Enchanting Azurite or Taboo Blue?
Theories on the Meaning of Blue Eyeshadow

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Abstract

In the United States, blue eyeshadow has been used as shorthand for both glamour and tackiness. It has been considered old fashioned as well as boundary pushing; natural as well as artificial. As shifts in thinking take place over time, the same eyeshadow shade can evoke visceral responses and stir emotions ranging from terror to total confidence. Through a study of the American fashion press from the 1930s through the late 2010s, this project is an exploration of *why* women wear blue eyeshadow, and *how* this practice has been justified over the years. By analyzing over two hundred advertisements and editorials from *Vogue*, with supplementary evidence from other print and digital publications, I have developed a theoretical framework to explore what it means, socially and psychologically, to wear eyeshadow, what it means to buy and sell similar products under an array of evocative names, and how fashionable society has reconciled itself to the fact that the application of blue eyeshadow is an inherently non-natural practice, yet one that is commonly exercised by fashionable and beautiful women. After tracing the evolution of blue eyeshadow as a product, I discuss how conspicuous cosmetics impact the face and eyes as communication tools and central sites for identity expression. I then demonstrate how the shadowed eyelid has been understood variously as an extension of the iris, part of an aesthetic whole, a fashion accessory, and a blank canvas primed for artistic adornment. Next, I consider how strategically-applied product names attract consumers through implications about travel, exoticism, nature, luxury, and lifestyle. Finally, I conclude with an examination of how the visual impact of eyeshadow has been described using adjectives related to verbal communication and sonic experience. This textual analysis uncovers how brands and consumers must contend with the non-natural yet powerful character of blue eyeshadow.

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I. Introduction

"There *are* scarier things than blue eyeshadow" – rickety wooden rollercoasters make the short list according to *Into the Gloss*.[1] In April 2015, the beauty-oriented website observed that although the color blue functions as an easy-to-wear neutral shade in the wardrobe (as with indigo-dyed denim), when worn on the eyes, "there's something about that hue of eye makeup that screams 'I KNOW WHAT I'M DOING HERE.'" Such confidence "can be hard to fake."[2] The same month, *E! News* echoed this trepidation: "For a long time blue eye shadow was classified as *beauty mission impossible*. Pretty much taboo, the effect was most often used as the absurd 'before' photo in a much-needed makeover."[3]

But in the mid-2010s, makeup artists began smothering celebrity lids with pigments as blue as the carpet is red. The fashion media acknowledged that the tides were turning and restored this formerly loathed eyeshadow shade to fashion's forefront (figure 1). "We love breaking a taboo," *Coveteur* enthused in early 2018, praising one pop star's "killer […] bold blue eyeshadow." The effect was described as a "smoky turquoise-peacock-mermaid-angel eye," which "look[ed] anything but '80s."[4] Despite the renewed cutting-edge fashionability of blue eyeshadow, the press still admitted that it may hold negative connotations for the average reader. In 2017, *Allure* concluded that after multiple catwalk appearances, the "powder-y hue is making a major comeback," noting that although "this light shade [was] reminiscent of the icy hue your great aunt Gertrude religiously splashed on her lids [it] feels so much more sophisticated"[5] this time around. *Allure* also addressed its audience's concerns with a video

[1] "14 Updated Shades of Blue Eyeshadow," *Into the Gloss,* April 2015, https://intothegloss.com/2015/04/best-blue-eyeshadow/. Emphasis added.
[2] "14 Updated Shades," *Into the Gloss*.
[3] Cinya Burton, "Jennifer Lopez's Makeup Artist Explains Why You Shouldn't Be Afraid of Blue Eye Shadow," *E! News*, April 10, 2015, http://www.eonline.com/news/642894/jennifer-lopez-s-makeup-artist-explains-why-you-shouldn-t-be-afraid-of-blue-eye-shadow. Emphasis added.
[4] Katie Becker, "Hailee Steinfeld Just Broke a Big Beauty Taboo in the Best Way," *Coveteur*, January 28, 2018, http://coveteur.com/2018/01/28/dramatic-beauty-moments-2018-grammys/.
[5] Sarah Kinonen, "The Derek Lam Fall 2017 Show Makes Blue Eyeshadow Cool for Winter," *Allure*, February 16, 2017, https://www.allure.com/story/derek-lam-fall-2017-blue-eyeshadow.

tutorial entitled "How to Wear Blue Eye Shadow Without Looking Like an '80s Barbie Doll."[6] To calm these anxieties, *Into the Gloss* offered readers suggestions for tackling the challenging marine hue at home: "The easy way in, if you were looking for one, is navy. […] Once you've got your sea legs, the fun really begins."[7] And *E! News* reminded its skeptical audience that cool blue could be *cool*, adding, "let's not forget that there were two decades (the '60s and '70s) in which the hue was oh-so-groovy."[8] During the late 2010s, the look managed to be simultaneously 'out,' as an unfortunate eighties holdover, and 'in,' as a groovy throwback and a celebrity style triumph.

As a few of these articles indicate, the perception of blue eye makeup as intimidating, bold, and mildly terrifying is a fairly recent construct. Even before the stylish set embraced a full spectrum of eyeshadow shades in the 1960s and 1970s, blue was considered a subtle, natural color and a staple in a woman's cosmetics kit. In 1955, *Vogue* asserted that "[t]he classic eye make-up is eyeshadow to match the iris,"[9] suggesting that a light sweep of sapphire was the correct choice for a blue-eyed beauty. Blue was also considered flattering when paired with certain complexions or clothing colors. In 1932, Helena Rubinstein's new "Iridescent Eyeshadow" was advertised as a collection of "[e]ntrancing tones to harmonize with costume and eyes."[10] "Blue" and "Blue-Green," two of the four available shades, were considered pleasing and harmonious, not jarring.[11]

Because blue eyeshadow has been seen as artificial – and even taboo – for much of the early twenty-first century, I was surprised to find that it was an integral part of the mid-twentieth century makeup routine and wanted to explore the story behind the shifting perceptions of this ubiquitous cosmetic product. When and why did blue go in and out of fashion? How has this one color been

