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## **Chapter Two. Imported Cosmetics and Colonial Crucibles:**

### **Pre-histories to the Twentieth-century Use of Commercial Skin Lighteners**

This draft chapter is part of my current book project that examines the production, consumption, and opposition to skin lighteners in South Africa and tracks how these processes were intimately related to developments in Europe, Asia, East Africa, the broader southern Africa region, and particularly the United States. Although skin lighteners generated significant profits and controversy in all of these locales over the past century, they have garnered scarce historical attention. The overarching aim of this transregional and transnational history is to demonstrate how changing politics of gender, race, and consumption developed through the movement of people, ideas, and especially things between a range of locations.

Much of my book is focused on the second half of the twentieth century. In the wake of the Second World War, the sale of skin lighteners took off as black South Africans became more engaged in capitalist consumer culture and the elaboration of apartheid further heightened the political and social salience of nuances in skin color. By the 1960s, skin lighteners were a mass produced and consumed commodity in South Africa; one marketing survey from 1969 found that among urban African women, skin lightening creams ranked as the fourth most commonly used household product after soap, tea, and tinned milk. Over the 1970s, two different forms of opposition to skin lighteners emerged: one rooted in the Black Consciousness movement and its political affirmation of “Black is Beautiful,” and the other, in medical professionals’ health concerns over the main active ingredients then found in skin lighteners, notably ammoniated

mercury and hydroquinone. During the 1980s, these two strands of opposition became intertwined, turning condemnation of skin lighteners into a corollary of the anti-apartheid movement. In 1990, in the final months of apartheid, activists achieved a significant victory. The South African government, following a number of other countries, banned hydroquinone (mercury had already been banned) from all cosmetics. Moreover, South Africa became the only country in the world to prohibit cosmetic advertisements from making any claims to “bleaching,” “lightening,” or “whitening.” Although these restrictions brought an end to the in-country mass manufacture of skin lighteners, a relatively robust illicit market in imported skin lighteners persists to the present.

Early chapters of my book take the story further back in time. The first chapter explores the deep history of skin color diversity in southern Africa, and examines indigenous ways of caring for and coloring the body that predated European colonization. This second chapter traces the history of whitening and lightening cosmetics in Europe, Asia, and the United States, and tracks how immigrants from those areas introduced these products and associated practices to southern Africa from the late seventeenth century through the 1920s. It also considers the two colonial crucibles – domestic service and mission schools – through which black southern Africans encountered them. Within the framework of my book, the purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the long and complex history of skin whiteners and lighteners among Asians and especially Europeans, and to suggest how and why these cosmetics eventually gained traction among some black southern Africans.

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Some, if not all, of the Europeans who established a colony at the Cape in the late 1600s would have been familiar with cosmetic skin whiteners. During the early modern period, skin

whiteners were experiencing a revival in Europe. In the broader Mediterranean and Near Eastern world, such cosmetics had been part of elite women's toiletries for centuries and even millennia.

Archaeological, textual, and artistic evidence suggests that cosmetics users in ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome frequently created a dramatic look by pairing face paints containing white lead or chalk with eye make-up of black kohl, and rouge and lip colorants derived from red ochre, mercury, and lead. On occasion, crushed mica, similar to what David Livingstone observed being used in nineteenth-century southern Africa, was added to eye preparations for a glistening effect. The pale, smooth skin that resulted from white face paint provided a striking contrast to dark, colorful, and shiny features. In these agricultural and socially stratified societies, it also evidenced one's privileged avoidance of outdoor labor. For women especially, white-colored skin embodied elite status and a refined lifestyle.

Women's use of skin whiteners took place in an ancient Mediterranean world that included people with significant diversity in natural skin color, ranging from dark and moderate pigmentation, capable of deep tanning, to quite light. Africans of various shades from the sub-continent contributed to this diversity, having traveled north and east from their homelands as either enslaved people or on their own accord. When ancient artists depicted these Africans in frescoes or on pottery, they usually painted their skin in dark brown or reddish-brown hues. Yet, not all skin color contrasts in ancient art reflected phenotypic differences. Both Egyptian and early Greek artists tended to portray female figures with stark white pigment while depicting male figures with dark reddish pigment, making the representation of skin color as much a matter of gender as ethnicity or race. Greek writers, overwhelmingly men, similarly associated white skin achieved through confinement and avoidance of the sun with the feminine virtues of

refinement, obedience, and fertility. To help achieve this beauty ideal, some women used cosmetic whiteners.

The most prized skin whitener in classical Greece and the Roman Empire was white lead, also known as ceruse. It was the same substance used to paint buildings and works of art. For cosmetics, it was ground finely to avoid a gritty look or feel. Compared with other whitening preparations made from chalk, flour, or rice, white lead was valued for its smooth texture, its ability to adhere to the skin without an oil base, and the capacity for even a thin layer to provide an opaque covering that could conceal blemishes, marks, and freckles. When users ventured outside, white lead also blocked the sun and prevented tanning. These effects came at a price. Several classical writers recognized the health hazards of lead-based cosmetics, including the loss of the skin's youthful tone, severe abdominal pain, paralysis, and, in some cases, death. Such writers ridiculed users left undeterred by these ill-health consequences.<sup>1</sup>

The collapse of the Roman Empire around the fifth century CE led to a decline in the trade in many luxury goods, including cosmetics. Although the sale and use of skin whiteners and other beauty preparations was less common in the Middle Ages, the beauty ideal of a white face with pink or reddened cheeks persisted in many parts of Europe. Fragmentary evidence suggests that some women continued to use skin whiteners, derived from flour or plant roots, along with ochre to achieve that ideal. For most women who lived in rural areas and whose livelihoods depended upon laboring outdoors, however, a smooth white and pink complexion remained a distant or practically impossible standard.<sup>2</sup>

Skin whiteners and especially those containing lead came back into fashion during the seventeenth century as the trade in luxury goods within and beyond Europe increased. As these cosmetics were quite expensive, they largely remained the preserve of elites. The most prized

preparations of white lead were imported from Venice, then a center of European high fashion. Elizabeth I of England was among the most famous users of Venetian ceruse (see figure 2.1). Reportedly, she covered her white face paint with a thin glaze of egg white to create a mask-like appearance. Over time, Elizabeth used more ceruse to cover up the grayish pallor and premature aging of the skin that it caused. Contemporaries also used white lead to conceal scars left by diseases such as smallpox. They frequently offset their white facial paint with black patches, pieces of taffeta, velvet, or leather cut into various shapes that were placed on the face to cover more prominent blemishes, or simply to look fashionable (see figure 2.2).<sup>3</sup>

The seventeenth century also witnessed the publication of collections of cosmetic and other household recipes, formerly handed down within families, and an increase in itinerant traders selling cosmetic ingredients and preparations. Among the most popular recipes were those that promised to whiten or blanch the skin, and remove freckles. Aimed at the more middling classes, they rarely called for costly white lead but included diverse ingredients ranging from egg whites, lemon juice, white wine, flour, plantain juice, almonds, rose-water, and rosemary to borax, tartar, sulphur, and mercury. White ingredients reduced to powder and blended with water, oil, or fat would have, like lead, provided a light-colored covering. Acidic ingredients would have acted as irritants or exfoliants, stripping away the top layers of the epidermis to reveal lighter, untanned layers beneath. Mercury alone would have contributed to lightening by interfering with the production of melanin at the molecular level.<sup>4</sup>

The heightened use of skin whiteners and lighteners, and other cosmetics in early modern Europe stemmed from various motivations and provoked mixed reactions. On the one hand, cosmetics signaled wealth and glamour, a life free of outdoor toil. Users valued their capacity to create dramatic and youthful appearances. In societies where old age began in one's thirties,

preparations that promised unblemished skin and an almost porcelain-doll look held considerable appeal. The renewed popularity of skin whitening in Europe may have been partly fueled by greater contact with East Asian cultural practices and trade goods. In China and Japan, elite women and some men had long used white lead preparations and rice powder to achieve flawless complexions and a color that classical writers likened to translucent white jade or fresh lichee. As in Europe, smooth, untanned skin conveyed one's privileged avoidance of outdoor labor.<sup>5</sup> The valuation of pale skin in early modern England, in particular, also coincided with the rise of the Atlantic slave trade and contributed to emerging notions of national and racial difference rooted in the distinction between "fairness" and "blackness." In Elizabethan England, references to Aesop's fable about the impossibility of "washing an Ethiopian white" commonly featured in engravings, poetry, and collections of proverbs. This fable drew attention to the darkness of Africans' skin color and taught the moral that a person's true nature could not be changed.<sup>6</sup>

English fairness was highly gendered with women being more closely associated with whiteness and its aligned virtues of virginity and innocence. Painters of this period frequently placed black servants in the background of their portraits of aristocratic women to highlight their pale skin and superior status, and convey their purity and refinement. For instance, in his 1623 portrait of Elena Grimaldi, the Flemish Baroque artist Anthony van Dyck highlighted his subject's regal whiteness by positioning behind her a young, dark-skinned servant boy holding a parasol that shielded her from the sun's rays (see figure 2.3). To attain the fairness idealized in such portraits, some women used cosmetic whiteners.<sup>7</sup>

Yet, the use of such cosmetics was frequently condemned. Critics argued that the opacity of whiteners concealed women's true nature and sentiments, especially as expressed through

blushing. Cosmetics use stirred long-standing concerns about the relationship between surface appearances and inner substance. Popular discourse associated excessive use with licentious behavior and prostitution. In 1650, the English Parliament considered but did not pass a bill calling for the suppression of “the vice of painting” alongside “the immodest dress of women.” For those who supported the bill, cosmetics did not signal beauty and refinement but artifice, immorality, and duplicity. During the eighteenth century, as sumptuary codes loosened across much of Europe, some observers voiced increasing concern about women using cosmetics to pass for statuses that exceeded their actual stations. Women’s greater access to formerly rare beauty preparations meant that carefully painted visages no longer correlated to noble rank. At the same time, cosmetics were evoked to impugn national identities as when English writers compared their womenfolk’s moderate use of make up to French women’s garish and deceitful use.<sup>8</sup>

Within the Netherlands, a center of early modern trade and the home of many of South Africa’s first European colonists, cosmetic practices and debates spanned a similar range. Few foreign visitors failed to be impressed by the Dutch obsession for cleaning their streets, houses, and, usually, themselves. An Englishman, Joseph Shaw, who traveled there in 1709 admired ordinary Dutch women for their beautiful yet plain faces. When he visited the house of correction for “fallen women” in Amsterdam, however, he saw dozens of women “patched and painted” and “clothed in the gay habiliaments of love.” Calvinist preachers’ frequent condemnation of facial cosmetics and dyed wigs suggests that some in their congregations were tempted to wear them. Portrait paintings indicate that, as in England, the Dutch ideal of feminine beauty included smooth, white visages with pinkish cheeks.<sup>9</sup>

