‘Your Life is More Pleasant with Wine’: Australian Wine Board Advertising in the *Australian Women’s Weekly*, 1955–1965

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Abstract

Consumption figures confirm that Australia became a nation of wine drinkers in the 1970s, but very little attention has been given to the role of advertising in influencing attitudes towards wine. The foundations for dramatic changes in Australia’s drinking culture were laid in the 1950s. Over the decade from 1955, 48 advertisements sponsored by the Australian Wine Board were published in the *Australian Women’s Weekly*. This campaign aimed at educating would-be consumers, in particular women, in the use and service of wine and increasing the general demand for table wine. Operating within the ethos of Australia’s biggest selling women’s magazine, these advertisements targeted women not simply as consumers of wine but as agents of change, confirming that the Australian wine industry recognised women as crucial players in establishing a new wine-drinking culture. Emphasising democratisation and informality, the campaign encouraged women to embrace wine consumption as an aid to creating a satisfactory domestic life and an appealing image of themselves. This advertising campaign also reflected the changing social attitudes to alcohol consumption in the 1950s and 1960s.

Consumption figures confirm that Australia became a wine-drinking country in the 1970s.¹ In 1965 the apparent consumption of wine was around 8.5 litres per head, of which only 35.5 per cent, or around 3 litres, was table wine. By 1975 per capita consumption of table wine

1 Julie McIntyre and John Germov, “‘Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?’ I Do: Postwar Australian Wine, Gendered Culture and Class”, *Journal of Australian Studies*, 42, no. 1 (2018): 65.

was 11.5 litres, which represented 67.6 per cent of all wine consumed. By 1980 these figures had risen to 18 litres and 75 per cent respectively.² Various factors are credited with influencing this changing attitude to wine drinking in general and table wine in particular, among them the influence of European immigrants; an increasingly affluent and more sophisticated middle class; changes in licensing regulations; and technical improvements in wine production, which introduced products more suited to a mass market. Equally important were changes in the way wine was sold and marketed with the introduction of flagons and wine-in-a-box, substantial brand advertising, and the advent of liquor chain stores and price discounting.³ With the exception of the work of McIntyre and Germov, who considered how the advertising of Lindeman's Ben Ean Moselle demonstrated changing attitudes toward wine consumption in the 1970s and 1980s, the advertising of wine in Australia has received little scholarly attention. In particular, although it is acknowledged that women were integral to establishing a wine drinking culture here and made a significant contribution to the white wine boom of the 1970s, how wine advertising appealed to women remains largely unexamined.⁴ The following discussion focuses on the national advertising campaign mounted by the Australian Wine Board (hereafter AWB) in the 1950s, which promoted the use of wine as an integral component of a contemporary lifestyle. The overall object of the campaign was to convince women that they 'could not misstep socially, culturally, economically, even morally' by choosing to drink wine.⁵ These advertisements targeted women not simply as

2 Figures for per capita wine consumption (litres per person 15 years and older) are available at Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), Apparent Consumption of Alcohol: Extended Time Series, 1944–45 to 2008–09 (hereafter ABS Apparent Consumption), 4307.0.55.002, www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/DetailsPage/4307.0.55.0021944-45%20to%202008-09?OpenDocument. Total wine consumption figures include table wine, sherry, dessert wines and flavoured wines. Data on percentage of table wine derived from figures available in *Annual Report of the Australian Wine Board, Together with Statement by the Minister Regarding the Operation of the Wine Overseas Marketing Act* (hereafter *AWB Annual Report*), 39th 1966/67, 40th 1967/68, 49th 1976/77 and 52nd 1979/80. All reports from 1966/67 can be accessed from Trove, National Library of Australia, nla.gov.au/nla.obj-829523396. Earlier reports were accessed in hard copy at State Library of New South Wales, Sydney.

3 Robert Osmond and Kym Anderson, *Trends and Cycles in the Australian Wine Industry 1850–2000* (Adelaide: Centre for International Economic Studies, University of Adelaide, 1998), xiii. See also David Dunstan, 'A Drink Whose Time Had Finally Come: Wine Consumption in Australia 1950–1980', in *Consumer Australia: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Robert Crawford, Judith Smart and Kim Humphrey (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010), 135–51.

4 McIntyre and Germov, "'Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?'" 66; John Wiggers and John Smart, *The White Wine Boom: An Analysis of Liquor Preference in Australia* (Newcastle: Department of Sociology, University of Newcastle, 1985), 5.

5 *Ibid.*, 76.

consumers of wine but as agents of change, indicating that the Australian wine industry recognised women as crucial players in establishing a new drinking culture.

Australian Wine Board

The Wine Overseas Marketing Board was established by an act of the Commonwealth Parliament in 1929 and, as the name suggests, was initially concerned only with the development of the export market and the promotion of Australian wines overseas.⁶ AWB members consisted of representatives of the wine industry, both wine producers and grape growers, and its activities were financed entirely by funds from an annual levy on all grapes used for the manufacture of wine, brandy and spirit used for fortifying wines. The business of the AWB included sponsoring scientific research, market research, promotion, liaison with industry and government, and examination of the factors affecting trade. In 1954 the legislation was amended and the AWB was authorised to conduct promotion of wine and brandy in Australia.⁷ This change in tack was prompted by the need to expand the overall market for both wine and brandy as a consequence of increased grape production from the irrigated vineyards established as part of the post-Second World War soldier settlement scheme, coupled with the collapse of the pre-war export market, the result of British tariffs on imported wine and increased competition in the export market.⁸

The AWB's first national advertising campaign ran from August 1955 to July 1956, and over this period a total of 26 advertisements appeared in the *Australian Women's Weekly* (hereafter the *Weekly*).⁹ The aims of AWB's promotional activities in Australia were to educate potential consumers

6 This somewhat unwieldy title was changed to the Australian Wine Board in 1936, and subsequently the board became the Australian Wine and Brandy Corporation in 1980.

7 'Bills To Promote Australian Wines', *Sydney Morning Herald* (SMH) 19 August, 1954, 12. See also James Halliday, *A History of the Australian Wine Industry 1949-1994* (Adelaide: Australian Wine and Brandy Corporation, 1994), 14.

8 "'Crucial Issue" for Wine Trade', *Advertiser* (Adelaide), 29 July 1954, 3; 'Wine Industry Needs Expanded Overseas Markets', *SMH*, 26 January 1954, 2; 'Grape Sale Boost', *Mail* (Adelaide), 6 November 1954, 13.

9 The first campaign was awarded to Lyle Davis Advertising Pty Ltd, *Australian Brewing and Wine Journal*, 73, no. 12 (1955): 42.

and increase the general demand for wine, and complement the advertising of individual producers who focused on obtaining a greater share of the market for their brands.¹⁰

AWB's ability to advertise depended on the funds available. Although it was originally acknowledged that a national campaign needed to run for at least three years to be effective, the industry failed to agree on a proposed increase in the grape levy and print advertising came to a standstill in 1957–58.¹¹ A further nine advertisements continuing the campaign appeared in the *Weekly* in the late 1950s, but by 1960 the emphasis of promotional activities had switched to wine tastings and direct consumer contact and only 13 advertisements were published between 1960 and the end of 1965. By 1967, print advertising had been dropped completely and promotion centred around wine tastings, public relations and special events, with AWB supplying films, educational booklets and display material, as well as providing a monthly handout of recipes to metropolitan and country newspapers, magazines, and radio and television stations.¹²

The exact details of the AWB's campaign are not well documented, other than that advertisements ran in the national weekly magazines, the *Weekly* and *Woman's Day*, and in metropolitan newspapers.¹³ The print campaign was supported by pamphlets with additional information on serving wine, wine styles and cooking with wine, which could be obtained by mail. While it is not clear whether the campaign as a whole was aimed at women, those advertisements that ran in the *Weekly* were focused almost exclusively on convincing women of the merits of wine consumption, and were unique in their concentration on wine drinking in the home and the use of wine in cooking. Branded advertising in the *Weekly* in this period, 1955–65, was largely gender neutral and concentrated on establishing brand recognition. In the main, during the 1950s, wine producers promoted their range of products, emphasising quality and their long-standing reputation.