[6] Zachary Clause, "How to Wear Blue Eye Shadow Without Looking Like an '80s Barbie Doll," *Allure*, November 11, 2017, video, 0:42, http://video.allure.com/watch/moda-crease-brush-doucce-eyeshadow-review.
[7] "14 Updated Shades," *Into the Gloss*.
[8] Burton, "Jennifer Lopez's Makeup Artist."
[9] "How to Be This Summer's Beauty," *Vogue*, May 15, 1955, 36.
[10] Advertisement: Helena Rubinstein Inc., "In Paris Even a Princess Lives on a Budget," *Vogue*, January 15, 1932, 91; Advertisement: Helena Rubinstein Inc., "The Tired Face of Today . . . Is the Old Face of Tomorrow," *Vogue*, October 1, 1932, 83.
[11] Advertisement: Helena Rubinstein Inc., "They have blazed a trail of beauty across Europe and America . . . these Helena Rubinstein color creations," *Vogue*, January 15, 1933, 69.

considered from opposing perspectives? What does it mean to encircle one's eyes in a hue when is labeled 'natural' compared to when it is labeled 'artificial'? What does it mean to apply pigment to one's eyelids in the first place, and how does this practice relate to identity expression and communication?

These questions sparked my exploration into the American fashion press. There, I observed patterns and reoccurring messages emanating from the arbiters of taste and style over the years. By examining hundreds of advertisements and beauty editorials from a handful of publications, I have developed a theoretical framework to explore what it means – socially and psychologically – to wear eyeshadow, what it means to buy and sell similar products under an array of evocative names, and how people have reconciled themselves to the fact that the application of blue eyeshadow is an inherently non-natural practice, yet one that is commonly exercised by fashionable and beautiful women. Essentially, I wanted to understand *why* people wear blue eyeshadow, and *how* this practice has been justified over the years. Here, I am presenting my theories, which – although they may not be the only possible answers – provide a framework for engaging with this previously unstudied phenomenon.

Since the face and eyes are powerful communication tools and central sites for identity expression, a consideration of the broader category of makeup is necessary as a foundation for my study of a specific product type. Sociologists and dress historians have proposed various theories on the psychological and sociological impacts of conspicuous cosmetics, and the rhetoric of the fashion press demonstrates that the made-up eye can serve different functions and meanings. As I will illustrate, the shadowed eyelid has been understood variously as an extension of the iris, a fashion accessory, and a blank canvas primed for artistic adornment.

Understanding how blue eyeshadow has evolved as a product and how it has been marketed over the years are central to my study. Although one brand's blue shadow may appear to have similar properties (e.g., hue, texture, shimmer) to another brand's, what often distinguishes them is a unique name. Different names hold different meanings, persuade consumers in different ways, and create a

sense of novelty. Labels like "Blue Acapulco,"[12] "Ionian Blue,"[13] "Bernini Blue"[14] and "Bleu Paon (peacock blue)"[15] are strategically applied to suggest ideas about international travel, exoticism, and a consumer's aspirational lifestyle. Beyond these evocative product names, the suitability of an eyeshadow shade (i.e., whether it is socially acceptable) is often communicated indirectly. The visual impact of eyeshadow has often been described using adjectives related to verbal communication and sonic experience – it can either be a hushed whisper or a loud statement.

Rather than tracking historical change over time, observing the patterns and consistencies in the discourse related to a single makeup category opens the door to new ways of understanding. This type of exploration prompts a reconsideration of perceptions and assumptions that are taken for granted. It allows an analysis of the behaviors, attitudes, and patterns of thinking that are so deeply embedded in American society – and its fashion system and paradigms of beauty – that they often go unnoticed. This study provides insight into how relationships with the self and others are mediated through makeup, how the beauty industry and the fashion media transform outmoded ideas into appealing new trends, how consumers – who are, for the most part, women[16] – are treated, and how the phenomenon of fashion operates.

Blue has been intimately associated with eyeshadow for around one hundred years, and it has drifted noisily in and out of fashion. It has been embraced and loathed, celebrated and satirized, and has represented as many meanings as the number of shades and formats in which it has been produced. Consumers have even continued wearing it long after it has been declared unfashionable, prioritizing consistency in their appearance and identity over fashionable impulses. Even those who have never

[12] Advertisement: Princess Galitzine, "From the Desk of Princess Galitzine: Eyes, Blue or Green," *New York Times,* April 9, 1974, 27.
[13] Advertisement: Helena Rubinstein Inc., "Now Dance in the Isles… You're Going to be a Grecian Beauty!," *New York Times*, March 23, 1969, 83.
[14] Advertisement: Eve of Roma, "7.50 Brings you Eve of Roma's Perfetto Eye Kit," *New York Times*, December 15, 1974, 53.
[15] Advertisement: Bonwit Teller, "It's a Paris Opening for the Eyes – Bonwit's Introduces New Designer Eye Makeups from Dior!," *New York Times,* August 30, 1970, 59.
[16] Of course, men and gender non-conforming individuals also have worn makeup and continue to do so. Since my study's primary source base is comprised of media content directed at women, I have restricted my focus to women as cosmetics consumers, fashion magazine readers, and advertisers' target audiences.

worn it have undoubtedly encountered people (or representations of people) who do.[17] If a product like blue eyeshadow can change with the times – with new names, new formulae, and new application techniques – and if it can exist and be justified in relation to some other fixed point – the iris, the wardrobe, youth, or beauty – it may indeed transcend time.

II. Methodology

Exploring the sources that women have turned to in search of beauty advice for nearly one hundred years has provided unique insights into this insufficiently explored but commonplace cosmetic practice. My attempt to see through the eyes of the reader and to uncover what blue eyeshadow meant to her and her society yielded not a linear history or a series of obvious cause-and-effect relationships. Instead, it revealed that blue eyeshadow is just one of the countless consumer products that creates meaning for wearers and observers every day, in its presence and its absence.