Debates over the morality and health effects of cosmetics intensified in eighteenth-century France where elites, most famously Louis XV's court, took paint and powder to new extremes and expanding consumer markets placed cosmetics manufactured by perfumers within the reach of more middle and working class people. Around mid-century, doctors joined the chorus of those warning of the dangers of cosmetics containing lead, mercury, arsenic, and other toxic compounds. In so doing, they extended male medical expertise into the largely female domain of the *toilette*. Rather than adopting the position of the Enlightened *philosophes* who condemned all cosmetics for sustaining aristocratic debauchery and encouraging social deceit, doctors wrote beauty manuals and columns that distinguished cosmetics containing "natural" vegetable and animal ingredients from those with mineral ingredients. They promoted the former, sometimes their own products, as beneficial while denouncing the latter as harmful. Such advice, partly rooted in empiricism, fit well with an emerging consumer ethos that shunned practices, including the use of white lead paint, which smacked of aristocratic excess but embraced the availability of small and affordable luxury goods for the urban bourgeois and working classes. Following the French revolution, most cosmetic users sought to apply powder and rouge in ways that created a white and pink visage but could not be easily detected. As cosmetics extended beyond the preserve of elites, their usage became less ostentatious.<sup>10</sup>

Similarly, advertisements for whiteners and lighteners that appeared in *The Times* of London in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries stressed both the natural look they produced and their safety. The proprietors of British Perfume Warehouse, for example, boasted that their "delicate preparation" gave "to the brownest complexion a fairness equal to Nature's most favourite tint, yet the most intimate acquaintance cannot discover the smallest appearance of art." To reassure consumers, the advertisement promised an in-kind refund if, after a week, "a

lady does not find her face, neck, and arms made by it delicately white, fair and beautiful.” Moreover, it referenced an affidavit, prepared by the owner, declaring that the preparation contained “no kind of paint . . . whatsoever.”<sup>11</sup> Advertisers combined such reassurances with names that evoked an Orientalist exoticism as in the case of “Turkish Wash,” or French sophistication as with “Bloom of Ninon de L’Enclos,” named after a seventeenth-century courtesan revered for her wit and beauty.<sup>12</sup>

Overseas colonial empires contributed to the democratization of cosmetics by fueling early modern Europe’s economic revolutions. The extraction of resources and trade in products from colonies in the Americas, Asia, and Africa enabled European economies to transition from mercantile capitalism to industrial and, later, consumer capitalism. As Sidney Mintz demonstrated in his pioneering history of sugar in the Carribean and Britain, colonialism and slavery not only entailed new forms of production on various sides of the Atlantic; they also spurred new patterns of consumption across the class spectrum.<sup>13</sup> Cosmetics use in Europe was part of the broader consumer revolution engendered by imperial economic growth.

How exactly colonialism and slavery shaped the specific cosmetic practices of whitening and lightening is difficult to determine. As political formations, both colonialism and slavery were rooted in the construction and perpetuation of difference – difference that distinguished the free from the enslaved, and colonizers from the colonized. What European slave owners and colonizers considered the most salient differences, however, was neither constant nor consistent. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Spanish, Portuguese, French, and British explorers and traders frequently distinguished themselves from the inhabitants of the Americas and Africa by religion and morality: they were Christians and righteous while those they conquered and enslaved were pagan and sinful. Alternatively, as we saw in chapter one with the

Dutch at the Cape, European colonizers could distinguish themselves through bodily features like smell or clothing. Over the eighteenth century as Europeans elaborated politically potent systems of racial classification, they increasingly focused on the somatic feature of skin color as a primary means for differentiating races and especially for distinguishing themselves from Africans and people of African descent.<sup>14</sup> This transformation heightened the possibility that cosmetic whitening and lightening – beauty practices primarily associated in the Mediterranean and European world with creating a refined, feminine, and youthful appearance – might be used to safeguard or claim racial privilege.

When Europeans colonized parts of the Americas, Asia, and Africa, they took with them their cosmetic practices and debates, including those surrounding whiteners and lighteners. The English-language cookbooks and medical manuals that British colonists brought with them to the Americas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for example, routinely contained recipes for “Italian” whiteners and for removing freckles and sunburn. Such preparations were also among the most common skin care products advertised in early southern U.S. newspapers.<sup>15</sup> Fragmentary evidence suggests that in colonial contexts where people of color, especially those who were free and of mixed European and African descent, had some opportunities for social mobility, these cosmetics were especially popular. A number of observers of West Indies society in the 1760s and 1770s described how both black and white women (and, on occasion, men) used cashew oil, an irritant, to remove freckles and sunburn, and bonneted their heads and masked their faces to avoid being tanned by the sun. White creole women reportedly adopted the practice of masking from “free mulatto women” while some even sent their daughters back to the metropole where, away from the tropical sun, they might obtain a classic “red and white roses” English complexion. These accounts demonstrate how long-standing practices of whitening,

lightening, and sun avoidance could acquire a pointedly racialized dimension in colonial societies, particularly among those trying to ascend the social ladder or fearful of sliding down it.<sup>16</sup>

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At the Cape Colony, cosmetics practices circulated among a highly diverse and stratified but relatively small population. Most of the early employees of the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie – VOC) were of Dutch or German origin. Before the end of the seventeenth-century, they were joined by Huguenots seeking escape from religious persecution in France and other VOC employees, who on return voyages from Batavia and other colonies further east, decided to settle at the Cape. As company officials, farmers, and skilled artisans, some of these immigrants were reasonably affluent while many others came from the lowest rungs of European society, venturing to imperial outposts in search of opportunity. By 1717, the free population of the Cape amounted to only 2,000. Throughout the eighteenth-century, free men outnumbered free women by about three to two while the entire free population was slightly outnumbered by enslaved peoples brought mainly from Madagascar and Indonesia and, later, from India, Ceylon, and Mozambique. As discussed in chapter one, the indigenous inhabitants of the western Cape, the Khoisan, experienced conquest in ways that greatly diminished the size and wealth of their populations, and pushed remaining members into the colony's underclass or towards its outskirts. By 1795, the year the British first took over the Cape Colony (only to lose it to the Dutch in 1803 and regain it in 1806), the total population stood at approximately 30,000, divided nearly equally between free and slave.<sup>17</sup>

Migrants to southern Africa brought with them a range of cosmetic practices. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, European women of means or for more formal occasions

followed metropolitan trends, using white powder and lead paint, and rouge. Some also applied black patches to their faces.<sup>18</sup> We know much less about ways of caring for and coloring skin that people from South and Southeast Asia, and Madagascar brought with them, and if and how those practices continued. In much of the Indian Ocean region, turmeric was rubbed over the bodies of brides and grooms to create an auspicious yellow or golden hue that promised success and fertility. Applied together with a rice paste, turmeric was said to “cool” and “comfort” the couple. People used sandalwood powder alone or with turmeric to clear blemishes, and soften and smoothen the skin. Oils also were applied to moisturize. In Madagascar, women often used white clay or kaolin, sometimes mixed with saffron, to create designs of white and yellow dots and lines on their foreheads and cheeks. Such designs, known as *tabaké*, aimed to beautify, to protect the wearer from malicious spirits and female rivals, and to reignite the passions of former lovers and unfaithful husbands (see figure 2.4). Related preparations, derived from clay and the bark of special trees, were applied to the entire face, kept on for a day or more, and then removed to reveal skin that was softer and more attractive. In some areas of South Asia under Turkish, Mughal, and, later, Portuguese and British rule, an aesthetic preference for light colored skin developed. Fragmentary evidence suggests that in those areas some people prepared botanical mixtures aimed at achieving this ideal. It is unclear, however, if the South Asians who came to southern Africa as slaves during seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, or indentured servants in the nineteenth carried any of these preference or practices with them.<sup>19</sup>

Well-to-do women in the Dutch colonial outposts, including the Cape, often used parasols and umbrellas to signal their elite status and protect their skin from the sun’s rays. Nicolaus de Graff, a VOC official stationed in seventeenth-century Batavia, complained of “Dutch, Mestiza and Half-Caste” women who displayed “extreme splendor and hauteur” by

walking to church each Sunday followed by slaves carrying parasols to shield them from the “fierce heat.” Such parasol-wielding parades grew not from an imitation of Dutch bourgeois culture but from a familiarity with Asian and overseas Portuguese displays of status. Across Asia, the well-to-do used parasols of various sizes and ornamentation to convey their precise rank and prevent tanning.<sup>20</sup> And, as we saw with Van Dyck’s portrait of Elena Grimaldi, by the seventeenth century, the figure of the dark-skinned servant or slave with parasol had also become a trope in European portraiture, used most notably to accentuate the fairness and refinement of elite women. Artists who drew colonial Cape Town’s urban landscape also frequently depicted upper-class women and sometimes men with parasols in hand or being attended by slaves with them (see figure 2.5).<sup>21</sup>

Beginning in the 1640s, VOC officials in Batavia tried to forbid the practice of parasols being held overhead by slaves, explaining that it was done “more from pomposity than out of any necessity.” As has so often been true in the history of sumptuary laws, their efforts bore little fruit and, over the subsequent century, the practice spread to men. In 1753, as a part of wide-ranging set of regulations aimed at curbing sartorial extravagance and preventing bankruptcy among the lower orders of the VOC, the governor-general of Batavia prohibited junior company officials and their associates from using large parasols or wax umbrellas. European women were excluded from this prohibition, presumably out of a racialized desire to maintain their privileged status and fair appearances. With a few minor adjustments, the governor-general of Cape Town adopted these same regulations. The fact that VOC officials promulgated sumptuary laws that were unknown in the Netherlands reveals how the growing colonial impetus to establish and maintain racial hierarchies could turn seemingly small matters of dress and appearance into political concerns.<sup>22</sup>

Over the course of the eighteenth-century at the Cape, as in other European imperial outposts, skin color increasingly became a defining feature of race and respectability. Although at the start of the century, it was possible, if not common, for a freeborn person of mixed parentage with the support of a well-connected European father, to be assimilated into the respectable ranks of Cape society, by the end, it had become much more difficult. The racialization of respectability directly shaped the politics of personal appearance as wealthier men and women sought to keep up with latest European fashions from France and elsewhere. Revealing an increasing color-consciousness in Cape law, in 1765, the government responded to white unease with free black women who appeared to place themselves on par or above “respectable burghers’ wives” by amending the 1753 sumptuary laws. The amendment prohibited them from wearing colored silk clothing, hooped skirts, fine lace, fancy hats, curled hair, and jeweled earrings.<sup>23</sup> This promulgation reveals how some free black women sought to achieve respectability through crafting stylized European appearances, and how some whites viewed such self-fashioning as undermining the colonial racial order.