10 39th AWB Annual Report, 1966/67.

11 29th AWB Annual Report, 1956/57.

12 39th AWB Annual Report, 1966/67. The Australian Wine Board resumed print advertising in the 1970s.

13 Halliday, *A History of the Australian Wine Industry 1949–1994*, 14; 31st AWB Annual Report, 1958/59.

Changing Attitudes to Alcohol Consumption

The profound and long-lasting influence of licensing regulations on drinking habits and attitudes towards alcohol consumption in Australia is well documented.¹⁴ Temperance-inspired legislation, requiring that hotels close and all sales of alcohol cease at 6 pm, was introduced in South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales (hereafter NSW) and Tasmania in 1916. Six o'clock closing did not end nationally until 1967.¹⁵ As a consequence of these restrictions, by the middle of the twentieth century the drinking culture in Australian cities was clearly defined and sexually differentiated.¹⁶

Drinking beer at the hotel bar had become an exclusively male preserve. Wartime legislation banned women from the public bar and confined them to the ladies' lounge while custom and personal preference tended to keep them separate.¹⁷ Hotel drinking in general had strong working-class associations, all the more so for women.¹⁸ Writing in favour of extending hotel trading hours in 1947, Alice Jackson, then editor of the *Weekly*, described the scene outside hotels just before closing as 'sordid and disgusting'. The 'six o'clock swill', as it became known, saw the bar and the pavement packed with men, and some women, many of whom, according to Jackson, were 'obviously not of a high type', intent on drinking as much as they could in the half-hour before closing time.¹⁹ The association of pubs with public drunkenness meant that they were avoided by women who valued their reputation as moral guardians of the home.²⁰

14 The consequences of licensing regulations have been well documented. See, for example, Diane Kirkby, 'Drinking "The Good Life": Australia c. 1880–1980', in *Alcohol: A Social and Cultural History*, ed. Mack P. Holt (New York: Berg, 2006), 203–23; Tanya Luckins, 'Pigs, Hogs and Aussie Blokes: The Emergence of the Term "Six O'clock Swill"', *History Australia*, 4, no. 1 (2007): 08.1–08.14; Robin Room, 'The Long Reaction Against the Wowser: The Prehistory of Alcohol Deregulation in Australia', *Health Sociology Review*, 19, no. 2 (2010): 151–163.

15 Room, 'The Long Reaction Against the Wowser', 154, 156. 10 o'clock closing was introduced in Tasmania in 1937, in Victoria in 1966, in NSW in 1955 and in South Australia in 1967.

16 Diane Kirkby, '"Beer, Glorious Beer": Gender Politics and Australian Popular Culture', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 37, no. 2 (2003): 245.

17 Clare Wright, '"Doing the Beans": Women, Drinking and Community in the Ladies Lounge', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 27, no. 76 (2003): 7–19.

18 Ibid., 9; Luckins, 'Pigs, Hogs and Aussie Blokes'.

19 Alice Jackson, 'Our Editor's Views on 10 pm Closing', *Australian Women's Weekly (AWW)*, 15 February 1947, 9.

20 Kirkby, '"Beer, Glorious Beer"', 245; Wright, '"Doing the Beans"', 9.

Drinking also became associated in the popular imagination with organised crime, the black market, illegal, underground trading and 'the edgy excitement of transgression'.²¹ Hotels were required to provide meals and accommodation, so restaurants were often attached to a hotel (as the hotel dining room) and served alcohol under the hotel's licence. Otherwise, the serving of alcohol with meals was illegal, except in places holding a wine licence, which allowed for the sale of Australian wine only (to take away in bottles or drink on the premises) with similarly circumscribed hours of operation to those of hotels.

In NSW, amendments to the Liquor Act passed in 1946 stipulated that a restaurant could only serve alcohol with meals and only within restricted hours—between noon and 2.30 pm for lunch and 6 pm and 8.30 pm for dinner, all bottles and glasses having to be off the table from 3 pm and 9 pm respectively. Restaurants could only serve table wine and beer, and these had to be served in a sealed bottle, which was opened at the table. No sales of cocktails, fortified wines or liqueurs, or single glasses of beer or wine were allowed.²² Many restaurateurs flouted these rules, while their patrons found various ways to circumvent them including hiding bottles under the table and drinking wine from teacups.²³

Throughout the war years, newspapers gleefully reported police raids on restaurants and the selling of liquor illegally.²⁴ Ongoing concern with the unlawful practices encouraged by prohibitive legislation finally led to the Maxwell Royal Commission into liquor laws in NSW. Maxwell handed down its findings in 1954, reporting on widespread illicit sales as well as systematic police corruption. Only seven years earlier the citizens of NSW had voted to retain six o'clock closing, but following Maxwell's report, and the subsequent referendum, hotel closing hours were extended to 10 pm and restaurants were allowed to serve liquor with meals until

21 Luckins, 'Pigs, Hogs and Aussie Blokes', 08.3.

22 *Liquor Amendment Act 1946*, no. 34 (NSW), www.legislation.nsw.gov.au/acts/1946-34.pdf.

23 See, for example, Stephanie Alexander, *Stephanie's 21 Years of Fabulous Food December 1976–December 1997* (Melbourne: Stephanie's, 1998); Michael Harden, *Melbourne: The Making of a Drinking and Eating Capital* (Melbourne: Hardie Grant, 2009), 20; Charmaine O'Brien, *Flavours of Melbourne: A Culinary Biography* (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2008), 163; Damien Murphy, 'Beppi Polese, Pioneer of Italian Cuisine in Sydney', *SMH*, 25 March 2016, www.smh.com.au/national/beppi-polese-pioneer-of-italian-cuisine-in-sydney-20160325-gnqwyb.html.

24 See, for example, 'Drive on Liquor Black Market', *Daily Telegraph*, 9 February 1946, 7; 'Move for Liquor Law Reform in New South Wales', *SMH*, 4 October 1944, 2; 'Restaurants Raided', *SMH*, 21 May 1947, 1; 'Ciro's Restaurant Raided', *Sun* (Sydney), 6 October 1946, 1; 'Police Seize 359 Bottles in Two Restaurant Raids', *Sun* (Sydney), 16 September 1946, 3; 'Wine Saloon Licensees Fined', *Daily Telegraph*, 11 February 1947, 16.

midnight.²⁵ In Victoria, legislation introduced in 1955 permitted hotels to serve alcohol with meals in the dining room until 10 pm, but a restaurant licence, allowing wine to be served with meals until 10 pm, was not established until 1960. In Victoria, obtaining a liquor licence for a restaurant remained a complicated and expensive bureaucratic process right up until 1988.²⁶

In 1926, a reporter for the *Daily Telegraph* conducted a survey of 40 of the 200 wine bars in Sydney.²⁷ While admitting the majority had 'not the scintilla of indecorum about them', the article expounded at some length on the 'sordid conditions' and 'undesirable types', particularly the drunken women, in attendance at those establishments deemed 'objectionable'.²⁸ Wine shops retained a reputation for being 'hot spots of vice and degradation' and the seedy, decrepit 'haunts of glaze-eyed, port-swilling alcoholics'.²⁹ There were exceptions, such as Virgona's and Jimmy Watson's, both in inner Melbourne suburbs, which offered 'casual, affordable, and thrillingly sophisticated imbibing to the academic, bohemian and artist population that congregated in those suburbs'.³⁰ Similarly Lorenzini's in Sydney was 'bright and clean', and was also known to attract 'the arty crowd'.³¹