My research primarily focuses on editorials and advertisements from a selection of American fashion magazines and more vernacular periodicals. As a primary concentration, I have analyzed a selection of around two hundred articles and ads from *Vogue*, with supplementary evidence from a few other outlets including the *New York Times*, *Life*, *Redbook*, and online publications. I have employed a qualitative datamining strategy to analyze patterns and themes related to relevant mentions of the phrase 'blue eyeshadow' within the digitized archives of these outlets. This keyword search was extended as far back in time as possible, which revealed that the earliest published reference to blue eyeshadow in these publications appeared as a 1930 Maybelline advertisement in *Vogue*.[18]

[17] Many live-action and animated characters in film and television are costumed with blue eyeshadow, either to show them as glamorous (Elizabeth Taylor in the titular role in *Cleopatra* [1963]), outrageous (Kathy Kinney's performance as Mimi Bobeck on the *Drew Carey Show* [1995-2004]), or both (Ursula in Disney's *The Little Mermaid* [1989]). Women with whom I have discussed my research have responded to the very mention of blue eyeshadow with immediate emphatic reactions. It often appears as though each person experiences a deluge of emotions and memories all at once. Responses range from amusement and embarrassment by those who admit to wearing it for years, to laughs and feigned horror by those calling to mind a ridiculous image of 'bad' blue makeup. The thought of it makes some people's skin crawl, yet others wonder whether they can 'pull off' this recently progressive look.

[18] Advertisement: Maybelline Co., "Try Maybelline Eye Shadow," *Vogue,* September 15, 1930, 106.

There has been very little scholarly attention paid to eye makeup. Essentially no studies have been dedicated specifically to eyeshadow, and the existing literature on the history of cosmetics in general is remarkably limited. Most works focus on cosmetics in a broad sense, often discussing foundation and lipstick at length with passing mentions of eye makeup. Makeup is occasionally lumped into analyses alongside other toiletry products such as shampoo and toothpaste. Books aimed at makeup artists and those interested in recreating vintage looks serve as rich visual resources but offer little in the way of critical engagement with the painted faces of the past.

Scholars who have approached the study of makeup from feminist perspectives, cultural studies frameworks, and economic understandings have attempted to categorize the use of makeup as either oppressive and problematic or empowering and creative.[19] And when explored throughout history, facial "[b]eauty may be either sacred or profane, or both."[20] My work is informed by these arguments but does not attempt to offer a ruling on the relative merits or problems of makeup. Rather, I am presenting an alternate understanding of cosmetic practice through the study of one specific category and color of makeup. To do so, I have drawn upon the sociological scholarship of Anthony Synnott and Murray Wax in engaging with theories about beauty, notions of natural versus artificial, and the social and personal functions of wearing makeup. My exploration is contextualized within the broader American cultural framework and in relation to the theories proposed by sociologists, historians, and semioticians including Brian Moeran, Hilary Radner, Adrian Forty, and Roland Barthes. This project also builds on the work of dress historians Aileen Ribeiro, Kathy Peiss, and Elizabeth Wilson who have written respectively about the relationship between cosmetics and portraiture, the development of the American cosmetics industry, and the connection between fashion and modernity.

[19] See, for instance, Naomi Wolf, *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used Against Women* (New York: Doubleday, 1991); Autumn Whitefield-Madrano, *Face Value: The Hidden Ways Beauty Shapes Women's Lives* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016).
[20] Anthony Synnott, "Truth and Goodness, Mirrors and Masks – Part II: A Sociology of Beauty and the Face," *The British Journal of Sociology* 41, no. 1 (March 1990): 69, http://www.jstor.org/stable/591018.

With these theories in mind, my qualitative datamining approach revealed a flurry of results from which I identified everything from color variations and product innovations to shifting tastes and cultural connotations. Some evidence relates only to blue eyeshadow, whereas some expresses broader concepts related to eye makeup and cosmetics in general. To help navigate these levels of specificity, and to clarify the relationships between them, I have created a simple model of concentric circles (figure 2). The outer circle represents the most general category, *cosmetics*. This includes visible makeup in addition to a wide variety of skin and facial treatments such as lotion and cleanser whose presence is not necessarily detectible. The next category is *makeup*, which encompasses conspicuous, pigmented cosmetic products that are applied to the face, such as foundation, blush, bronzer, brow enhancing products, and eye makeup. As the next level of specificity, *eye makeup* references any makeup products applied to the eye area, including mascara, eyeliner, eyeshadow, and fake eyelashes, as well as concealer and primer. *Eyeshadow* as a category relates only to pigmented eyeshadow products in any hue and formula – creme, crayon, gel, stick, powder, or paint. Finally, *blue eyeshadow* is the most specific category and the one most central to this study.

To communicate my findings on the discursive representation of blue eyeshadow in the fashion press, I must first begin by describing the product itself and how its evolution has impacted fashionable eye aesthetics. The blue eyeshadow available in the 1930s was materially quite different from that available in the fifties, the seventies, and into the twenty-first century. Thus, I will present a selection of notable innovations and developments as they appeared in my keyword search for 'blue eyeshadow' and as they relate to the products mentioned throughout later parts of this study. This introduction to the development of eyeshadow and application methods is by no means an exhaustive study, and a more comprehensive study of the evolution of eyeshadow and other eye makeup products would be valuable. However, as scholarship is lacking in this domain, it is important to introduce these products and their physical traits, packaging formats, formulae, and use before entering theoretical territory.

III. Eye aesthetics and the evolution from kohl to creme to powder

The history of eye makeup featuring blue pigments has been traced as far back as the ancient civilizations. Kohl, lapis lazuli, and other crushed minerals were famously used by ancient Egyptians to protect and adorn the eyes. In the United States, leading up to the twentieth century, homemade and commercially manufactured cosmetics for the skin and eyes were available. However, pigmented products were not in wide usage as they were largely associated with feminine trickery and deceit. But change was on the horizon. According to Kathy Peiss, "'paint' implied a concealing mask" during this time, but "the term 'makeup,' in common usage by the 1920s, connoted a medium of self-expression in a consumer society where identity had become a purchasable style."[21] The 1920s saw visible – oftentimes vampish – eye makeup gain popularity. Film stars lit up the silver screen with their bright, expressive eyes dramatized by darkened lids. Although black-and-white films and photographs show these smoky looks in grayscale, some early eyeshadow products were blue.[22]