The cultivation of fashionable appearances continued to be part of some black women’s broader efforts to garner resources and respect into the nineteenth century. In an account of Cape Town’s social life, William Wilberforce Bird, a British official stationed there in 1822, discusses the “rainbow balls,” whose name referenced the people of “different hue[s]” who attended from “this many coloured town.” The dances brought together well-to-do, mainly white, men and “slave girls of the first class, and girls who had acquired their freedom.” In this social space between and apart from the city’s English and Cape-Dutch balls, and the “negroe” ones on its outskirts, Wilberforce described how black women imitated “the manner, conversation, and dancing of their mistresses, and nearly equal them in dress.”<sup>24</sup> Three decades later, Lucie Duff

Gordon, another English visitor considered by latter-day historians to be a relatively sympathetic observer of the Cape's black population, wrote a letter home expressing her incredulity at the expense and attention that black women from Cape Town and its environs devoted to their dressing tables: "The first few shillings that a coloured woman has to spend on her cottage go in[to] – what do you think – a grand toilet table of worked muslin over pink, all set with little 'objets'." During the Victorian era, dressing tables laden with combs, brushes, mirrors, jewelry boxes, and lidded jars for discreetly decanting powders, creams, and perfumes became standard features in many middle and working class homes. Yet, for Duff Gordon, poor black women's possession of such items devoted to beautifying and pampering themselves was nothing less than absurd: "Now, what is the use or comfort of a *duchesse* [dressing table with a mirror] to a Hottentot family? I shall never see those toilets again without thinking of Hottentots – what a baroque association of ideas!"<sup>25</sup> Although the men who attended the "rainbow balls" appreciated the results of black women's primping, a white woman of Duff Gordon's status and sensibility had a difficult time associating beautification and self-valuation with black women.

Although we have no way of knowing what precise preparations filled the cosmetic jars that graced these black women's dressing tables, we do know that the ingredients and recipes needed for making skin whiteners and lighteners were available in the nineteenth-century Cape Colony. The earliest issues of the *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*, the first newspaper to be published in Africa, from 1800 included ads for white lead. Listed together with verdigrise, a pigment used to make green paint, the trader likely had the painting of walls and canvases rather than faces in mind when advertising white lead.<sup>26</sup> Nonetheless, an enterprising apothecary – Cape Town boasted twelve such professionals by 1820 – or a homespun beautician could have mixed up a batch of white facial paint.<sup>27</sup> Ingredients like egg whites, lemons, buttermilk, chalk,

flour, and rice starch needed to make pastes and powders that produced a white or light but less dramatic look would have been readily available at the Cape. Recipes for making these cosmetics were to be found in the household management and beauty manuals that Europeans brought with them as they migrated to the United States, Australia, and, especially following on the diamond and gold discoveries of the 1860s and 1880s, to southern Africa. To achieve fair complexions, such manuals instructed women to avoid the sun from an early age, to develop diets full of white meat and milk and devoid of salty and spicy foods, and, if possible, to never start using harsh cosmetics, especially white face paint.<sup>28</sup> In subsequent decades, similar homemade whitening and lightening remedies appeared in beauty advice columns in South African newspapers and magazines.<sup>29</sup>

In western Europe and the United States, significant shifts occurred in cosmetic fashions and manufacturing over the course of the nineteenth century. As we saw in the case of France, even by end of the previous century, white facial paint had begun to be replaced with powders and lotions that promised a pale yet “natural” appearance. This change in cosmetic fashion was spurred by popular rejection of the ostentatious displays associated with the *ancien régime*, the ascension of the youthful and modest Victoria to the British throne in 1837, and growing health concerns over lead. It also coincided with the growth of cosmetics manufacturing. Rather than going to a local perfumer or chemist to order a powder or cream or mixing it up at home, many women could now buy prepackaged cosmetics from the shelves of trading, drug, and department stores. Advertised on billboards and in newspapers, commercial cosmetics came in colorful and shapely jars and bottles that enhanced the dressing tables of middle and working class women.<sup>30</sup>

They also posed new problems. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, British and U.S. physicians warned, in medical journals and more popular publication like *The Times*

(London), *Scientific American*, and *The Ladies' Home Journal* that many commercial cosmetics contained dangerous ingredients – arsenic, mercury, and especially lead – but rarely disclosed them on their labels. Patients, they reported, presented in various stages of poisoning, some too late to be saved. Suggesting how women considered cosmetics use a private and somewhat shameful practice, most only admitted to applying skin whiteners and lighteners after persistent questioning. Physicians' proposed solution to the problem, like that of their French predecessors, extended medical expertise, overwhelmingly male, into this female arena of bodily care and adornment. They argued that only licensed chemists, acting on a doctor's prescription, should be allowed to dispense such cosmetics. Some also called for the enactment of a law that would require cosmetic manufacturers to provide labels listing products' ingredients and would prohibit the inclusion of "more dangerous metals." In the United States, such federal regulation did not exist until the passage of the Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act in 1938.<sup>31</sup>

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, South African newspapers carried advertisements for manufactured cosmetics. In 1840, James Divine, a merchant in Cape Town, promoted a range of cosmetics including white face powders and rouges imported from France. Other advertisements appeared for Rowland's "Kalydor," a lightening preparation made in London that promised to render "the most sallow complexion delicately fair, clear, and delightfully soft" and to eradicate "freckles, tan, pimples, spots, discoloration." Reflecting both the appeal of exotic beauty preparations to European consumers and growing concerns about the harmful effects of ingredients like lead, Rowland's touted its product as "an eastern botanical discovery" that was free of "all mineral admixture." Chemical analyses undertaken by U.S. physicians in the 1870s and 1880s, however, found that "Kalydor" contained mercury.<sup>32</sup> By the turn-of-the-century, newspapers in Johannesburg carried advertisements for creams and soaps

such as “La-rola” and “Cuticura” that promised to lighten the skin and remove freckles, and beauty columns that offered advice on how to maintain a pale complexion in the region’s harsh climate.<sup>33</sup>

Following the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 and the First World War, advertising in the country’s major commercial newspapers expanded and the region’s first pictorial magazines, also targeting a largely white readership, were launched. Elsewhere in the world, such periodicals garnered a substantial portion of revenue from advertising cosmetics.<sup>34</sup> In South Africa too, such magazines became important venues for cosmetics advertisements. *The South African Lady’s Pictorial and Home Journal* and *South African Pictorial: Stage and Cinema* featured articles and photos about U.S. and European entertainers and film stars, offered beauty advice and organized beauty contests, and ran various ads. In the same pages where readers gazed upon close-ups of cover girls with pale, flawless skin, they learned of cosmetics, many imported from England and the United States, which promised the same look. These magazines tied increased cosmetics use to photography and motion pictures. One British film producer, in an interview reprinted in *South African Pictorial*, complained of the excessive use of make-up by film actresses as “one of the evils of mechanical production.”<sup>35</sup> Elsewhere, the same magazine noted that ordinary women’s cosmetics practices had shifted from a subtle application that was “not usually mentioned in polite circles” to being, among urban working women at least, bold and irreverent: “not for a minute does she [the “modern typist”] imagine that anyone imagines the tints are her own.”<sup>36</sup>

The range of beauty services and products available to white women with some money was substantial. Hair salons and beauty parlors existed in all the major South African cities and towns.<sup>37</sup> Advertisements promoted perfumes, shampoos, hair lotions, soaps, lip salves, eyebrow

tonics, powders, and “liquid powders” (foundations). Demonstrating that cosmetic manufacturers did not try to appeal across all of South Africa’s racial categories, shades of powder only stretched from peach bloom, white, pink, and pale pink to rachel (reddish-pink), pale rachel, and peach blossom.<sup>38</sup> Even purveyors of blood and liver purifiers dabbled in the beauty market by promising that their pills and tonics could clarify and smoothen complexions, and eliminate sallowness.<sup>39</sup>

Amid this panoply of beauty services and products, claims to smoothening, whitening, and lightening skin were ubiquitous. Salons advertised their ability to remove blemishes, moles, superfluous hairs, and lines through “electrolysis” and “electric face bleaching massage.”<sup>40</sup> A number of products marketed as “skin food” and ostensibly manufactured by women – either foreign (Mrs. Pomeroy, Madame Mack) or local (Madam Lydiard, Madame J. Bernard) – promised to whiten the skin and remove all “sunburn, freckles, and wrinkles.” If they lived up to their claims, these cosmetics would have altered the skin not by adding a coat of white color as did earlier paints and powders but by acting as irritants or abrasives that removed the outer tanned layers of the epidermis to reveal the lighter layers beneath. Consumers could purchase these products at chemists or by post; advertisements also encouraged them to send for free testimonials or write for personal advice.<sup>41</sup>

Still other skin lighteners were marketed as “freckle waxes” or “freckle creams.” An advertisement, masquerading as a beauty advice column authored by an actress, recommended “jettaline” for removing freckles and clarifying the complexion: “You apply it at night as you would cold cream and it dissolves or absorbs the minute particles of discoloured scarf skin, leaving the newly revealed complexion underneath free from blemishes.”<sup>42</sup> Advertisements for another product similarly claimed to work overnight and offered a money-back promise, “Here’s

a chance, Miss Freckle-face, to try a new remedy for freckles with the guarantee of a reliable dealer that it will not cost you a penny unless it removes the freckles.”<sup>43</sup> While some consumers applied freckle creams at night and washed them off in the morning, others used them during the day as a base before applying powder.<sup>44</sup> It is difficult to know what, if any, active ingredients these skin lighteners contained as advertisements rarely mention chemical compounds and few regulatory or business records exist. It is likely, however, that, as in the United States, most products marketed as freckle waxes and creams contained ammoniated mercury or bichloride of mercury (also known as corrosive sublimate).<sup>45</sup>

As we have seen, since the middle of the nineteenth century, medical experts had increasingly decried the health effects of cosmetics containing heavy metals. But whereas physicians and pharmacists denounced arsenic and lead in quite adamant and consistent terms, some continued to recommend mercury in prescribed amounts as an effective treatment for skin infections, particularly acne, and for fading freckles, scars, and other areas of darker pigmentation.<sup>46</sup> U.S. popular publications like *The Sun* (Baltimore) and *Scientific American*, and trade journals like *Druggists' Circular and Chemical Gazette* carried both articles warning of the dangers of mercury in cosmetics and recipes for freckle creams that contained it.<sup>47</sup> Skin lighteners with mercury appealed to consumers by offering a more “natural” look than had previous whitening paints and powders.