The vast majority of wine bar customers drank only fortified wines, that is port or sherry.³² It was generally understood that the 'better class of men and women' did not frequent wine saloons.³³ Writer Dulcie Deamer,

25 'Disputes Over NSW Liquor Laws Have Lasted Half a Century', *SMH*, 22 February 1954, 2; Marie Swain, *Liquor Regulation in New South Wales, New South Wales Parliamentary Research Service Briefing Paper 1996 No. 5* (Sydney: New South Wales Parliamentary Library, 1996); *Liquor Amendment Act 1954*, no. 50 (NSW), www.legislation.nsw.gov.au/acts/1954-50.pdf; *Liquor Amendment Act 1963*, no. 17 (NSW), www.legislation.nsw.gov.au/acts/1963-17.pdf.

26 *Liquor Control Act 1987* (Vic.), www.austlii.edu.au/au/legis/vic/hist_act/lca1987197.pdf; Harden, *Melbourne*, xi.

27 These were establishments that operated with a Colonial or Australian Wine License and also referred to as wine saloons and wine shops.

28 *Daily Telegraph*, 'Wine Bars', 6 May 1926, 4. See also, 'Some of the Wine Bars', *Daily Telegraph*, 20 October 1926, 8.

29 'Dirt, Disease in City Wine Bars', *Truth*, 4 July 1948, 4 (a similar survey to that conducted by the *Daily Telegraph* 20 years earlier); Harden, *Melbourne*, 39; David Stevens, 'Reformers Say', *Herald* (Melbourne), 12 April 1947, 8; 'Films Taken of Wine Shop Evil in Suburbs', *Herald* (Melbourne), 14 April 1947, 5.

30 Harden, *Melbourne*, 24.

31 'City Wine Shops Need Thorough Cleaning-Up', *Daily Telegraph*, 29 June 1947, 9; 'Papa's Good Wine and a Dash of Atmosphere', *AWW*, 9 February 1966, 13.

32 'City Wine Shops Need Thorough Cleaning-Up', *Daily Telegraph*, 29 June 1947, 9.

33 *Ibid.*; Dulcie Deamer, 'Women in Wine Bars: Ladies in Flowered Lounges—What Difference?', *Truth*, 12 January 1941, 19; 'Commission Told of Wine Bars', *SMH*, 13 December 1951, 4.

the 'Queen of Bohemia', might well argue that there was little difference between women drinking in wine bars and well-dressed society women in their expensive hats and gloves sitting all day in the lounges of smart hotels, but few middle-class suburban housewives would have considered either practice was acceptable.³⁴

The stigma against women drinking, the result of years of temperance advocacy and middle-class self-righteousness, kept middle-class women who regarded themselves as 'respectable' away from hotels and wine bars and made them wary of alcohol in general.³⁵ Writing of Australia in the 1950s, Eric Rolls described Australian palates as 'not merely innocent' but 'crude'. The 'ladies' might drink a shandy or perhaps a sweet sherry, but men drank only beer or rum. According to Rolls, 'for a man to drink table wine was abnormal, unhealthy, unsexing; he was generally suspect'.³⁶ Beer drinking remained entrenched in the nebulous concept of the 'Australian way of life' and retained its association with the ideals of egalitarianism and masculine mateship.³⁷ In 1955–56, Australians consumed 155 litres per head of beer compared to only 7 litres of wine, most of which was some form of fortified wine, labelled sherry or port.³⁸ By and large, wine drinking was seen as the purview of high society, male connoisseurs who belonged to wine and food societies, and 'winos' sipping sherry from bottles wrapped in newspaper on park benches or idling in wine saloons.³⁹ Wine was also suspect because of its connection with illegal drinking in restaurants, bohemianism and foreignness.

Nonetheless, the timing of the AWB's first national campaign was propitious. All the ingredients that are generally credited for increasing wine consumption in Australia were beginning to coalesce. Modification of the restrictions around the sale and consumption of liquor were sure signs of changes in community attitudes and worked to erode the stigma of immorality and law breaking that surrounded drinking in general. Post-war immigration was

34 Dulcie Deamer, 'Women in Wine Bars', *Truth*, 12 January 1941, 19. See also Kirkby, "Good Life", 208.

35 Wright, "Doing the Beans", 14.

36 Eric Rolls, *A Celebration of Food and Wine* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1998), 201.

37 Kirkby, "Good Life"; Kirkby, "Beer, Glorious Beer".

38 ABS, Apparent Consumption. Various sources give differing figures for wine and beer consumption although the overall differential remains the same. See, for example, Dunstan, 'A Drink Whose Time Had Finally Come', 138.

39 Tanja Luckins, 'Gentrification and Cosmopolitan Leisure in Inner-Urban Melbourne, Australia, 1960s–1970s', *Urban Policy and Research*, 27, no. 3 (2009): 271; McIntyre and Germov, "Who Wants to be a Millionaire?", 71.

bringing 'foreign' tastes and a tradition of wine drinking to the suburbs. An increasingly affluent middle-class were casting off the self-denial and self-sacrifice of the war years and, encouraged by the 1956 Olympic Games in Melbourne and the arrival of television, both men and women were beginning to see themselves as more sophisticated, cosmopolitan, modern and forward-thinking. Moreover, the 1950s were also years during which many women grappled with defining a role for themselves beyond that of husband's helpmeet, guardian of the hearth and educator of their children. In the face of significant social, cultural and political change, the 'Australian way of life' was being refashioned and redefined.⁴⁰

That advertisements for wine appeared in the *Weekly* at all was a sure sign that attitudes towards drinking were changing. In 1947 Alice Jackson assured her readers that her publication did not accept liquor advertising and the *Weekly* advocated 'a policy of temperateness in all things'. Although she acknowledged that 'about 80 per cent of Australian housewives' hardly drank at all, she did believe that social drinking, 'a sherry before dinner or a light wine with it', was the sign of a sophisticated, cultured, civilised community.⁴¹ Under the editorship of her successor, Esme Fenston who replaced Jackson in 1950, the advertising policy changed, perhaps in line with Fenston's motto that the *Weekly* did not lead public taste but reflected it.⁴² Wine makers began promoting their products in the pages of the magazine from 1952.⁴³ Notwithstanding, the AWB's campaign needed to counteract any lingering prejudices and anxieties about wine drinking in order to normalise wine consumption and make it attractive to middle-class suburbia, positioning table wine as the sophisticated, modern alternative to drinking beer.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the *Weekly* claimed sales of around 800,000 copies every week.⁴⁴ A readership survey conducted in 1959 confirmed that both men and women read the magazine, concluding that

40 See, for example, Susan Sheridan, 'The "Australian Woman" and Her Migrant Others in the Postwar *Australian Women's Weekly*', *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, 14, no. 2 (2000): 121–23; Richard White, *Inventing Australia: Images and Identity 1788–1980* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1981), 159–66.

41 Jackson, 'Our Editor's Views on 10 pm Closing', *AWW*, 15 February 1947, 9.

42 Fenston took over from Jackson in 1950. For her motto, see Valerie Lawson, 'Fenston, Esme (Ezzie) (1908–1972)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/fenston-esme-ezzie-10165/text17957.