But it was not until the following decade that advertisements for these products appeared in fashionable magazines like *Vogue*. Maybelline ads published in the fall of 1930 described eyeshadow as a "delicately perfumed cosmetic [that] *instantly* makes the eyes appear larger and intensely *interesting*!"[23] Between the thirties and forties, such products were cream-based shadows in small individual containers. Eyeshadow could be "[e]ncased in an adorably dainty gold-finished vanity"[24] or a small plastic container with a blue screw-on cap (figures 3, 4). The creme format, widely available through the mid-1950s, could be applied in opaque layers. "Eyeshadow was like emerald, sapphire,

[21] Kathy Peiss, *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 4.
[22] Although in my search the earliest references to blue eyeshadow appeared in the 1930s, a few later articles harken back to the popularity of the product in the 1920s. The midcentury collective memory associated blue eyeshadow with the Roaring Twenties, as evidenced by a 1954 article in the *New York Times* announcing Julie Andrews' appearance in the 1926 musical *The Boy Friend*: "A new excitement [… on Broadway] these halcyon mid-century days is a pensive young lady in a cloche hat, a blond marcel [hairdo], pots of blue eyeshadow and an unblinking expression of azure incredulity." Bobbed hair and blue eyeshadow were signature elements of the typical twenties look. Helen Markel, "The Girl Friend: Julie Andrews, star of 'Boy Friend,' tells of New York, men, home and fame," *New York Times*, November 21, 1954, SM33.
[23] Advertisement: Maybelline Co., "Try Maybelline Eye Shadow," *Vogue,* September 15, 1930, 106.
[24] Advertisement: Maybelline Co., "Take these 3 steps to Instant Loveliness," *Vogue*, November 24, 1930, 95.

amethyst, or turquoise butter then,"[25] one woman remembered from her teenage years in 1950s Hollywood. "I put it on with my pinky, even and thick, right up to the brows. […] My eyelids must have been weighted down."[26]

Blue was one of the few available eyeshadow colors, if not *the* leading choice at the time. Shades could range from cornflower and clear cobalt to deep sapphire. It had become such a significant cosmetics color that the phrase 'eyeshadow blue' made the leap into the realm of vestimentary fashion. A 1945 *Vogue* fashion editorial entitled "Eye-Shadow Blues" noted that "[d]ark, shadowy blue is the romantic sister-colour to black, can make as many appearances, […] is a great flatterer."[27] This editorial acknowledges the prominence of blue above all other eyeshadow hues and positions it as a universally flattering neutral shade for eyes and attire (figure 5).

The April 15, 1957 issue of *Vogue* contained three separate instances of 'eyeshadow blue' as a fashion color. An ad for Saks & Company featured a dusty blue illustration of a woman in a bolero and dress ensemble which was available in multiple color schemes, including "blue on eyeshadow blue with white" (figure 6).[28] Similarly, a Lee Herman advertisement composed of black, white, and blue-tinted photographs showcased one "pure wool sweater, [in] Eyeshadow Blue with white linen" and another "pure wool sweater of Eyeshadow Blue, spilled with dark stars" (figure 7).[29] Further into this issue is a ten-page editorial dedicated to the fashionable color, entitled "Eye-Shadow Blues: 26 Beautiful Applications" (figure 8). Organized around Elizabeth Arden's eyeshadows in "nine shades of blueness" – including Sea Blue, Striking Blue, Military Bleu, Pearly Blue, and Azurite – the extensive editorial noted the universally chic effect of layering blues on the eyelids and on the body. "All-blue's the idea, and a woman can reason this way: one blue is a beauty-maker; two blues or more

[25] Jill Robinson, "Makeup: The Romantic Imperative," *Vogue*, May 1, 1985, 305, 364.
[26] Robinson, "Makeup: The Romantic Imperative," 305, 364.
[27] "Eye-Shadow Blues," *Vogue*, September 15, 1945, 134-135.
[28] Advertisement: Saks & Company, "Bolero on a curve," *Vogue*, April 15, 1957, 7.
[29] Advertisement: Lee Herman Inc., "From California," *Vogue*, April 15, 1957, 44.

make a costume now. The blue-eyed woman is one blue up – naturally. But a woman with grey, green, or brown eyes can find endless blue eyeshadow variations […] to sparkle her eyes and complexion."[30]

Nearly ten years later, another fashion editorial identified a belted dress as being made of "[p]ale eyeshadow wool, [in] the faintest blue-green."[31] But the prevalence of eyeshadow blue as a fashionable color extended past the wardrobe and onto the road in the 1960s. Covering a two-page spread as part of a story called "Racy Looks for the Car in your Life" was a splashy photograph of "the 1964 Thunderbird, here in frosted eye-shadow blue."[32] It is unclear whether this was the manufacturer's color code or the magazine's label, but either way it indicates how widely accepted and recognizable this color had become (figure 9). As late as 1973, Bloomingdale's marketed a "collection of sleepy-time wear"[33] as well as a "go-with-all bodysuit"[34] which were both available in "eyeshadow blue."

Even so, back in the 1930s and 1940s, eyeshadow was worn sparingly by most American women as lipstick held the distinction of being the most popular makeup product during this time. Maybelline, which was founded in 1915 and produced only eye makeup until the 1970s, tried to persuade women to consider incorporating eyeshadow into their everyday beauty routines. They placed ads declaring it a necessity (figures 10, 11): "*The top of Your Face is important, too!* Look what happens when you stop with half a make-up. In contrast to those red lips, the eyes seem a bit dull and blank, don't they?"[35] Women who only wore lipstick were scolded – "ARE YOU 'ALL MOUTH' – AND NO EYES?" – and corrected – "real beauty is balanced beauty. Your eyes are your most important feature! Don't leave them 'washed-out looking' in contrast to a vividly made-up mouth."[36]

[30] "Eye-Shadow Blues: 26 Beautiful Applications," *Vogue*, April 15, 1957, 102-109, 132-133.
[31] "The Year of the Dress," *Vogue*, March 1, 1966, 134-135.
[32] As for the model: "Looking like the beautiful mechanic in a dream-sequence, the car's custodian wears a leotard of silvery white stretch fabric [... and] a space-queen helmet." "Racy Looks for the Car in Your Life," *Vogue*, November 1, 1963, 116-117.
[33] Advertisement: Bloomingdale's, "Stan Herman: This time the dream's on me," *New York Times*, September 5, 1973, 9.
[34] Advertisement: Bloomingdale's, "It's Elementary," *New York Times*, October 19, 1973, 5.
[35] Advertisement: Maybelline Co., "The top of Your Face is important, too!" *Vogue*, August 15, 1947, C3.
[36] Advertisement: Maybelline Co., "Are You 'All Mouth' – and No Eyes?," *Vogue*, June 1, 1955, 123.

