyers' Guide," *Vogue*, January 1 1927, 42.

[251] Garvey, 169.

[252] Laird, 354.

[253] Laird, 356.

[254] Laird, 200; Truman A. DeWeese, *The Principles of Pratical, Being a Treatise on "The Art of Advertising* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs, 1908), 8-10, quoted in Laird, 356. Italics are my own.

[255] "The Cost Being Made Beautiful,".

[256] "Here's One More Thing that Radium Will Do,".

[257] "The Pursuit of Beauty", *The New York Times,* March 31 1926.

[258] "The Cost Being Made Beautiful,".

[259] "Recapturing Feminine Charm,".

[260] "The Cost Being Made Beautiful,".

[261] "Vanity of Vanities,",

[262] "Recapturing Feminine Charm,".

[263] "Shoppers' and Buyers' Guide," *Vogue,* June 15, 1919, 21; "Shoppers' and Buyers' Guide," *Vogue,* May 15, 1924, 32; "Shoppers' and Buyers' Guide," *Vogue,* January 5, 1929, 28.

[264] "Shoppers' and Buyers' Guide," *Vogue,* August 15, 1919, 21.

[265] "Shoppers' and Buyers' Guide," *Vogue,* January 01, 1927, 42.

[266] Haiken makes a similar observation in *Venus Envy* regarding the integration of cosmetic surgery practitioners within the larger community of New York beauty specialists who provided electrolysis, facial massages and other non-surgical services (70-71).

[267] Lears, 168.

[268] Lears, 184,187.

[269] Phoenix Silk Hose advertisement, *Ladies' Home Journal*, October 1913, 80; Lears, 184.

[270] "On Her Dressing-Table," *Vogue,* September 15, 1924, 110.

[271] "How Can I Keep Young," *Ladies' Home Journal,* July 1911, 43.

[272] Brenda Ueland, "Smart Sobriety," *Ladies' Home Journal,* January 1929, 23, 120.

[273] "The Pursuit of Beauty,".

[274] Woodstock, 429.

[275] "The Cost Being Made Beautiful,".

[276] "Cosmetic Surgery," *The New York Times,* December 12, 1920.

[277] Ibid.

[278] Harry Lang, "Would You Like A New Nose," *Photoplay*, August 1930: 59.

[279] Lang, 102.

[280] Lang, 59.

[281] Laird, 279.

[282] Woodstock, 429.

[283] Vinikas, 23.

[284] Norris, 68.

[285] Norris, 68.

[286] Norris, 68.

[287] Ewen, 47.

[288] Ewen, 38.

[289] Advertisement for Alabastine Wall Coating, *Ladies' Home Journal,* July 1911, 43; Advertisement for Hygeia Nursing Bottle, *Ladies' Home Journal,* April 1917, 80.

[290] Advertisement for Alabastine Wall Coating. Italics in the original.

[291] Advertisement for Hygeia Nursing Bottle. Italics in the original.

[292] Vinikas, 37. Stuart Ewen makes similar comments regarding the self-critical nature of the Listerine advertisements. (38).

[293] Vinikas, 32.

[294] Ewen, 37.

[295] Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merill Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1929), 82, quoted in Ewen, 37-38.

[296] "The Cost Being Made Beautiful,".

[297] Lang, 102.

[298] Laird, 295.

[299] Laird, 264; Ohmann, 212.

[300] Laird, 274.

[301] Ewen, 69.

[302] Ewen, 73.

[303] "The Cost Being Made Beautiful,".

[304] "Recapturing Feminine Charm,".

[305] Ohmann, 209.

[306] Vinikas, 27.

[307] Ewen, 69.

[308] "Recapturing Feminine Charm,".

[309] Garvey, 157, 175.

[310] Ewen, 168; Paul Nystrom, *Economics of Fashion* (New York, Ronald Press Co., 1928), 26, quoted in Ewen, 168.

[311] Advertisement for Colgate Ribbon Dental Cream, *Ladies' Home Journal*, January 1926, 42.

[312] Ibid.