43 See, for example, *AWW*, 15 October 1952, 11; 13 May 1953, 41.

44 The number of copies sold was printed on the front cover and ranged from 750,000 to more than 800,000.

41 per cent of all Australians (21 per cent of all men and 60 per cent of all women) read the magazine, with numbers spread evenly across all classes.⁴⁵ The *Weekly* was the perfect vehicle for reaching middle-class, suburban homes.

In her study of the *Weekly*, Susan Sheridan describes the magazine's mission as seeking to define the 'Australian way of domestic life in terms of the commodities associated with a prosperous suburban existence'.⁴⁶ The AWB shared this objective, boldly asserting: 'Life is more pleasant with WINE!'. Full-page, colour advertisements extolled the virtues of wine drinking in general, supported by others taking up only a part-page in black and white, which tended to concentrate on particular styles of wine—red, white, sparkling and sherry.⁴⁷ Several themes ran across all these advertisements indicating the ways in which wine was 'perfect for our happy way of life', positioning wine drinking as part of a cultured, civilised lifestyle.⁴⁸

Although women were appealed to as the architects of a new drinking culture, credited with the power and authority to bring about significant social change, the early AWB advertisements targeted them in their stereotypical roles of cook, house manager, wife and mother. Women were guaranteed that 'the meal hasn't been served that cannot be improved with wine' (Figure 1).⁴⁹ Wine made dinner 'so much nicer', adding enjoyment to food and 'charm' to the family meal. In various ways, wine 'was friendly to food', wonderful in cooking and brought a magical, gourmet touch to the plainest fare.⁵⁰ Food cooked with wine was suitable for the whole family since the cooking process evaporated all the alcohol, and wine, 'the most natural drink in the world', was good for you, aided digestion and promoted inner harmony.⁵¹ Women were promised wine made mealtimes more social and cheerful, added 'enchantment' to the most familiar family meals and glamour to the simplest occasion.

45 George Herbert Anderson, *The Anderson Analysis of Newspaper and Magazine Readership*, September/October 1959, MLMSS 9894, Box 1926, Mitchell Library, Sydney. Of all men and women readers 42 per cent were classified as upper class, 43 per cent as middle class and 40 per cent as 'industrial' or working class.

46 Sheridan, 'The "Australian Woman"', 122.

47 Up until August 1975 the *Weekly* was published in tabloid format, that is each page measured 11 inches by 17 inches (approximately 28 cm by 35.5 cm).

48 *AWW*, 18 January 1956, 33.

49 *AWW*, 5 October 1955, 46.

50 See, for example, *AWW*, 3 December 1958, 67.

51 *AWW*, 17 August 1955, 19; *AWW*, 5 October 1955, 46.

Life is more pleasant with WINE!

When you drink wine you relax, because wine gives pleasure to the taste and friendship to the occasion. Whether it be dinner, quiet evenings at home, or when friends drop in, wine is always a happy thought. Yet wine is no luxury—at least, not here in Australia. No other country produces such good wine so bountifully! Because we are so richly endowed, you can serve a glass of wine for only a few pence—and know that it will be thoroughly appreciated. Wine is always right, the drink of moderation, the nice thing to do.

There's a WINE for every taste...every occasion

(The "right" way with wine is the way you like it but these are the ways most people match their wine to the occasion.)

APPETISER WINES

Before dinner, after a day's work, or when friends drop in, there's no more gratifying drink than SHERRY—sweet, semi-sweet or "dry"—to give you a gentle lift and whet your appetite. Most people enjoy a Sherry with hiccups and cheese—a perfect offering even to the most discriminating visitor.

DESSERT WINES

Rich, mellow dessert wines like PORT, MUSCAT, FRONTINAC, MADEIRA and TOKAY are right for almost any occasion—with dessert, after dinner or just before bed. Delicious with fruit, nuts or cake, they are just as nice by themselves, quickly and easily served, and always thoroughly satisfying.

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WHITE TABLE WINES

SAUTERNES, HOCK, CHABLIS—you don't have to acquire a taste for white wines. They range from semi-sweet (Sauternes) to "dry" (Hock, Riesling, Chablis) and are ideal to drink with fish, chicken or egg dishes. White wines are pleasant at all times, but give a special touch of glamour to meals.

SPARKLING WINES

Bubbling CHAMPAGNE (or Sparkling Hock, Moselle or Burgundy) adds zest when you want to achieve that lavish effect without going to heavy expense. Equally good before, during or after meals, glamorous sparkling wines enliven parties and enrich special occasions. Keep a bottle always on hand for the next time you have something to celebrate.

RED TABLE WINES

Delightful CLARET or BURGUNDY goes wonderfully well with steaks or roasts, in fact with practically any meat. Dining at home or dining out, more and more people are discovering the pleasure of drinking red wine—and realizing that it costs only a few pence a glass.

WINE'S WONDERFUL IN COOKING TOO! WINE BRINGS OUT FLAVOURS BEAUTIFULLY... GIVES YOUR COOKING THE EXTRA TOUCH THAT MAKES ALL THE DIFFERENCE.

WINE COSTS SO LITTLE... adds so much!

Include Wine in your budget. Wine adds so much to simple living, yet costs only a few pence a glass.

The "right" way with WINE is the way you like it!

Authorized by the Australian Wine Board
 The Australian Women's Weekly—August 17, 1955

AWW PROM
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Figure 1: Life is more pleasant with WINE!

Source: Australian Women's Weekly, 17 August 1955, 19.

Moreover, all this glamour and enchantment was neither an extravagance nor an indulgence, especially in Australia because Australian wine 'costs so little' yet 'adds so much to simple living'.⁵² A pleasant life was not only for the wealthy. Serving wine turned the most inexpensive dinner into 'a lovely evening' for only a few shillings, so that drinking wine was in fact economical. It was even suggested that using wine could save you money.⁵³ While 'the bottle of wine that *makes* your dinner' represented only a fraction of the cost of the meal itself, it was also possible to economise by serving a cheaper cut of meat (the wine acting as a tenderiser) or by dispensing with the 'fancy dessert' and serving wine instead.⁵⁴ Sparkling wine, for example, could be relied on to give 'a wonderful lavish effect to the simplest occasion' without having to incur 'heavy expense'.⁵⁵ Glamour and good household management need not be incompatible.

The doyens of the wine industry were not alone in assuming housewives longed for a more attractive life. Elsewhere in the *Weekly* women were exhorted to make their lives more glamorous via various means, from the colour of their lipstick to the colour they painted their kitchen walls.⁵⁶ Many advertisers also acknowledged that domestic life could be more pleasant. Just as the AWB recognised that family mealtimes and everyday dining could be humdrum and charmless, cake mixes were spruiked as providing all the fun of cooking without the tedious work, the Sunbeam Mixmaster was recommended for making an 'unpleasant memory' of 'the arm-aching drudgery of time consuming hand mixing' while washing machines took the drudgery out of wash day and paved 'the road to Monday freedom'.⁵⁷ The pleasant life did not, however, involve moving beyond the domestic sphere.

Although confined to the home, wine-drinking women were not depicted working in the home, rather they are seen at ease and enjoying their glass of wine, drinking with men as equals. Depictions of couples relaxing and drinking together at the end of the working day suggest that creating the happy home was a partnership, even if one still based on gendered roles. By implication, since both men and women shared the responsibilities for

52 See, for example, *AWW*, 21 December 1955, 40.

53 *AWW*, 19 October 1955, 62; *AWW*, 21 March 1956, 38.

54 *AWW*, 5 October 1955, 46.

55 *AWW*, 14 December 1955, 34.