To gently nudge women to give eye makeup a try, Marie Earle tried to entice them by sharing "[c]lose-guarded 'salon' secrets of make-up for day-long beauty, for evening-long chic." Encouraging ads suggested that "[e]ye shadow, eye crayon, mascara need no longer prove bewildering choices, but can be applied lightly, expertly, with subtle art."[37] Stories like these promised women that they could easily achieve glamour and sophistication with just a few pointers and products.

The use of eyeshadow was slow to permeate mainstream beauty practice, but in the realm of high fashion, eye makeup gradually became more accepted in these early years. According to a 1946 *Vogue* editorial, "[t]ime was when eye-make-up was used only in a spirit of conscious frivolity. It was a sort of what-have-these-actresses-got-that-I-haven't-got gesture. But that had nothing to do with this time, when eye-make-up has become a part of good grooming, and is considered no more gaudy than a lipstick."[38] The association with actresses recalls the widely visible yet boundary-pushing fashion for eyeshadow during the twenties and thirties. Yet the explanation of how eyeshadow operated in the writer's own time – and the denial of gaudiness – indicate that such products were being slowly but surely adopted by non-celebrity women and accepted by society at large.

The year 1950 marked a turning point for eyeshadow. As an insert in *Vogue* directed at salespeople indicated, "[t]he look of 1950 beauty is a major part of its sales potential. Make-up is more studied, more 'frankly make-believe.' Result: a profitable demand for new and *more* cosmetics. […] Eyes are the new focal point. […] Sell a wardrobe of colours in eye shadow – one blue or one green is no longer enough."[39] If a woman had been tiptoeing around the fear of seeming too artificial or too made-up, *Vogue* now gave her permission to embrace eyeshadow's bold potential.[40] Validating Maybelline's more-than-just-lipstick strategy, a 1950 *Vogue* editorial observed, "[u]p to now, most

[37] Advertisement: Marie Earle Inc., "Marie Earle Introduces These Lovely 'Make-Up' Mannequins," *Vogue*, October 15, 1931, 115.
[38] "Colours For the Eyes," *Vogue*, October 15, 1946, 212.
[39] "Beauty is everybody's business," *Vogue*, February 1, 1950, 3-4.
[40] The salesperson following this advice would persuasively challenge customers' old habits of justifying and downplaying their use of eyeshadow by applying only one color to match their irises. A shift in perspective about the function of eyeshadow would be required – a concept which will be explored in Part V.

make-up began (and too often ended) with the lipstick. But a new make-up phase is on its way in – focus: the eye."[41] Similarly, a *Life* editorial declared eye makeup "the biggest beauty news since lipstick." It explained that models in Paris and Upper East Siders in New York were seen "wearing exaggerated make-up on their eyes even with street clothes." They used "eyebrow pencil, shadow and mascara in theatrical quantities to produce an obviously artificial but flattering look."[42] Even readers immune to *Vogue*'s influence were confronted with this sartorial shift.

Throughout the remainder of the fifties and into the early sixties, consumers and the cosmetics industry indulged a taste for exploration and new products, paired with a more open embrace of the artificial appearance of conspicuous cosmetics. Consumers could try new creme-stick eyeshadows that twisted up out of small cylindrical containers (figures 12, 13). Eyeshadow sticks came in "Beautiful Gold-Tone Swivel Case[s]"[43] which were sometimes marketed as "lipstick-type"[44] tubes, likely to encourage lipstick devotees to pick up eyeshadow as well. Unlike the theatrical grease-paint formula of creme shadows, eyeshadow sticks were available in iridescent shades, made possible by the introduction of artificial pearl. Other delightful new products enabled enhancing solid color with depth and dimension. "Now Aziza makes a pearly cream to put over a coloured shadow," a 1952 *Vogue* editorial featuring elegant illustrations proclaimed (figure 14). "This news is actually 'pearl essence,' the iridescent covering used for pearl beads. They call it 'Oversheen.'" Even more dazzling were "Elizabeth Arden's miniature sequins [… in] either gold or silver" which could be applied with a "small paint brush […] dipped into a bottle of sparklers, and brushed gently over a creamy eyeshadow. They cling there all evening, refracting the night lights, and adding real brilliance to the eyes. 'Startwinkle' is the name."[45]

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[41] "Two-Point Make-Up Program," *Vogue*, March 15, 1950, 102.
[42] "1950 Eyes," *Life*, January 30, 1950, 63.
[43] Advertisement: Maybelline Co., "Treat your eyes to Color," *Vogue*, September 15, 1956, 181.
[44] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "Who says you can't wear eye makeup?," *Vogue*, October 1, 1951, 197. The *New York Times* also described "[e]yeshadow in stick form, like a diminutive lipstick" as "the newest note in eye make-up" as early as 1942. Martha Parker, "The Beauty Quest," *New York Times*, August 28, 1942, 24.
[45] "Nth Degrees of Change," *Vogue*, October 15, 1952, 58.

Previously, brands had sold just one shade of blue eyeshadow and perhaps a blue-green, but in the late 1950s and early 1960s the spectrum of available hues widened and pressed-powder eyeshadow became available. Some brands released all-blue eyeshadow collections, as with Max Factor's line of "California Blues" advertised in 1962 as "matte-powder or cream-stick eyeshadows."[46] In 1965 Revlon gleefully announced "BRUSH-ON SHADOW" as a "[n]ew way to make eyes look larger-than-life: color them soft with a lush little brush! What a sweet surprise for your eyes!"[47] *Vogue* praised Dorothy Gray's "slender white and gold compacts, each with a palette of four under-stressed creamy powder shadows, each with its own double-edged wand – a sable brush on one end, and a foam tip on the other."[48] Consumers could now dust their lids with layers of powdery color and achieve a different look compared to what creme-based products provided (figure 15).