[313] Norris, 83; Ewen, 161-162, 172.

[314] Ohmann, 187.

[315] Ohmann, 190.

[316] Ohmann, 191.

[317] Advertisement for Tycos Stormoguide, *Vogue,* June 1, 1924, 110.

[318] Ohmann, 191.

[319] "The Cost Being Made Beautiful,".

[320] "Will Transform Ugly Ducklings Into Swans, Says Beauty Doctor,".

[321] Rose C. Feld, "Facial Surgery Now a Routine," *The New York Times*, May 16, 1926.

[322] "Here's One More Thing that Radium Will Do,".

[323] "The Pursuit of Beauty,".

[324] Ewen, 54-55.

[325] Laird, 296-297.

[326] Lears, 209.

[327] Ewen, 33.

[328] Lears, 215.

[329] Ewen, 80.

[330] "Will Transform Ugly Ducklings Into Swans, Says Beauty Doctor,".

[331] Ibid.

[332] Ibid.

[333] "Vanity of Vanities,".

[334] Lang, 59.

[335] Laird, 300.

[336] "The Cost Being Made Beautiful,".

[337] Lang, 59.

[338] "Vanity of Vanities,".

[339] "Recapturing Feminine Charm,".

[340] Ohmann, 201-202.

[341] Lears, 41-43.

[342] Laird, 296-297.

[343] Ewen, 44-47.

[344] Ohmann, 208-209.

[345] Advertisement for Woodbury's Soap, *Ladies' Home Journal*, December 1929, 29.

[346] Ibid.

[347] Haiken, 98

[348] Marchand, 14.

[349] Brooks.

[350] Marchand, 16.

[351] Marchand, 14.

[352] Wendell V. Hubbard, "Scarless Surgery for Ugly Noses", *The Washington Post,* February 23, 1919.

[353] Ibid.

[354] "Cosmetic Surgery,".

[355] Ibid.

[356] Haiken writes that editorial content about cosmetic surgery published between 1920-1940 often aimed to debunk "fantastic information" and to offer readers "hard facts" about the practice (98-99).

[357] "Cosmetic Surgery,"

[358] "Recapturing Feminine Charm,".

[359] Ibid.

[360] Lang, 102.

[361] "Here's One More Thing that Radium Will Do,".

[362] Feld.

[363] Lears, 192.

[364] Marchand, 350.

[365] Marchand, 350.

[366] Marchand, 350.

[367] Marchand, 341-342.

[368] Marchand, 342-343.

[369] Marchard, 348.

[370] Marchand, 348.

[371] Advertisement for Mulsified Cocoanut Oil Shampoo, *Ladies' Home Journal*, July 1926, 144.

[372] Sullivan makes a similar reflection in her text: "A proliferation of beauty advice columns promoted a cultural imperative for women of all ages to pursue self-improvement in appearance. This industry advertised a burgeoning array of cosmetic products, ranging from lotions and makeup to false hair pieces and dyes. Cosmetic surgery, although much less common, was as much part of this industry as manicures and electrolysis." (48)

[373] Marchand, 348.

[374] Laird, 297.

[375] "Here's One More Thing that Radium Will Do,".

[376] "Scarless Surgery for Ugly Noses,".

[377] Cosmetic Surgery,".

[378] Lang, 102.

[379] Garvey, 82.

[380] Garvey, 82.

[381] Advertisement for Primrose Face Molding Set, *Vogue,* January 1, 1927.

[382] Ibid.

[383] Ibid.

[384] Ibid.

[385] Lears, 165.

[386] Lears, 165.

[387] Lears, 166-177.

[388] Lears, 177.

[389] Lears, 167-175.

[390] Lears, 173.

[391] Ewen, 47-48.

[392] Lears, 167-175.

[393] Lears, 174.

[394] Morgan, 26.

[395] Marchand, 343.

[396] Sullivan, 14.

[397] McCracken, 142.

[398] Marchand, 343.

[399] See Chapter II.

[400] Garvey, 9.

[401] See Chapter II.

[402] Garvey, 4.

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