56 Lesley Johnson and Justine Lloyd, *Sentenced to Everyday Life: Feminism and the Housewife* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 66.

57 *AWW*, 7 March 1956, 17; *AWW*, 24 April 1957, 66; *AWW*, 8 May 1957, 86.

creating a comfortable middle-class suburban life, they should both enjoy the benefits.⁵⁸ The ritual of a glass of wine before sitting down to a meal gave both the cook and the breadwinner time to unwind and 'take things easily after work', a clear acknowledgement that work went on outside and inside the home.⁵⁹ The AWW did not claim that wine created opportunities for leisure in the same way as labour-saving appliances and convenience food products, but drinking wine could make this new-found leisure time more enjoyable.

A sherry before dinner was 'the happy habit' responsible for keeping many a home 'on an even keel' since it had 'a way of dissolving the day's difficulties in a magic moment of rest'.⁶⁰ The husband sharing a drink with his wife rather than his mates, and drinking wine rather than beer, was portrayed as the caring and respectable way to imbibe. By offering her husband the alternative of wine when he came home, the modern housewife could entice her husband away from the pub and take the lead in making family life more pleasant, as well as creating an occasion for her own enjoyment. Urging women to see wine, and by extension rest and personal reward, as a daily pleasure, a part of everyday living was also another tacit acknowledgment that women harboured an ambition to have a pleasant life.⁶¹

The stress on serving wine at home distanced wine drinking from the seedy saloon, the rowdy pub, the racy nightclub and the highbrow restaurant. Eating out was only alluded to occasionally and, even then, in the context that wine could be enjoyed just as much, if not more so, at home as anywhere else.⁶² If drinking beer at the bar was undignified and emblematic of working man's leisure, then drinking wine at home was the civilised, responsible middle-class alternative (see Figure 2).⁶³ Nothing could be further from the boisterous, masculine world of the 'six o'clock swill' or the disreputable wine saloon than the happy couple sipping a glass of wine in the privacy and comfort of their own home.

58 John Murphy and Belinda Probert, "Anything for the House": Recollections of Post-war Suburban Dreaming', *Australian Historical Studies*, 36, no. 124 (2004): 288.

59 AWW, 31 August 1955, 30.

60 AWW, 21 March 1956, 38; AWW, 21 May 1958, 59.

61 AWW, 3 December 1958, 67; AWW, 9 November 1960, 70.

62 AWW, 12 August 1959, 59.

63 Luckins, 'Pigs, Hogs and Aussie Blokes', 08.7.

WINE makes dinner so much nicer!

The meal hasn't been served that cannot be improved with wine. Besides the sheer pleasure of drinking wine for its own sake, wine adds to the enjoyment of food.

Rich, mellow white or red table wines lend charm to the family dinner table and make a gracious gesture of hospitality when you have friends. Expensive? Definitely not! The bottle of wine that *makes* your dinner will cost a mere fraction of the meal itself. In fact, you can *save money* by choosing a cheaper cut of meat, or leaving out that fancy dessert, and serving wine instead.

Smart housewives use wine in their cooking, too. Wine brings out flavours beautifully . . . gives cooking the extra touch that makes all the difference. (And you won't mind the children eating a wine-cooked meal because all the alcohol in wine evaporates during cooking.)

WINE is the drink – any time!

SHERRY is a versatile drink that will help you relax after a hard day's work, give you an appetite, or save the situation when French drip in unexpectedly. It's never out of place to serve Sherry, because it's the traditional offering to a guest and the popular accompaniment to a quiet moment at home. Sherry may be sweet, dry or in-between.

SPARKLING WINES like Champagne or sparkling Hock, Moselle or Burgundy help to set the mood for gay occasions or when you feel like something special. Sparkling wines – enjoyable any time – are specially nice before or during meals.

WHITE or RED

There's a variety of tastes in delicious white wines, ranging from the semi-sweetness of Sauternes to the fresh dryness of Chablis, Hock and Riesling. Most people prefer white wines served very cold with oysters, fish, chicken or egg dishes. But there's no "rule" about it. You can drink wine the way you like it.

Mellow Claret and Burgundy are the two main types, and they give that something special to a meal. Usually, red wines are used with grills and roasts, but it's all a matter of taste. Wine is for sheer enjoyment—drink it the way you prefer it.

Life is more pleasant with WINE

— AND THE RIGHT WAY WITH WINE IS THE WAY YOU LIKE IT!

AUTHORISED BY THE AUSTRALIAN WINE BOARD

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THE AUSTRALIAN WOMEN'S WEEKLY — October 5, 1955

FREE WINE GUIDE!

This attractive booklet FREE. It's yours, just by sending your name and address to:

WINE INFORMATION CENTRE

Box 2158, G.P.O., Sydney

- 4557, G.P.O., Melbourne
- 155C, G.P.O., Brisbane
- 266D, G.P.O., Adelaide
- 7148D, G.P.O., Perth
- 809H, G.P.O., Hobart

THE WONDERFUL THING ABOUT WINE IS THAT IT IS SO INEXPENSIVE. A BOTTLE OF WINE MAKES ANY MEAL GLAMOROUS FOR ONLY A FEW SHILLINGS.

Figure 2: Wine is the drink – any time!

Source: *Australian Women's Weekly*, 5 October 1955, 45.

Consistent with Sheridan's assessment of the food messages conveyed in the *Weekly*, these advertisements focused on the woman as a good provider, concerned with and responsible for the welfare of her family, but also 'susceptible to the seductions of food pleasure and cooking as display'.⁶⁴ Wine did not necessarily make cooking easier, but it made it possible to

64 Susan Sheridan, *Who Was That Woman? The Australian Women's Weekly in the Postwar Years* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2001), 91.

produce more interesting, tasty fare conveniently. As a cook the housewife was 'expected to pride herself on her culinary abilities' and urged 'to extend her capacity to please others with her food'.⁶⁵ Women were encouraged to use wine by appealing to their family responsibilities, their vanity and to their desirability as objects of the male gaze.⁶⁶ In Figure 3, for example, a husband suggests to his wife that using wine would turn her into a wonderful cook.⁶⁷ In other scenarios, women are assured that if they add wine to their cooking their friends will be certain to praise their food (see Figure 4).⁶⁸ By using wine in her cooking and offering wine at the dinner table, the housewife could not only give her family pleasure but also enhance her own image as both wife/mother and cook/hostess.

THAT WAS A SUPER DINNER. BETTY'S A WONDERFUL COOK; WISH YOU'D LEARN TO COOK WITH WINE, DARLING.

Try Casseroled Chops cooked in Claret!

* Ah, there's the imagination that makes friends talk about your wonderful cooking. Simply add claret to your other ingredients—then serve a glass of claret (or any other wine you like) with the meal. Wine adds that vital touch of glamour—costs just a few pence a glass.

Send for your copy of the **FREE WINE GUIDE**

Write to: **WINE INFORMATION CENTRE**

Box 2158, G.P.O., Sydney	Box 2600, G.P.O., Adelaide
Box 4057, G.P.O., Melbourne	Box 71450, G.P.O., Perth
Box 155C, G.P.O., Brisbane	Box 807H, G.P.O., Hobart

Life is more pleasant with WINE!

AUTHORISED BY THE AUSTRALIAN WINE BOARD

Figure 3: Wish you'd learn to cook with wine, darling.

Source: *Australian Women's Weekly*, 9 November 1955, 48.

Seafoods and Chablis go so well together!

Whether it's grilled flounder or simply fish pie, you'll enjoy it so much more with a glass of Chablis alongside. Chablis has a delicate, non-sweet tang... a sea-breeze freshness that's just perfect with seafoods. And it costs so little to serve!