The focus on experimentation and the increase in product offerings only grew from there. Starting in the mid-1960s and extending through the early 1970s, a playfulness spurred on by the British 'Youthquake' seized the beauty industry. Youth-oriented products were designed to look like children's art supplies – eyeshadow came in paint palettes and crayon formats (figures 16, 17). Under the headline "COLOURQUAKE," *Vogue* reported to its American readers that "[i]n London, they're using poster-type paint around eyes, painting watercolour makeup on face."[49] Of a group of fashionable college girls, the magazine noted that "not one of them lets her eyes alone. They widen them, sparkle them, deepen them with makeup. *It's a game*."[50] Artistic play was paramount, and product design reinforced it. For this new generation, "there could hardly be a niftier tool than a 2" x 3" golden-ribbed compact that packs in, water-colour-set fashion, six creamy shades of eye colour, two brushes, a

[46] Advertisement: Max Factor & Co., "Max Factor Sets the Fashion Tempo with California Blues," *Vogue*, September 15, 1962, 27.
[47] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "Sweeping change in eye makeup!," Vogue, February 1, 1965, 30-31.
[48] "Vogue's Ready Beauty: Young loves," *Vogue*, August 1, 1970, 26.
[49] "COLOURQUAKE," *Vogue*, March 1, 1970, 172.
[50] "Vogue's Ready Beauty: The high art of eye art, elevated," *Vogue*, August 1, 1967, 36. Emphasis added.

mirrored lid – and, get this, a glass vial for water."[51] The *New York Times* felt that "[b]oth the colors and the method of application" for such a product "[had] the appeal of a child's paintbox."[52]

Blue, which was one of the few available shades prior to the 1960s was now just one of many colors in the cosmetic spectrum. Some brands dazzled consumers with the sheer number of eyeshadow colors available. "*Raise a new hue*," *Vogue* urged its readers. "Christian Dior just did. Raised 93 great, great hues. […] La Collection – Maquillage Dior is big and beautiful, all shades mixable, blendable, full of delectable ploys."[53] Other sources declared blue – by now a cliché – as 'out.' A 1974 *Vogue* editorial asserted, "[t]he day of matching pale-blue shadow to pale-blue eye […] is over. The predictable is pedestrian, passé . . . ." Instead, a rich palette of off-beat shades including "auburn," "plum," "honey," and "rose" was offered as an alternative.[54]

With all these new products came new possibilities, and combining cosmetic products was key. An article surveying the makeup trends causing fascination across dozens of American cities summed up the style of the moment by declaring: "It's a look. And a look means: a make-up that's more than a single goodie: is, indeed, several goodies that perform together for an effect."[55] From this point on, many more looks were possible. Another beauty editorial added a disclaimer to one of its style suggestions: "It's not the only look you'll be seeing, even in this issue […] but we think it's the charming new look for summer – the makeup to watch!"[56] Adventurous eye design, although not interpreted literally by magazine readers, became a fixture in beauty and fashion editorials from the mid-1960s onward. Pigment was swept above, below, and beyond the usual boundaries of the eyelid, as with one pair of "[b]lue raccoon-eyes, [created] with Elizabeth Arden make-up."[57] Solid colors,

[51] One of the two color schemes for this product, Elizabeth Arden's "Shado Shades," included "silver-shot grey, blue jade, and dark grey." "Vogue's Ready Beauty: The high art of eye art, elevated," *Vogue*, August 1, 1967, 36.
[52] "Bright Colors In Eyeshadow Being Revived," *New York Times*, December 12, 1964, 24.
[53] "COLOURQUAKE," *Vogue*, March 1, 1970, 176-177.
[54] "How to choose a foolproof makeup from four colors that work anywhere on the face," *Vogue*, March 1, 1974,142.
[55] "Beauty Bulletin," *Vogue*, February 1, 1965, 177.
[56] "Instant charm!," *Vogue*, April 1, 1976, 154.
[57] "The New York Collections: American Fashion," *Vogue*, September 1, 1970, 358-359.

gradation, and pattern were possible. Model "Marisa Berenson, in a green, blue, and pink mood, mixed eight" colors for one adventurous look in the 1970 "COLOURQUAKE" feature (figure 18). It was explained as "[p]ointillism around eyes" created with "cream-stick eyeshadow – dot-dot-dot around lids."[58]

In addition to encouragement from the fashion press, the way eyeshadow was packaged also supported color mixing and experimentation. Multiple colors were now included in each compact (figure 19). In 1970, Revlon's "'Ultima' II present[ed] *a total change in eye makeup*. The move away from monotones – to the *multicolor eye*."[59] The brand offered "[t]wo powdercreme shadows per compact. A medium tone for lids, a lighter shade for highlighting. Pair them. Or wear them singly." Color duos included "Blue Smoke / Blue Fog" and "Blue Violet / Heather Lilac."[60] Other products were even more customizable, such as Givenchy's "Custom-Eye Pastels – a lacquery red patent case carrying one golden bamboo wand and six click-in eyeshadow sticks." With this handy product, eyeshadow could be remixed anytime, anywhere. "The color-of-the-day travels by handbag, the whole kit of six on trips. All very pampery and luxe."[61]

While iridescence had satisfied the woman of the 1950s, the next generation could choose from a wider variety of surface textures including gel shadows, creme-to-powder shadows, and varying degrees of shine.[62] *Vogue* lauded Ultima II's "[f]orty-eight shades; three degrees of shimmer, from the softly lustrous CremeSpuns to FrostSpuns to the really gleaming ones."[63] Revlon hailed its "totally new pearlescent 'gelshine' shadow (outshines anything known as eyeshadow before!) In 9 vibrant,