Medical and cosmetics experts of the period debated whether mercury actually prevented pigmentation or, like other irritants, simply removed the top, tanned layers of the epidermis. We now know that mercury, in fact, lightens by both mechanisms: it inhibits the formation of melanin by rendering inactive the enzyme tyrosinase, and exfoliates through the hydrochloric acid generated as the mercury salts interact with the skin. Despite earlier physicians’

disagreements about mercury's lightening mechanism, they concurred that while it might temporarily lighten skin, prolonged use at higher concentrations could result in patches of darker pigmentation as the mercury oxidized and deposited in the skin. Operating as a poison, it could also lead to other, more systemic health problems.<sup>48</sup>

Two of the freckle creams and waxes sold in early twentieth-century South Africa definitely contained mercury. "Stillman's Freckle Cream" and "Mercolized Wax" were both manufactured in the U.S. Midwest and first marketed in South Africa during the 1910s.<sup>49</sup> The maker of Mercolized Wax, the Dearborn Company, specifically targeted sunny imperial outposts like Australia, India, and South Africa. Soon after the company trademarked their product, the American Medical Association denounced it as a "caustic poison." Tests done by municipal health departments found that it contained ten per cent ammoniated mercury, quite high for a cosmetic preparation.<sup>50</sup> For consumers, this formula resulted in dramatic short-term results. One user, a white American woman who had traveled with her naval officer father to Samoa in 1912, testified in a letter home to her aunt: "I can't say enough in praise of mercolized wax – have used it [for two months] . . . and now have a complexion like 'baby's'. Really it is fine."<sup>51</sup> Some of the advertisements that appeared in the South African press echoed this young woman's words with the slogan "complexion soft and clear as baby's" while others, presented as part of *faux* beauty advice columns, stressed its ability to remove "freckles, tan, moth patches, liver spots, pimples, etc."<sup>52</sup> By 1940, some advertisements may have sought to appeal more explicitly to the country's intricate calculus of color and race by claiming that Mercolized Wax could make skin "several shades lighter."<sup>53</sup>

Part of the popularity of skin lighteners and freckle creams among white women, during the early twentieth-century, stemmed from a new passion for the outdoors. In 1903, a Danish

physician won the Nobel Prize in Medicine for demonstrating that ultra-violet light was beneficial for tuberculosis patients. This recognition spurred the establishment of an increasing number of sanatoria in warm, dry climates and contributed to medical experts' growing enthusiasm for heliotherapy – sun treatment – as a cure for other ailments including rickets and lupus, and an overall boon for the body's mental and physical well-being.<sup>54</sup> Belief in the sun's health benefits also informed the new woman's and, soon after, the flapper's or modern girl's embrace of outdoor activities including swimming, golf, and tennis. These trends began to reverse the centuries-long association in Europe and the United States of pale, white skin with elite status.<sup>55</sup> Skin lightener manufacturers responded by explaining how their products enabled “girls” to enjoy the outdoors while preventing or removing its darkening and roughening effects.<sup>56</sup> A “Nyal Face Cream” advertisement that appeared in the *Cape Times* in 1927, for example, featured the drawing of a bobbed-hair young woman at the seaside and announced its ability to protect “against sunburn, windburn and chap” (see figure 2.6).<sup>57</sup> With images of stylish and self-assured flappers and copy describing users as “outdoor girl,” “open-air girl,” “trim girl,” and, most remarkably, “improved peroxide girl,” other manufacturers similarly marketed skin lighteners to a new generation of women.<sup>58</sup> Beginning in the mid-1920s, more and more white women in South Africa and elsewhere embraced tanning as an expression of privilege, beauty, and sensuality. This embrace, which will be examined more fully in chapter four, transformed skin whiteners and lighteners from cosmetics widely used by white women to being primarily associated with women of color.

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In southern Africa, two social institutions were crucial to enabling cosmetics recipes, commercial products, and their advertisements to circulate beyond the white consumers for

whom they were originally intended: domestic service and mission schools. Through these institutions, the region's indigenous inhabitants came into intimate contact with new ideas and practices regarding domesticity, hygiene, and bodily appearances. It was in these two crucibles laden with unequal power relations that southern African practices of smearing, oiling, and coloring and notions of brightness/lightness, discussed in chapter one, most directly encountered and were reshaped by ways of caring for the skin and conceiving of its color brought by immigrants from Madagascar, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and especially Europe.

Domestic service was the earliest and most effective means by which colonists incorporated indigenous and enslaved peoples into their households and colonial society, more generally. Eva, the Khoi women who proved the early VOC's most adept intercultural mediator and married the company's Danish surgeon, gained her fluency in Dutch language, dress, and manners through serving as a nursemaid in the household of Jan Van Riebeeck, the founding commander of the colony. Indicating just how important bodily appearances were in demarcating the colonial world from the indigenous, the young Eva swapped her Dutch clothes for greased skins when visiting her clan.<sup>59</sup> Many enslaved people, especially women owned by either VOC officials or other townspeople, worked as household cleaners, cooks, and child minders, often sleeping in their owners' kitchens.<sup>60</sup> Through such work and living arrangements, domestic laborers gained firsthand knowledge of how both European colonists and slaves, mainly from the Indian Ocean region, cared for and cultivated their bodies. As we have seen, in the most affluent homes in Cape Town or for special occasions, such bodily routines included paints and powders that whitened, and parasols that protected the skin from the subtropical sun. They may have also entailed the use of turmeric and rice paste as part of wedding preparations, and sandalwood and oils for clarifying and softening the skin.

These routines both resonated with and departed from indigenous ones. African practices of smearing with oil, ochre, and charcoal also moisturized and protected bodies from harsh elements but they did not produce a white or lighter-colored veneer. Only some people's ritual use of white clay, botanical lightening agents, or seclusion, especially as part of female initiation, whitened or lightened appearances. White clay's association with potent connections to the spiritual world and ancestors differed greatly from the varied notions of refinement, luxury, and artifice that Europeans attached to white paints and powders. On the other hand, the quality of brightness/lightness, discussed in the previous chapter, that some female initiates or brides sought to achieve through using botanical lightening agents or avoiding the sun was akin to the lighter, smoother, more youthful look that European women sought with paints, powders, and parasols. In its spiritual connotations, it was also akin to South and Southeast Asian practices of coloring brides and grooms an auspicious golden hue. Perhaps these resonances caught the attention of some domestic servants, encouraging them to recast appearances reserved for rituals into a part of more everyday routines.

As European colonists spread into the northern and eastern Cape, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal, domestic servants remained indispensable to their households. On rural farms and frontier homesteads, they learned and performed a wide range of duties, often times alongside their white female employers or owners, that included washing, sewing, knitting, cooking, baking, churning butter, salting meat, and making candles. If their employers or owners had the inclination or necessity to mix up a recipe from a household management or beauty manual, domestic laborers would have likely witnessed, if not directly aided, them. Whereas in the nineteenth-century Cape and Orange Free State, most domestic servants in settler households were black women, in the Transvaal and Natal, including the cities of Johannesburg, Pretoria,

and Durban, most were black men. A small number of recently immigrated white women also worked as domestic laborers in the Cape and Transvaal. Such regional variations in the racial and gender composition of this work force resulted from a number of factors. Most significantly, in the early phase of colonization, African male elders were reluctant for wives, daughters, and other female kin to migrate and work in white households for fear of losing their considerable productive and reproductive labor at home, and leaving them socially and sexually vulnerable. In areas like the Cape and the Orange Free State where women dominated the domestic work force from the start, they either were coerced into service following minor infractions of colonial law or propelled by dire conditions of warfare, famine, and land alienation. Other black women sought employment in white households to avoid arranged marriages or abusive home lives.

Over the first half of the twentieth century, the overall gender pattern became more homogenous as black women grew to dominate the domestic work force in the Transvaal and Natal as well. The initial shift was spurred by the “black peril” scares of the 1890s and early 1900s when accusations and anxiety over black men raping white women reached fevered pitch and prompted some to argue that all black men working within the intimate space of the home should be replaced by black women. The shift was also aided by heightened demands from mining and secondary industries for black male labor, the erosion of Africans’ access to land in rural areas, and the increased subordination of black households to the region’s capitalist economy. Domestic service became, by far, the most common form of paid employment for black South African women: in the 1940s, three out of every four employed African and coloured women were domestic servants. And, as anthropologist Philip Mayer observed in East London during the 1950s, such employment provided African girls and women with unparalleled knowledge of white domestic habits and their associated consumer goods.<sup>61</sup>

Mission schooling was the second social crucible within which Africans learned a great deal about European bodily practices. It was also pivotal in training Africans for domestic service and ensuring that, over time, it became an occupation filled almost exclusively by black women. From the establishment of the first continuous stations at the Cape in the 1790s, missionaries taught the importance of cleanliness and clothing to Christianity. In the Eastern Cape, converts were soon known as the “dressed ones” while those who continued to offer sacrifices to the ancestors, and smear ochre on their bodies and animal skins were known as the “red ones.” Over the course of the nineteenth century, missionaries increasingly linked domesticity and hygiene to Christian salvation, “civilization,” and racial progress. And in keeping with Victorian ideologies, they positioned women as the custodians of the home. Mission schools taught African girls and young women domestic skills alongside of reading, writing, and arithmetic. As boys and young men learned the vocations of building, carpentry, quarrying, brickmaking, agriculture, blacksmithing, and shoemaking, their female counterparts studied domestic science, laundry work, needlework, cookery, and home nursing. The purpose of such schooling was intentionally two-fold: it prepared African girls and women to be Christian wives and mothers, and skilled domestic servants. While a few female mission graduates became teachers and, later, nurses, the vast majority found employment in white households.<sup>62</sup>

Cosmetics were likely never a formal part of any mission curricula. Whereas soap was a key ingredient in mission domesticity, cosmetics embodied the luxurious and self-indulgent elements of European culture that most nineteenth-century missionaries rejected. In Africa, missionaries sought to promote a simple, wholesome, and largely rural way of life that they viewed as rapidly disappearing with industrialization and the spread of consumer capitalism in Europe and the United States. Later, in the twentieth century, school regulations specifically

forbade the wearing of cosmetics by pupils as missionaries considered such items an affront to the sort of Christianity that they sought to cultivate.<sup>63</sup>