Girl friend: Lovely dinner, darling—and the Wine made it extra special!

You: Wine "dresses up" even the simplest little meals for so little!

Fine white table wines, like Chablis and Hock (or Sauternes if you prefer a touch of sweetness), work out at just a few pence a glass, yet add so much to meal-times.

Discover the pleasures of WINE with the free WINE GUIDE. Simply send your name and address to WINE INFORMATION CENTRE—

Box 2158, G.P.O., Sydney	Box 4057, G.P.O., Melbourne
Box 155C, G.P.O., Brisbane	Box 71450, G.P.O., Perth
Box 2600, G.P.O., Adelaide	Box 807H, G.P.O., Hobart

Life is more pleasant with WINE!

AUTHORISED BY THE AUSTRALIAN WINE BOARD

Figure 4: Wine 'dresses up' even the simplest little meals for so little.

Source: *Australian Women's Weekly*, 28 September 1955, 68.

65 Ibid.

66 Kevin Blackburn, 'The "Consumers' Ethic" of Australian Advertising Agencies 1950–1965', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 16, no. 32 (1992): 70.

67 *AWW*, 9 November 1955, 48.

68 See also *AWW*, 14 September 1955, 76; *AWW*, 30 November 1955, 26; *AWW*, 21 March 1956, 38; *AWW*, 12 August 1959, 59.

The images in these advertisements emphasised casual, relaxed domestic scenes, featuring family groups, situating drinking wine at home as entirely consistent with the happy Australian way of life.⁶⁹ As Megan Deas demonstrates in her study of photography in the *Weekly*, by 1954 the depiction of the home in the pages of the magazine had 'transitioned away from a minimal, even austere place that simultaneously symbolised sanctity and domestic labour, to one that privileged modernity, leisure and luxury—even for the housewife'.⁷⁰ The home was becoming the site for lifestyle and featured in these advertisements not just as the private world of the family but also as the venue for cheerful, carefree entertaining.⁷¹ In one scenario, women were exhorted to see themselves not as the housewife-cook but as the 'hostess' to their family (see Figure 7). Serving wine to guests was positioned as modern, fashionable and a convenient way to entertain. Offering wine was advanced as an easy way to show a warm welcome and a sure way to get a reputation for being a 'wonderful hostess' while making entertaining 'smooth and simple'.⁷²

Women could have been forgiven for not being immediately convinced that wine would necessarily make entertaining more pleasant, but could be in little doubt that welcoming friends into their homes was expected of them. In Figure 5, for example, the woman may not be wearing an apron or preparing the food, but she is still the central figure responsible for the wellbeing of her family and the force that holds them together. At the same time, she is the magnet that attracts their friends. Sheridan observed that the idea of entertaining friends to dinner at your own table did not become prominent in the *Weekly* until the mid-1960s. These advertisements (Figure 2, for example) suggest otherwise. Furthermore, a woman's reputation as a caring hostess now also depended on the service of wine. Entertaining, and the associated drinking of wine, need no longer be confined to special occasions and outsourced to the hotel dining room where service was impersonal and the hospitality most likely masculine. Drinking in general and wine drinking in particular was portrayed as being both domesticated and feminised.

69 Family groups included children and occasionally three generations as in the inset illustration of *AWW*, 12 August 1959, 59. See also *AWW*, 30 March 1960, 59; *AWW*, 24 August 1960, 40.

70 Megan Deas, 'Imagining Australia: Community, Participation and the "Australian Way of Life" in the Photography of *The Australian Women's Weekly* 1945–1956' (PhD thesis, The Australian National University, 2018), 407.

71 *Ibid.*; see also house designs, for example *AWW*, 15 December 1954, 84–85.

72 See also *AWW*, 18 January 1956, 33; *AWW*, 21 March 1956, 38.

Life is more pleasant with **WINE**

Cool WHITE TABLE WINES are the natural drink all summer... the nicest introduction to the wonderful wine family. They range from semi-sweet (Sauternes) to dry (Hock, Chablis, Moselle, Rueda). Serve white wine chilled... delightfully refreshing any time.

The "connoisseurs" favourites — RED TABLE WINES are light and fresh, yet richly palate pleasing. There's nothing better with any meat meal (wonderful in cooking too). Dining at home or dining out, make it a happy occasion with a fine Australian Claret or Burgundy.

Celebrating with SPARKLING WINES puts the glamorous highlight on special occasions (without heavy expense). Champagne, Sparkling Hock and Moselle are the liling white wines, Sparkling Burgundy the beautiful red wine.

"Come on in and have a Sherry"

Festive times, casual calling-in times, you can relax and offer warm welcome so easily, so inexpensively, with a glass of fine Australian wine. Sherry served with plain biscuits, cheese, nuts, cake, is always cheering, always "right" for the most discriminating visitor. Cool white or red table wine makes the most inexpensive meal a lovely dinner. In cooking, wine enhances flavours more than any other seasoning except salt... makes all foods more digestible, too.

WINE COSTS SO LITTLE... ADDS SO MUCH TO SIMPLE LIVING

Make sure you have Sherry for your Christmas collers.

Free Booklets!

LIFE IS MORE PLEASANT WITH WINE is a simple guide to the types of Wine and the nicest ways to enjoy them.

COOKING WITH WINE gives a variety of recipes for easy, flavoured dishes, plus hints on adding wine to your own favourite dishes.

SUMMER WINE DRINKS gives details of lots of cool, thirst-quenching summer drinks with a wine base.

These informative booklets will be sent immediately if you send your name and address to:

WINE INFORMATION CENTRE

Box 2158, G.P.O., Sydney	Box 3400, G.P.O., Adelaide
Box 4657, G.P.O., Melbourne	Box 11450, G.P.O., Perth
Box 1556, G.P.O., Brisbane	Box 8078, G.P.O., Hobart

AW 35PCWW

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THE AUSTRALIAN WOMEN'S WEEKLY — December 21, 1955

Figure 5: Wine costs so little ... adds so much to simple living.

Source: *Australian Women's Weekly*, 21 December 1955, 40.

Figure 6: Wine makes a barbecue glamorous ... so simply.

Source: *Australian Women's Weekly*,
7 March 1956, 66.

Beyond more tasty food and more convivial dinners, the AWB campaign also hinted at the ways in which wine was associated with broader cultural and societal changes. In the new way of living depicted in these advertisements, men drinking wine, even sherry, was neither emasculating nor odd, but perfectly normal, mature behaviour. These wine-drinking men were also represented as involved in the life of the home. In Figure 1 the man has not foregone any of his 'masculine prerogatives', he is still the dominant figure, but also an integral, active participant in the informal leisurely tableau.⁷³ Similarly, although the man in Figure 2 is firmly located in the foreground, and still occupies his favourite chair, he is no longer just the 'armchair father'.⁷⁴ He is not dissociated from home life and observing the domestic scene, but is shown engaging with the family. The advertisement in Figure 6 appeared in an issue of the *Weekly* that included, for the first time, a special feature on barbecues complete with tables set with food and bottles of wine and photographs, real life evidence, of men cooking.⁷⁵ In this instance, although it is the man who is the commanding figure, he is

73 Johnny Bell, 'Putting Dad in the Picture: Fatherhood in the Popular Women's Magazines of 1950s Australia', *Women's History Review*, 22, no. 6 (2013): 921.