[58] "COLOURQUAKE," *Vogue*, March 1, 1970, 176-177.
[59] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "The 'Silkprint Eye,'" *Vogue*, June 1, 1970, 4-5.
[60] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "Opening now: the greatest show of eyes on earth," *Vogue*, November 1, 1969, 8-9.
[61] "Ready Beauty," *Vogue*, July 1, 1971, 6.
[62] Towards the last quarter of the twentieth century, a definite shift had occurred with regard to eyeshadow's status in the beauty kit. In a similar way to how women in the 1940s considered bright red lipstick a necessity, some women in the mid-1970s considered their use of eyeshadow in whatever color necessary, even as part of 'minimal' makeup looks. As model René Russo explained in 1978, "[e]ven at nighttime, if I'm going out, I don't do too much. All I wear is eye shadow – I love lilac or purple (I never wear blue or green eye shadow) – and some mascara, a little lipstick, and rosy cheeks." Russo vocally rejected blue, but the fact that she mentioned it at all indicates its prominence and perhaps fading fashionability. "René Russo," *Vogue*, June 1, 1978, 173.
[63] "Evening Makeup with a New Light on Eyes," *Vogue*, November 1, 1972, 134.

intensified shades that shine like liquid neon."[64] Similarly, Aziza "[came] up with a new makeup collection of delectable gels called Crystallines,"[65] and consumers could get the best of two favorite formulae with "Estée Lauder's new Automatic Creme Eyeshadow[.] It smooths on like a creme, dries like a powder and has the soft shimmer of pure silk."[66]

In addition to shine and shimmer, functionality was also a priority. Long-lasting color, moisture-resistant formulae, and eyeshadow primers were widely advertised around this time. In 1970, for use with volatile powder shadows, Revlon introduced "a new first: Tinted Shadow Base. A moisty little under-eyeshadow creme that makes eyeshadow stay put (stay fresh!) all day."[67] "For the girl who wishes there were 25 hours in every day," Coty "create[d] Liquid Lid. The 24-hour eye shadow" in 1969. The ad coyly mused on the novelty of this feature: "You may never need to wear Liquid Lid for 24 hours straight. But isn't it nice to know you can?"[68] Additionally, waterproof eyeshadows were promoted in a 1975 *Vogue* article entitled "Liberated Beauty." "Charles Revson [of Revlon] is the logical person to come up with the first waterproof powdered shadow ever made – Charlie Fresh Fresh Eyecolor. […] It comes in 32 shades, cremes and frosts."[69] In total, nine brands offering waterproof shadow were identified. Designed for the active lifestyles of 'liberated beauties,' these product innovations enabled makeup mavens to carry their look from dawn to dusk, and from the sweltering city to the pool or the beach.

Among all these developments happening in eyeshadow, the fashion media stressed that the vibrancy or subtlety of its color mattered, too. Preferences oscillated between a blended, smoky look and bright, clear color between the mid-1970s and the mid-1980s. In 1974, *Vogue* declared that for daytime makeup, "anything obvious, hard contour lines with no blending, is out" (figure 20).[70] The

[64] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "The 'Shining, Sultry Colors' for eyes, for cheeks, for lips," *Vogue*, November 1, 1971, 12-13.
[65] "Ready Beauty," *Vogue*, July 1, 1971, 6.
[66] Advertisement: Estée Lauder Inc., "Now the best of all eyeshadow forms in one easy form," *Vogue*, October 1, 1976, 14-15.
[67] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "New from Moon Drops: The 'Almondine Eye,'" *Vogue*, July 1, 1970, C2, 1.
[68] Advertisement: Coty Inc., "Coty Originals creates Liquid Lid," *Vogue*, April 1, 1969, 38-39.
[69] "Liberated Beauty," *Vogue*, June 1, 1975, 125.
[70] "The Best and Worst Ways to Use Beauty Now," *Vogue*, April 1, 1974, 131.

following year, the magazine observed "more color in makeup than since the 'fifties stamped our lips red, and our lids blue. What a difference! No clarion colors these days, but shades smoked, powdery, toned (never hard-edged or glaring) on the eyes," the effect being "more sculpted than painted. This emphasis on texture, on blending makes decades of difference – out of the 'fifties, into the now."[71] Here, the association between blue eyeshadow and bygone days is made explicit. "Blue is tricky," the article continued, stating that it "looks old-fashioned if it comes on strong. The rule always: imperceptible blending of charcoal into basic color." [72] Another editorial urged readers, "[c]ast your pastel palette to the wind. The new eye […] is dark. Smoky. Smoldery with marvelous murky 'natural' color […]. Gone are the blues – now replaced by grey as the go-with-anything color this fall."[73]

But this smoky phase would be short-lived. Colorful possibilities returned towards the end of the seventies and into the eighties. In 1978, *Vogue* cried out for "Color! An explosion of color – in fashion and in makeup. […] Not murky color added to murky color. Clear color."[74] Vibrant blues were back. Makeup artist Alberto Fava concurred: "Color for me is the main statement." He considered blue hues favorable "if you wear them *properly*; i.e., never on the whole lid."[75] Eyeshadow in this application was intended to be an exciting accent, a stylish statement communicated with a glance. With color mixing and blending now practically a prerequisite for the fashionable eye, possibilities multiplied in the late 1980s. With their "Custom Eyes" line, Revlon promised "35 jewel-like tones to try. 7,175 combinations for just 2 eyes."[76]

To navigate the increasingly complex cosmetic color spectrum, a woman had many authoritative voices telling her which eyeshadow shades suited her best and which she should avoid,

[71] "An honest-to-good change in makeup," *Vogue*, July 1, 1975, 67.
[72] "An honest-to-good change in makeup," *Vogue*, July 1, 1975, 67.
[73] "The intense, subtle look of 'foolproof' color," *Vogue*, October 1, 1975, 180. Even consumers apparently agreed with this shift away from bold blues to dusty grays. A 1976 *Vogue* report concluded that according to Clinique's customer feedback tracking system, "[t]urquoise blue (for years the biggest eyeshadow color in the industry) is out of favor now. Greyed, subtle, ashy tones are in." "Holiday Month: Time for Heightened Dazzle," *Vogue*, November 1, 1976, 52.
[74] "Makeup Now: Pencils Make the Point," *Vogue*, August 1, 1978, 195.
[75] "People are talking about Beauty: Image building on the job," *Vogue*, July 1, 1981, 72.
[76] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "Look. Lustrous eyeshadows with new Silkglide Formula," *Vogue*, October 1, 1987, 11.

as beauty brands developed technologies and systems for personalization. In 1984, *Vogue* highlighted a few such "prodigious computers" including "the Elizabeth [Arden] Makeover Computer, for color makeup analysis."[77] A few years later, ads for the "Clarion Personalized Beauty System" explained that this program "takes information about your skin type, hair and eye color. Then, it determines which of the four distinctively enhancing Color Groups are for you."[78] More computer-based systems appeared as the Information Age progressed. In 1992, Avon promised that with their "personalized beauty computer, you've finally met your match,"[79] while L'Oréal's 2016 "MAKEUP GENIUS APP" enabled customers to "TRY ON ENDLESS LOOKS INSTANTLY"[80] through virtual means.