Nonetheless, in a number of vital ways, missionaries laid the foundations for a southern African black consumer culture that included skin lighteners and other cosmetics. First, mission schools contributed to black consumer culture by teaching literacy in African and European languages. Through reading, students and graduates engaged diverse media that were, in part, the product of Western consumer cultures and described the inner workings of those cultures in great detail. Such media ranged from imported magazines, popular novels, and advice literature to local newspapers and journals that eventually ran extensive advertisements and columns with tips on household management, beauty, and love. Second, mission schools taught that new domestic and bodily routines, modeled after those practiced by Europeans and Americans, were essential to becoming Christian, “civilized,” and, later, “modern.” And, over time, those routines increasingly involved the purchase of commodities. For example, whereas at the start of the nineteenth century, many missionaries and their converts made their own soap, by the turn-of-the-century, they bought bar soap manufactured by British companies like Lever Brothers and Pears, or by local competitors such as the Transvaal Soap Company. By that time, Vaseline petroleum jelly had also started circulating in southern Africa. With very little marketing from the U.S. manufacturer Chesebrough, Africans adopted Vaseline as the preferred product for smearing. Vaseline, like previously used animal fats and plant oils, moisturized the skin and provided it with a protective sheen while offering a new scent and arriving in mass-manufactured bottles. Missionaries laid the groundwork for such commodity adoptions and adaptations by denigrating African bodily practices as “barbaric” and “backward” and yoking Christianity to domestic and bodily regimes that relied on commodities.<sup>64</sup>

Together, domestic service and mission schools bolstered colonial and, later, segregationist ideologies that held women more responsible than men for bodily care and appearances, and situated the hygienic routines of middle-class white settlers and missionaries as enabling and embodying racial progress. They also fueled a kind of gendered and racialized commodity fetishism that imbued toiletries with the power to domesticate unruly bodies and subjects. Some of the most disturbing imperial meditations on the abilities and limits of commodities to “civilize” are soap and detergent advertisements that evoked and updated Aesop’s fable of “washing the Ethiopian white.” Appearing at the height of the “scramble for Africa” and the elaboration of scientific racism, these advertisements for Pears’ soap (see figures 2.7 and 2.8) mockingly played upon the impossibility of turning black people’s skin white despite their adoption of European dress and hygiene routines.<sup>65</sup> Such advertisements aligned the cleansing commodity of soap with Britain’s “civilizing mission” while insisting that some racial differences could never be transcended. For imperial sensibilities, the jest that some commodities could whiten black skin was both a source of humor and an anxious assertion of white superiority.

By the turn-of-the-twentieth-century, whites were no longer the only immigrants seeking to spread the imperial triumvirate of civilization, Christianity, and cleanliness in southern Africa. Beginning in the 1890s, African American performers and missionaries combined propagation of the three C’s with a message of “racial uplift.” This combination proved a pointed retort to the kind of degrading racism expressed in the Pears’ advertisements. The most popular black evangelists were the Virginia Jubilee Singers, a group of ten graduates of the Hampton Institute, who between 1890 and 1898 toured South Africa and performed hundreds of concerts of American Negro spirituals, and dramatic and comedic skits (see figure 2.9). With their stage

talent, immaculate Victorian manners, and, in the words of black South Africa's foremost newspaper editor, "smart and tidy" appearances, the Virginia Jubilee Singers moved white audiences to tears and became, for black viewers, powerful racial role models of what might be achieved through advanced schooling, Christian devotion, and commercial entrepreneurialism. African American missionaries of the African Methodist Episcopal Church arrived in South Africa during the same decade and similarly contributed to opening a trans-Atlantic political and cultural dialogue over what it meant to be civilized, Christian, and black. This dialogue grew to include the circulation of African American publications and products, and black South Africans traveling to the United States for higher education.<sup>66</sup> As we shall see, African American influences also shaped debates over black South Africans' use of cosmetics, especially skin whiteners and lighteners.

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The cosmetics that European colonists brought with them to southern Africa included whitening and lightening preparations that had been developed and used over centuries in the Mediterranean, Near Eastern, and Far Eastern world. Users of these cosmetics, mainly elite women, valued them for the refined, feminine, and youthful appearances they helped to create. In the early modern period, the era when Europeans first colonized southern Africa, the meaning and scale of these practices began to shift. As Europeans elaborated political hierarchies rooted in racial difference, and skin color became one of the key somatic markers of that difference, whitening and lightening cosmetics acquired more racialized associations. For some, their use became part of broader efforts to secure racial privilege. At the same time, the number of European women using cosmetics, especially those like lighteners that enhanced "natural" looks rather than creating ostentatious appearances, increased as the industrial and consumer

revolutions moved these items beyond the preserve of elites and made them accessible to the middle and working classes.

From personal correspondence, travelers' accounts, and advertisements, we know that skin whiteners and lighteners were among the cosmetics used by European colonists in southern Africa. We also know much about the two social crucibles – domestic service and mission schools – through which the region's heterogeneous black population would have gained knowledge of these and other imported bodily practices. We know little, however, about what they made of them during the seventeenth through early twentieth centuries. Did most domestic servants and Christian converts who encountered whiteners and lighteners view them as exotic, frivolous, or irrelevant items? For those who were intrigued, did they recognize these cosmetic practices as akin to ways of caring for and coloring the skin that were indigenous to the Indian Ocean region or southern Africa? Alternatively, did they see them as something entirely new? And for those black consumers who eventually used these preparations and products, did they understand them as just one, not very distinctive element, of increasingly hegemonic bodily routines introduced by European colonists? Or did they view them as possessing a special capacity to brighten and lighten one's complexion or to alter incrementally one's skin color and standing within the region's racial hierarchy?

An ethnographic account from the Eastern Cape in the early 1930s suggests just how challenging it is to answer such questions. In chapter one, we considered Monica Hunter's account of Xhosa female initiates in seclusion smearing chewed Tambookie grass roots on themselves to achieve the bodily state and aesthetic ideal of brightness/lightness. Although Hunter did not specifically discuss the origins of this practice, she situated it as a part of long-standing "pagan" rites of passage and contrasted it with wedding preparations undertaken by

African Christians. Regarding the latter group, she described how in the weeks after the banns were announced in church but before the wedding was held, the bride-to-be confined herself in a hut at her parents' home and, if she went out, covered herself in a blanket with a handkerchief over her face. During confinement, she rubbed egg whites onto her face and body "to give herself a light complexion." While to Hunter this appeared as an obvious Christian reworking of older initiation practices, she noted that practitioners disagreed: "Christians are indignant at any suggestion that this seclusion is really an adaptation of the initiation ceremonies."<sup>67</sup>

Whereas egg whites were often part of European whitening and lightening cosmetic recipes discussed in this chapter, they were not among the substances that Africans had formerly used to moisturize or protect their skin or make it glisten. Its use by these brides-to-be suggests how some African Christians, through their close contact with European missionaries, incorporated new substances, perhaps ones viewed as less spiritually laden or more refined or "Western," into efforts to achieve the pre-nuptial ideal of brightness/lightness. From Hunter's account alone, it is impossible to know if and how this ideal had become inflected by conceptions of racial whiteness with its colonial connotations of power, beauty, and intelligence. Hunter's account, however, does reveal that these African Christians insisted on a profound religious difference between the bodily practices of "reds" and themselves, even when their form and material effects seemed quite similar.

Such evidence reminds us that by attending to the body's surface, people sought not just to alter their appearances but to forge relations between the mundane and the spiritual, and the inner self and the outer world. The next chapter will examine discussions and debates over female beauty and black women's use of whiteners and lighteners that took place in the South African newspaper *Bantu World* during the 1930s. By this time, many of the mission-educated

Africans who wrote and read this newspaper understood women's looks and cosmetic practices as linked to race and respectability, though not always in the same ways.

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<sup>1</sup> Florence Elizabeth Wallace, "Color in Homer and in Ancient Art," *Smith College Classical Studies* 9 (Dec. 1947), 19-20; Ortha L. Wilner, "Roman Beauty Culture," *The Classical Journal* 27, 1 (1931): 26-38; A. Diamandopoulos, L. Kolonas, and M. Grapsa-Kotrotsou, "Use of Lead Cosmetics in Bronze-Age Greece," *The Lancet* 344 (1994): 754-755; Sally Pointer, *The Artifice of Beauty: A History and Practical Guide to Perfumes and Cosmetics* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2005), 15 and 35-38; Bridget M. Thomas, "Constraints and Contradictions: Whiteness and Femininity in Ancient Greece" in Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, ed., *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World* (London: Duckworth and the Classical Press of Wales, 2002), 1-16; Denise Eileen McCoskey, "Naming the Fault in Question: Theorizing Race among the Greeks and Romans," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 13, 2 (Fall 2006): 243-267; Kelly Olson, "Cosmetics in Roman Antiquity: Substance, Remedy, Poison," *Classical World* 103, 2 (2009): 291-310. On white lead as historically the most important white pigment in painting, see Rutherford J. Gettens, Hermann Kühn, and W.T. Chase, "Lead White" in Ashok Roy, ed., *Artists' Pigments: A Handbook of Their History and Characteristics, vol. 2* (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1986), 67-81.

<sup>2</sup> Pointer, *The Artifice of Beauty*, 73-79.

<sup>3</sup> Fenja Gunn, *The Artificial Face: A History of Cosmetics* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1973), 76-77, 85, and 90; Oumeish Youssef Oumeish, "The Cultural and Philosophical Concepts of Cosmetics in Beauty and Art through the Medical History of Mankind," *Clinics in Dermatology* 19 (2001): 375-386; Pointer, *The Artifice of Beauty*, 96-98, 103-4, and 110.

<sup>4</sup> Gunn, *The Artificial Face*, 76-77; Feliciano Blanco-Dávila, "Beauty and the Body: The Origins of Cosmetics," *Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery* 105, 3 (March 2000): 1196-1204; Pointer, *The Artifice of Beauty*, 92-96. Mercury was also common in rouges. Morag Martin, "Doctoring Beauty: The Medical Control of Women's Toiletttes in France, 1750-1820," *Medical History* 49 (2005): 351-368, esp. 357.