74 Ibid., 919.

75 *AWW*, 7 March 1956, 33, 69.

wearing an apron and performing a domestic, feminine task. The women meanwhile are shown relaxing and enjoying themselves, while one of them appears to glance knowingly over her shoulder at the *Weekly* readers, encouraging them to make their lives more pleasant. Putting men in the picture implied their changing relationship with the home and reinforced the message that wine drinking was a part of an ongoing renegotiation of appropriate male and female behaviour. Always having men in the picture also hinted that for women alcohol consumption was still hedged with limitations and was more socially acceptable and respectable in mixed company.

Women were credited with the power to take charge of what they drank and, by extension, to negotiate a shift from beer to wine consumption, but were not required to become wine connoisseurs. In order to counteract any suspicions about wine snobbery or ritual, and any associations of wine drinking with male-dominated 'gourmets' societies', the AWB emphasised that there were no hard and fast rules around serving and drinking wine.⁷⁶ With the slogan 'the "right" way with wine is the way *you* like it', women were urged to concern themselves less with what might be considered correct and concentrate instead on the pleasure of drinking wine. That said, it was necessary to know what was customary. Red wine was acknowledged as 'the "connoisseurs" favourite'.⁷⁷ It was claret that made 'a magical success of barbecues' and burgundy that did 'wonders for grills', while sauternes could be relied on to bring out 'the real chicken flavour' and chablis was 'perfect with seafoods'.⁷⁸ Still, there was no reason not to be a 'rebel' if you wished, wine was not only for gourmets, a woman could be confident that 'the wines you like best are the right wines for *you*'.⁷⁹ It was the act of wine drinking per se that defined the modern woman and bestowed cultural capital. Overall, the advertisements in the early years of the AWB campaign emphasised the democratisation and informality of wine drinking, a theme that, as McIntyre and Germov have identified, brand advertising would reinforce in the 1960 and 1970s.⁸⁰

76 The *Weekly* journalist Dorothy Drain felt most women had 'a slightly suspicious and critical air towards gourmets' societies'. 'It Seems to Me', *AWW*, 21 August 1957, 26.

77 *AWW*, 21 December 1955, 40.

78 *AWW*, 7 March 1956, 66; *AWW*, 9 April 1958, 59; *AWW*, 14 September 1955, 76; *AWW*, 30 November 1955, 26; *AWW*, 28 September 1955, 68.

79 *AWW*, 11 November 1959, 54.

80 See McIntyre and Germov's discussion of the rise and fall of Ben Ean Moselle, "'Who Wants to be a Millionaire?'" , 80–84.

Play
hostess to
your
family...

Serve
WINE
with
dinner tonight!

Away with humdrum, everyday dining. Tonight and every night, lift family meals out of the doldrums with Wine. There's a world of pleasure in every glass, and a wonderful wealth to choose from. Fragrant Whites, refreshing Reds—all so rewarding, so inexpensive. Cooking with Wine? It's a positive joy. Try a wine-cooked dish you've never dared before and discover how easy it is and how delicious. Or transform, with a little Wine, a trusted recipe of your own. Not a worry with the children either—only the delectable Wine flavour lingers, the alcohol evaporates with heat. Yes, indeed. What Wine does for dining should happen at your place soon. So why not tonight? Wine is so friendly to food.

YOUR LIFE IS MORE PLEASANT WITH
WINE

AUTHORISED BY THE AUSTRALIAN WINE BOARD

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SPICED VEAL CASSEROLE
(serves 4)

8 veal chops + 1 clove garlic + 2 rashers bacon
1 dash ground cloves + salt, pepper + 1 lb.
sliced mushrooms + 1½ cups dry white wine +
1 cup chicken stock + 2 tbsp. butter + little
plain flour.

Dip chops in flour and saute golden on both sides in butter. Place in casserole dish. Saute bacon rashers cut into long thin strips, add to casserole. Add garlic (crushed or finely chopped), cloves, salt and pepper, sliced mushrooms, wine and chicken stock. Cover and cook in moderate oven for 1½ hrs.

If you'd like to know more about Wine, do send for our 16-page free booklet "Your Life is More Pleasant with Wine." Simply write to Sheila Morris—

WINE INFORMATION CENTRE

• BOX 304, G.P.O., SYDNEY	• BOX 407, G.P.O., MELBOURNE
• BOX 1532, G.P.O., BRISBANE	• BOX 2090, G.P.O., HOBART
• BOX 2060, G.P.O., ADELAIDE	• BOX 1108, G.P.O., PERTH

Put Wine on your shopping list today. From your Hotel, Wine Retailer or Licensed Grocer.

AW 2813C
THE AUSTRALIAN WOMEN'S WEEKLY—May 31, 1961

Figure 7: Play hostess to your family ... serve wine with dinner tonight.

Source: *Australian Women's Weekly*, 31 May 1961, 60.

Where the advertisements of the 1950s had been busy with an educational message in the fine print, the early 1960s introduced a more modern logo and less cluttered look (Figure 7). The campaign persisted with connecting wine to everyday dining and the use of wine in cooking, but the clichéd image of the housewife disappeared. The wine-drinking woman had indeed become glamorous. She was now modern, stylish and seductive, the dominant figure at the table with no hint of children or the accoutrements of domesticity in the background.

The most significant but subtle change was from a generalised slogan 'life is more pleasant with wine' to 'your life is more pleasant with wine', highlighting the individual and stressing the pleasure that accrued to the woman herself rather than any benefits to her family.⁸¹ This greater emphasis on the autonomous woman and her personal gratification was reinforced with phrases such as 'share with your family the gentle pleasures of good food and WINE!' and 'wine is so friendly to Food—and You!'.⁸²

By the end of the decade, line drawings and unappetising images of food gave way to stylish photography and women were finally liberated from the home and the dinner table. The most striking feature of the 1964 campaign promoting sherry was not so much the new look of the advertisements but the fact that this was the first time women were shown drinking together. Sherry was recommended as 'the anytime friendly drink', appropriate to serve 'when *he* gets home' or when friends visit, when watching television, or, as in the photograph, when your neighbour dropped in (see Figure 8).⁸³ This was not the first time AWB advertising in the *Weekly* had alluded to drinking for the sake of drinking. It was, however, the first time women were shown as drinkers in their own right, not part of a family group or a mixed gathering, and as such a clear acknowledgement that for women wine drinking, albeit in this case still sherry, was now both fashionable and acceptable.

81 Introduced in *AWW*, 10 June 1959, 46.

82 *AWW*, 24 August 1960, 40; *AWW*, 30 March 1960, 59.

83 *AWW*, 31 May 1961, 60.

is your
start
of
companionship

Have a Sherry first—your start of companionship—the friendly, rewarding drink at any time.
When your neighbour drops in.
When *he* gets home ("What a day! Let's have a Sherry").
When watching television, or when friends arrive and you turn it off.
That's the beauty of Sherry. The anytime friendly drink.
Blends to suit every taste—Dry, Medium, Sweet, Cream. All inexpensive.
Wonderful chilled, served either straight or "on the rocks."
And Sherry keeps. Just replace the cork. Adds flavour to food, too.
Your life is more pleasant with wine.

Authorized by the Australian Wine Board

THE AUSTRALIAN WOMEN'S WEEKLY — November 25, 1964

AW-0378C
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Figure 8: Sherry is your start of companionship.

Source: *Australian Women's Weekly*, 25 November 1964, 47.

Becoming a Wine-Drinking Nation

For many, 'the fifties' has become a metaphor for 'complacency, conformity, a kind of cosy comfortableness and assumed "traditional" pattern of gender relations'. Time and distance have allowed scholars to reassess the immediate post-war years and reveal aspects of the decade that were more 'dynamic and contradictory'.⁸⁴ These AWB advertisements add to the picture of the 1950s as a period of change and realignment rather than stasis.