<sup>5</sup> Hiroshi Wagatsuma, "The Social Perception of Skin Color in Japan," *Daedalus* 96, 2 (1967): 407-443, esp. 407-412; The Modern Girl Around the World Research Group (Alys Eve Weinbaum, Lynn M. Thomas, Priti Ramamurthy, Uta G. Poiger, Madeleine Y. Dong, and Tani E. Barlow), "The Modern Girl Around the World: Cosmetics Advertising and the Politics of Race and Style" in The Modern Girl Around the World Research Group, ed., *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 40; author's personal correspondence with Dorothy Ko, 2 November 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (New York: Norton, 1968), chapter one; Peter Erickson, "'God for Harry, England, and Saint George': British National Identity and the Emergence of White Self-Fashioning" in Peter Erickson and Clark Hulse, eds., *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, and Empire in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 315-345; Anu Korhonen, "Washing the Ethiopian White:

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Conceptualising Black Skin in Renaissance England” in T.F. Earle and K.J.P. Lowe, *Black Europeans in Renaissance Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 94-112.

<sup>7</sup> Kim Hall, *Things of Darkness: Economies of Race and Gender in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 1-24; Pointer, *The Artifice of Beauty*, 101; Kathleen Brown, *Foul Bodies: Cleanliness in Early America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 42-43.

<sup>8</sup> Hall, *Things of Darkness*, chapter two; Pointer, *The Artifice of Beauty*, 112; Tassie Gwilliam, “Cosmetic Poetics: Coloring Faces in the Eighteenth Century” in Veronica Kelly and Dorothea Von Mücke, (eds.), *Body & Text in the Eighteenth Century* (Palo, Alto: Stanford University Press, 1994), 144-159; Lynn Festa, “Cosmetic Differences: The Changing Faces of England and France,” *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture* 34 (2005): 25-54; Sujata Iyengar, *Shades of Difference: Mythologies of Skin Color in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 130-136.

<sup>9</sup> Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 165, 375-397, and 403-404.

<sup>10</sup> Martin, “Doctoring Beauty”; Morag Martin, *Selling Beauty: Cosmetics, Commerce, and French Society, 1750-1830* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), introduction and chapters 1 and 5; Festa, “Cosmetic Differences.”

<sup>11</sup> “Among the variety of Cosmetics . . . .,” *The Times* (London), (5 Nov. 1785), p. 3, issue 270, col. C.

<sup>12</sup> “Female Beauty . . . .,” *The Times* (London), (10 April 1788), p. 4, issue 1043, col. A.; “To the Ladies . . . .,” *The Times* (London), (18 June 1800), p. 2, issue 4824, col. A.; “Delicacy of Complexion . . . .,” (5 April 1806), p. 3, issue 6703, col. B. For an early nineteenth-century U. S. source that warned of the dangers of cosmetics containing lead and mercury, see “Remarks on Cosmetics,” *The Connecticut Magazine* (May 1801), 274.

<sup>13</sup> Mintz; Brewer. From Ross sumptuary footnote 37, Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability* (New York: Routledge, 2002); idem, “The European-Asian Trade of the Seventeenth Century and the Modernization of Commercial Capitalism,” *Itinerario*, VI (1982); Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); idem, “In Pursuit of Luxury: Global History and British Consumer Goods in the Eighteenth Century.”

<sup>14</sup> Jordan; Siep Stuurman, “François Bernier and the Invention of Racial Classification,” *History Workshop Journal* 50, (2000): 1-21. On the politics of complexion, especially women’s complexion, still being quite fluid in eighteenth-century England, see Felicity A. Nussbaum, “Women and Race: ‘A Difference of Complexion’” in Vivien Jones, ed., *Women and Literature in Britian, 1700-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 69-88. Similarly, Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race; Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000) argues that it was not until the third quarter of the eighteenth century that skin color emerged as the most component of racial identity in Britain.

<sup>15</sup> Gilbert Vail, *A History of Cosmetics in America* (New York: The Toilet Goods Association, Inc., 1947), 76, 78, and 100; Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 132-133.

<sup>16</sup> Deirdre Coleman, “Janet Schaw and the Complexions of Empire” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36, 2 (2003): 169-193, quotes from 178 and 173. For literary representations of white women tanning and

whitening in the West Indies, also see, Gwilliam, “Cosmetic Poetics,” 152-158; and Nussbaum, “Women and Race,” 82.

<sup>17</sup> Leonard Guelke, “Freehold Farmers and Frontier Settlers, 1657-1780” and James C. Armstrong and Nigel A. Worden, “The Slaves, 1652-1834” in Richard Elphick and Hermann Giliomee, eds., *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1840, revised ed.*, (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1988), 66-108 and 109-183.

<sup>18</sup> Daphne H. Strutt, *Fashion in South Africa, 1652-1900* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1975), 22, 52, 75, 120, and 136.

<sup>19</sup> David E. Sopher, “Indigenous Uses of Turmeric (*Curcuma domestica*) in Asia and Oceania,” *Anthropos* 59, 1/2 (1934): 93-127; Raymond Decary, *Moeurs et Coutumes des Malgaches* (Paris: Payot, 1951), 81-82. The Modern Girl Around the World Research Group, “The Modern Girl Around the World,” 40-41; Kunda B. Patkar, “Herbal Cosmetics in Ancient India,” *Indian Journal of Plastic Surgery* 41 (2008): 134-7; author’s personal correspondence with Jean Gelman Taylor, 23 October 2011, and Purnima Dhavan, 25 October 2011.

<sup>20</sup> Jean Gelman Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia: European and Eurasian in Dutch Asia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1983, rev. edition 2009), 40-41. On parasols in Asia, also see Wagatsuma, “The Social Perception of Skin Color in Japan.”

<sup>21</sup> Strutt, *Fashion in South Africa*, 52, 166, 211, 241, and 285; Nigel Worden, Elizabeth van Heyningen, and Vivian Bickford-Smith, *Cape Town: The Making of a City* (Kenilworth, SA: David Philip, 1998), 49 [Rach-1762], 101 [Thompson-1833], and 93, 97, 123 [D’Oyly-1834]. For a portrait of an elite Batavian woman of mixed descent with parasol-holding slave in the background, see Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 62; idem, “Painted Ladies of the VOC” in Nigel Worden, ed., *Contingent Lives: Social Identity and Material Culture in the VOC World* (Rondebosch: University of Cape Town, 2007), 512-537.

<sup>22</sup> Robert Ross, “Sumptuary Laws in Europe, the Netherlands, and the Dutch Colonies” in Worden, *Contingent Lives*, 382-389. The 1753 decree allowed all to carry smaller, presumably personally held, parasols.

<sup>23</sup> Richard Elphick and Robert Shell, “Intergroup Relations: Khoikhoi, Settlers, Slaves and Free Blacks, 1652-1795” in Elphick and Giliomee, *The Shaping of South African Society*, 215; Timothy Keegan, *Colonial South Africa and the Origins of the Racial Order* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 23-24; Robert Ross, *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony, 1750-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 11.

<sup>24</sup> William Wilberforce Bird and H.T. Colebrooke, *State of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1822* (London: John Murray, 1823), 165-166. Also discussed in Ross, *Status and Respectability*, 134-135.

<sup>25</sup> Lady Duff Gordon, edited by John Purves, *Letters from the Cape* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1921), 83-84. Also discussed in Ross, *Status and Respectability*, 84-85. On Victorian dressing tables, see Pointer, *The Artifice of Beauty*, 138-9.

<sup>26</sup> For example, see ad for Messrs. Walker, Robertson and Co., *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*, 1, 9 (11 October 1800), 2 reprinted in *The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser August 16, 1800 – October 19, 1801*, South African Library Reprint Series no. 10 (Cape Town: The South African Library, 1982). From the 1830s, white lead and corrosive sublimate (mercury) were also regularly

advertised in the Eastern Cape's *The Graham's Town Journal*. See, for example, ads for G. A. Monro, "To Chemists, Apothecaries, and the Public in General" (19 July 1838), 1; and C. & H. Maynard, "Goods Expected" (5 Jan. 1843), 1.

<sup>27</sup> **provide citation from coffee table of early Cape Town.**

<sup>28</sup> D. G. Brinton and Geo. H. Napheys, *Personal Beauty: How to Cultivate and Preserve It in Accordance with the Laws of Health* (Springfield, Mass.: W. J. Holland, 1870); A Professional Beauty, *Beauty and How to Keep It* (London: Bretano's, 1889); *Beauty: Its Attainment and Preservation* (New York: The Butterick Publishing Company, 1890); Sally Pointer and Andrew Hardy, "Beauty Secrets of an Edwardian Lady," *Pharmaceutical Historian* 35, 2 (2005): 27-30; Pointer, *The Artifice of Beauty*, 140.

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, "Beauty: Its Cultivation and Protection," *South African Lady's Pictorial* (Nov. 1930), 16.

<sup>30</sup> Peiss, *Hope in a Jar*, chapters two and three; Pointer, *The Artifice of Beauty*, 152.

<sup>31</sup> Caroline Lee Mentz, "The Fatal Cosmetic," *Boston Cultivator* (24 Nov. 1849), 373; *The Times* (London), (4 June 1861), p. 9, issue 23950, col. F; "Poisonous Soaps and Perfumery," *Lancet Medical News* (July 1861), 123; "Poisonous Cosmetics," *Scientific American* (3 Aug. 1861), 80; "How Cosmetics are Made," *Christian Advocate and Journal* (8 Aug. 1861), 254; "Dangerous Cosmetics," *Ohio Cultivator* (1 Dec. 1861), 380; "Cosmetics," *The Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review* (1 Feb. 1862), 139; "Cosmetics – Their Use and Manufacture," *Scientific American* (8 March 1862), 151; "Cosmetics," *Harper's Bazaar* (9 May 1868), 440; "Poisonous Drugs and Cosmetics," *Scientific American* (25 Nov. 1868), 345; "The Price of Beauty," *Medical and Surgical Reporter* (30 Oct. 1869), 265; "Poisonous Cosmetics," *Scientific American* (11 June 1870), 385; "Poisonous Hair Preparations and Cosmetics," *The Pharmacists and Chemical Record* (1 July 1870), 154; "Cosmetics," *The Bistoury: A Quarterly Medical Journal, Devoted to the Exposition of Charlatanism in Medicine* (1 Jan. 1871), 206; James H. Hutchinson, "On Two Cases in which Cerebral Symptoms were Produced by the Use of White Lead as a Cosmetics," *Philadelphia Medical Times* (17 Jan. 1874), 241-45; P.V. Schenck, "Chronic Lead Poisoning Following the Use of Cosmetics – With Cases," *Saint Louis Courier of Medicine and Collateral Sciences* 1 (Jan.-June 1879), 506-18; "Perry's Moth and Freckle Lotion," *New Remedies* (1 March 1880), 92; Clifford Mitchell, "The Use of Cosmetics," (1 July 1880), 321; "Gleanings from Exchanges," *Philadelphia Medical Times* (4 June 1881), 572; Albert B. Prescott, "Nostrums in their Relations to the Public Health," *New Remedies* (1 Aug. 1881), 249; James P. Tuttle, "Cosmetics: Their Constituents and General Effects, with a Few Special Cases Other than Saturnism," *The Medical Record* 25 (8 March 1884): 257-9; "French Toilet Preparations," *Medical and Surgical Reporter* (30 July 1887), 163; Shirley Dare, "The Ugly Girl Who Tried to Make Herself Beautiful," *The Youth's Companion* (12 April 1888), 190; "Examination of Drugs in Massachusetts," *American Druggist* (16 Nov. 1891), 347-8; Ella Rodman Church, "Freckles and Other Blemishes," *The Ladies' Home Journal* (Jan. 1893), 15; "Poisons and Cosmetics," *The Times* (London), (10 Jan. 1894), 12; X. Apothecary, "The Cosmetic Case," *Druggists' Circular and Chemical Gazette* (1 Feb. 1894), 27. Quote from Tuttle, "Cosmetics," 259. Tuttle cites Dr. W.E. Chandler's report "Dangerous Cosmetics" (1870) as an earlier warning delivered to the New York Metropolitan Board of Health. For a U.S. portrait photographer's warning to colleagues and consumers not to use harmful cosmetics, especially those containing lead and arsenic, see H. J. Rodgers, *Twenty-Three Years Under a Sky-Light, or Life and Experiences of a Photographer* (Hartford: H. J. Rodgers, 1872), 189-201 reprinted by (New York: Arno Press, 1973). For a nineteenth-century remedy for a "harmless" lightener, see "Lotions for Freckles," *The Bistoury: A Quarterly Medical Journal, Devoted to the Exposition of Charlatanism in Medicine* (1 July 1876), 160. An advertisement in a South African newspaper from 1859 for a medicine that healed sores on sheep and other farm animals boasted that it did

not contain mercury or “any other ingredients of an injurious character.” W. G. Baker, “To Sheep Farmers,” *The Natal Witness, and Agricultural and Commercial Advertiser* (11 Nov. 1859), 1.

<sup>32</sup> “Kalydor” ads in *The Graham’s Town Journal* (24 Nov. 1842), 4 and *The Rand Daily Mail* (21 Oct. 1905), 3; Strutt, *Fashion in South Africa, 1652-1900*, 211, 346, and 385-386. For chemical analyses of “Kalydor,” see “Poisonous Cosmetics,” *New Remedies* (1 March 1874), 168 -- apparently mis-referenced as “Kalydon’s and Gowland’s Cosmetic Wash”; Tuttle, “Cosmetics”; and “Notes and Queries: Kalydor,” *Druggists’ Circular and Chemical Gazette* (1 Dec. 1892), 277. Tuttle’s findings regarding “Kalydor” were republished elsewhere: “The Cosmetics of the Market,” *The Bistoury: A Quarterly Medical Journal, Devoted to the Exposition of Charlatanism in Medicine* (1 Oct. 1884), 70; and “Cosmetics,” *The People’s Health Journal of Chicago* (1 June 1885), 15. For more Rowland’s Kalydor ads, see “Grace’s Guide: The Best of British Engineering, 1750-1960s” website, [http://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Rowlands\\_Kalydor](http://www.gracesguide.co.uk/Rowlands_Kalydor), accessed 10 November 2011; and in *The Times* (London), see (31 July 1835), p. 4, issue 15856, col. F and (30 July 1836), p. 7, issue 16169, col. G.

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, “Cuticura Soap” ad, *The Standard and Diggers’ News* (3 Oct. 1899), 6; “Fauldings Solyptol Soap” ad, *Rand Daily Mail* (3 Feb. 1903), 11; “Beetham’s Larola” ad, *Rand Daily Mail* (26 Nov. 1903), 4; “Cuticura Ointment” ad, *Rand Daily Mail* (5 Dec. 1903), 19; “The Whole Art of Beauty: A Youthful Complexion at Fifty,” *Rand Daily Mail* (15 Aug. 1903), 15; “The Whole Art of Beauty: Fogs and the Complexion,” *Rand Daily Mail* (12 Dec. 1903), 15. “La-rola” and “Cuticura” advertisements also appeared in *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, *The Rhodesia Herald*, and *The Times of India* in the same period.

<sup>34</sup> In the United States, for example, cosmetics accounted for ?? per cent of all advertising revenue for women’s magazines. Stephen R. Fox, *The Mirror Makers*.

<sup>35</sup> “Filmnews,” “Moving Picture Mems,” *South African Pictorial* (1 May 1920), 5.

<sup>36</sup> Ena Becket, “The Christian Martyr,” *South African Pictorial: Stage and Cinema* (18 Oct. 1919), 2; G. H. L., “Timothy Clough: Barber and Philosopher,” *South African Pictorial: Stage and Cinema* (4 Dec. 1920), 15. For a stage performance (“The Perfect Woman” with Constance Talmadge) that made humor of a woman’s beauty preparations, see “Filmnews,” “Moving Picture Mems,” *South African Pictorial* (26 Feb. 1921), 7.

<sup>37</sup> “Wetzel & Francis” hairdresser ad, *Rand Daily Mail* (14 Nov. 1903), 22; “Pomeroy Day Cream with Mrs. Mr. Turner” ad, *Cape Times* (2 Sept. 1913), 12;

<sup>38</sup> “Pomeroy Liquid Powder” ad, *Cape Times* (4 Sept. 1913), 5; “Kaloderma” ad, *Cape Times* (4 Sept. 1913), 11; “Francis et CIE.” ad, *South African Pictorial* (9 Oct. 1915), 21; “Poudre Tokalon” ad, *Rand Daily Mail* (8 July 1927), 7.

<sup>39</sup> “Ayer’s Sarasaparilla” ad, *Rand Daily Mail* (17 Feb. 1903), 8; “Dr. Williams’ Pink Pills” ad, *Cape Times* (4 Sept. 1913), 4; “Feluna Pills” ad, *Cape Times* (6 Sept. 1913), 15; “Cater’s Little Liver Pills” ad, *Cape Times* (13 Sept. 1913), 13; “Melcin” ad, *South African Pictorial* (7 Aug. 1920), 34.

<sup>40</sup> “Electrolysis” ad, *Rand Daily Mail* (7 Oct. 1902), 2; “Madame Lydiard” ad, *Cape Times* (10 Feb. 1913), 4.

<sup>41</sup> “Madame Mack” ad, *Rand Daily Mail* (22 May 1903), 4; “La Roche’s Maculane Toilet Cream” ad, *Rand Daily Mail* (6 Nov. 1908), 19; “Madame Lydiard” ad, *Cape Times* (6 Dec. 1913), 13; “Crème de Licitine” ad, *Cape Times* (18 Oct. 1913), 13; “Pomeroy Skin Food” ad, *The Journal* (Grahamstown) (9

Dec. 1909), 6; “Pomeroy Skin Food” ad, *Cape Times* (4 Nov. 1913), 11. “Pomeroy Skin Food” advertisements also appeared in *The Nyasaland Times* and *The Times of India* in the same period while “Maculane” advertisements appeared in *The Mafeking Mail and Protectorate Guardian*.

<sup>42</sup> Rita Moya, “Rare Secrets of Beauty,” *Cape Times* (18 Dec. 1913), 11. For the presentation of jettaline as an alternative to “face bleach,” see Rita Moya, “Novel Beauty Hints,” *Cape Times* 27 Nov. 1913), 12. For other ads that specifically use the term “freckle cream,” see “Stillman’s Freckle Cream” ad, *Cape Times* (1 Sept. 1913), 4; and “R. W. Thomson & Co. Freckle Cream” ad, *South African Pictorial* 1, 19 (11 Dec. 1915), 21. Advertisements for “jettaline” also appeared in the same period in *The Rhodesia Herald* and *The Bulawayo Chronicle*.

<sup>43</sup> “Telmo-Double Strength” ad, *South African Pictorial* (Feb. 8 1919), 18. Also see, “Telmo-Double Strength” ad, *Cape Times* (4 Sept. 1913), 10. Advertisements for “telmo” also appeared in the same period in *The Rhodesia Herald* and *The Bulawayo Chronicle*.

<sup>44</sup> Bennett, “Cosmetics and Skin: Mercolized Wax,” <http://cosmeticsandskin.com/aba/mercolized-wax.php> (accessed 23 January 2012).

<sup>45</sup> John Godwin Downing, “Cosmetics – Past and Present,” *Journal of the American Medical Association* 102 (23 June 1934): 2088-91, especially 2090; Arthur J. Camp, *Nostrums and Quackery and Pseudo-Medicine, vol. III* (Chicago: American Medical Association, 1936), 30.

<sup>46</sup> “Woman About Town,” *The Washington Post* (8 June 1902), 21; B. Fenner, *Fenner’s Twentieth Century Formulary and International Dispensary* (Westfield, N.Y.: B. Fenner Publishers, 1904), 1385; Margaret Hubbard Ayer, “Health and Beauty,” *San Francisco Chronicle* (22 Oct. 1905), 6; Richard Von Foregger, “Oxygen Toilet Preparations,” *American Druggist and Pharmaceutical Record* (12 Feb. 1906), 61-2; Dr. William Brady, “Health Talks,” *The Atlanta Constitution* (7 Aug. 1919), 8; Dr. Leonard Keene Hirshberg, “Secrets of Health and Happiness,” *The Washington Post* (20 April 1921), 9; Dr. W. A. Evans, “How to Keep Well,” *The Washington Post* (8 Aug. 1924), 10; Francis Chilson, *Modern Cosmetics, first edition* (New York: The Drug and Cosmetic Industry, 1934), 113; E. Fullerton Cook and Charles H. LaWall, *Remington’s Practice of Pharmacy, eighth edition* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1936), 780 and 1989-2020.

<sup>47</sup> For critical articles, see “Poisonous Cosmetics,” *Scientific American* (3 Aug. 1861), 80; “Poisonous Drugs and Cosmetics,” *Scientific American* (25 Nov. 1868), 345; “Poisonous Cosmetics,” *Scientific American* (11 June 1870), 385; and X. Apothecary, “The Cosmetic Case,” *Druggists’ Circular and Chemical Gazette* (1 Feb. 1894), 27; “Beauty Queries Answered,” *The Sun* (26 March 1911), W5. For recipes, see query “(42),” *Scientific American* (20 March 1875), 187; query “(23),” *Scientific American* (20 May 1875), 347; “Removing Hair and Freckles by Electricity,” *Scientific American* (3 Oct. 1885), 210; query “(4),” *Scientific American* (11 Dec. 1886), 379; X. Apothecary, “Quackery and Cosmetics,” *Druggists’ Circular and Chemical Gazette* (1 Oct. 1892), 219; and “(6507),” *Scientific American* (11 May 1895), 300; Louise Chapelle, “Little Aids to Beauty,” *The Sun* (2 March 1902), 12. For a recipe containing mercury that noted it was “very poisonous,” see “Selected Formulas,” *American Druggist and Pharmaceutical Record* (1 Oct. 1921), 47.