Second-wave feminist scholars criticised women's magazines for manipulating women and limiting them to conservative, stereotypical roles, portraying them as frivolous, submissive domestics providing for the needs and comfort of their husbands.⁸⁵ Contemporary feminist historians suggest a more complex reading of the women's magazines of the 1950s, and situate them as a locus of feminine expression, and the negotiation of gender roles and behaviours.⁸⁶ Magazines like the *Weekly* can be interpreted as sources of guidance on how to navigate the post-war world, acting as cultural intermediaries, imparting the knowledge readers needed to gain cultural capital by providing visions of modern living that helped them 'develop the "right" knowledge to create their own modern home'.⁸⁷ The popularity of the *Weekly* in the post-war years is perhaps confirmation that this was an era when women were in particular need of help from what they regarded as a reliable source.

The AWB campaign of the 1950s might be criticised for showing women essentially deriving all their pleasure in the home, but for the majority of women in the early post-war years the home was the site of their agency. The *Weekly* in the 1950s was all about the domestic sphere, the 'world

84 John Murphy and Judith Smart, 'Introduction', *Australian Historical Studies*, 28, no. 109 (1997): 2.

85 Australian examples included Shirley Sampson, 'The Australian Women's Weekly ... Today', *Refractory Girl*, 3 (1973): 14–18; Janet Jones, 'The Amazing Women's Weekly Juggling Act', *Refractory Girl*, 17 (1979): 26–30. Nevertheless, the text most often referred to is Betty Freidan, *The Feminine Mystique* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983).

86 Helena Studdert, "'You're 100% Feminine if ...': Gender Construction in Australian Women's Magazines 1920–1969" (PhD thesis, University of NSW, 1997); Karen Hutchings, 'The Battle for Consumer Power: Post-war Women and Advertising', *Journal of Australian Studies*, 20, no. 50–51 (1996): 66–77; Johnson and Lloyd, *Sentenced to Everyday Life*; Joanne Meyerowitz, 'Beyond the Feminine Mystique: A Reassessment of Postwar Mass Culture, 1946–1958', *Journal of American History*, 79, no. 4 (1993): 1455–82; Amy Aronson, 'Still Reading Women's Magazines: Reconsidering the Tradition a Half Century After *The Feminine Mystique*', *American Journalism*, 27, no. 2 (2010): 31–61.

87 Rachel Ritchie, 'The Housewife and The Modern: The Home and Appearance in Women's Magazines, 1954–1969' (PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2010), 122.

of women', but this did not preclude women from being recognised as "modernisers" of domesticity' and the 'agents of modernisation of everyday life'.⁸⁸ The AWB may have limited women to an identity determined by their gender, but they were addressed as 'modern individuals with the responsibility and opportunity to determine their own lives and identities'.⁸⁹ The AWB's advertising fitted with the female-centred world of the *Weekly* and situated wine as just one of a range of commodities that would enable women to 'build a satisfying domestic life as well as an attractive image of themselves'.⁹⁰ In one sense, these advertisements might be read as preying on women's insecurities, but in reading them today it is necessary to recognise that women in the 1950s were not simply passive dupes of marketeers.⁹¹ They could, and did, interpret these texts in ways that served their own needs, interests and pleasures.⁹²

For any female reader responsive to the message, drinking wine represented a way of establishing a new identity as a modern woman by distancing herself from masculine beer culture and exercising some control of how she spent her leisure time. The wine-drinking woman could modernise her family and take an active role in making her life more pleasant without sacrificing her femininity or her central role in the home. Drinking wine conferred distinction and cultural sophistication.⁹³

The AWB's promotional activities must have had some influence on attitudes towards wine drinking, but their effectiveness cannot be assessed properly in isolation from brand advertising, the technological improvements in wine production and distribution, and the many social and cultural changes which occurred in the 1950s and 1960s. For example, in the 1950s wine makers took advantage of new technology to develop sparkling wines expressly to appeal to unsophisticated palates. The AWB's inaugural campaign just predated the launch of the first of these, Orlando Barossa Pearl.⁹⁴ Others, like Starwine and Porphyry Pearl, quickly followed, as did other sweet table wines such as Ben Ean Moselle.

88 Johnston and Lloyd, *Sentenced to Everyday Life*, 48, 52.

89 *Ibid.*, 150.

90 Sheridan, *Who Was That Woman?*, 1.

91 See Hutchings' argument that women were 'subversive elements in the battle for consumer power', and that Second Wave feminism 'carried on a long tradition of activism and gender negotiation', 'The Battle for Consumer Power', 76.

92 Aronson, 'Still Reading Women's Magazines', 36.

93 Dunstan, 'A Drink Whose Time Had Finally Come', 144.

94 Originally planned to coincide with the Olympic Games in Melbourne, Barossa Pearl was launched in December 1956.

These products were heavily promoted to a wide audience across a range of media. As changes in legislation resulted in drinking becoming less sex segregated, wine drinking became associated with new gender identities. In particular sweet sparkling wines became 'a sort of feminine substitute for beer' among young women.⁹⁵ Within the pages of the *Weekly*, women quickly became typecast as indiscriminate drinkers of anything with bubbles, sweet white wines, rosé and the old mainstay, sherry.

Drinking culture became not just defined by gender but also by age. Writer Marion Halligan was born in 1940. By the time she was old enough to dine in restaurants with her boyfriend she was well aware that 'you shouldn't be hidebound to the convention of red wines with red meats, white with white' and happily drank 'Lindeman's Porphyry Sauternes' with everything she ordered. Halligan's parents on the other hand never drank wine, 'except a sociable glass when their married daughters introduced them to it'.⁹⁶ The 'wine boom' came after women had won the fight to exercise their drinking rights outside the home, the pub had metamorphosed into a respectable place for middle-class socialising, and eating out had become a signifier of a modern urban lifestyle.⁹⁷ The wine-drinking women now demonstrating their cultural distinction in public were the daughters seen in the background of the happy family scenes from the 1950s, rather than the targets of the AWB's campaign. Unencumbered by husband, children or domestic responsibilities, the liberated wine-drinking woman of the late 1960s was represented as 'the swingiest girl in town' (see Figure 9).

As McIntyre and Germov demonstrated in their examination of the promotion of Ben Ean Moselle, there is much still to learn from studying the way wine was advertised to both women and men. This discussion has considered only one small print campaign, albeit one that uniquely tried to marry the traditional role of the 1950s housewife to the then unconventional role of wine drinker. The AWB advertising campaign is clear evidence that the Australian wine industry saw women as crucial players in the push to expand the local market for its products. It also confirms that the place of women in creating a wine-drinking nation is worthy of further attention.

95 Craig McGregor, *Profile of Australia* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1966) quoted in Kirkby, "The Good Life", 217.

96 Marion Halligan, *Eat My Words* (Sydney: HarperCollins, 1990), 4, 9.

97 Diane Kirkby, "From Wharfie Haunt to Foodie Haven": Modernity and Law in the Transformation of the Australian Working-Class Pub', *Food, Culture and Society*, 11, no. 1 (2008): 30–48; Kirkby, "The Good Life", 209, 216.

Who's the swingingest girl in town?

Always bright, always gay?

Just sparkling fun with everyone?

It's Pearl - gay, bubbling Barossa Pearl
- light and full of fun... Australia's
happiest, most popular sparkling wine.

Orlando
***Barossa Pearl**

STILL ONLY
90 cents
A BOTTLE
Met. area price

Produced and bottled by G. Gramp & Sons Pty. Ltd.

REGD. T.M.

Figure 9: Who's the swingingest girl in town?

Source: *Australian Women's Weekly*, 10 July 1968, 53.

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