<sup>48</sup> National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland (NARA), Records of the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), RG 122, Docket 3593: Testimony by Dr. Charles B. Campbell and Dr. Russell J. Fields in “Official Report of Proceedings before the Federal Trade Commission; Docket No. 3593; In the Matter of Dearborn Supply Company; Place – Washington, D.C.; September 23, 1940,” 23-35 and 76-78; D. F. Nealon, “Ammoniated Mercury and the Skin,” *Drug and Cosmetic Industry* 52, 2

(1943): 159-162; D.F. Nealon, "Analysis of Consumer Complaints," *The Drug and Cosmetic Industry* (Jan. 1945): ?? reprinted in D.F. Nealon, *Report of the Studies on Nadinola Bleaching Cream* (Paris, Tennessee: National Toilet Company, 1946); Cleveland R. Denton, Aaron Bunsen Lerner, and Thomas B. Fitzpatrick, "Inhibition of Melanin Formation by Chemical Agents," *Journal of Investigative Dermatology* 18, 2 (Feb. 1952): 119-35; D.J. Wealthall, J.G.G. Ledingham, and D.A. Warrell, "Chemical and Physical Injuries. Climatic and Occupational Diseases" in *Oxford Textbook of Medicine* (1985), 6.13-6.14; Yetunde M. Oluminde, Ayesha O. Akinkugbe, Dan Altraide, Tahir Mohammed, Ngozi Ahamefule, Shola Ayanlowo, Chinwe Onyekonwu, and Nyomudim Essen, "Complications of Chronic Use of Skin Lightening Cosmetics," *International Journal of Dermatology* 47 (2008): 344-353; James Bennett, "Cosmetics and Skin: Mercolized Wax," <http://cosmeticsandskin.com/aba/mercolized-wax.php> (accessed 23 January 2012). In a photographic study, Nealon ("Ammoniated Mercury and the Skin"), a cosmetics company official, found that an ointment containing 3% ammoniated mercury lightened white women's skin by an average of 15.71%.

<sup>49</sup> "Stillman's Freckle Cream," *Cape Times* (1 Sept. 1913), 4. The Stillman's company was based in Aurora, Illinois. Their freckle cream was heavily marketed in the *American Druggist and Pharmaceutical Record* during the 1910s and early 1920s even though that trade journal repeatedly warned in articles about the ill health effects of cosmetics containing mercury. For Stillman's promotions, see *American Druggist and Pharmaceutical Record*: (1 Dec. 1913), 370; (1 April 1914), 82; (1 Dec. 1917), 78; (1 Nov. 1918), 14; and (1 Nov. 1922), 4. For articles warning about mercury and advocating lighteners with less harmful ingredients, see *American Druggist and Pharmaceutical Record*: (1 Oct. 1917), 38; (1 Aug. 1918), 25-7; (1 Oct. 1919), 50; and (1 Sept. 1921), 23-6.

<sup>50</sup> James Bennett, "Cosmetics and Skin: Mercolized Wax," <http://cosmeticsandskin.com/aba/mercolized-wax.php> (accessed 23 January 2012). The Dearborn Company was based in Michigan. "Mercolized Wax" advertisements appeared in *The Times of India* in (20 April 1914), 10; (23 Nov. 1920), 14; (16 Sept. 1924), 5; (27 Dec. 1939), 3; and (6 Jan. 1954), 3. The 1954 advertisement was the first to feature a figure with Indian rather than white features. A 1954 guide to cosmetic materials, explained some of the ill-health effects: "Frequent use of mercolized wax (contains excessive amounts of ammoniated mercury) is likely to cause erythema, edema, inflammation and irritation. Excessive penetration through the skin may result in poisoning." Leon A. Greenberg and David Lester, *Handbook of Cosmetic Materials* (New York: Interscience Publishers Inc., 1954), 47. **Reordered so could get citations for 41 210 761 1484 mentioned on that page.**

<sup>51</sup> Alice Brewer Ross, letter to Sallie, 11 August 1912. <http://grandtour1913.wordpress.com/2008/04/17/13/> (accessed 23 January 2012).

<sup>52</sup> For example, "Mercolized Wax" ad, *South African Pictorial* (16 Oct. 1920), 22; Olga Amsdell, "London's Beauty Writers," *South African Pictorial* (4 Oct. 1919), 24. As a deliberate marketing strategy, in the *faux* beauty advice column ads, mercolized wax – not capitalized – was presented as if it were chemical compound rather than a trademarked cosmetic. It also appeared in short stories published in *South African Pictorial* and in a *Cape Times faux* beauty advice column. See, for example, "A 'Sensible' Beauty," *South African Pictorial* (28 May 1921), 27; and "Your Features Don't Matter," *Cape Times* (19 Jan. 1926), 5. "Mercolized Wax" advertisements also appeared in the same period in *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, *The Livingstone Mail*, *The Rhodesia Herald*, and *The Nyasaland Times*. Some, in South Africa and elsewhere, may have produced knock-offs. For example, "Madame Charlotte's Mercolised Wax" mentioned in "Sellwell's" ad, *South African Pictorial* (30 Aug. 1919), 18.

<sup>53</sup> "Mercolized Wax" advertisement, *Cape Times* (6 July 1940), 7.

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- <sup>54</sup> David Feldman, J. Wesley Pike, and John S. Adams, *Vitamin D* (Academic Press: New York, 2011), 1818; Kerry Segrave, *Suntanning in 20<sup>th</sup> Century America* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company Inc., Publishers, 2005), chap. 2.
- <sup>55</sup> Segrave, *Suntanning*, chap. 3.
- <sup>56</sup> The Modern Girl Around the World Research Group, “The Modern Girl Around the World,” 40-41
- <sup>57</sup> “Nyal Face Cream” ad, *Rand Daily Mail* (15 Aug. 1927), 9. Also see, “Nyal Face Cream” ad, *South African Lady’s Pictorial and Home Journal* (July 1927), 26. “Nyal” was a U.S. brand. JWT papers at Duke Young Papers, Box 2, “American Advertising Appearing in a Few Random Copies of South African Newspapers.”
- <sup>58</sup> “Eastern Foam” ad, *South African Lady’s Pictorial and Home Journal* (April 1925), 48; “Oatine Face Cream” ad, *South African Pictorial* (12 Oct. 1923); “Dioxogen” ad, *Stage, Cinema and Listener-In* (1 Feb. 1928), 31; “Dioxogen” ad, *Stage, Cinema and Listener-In* (4 Jan. 1928), 31; “Cuticura” ad, *Cape Times* (6 Nov. 1925), 13; “Icilma Cream” ad, *Cape Times* (3 Nov. 1925),
- <sup>59</sup> Julia C. Wells, “Eva’s Men: Gender and Power in the Establishment of the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-74,” *Journal of African History* 39 (1996): 417-37.
- <sup>60</sup> Pamela Scully, *Liberating the Family? Gender and British Slave Emancipation in the Rural Western Cape, South Africa, 1823-1853* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1997), chapter one; Gerald Groenewald, “Slaves and Free Blacks in VOC Cape Town, 1652-1795,” *History Compass* 8/9 (2010): 964-983.
- <sup>61</sup> Charles Van Onselen, “The Witches of Suburbia: Domestic Service on the Witwatersrand, 1890-1914” in *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand, 1886-1914*, vol. 2, *New Nineveh*, (London: Longman, 1982), 1-73; Deborah Gaitskell, Judy Kimble, Moira Maconachie, and Elaine Unterhalter, “Class, Race and Gender: Domestic Workers in South Africa,” *Review of African Political Economy* 27/28 (1983): 86-108; Jacklyn Cock, “Domestic Service and Education for Domesticity: The Incorporation of Xhosa Women into Colonial Society” in Cheryl Walker, ed, *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1990), 76-96; Philip Mayer, *Townsmen or Tribesmen: Conservatism and the Process of Urbanization in a South African City* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1962), quote from 245. In the 1940s, black women finally surpassed the number of black men employed as domestic workers in Johannesburg. On other southern African colonies where domestic service remained male-dominated, see Karen Tranberg Hansen, *Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1900-1985* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989); Elizabeth Schmidt, “Race, Sex, and Domestic Labor: The Question of African Female Servants in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1939” in Karen Tranberg Hansen, ed., *African Encounters with Domesticity* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 221-241.
- <sup>62</sup> Cock, “Domestic Service and Education for Domesticity”; Jean Comaroff essay; *Of Revelation and Revolution: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier*, vol. two, esp. chapters five and six;
- <sup>63</sup> See, for example, Killie Campbell Library, Makhanya Papers, file 10: Principal, Sibusisiwe Secondary School, Umbumbulu, Natal, “Sibusisiwe Secondary School, Umbumbulu,” c. 1971.
- <sup>64</sup> Timothy Burke, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), esp. chapters two to four; Jean Comaroff piece; Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*; Ross, *Status and Respectability*, 111-121;

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me in *Love in Africa*. De Lange (cosmetics piece, 1963) reports that Vaseline had replaced animal fat so fully that most Xhosa in the 1960s could not recall the former ever being used, 89. In the early twentieth-century, Lever's "Sunlight Soap" was the dominate brand advertised in the South African press. For ad featuring a new factory in Cape Town for manufacturing Sunlight, see "Sunlight Soap" ad, *Cape Times* (3 Sept. 1913), 4.

<sup>65</sup> Provide citations for ads. Also see, Anne McClintock, "Soft-Soaping Empire: Commodity Racism and Imperial Advertising" in *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 207-231.

<sup>66</sup> Robert Trent Vinson, *The Americans are Coming! Dreams of African American Liberation in Segregationist South Africa* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2012), esp. 13-20 and quote from John Jabavu, editor of the first black-owned newspaper *Imvo Zabantsundu*, 17. For the pioneering works on African Americans in South Africa, see Veit Erlmann, "A Feeling of Prejudice": Orpheus M. McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee Singers in South Africa, 1890-1898" in *African Stars: Studies in Black South African Performance* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991), 21-53; and James T. Campbell, *Songs of Zion: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and the South Africa* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

<sup>67</sup> Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*, 169-70 and 214.