As the beauty industry fell head-over-heels trying to help consumers achieve 'correctness' through personalization, the realm of high fashion diverged and pursued the artistic side of eye makeup. For the pages of *Vogue*, makeup artists decorated models in fanciful designs using bright multicolored eyeshadow. One editorial pointed out how stylish "unblended, pastel-shimmer eyes" could be when dusted with an array of "[b]utterfly colors" (figure 21).[81] Exhibiting subtle asymmetry, a model was shown wearing blue Maybelline shadow gilded with hints of yellow-gold in unexpected places (figure 22).[82] More extreme was a fashion spread showcasing Yohji Yamamoto's "exaggerated" designs which carried the exaggeration upwards using masklike bands of bright blue eyeshadow across the models' faces (figure 23).[83] The avant-garde looks featured in fashion spreads and on the runway were not

[77] Shirley Lord, "Beauty Report '84: Space-age Beauty," *Vogue*, October 1, 1984, 610.
[78] Advertisement: Clarion, "The smart approach to beautiful," *Vogue*, April 1, 1988, 57. Clarion's four "Color Groups" are not unlike the four categories made popular by the 1980s style manual *Color Me Beautiful*. Published in 1981, *Color Me Beautiful* was an immediate bestseller and eventual beauty consulting business. The book told women which category they fell into – Spring, Summer, Autumn, or Winter – based on their hair and skin coloring and provided flattering options for dressing and making up with a customized color palette in mind. Carole Jackson, *Color Me Beautiful* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1981).
[79] Advertisement: Avon Products Inc., "They're dying to make you over. But who are they trying to make you into?," *Vogue*, April 1, 1992, 145.
[80] Advertisement: L'Oréal, "Colour Riche Eyeshadow," *Vogue*, March 1, 2016, 405.
[81] "Minimal Dazzle," *Vogue*, November 1, 1984, 472.
[82] "The Best Dressed Leathers," *Vogue*, September 1, 1983, 660-661.
[83] "The Contrast," *Vogue*, July 1, 1983, 160-161.

intended for everyday use. In 2001, makeup artist Linda Cantello was "quick to point out [that] some trends, no matter how breathtakingly new or fiercely glamorous, are better left on the catwalk."[84]

Even as high fashion makeup continued to diverge from what was considered suitable for everyday makeup, both makeup artists and the everywoman enjoyed a continuation of new options in everything from color variety to formula development. Frosty, pale blues and metallic shine marked the advent and aftermath of Y2K (the year 2000) but this look was merely one of many possibilities (figures 24, 25). Style preferences continued to oscillate between muted hues and bold brights, and sometimes both options were considered stylish. For instance, in 1996, a "sea of shimmering blues and greens" was billed as "[t]he flip side to the new minimalist eye," suggesting that vibrant aquatic colors *and* a less-is-more look were simultaneously considered fashionable (figure 26). Although blue-green eyeshadow was considered "sexy," the editorial reminded readers, "don't think there isn't an intended frisson of garishness. To get it right, Cantello favors multiple-jewel-color eye compacts and inexpensive drugstore-variety eye pencils […]. After all, with spring fashion surfing a trailer-park trend, the message is clear: A little bad taste can be good."[85] This classist commentary adds even more layers of complexity to the reputation of blue eyeshadow. Evidently, during the late 1990s it was considered a cosmetic for the lower classes – perhaps the 'trailer trash' women implied in this article wore blue shadow as a holdover from previous decades. (The cultural associations between blue eyeshadow, class, and age is a topic ripe for exploration.) Nonetheless, whether it has been considered tacky or truly glamorous, blue eyeshadow has remained a central topic in the beauty discourse.

Into the early twenty-first century, powder shadow has led the way as the most popular format. Eyeshadow is available in individual cases as well as eye palettes with a few, a dozen, or a plethora of colors (figures 27, 28). Yet eye crayons, gels, and creme-to-powder products still line the aisles at

[84] "'After I did blue eyebrows for a *Vogue* shoot with Irving Penn one year, I saw a woman walking down the street with blue eyebrows, and I nearly died,' she says, laughing." Sarah Brown, "Reality Check," *Vogue*, January 1, 2001, 170.
[85] Wendy Schmid, "Beauty Bets: Code Blue," *Vogue*, February 1, 1996, 175.

beauty retailers and new formulae continue to enter the market. For instance, L'Oréal released its "1ST GEL-TO-POWDER EYESHADOW"[86] in 2016 while Estée Lauder marketed its "Gelée Powder EyeShadow" as "a techno tri-blend of gel, powder and liquid"[87] in 2011. In the early 2010s, blue took a backseat as taupe tones became widely popular, but makeup artists and aficionados continued experimenting with eye makeup and shared their work on Instagram, YouTube, and beauty blogs. The application of brightly colored makeup has been considered a creative practice akin to art. It is often shown through digital media but, like runway and magazine makeup, is not necessarily embraced or intended for everyday wear.

The taste for 'neutral' taupe shadow permeated – and oversaturated – mainstream society by the mid-2010s. As so often happens in the fashion cycle, when something is adopted by the masses – when it is seen and worn everywhere – it is no longer an *elite* fashionable practice. Thus, style setters often resort to recycling untapped aesthetic resources to generate 'new' trends. Following this model, blue once again became a cutting-edge eyeshadow shade in the mid-2010s. According to *Allure*, "[t]he eye-makeup color of the spring 2016 runways was blue. No contest. We saw turquoise liner in New York City and smudges of cobalt shadow in Milan, and in Paris, there was everything from navy smoky eyes and aqua glitter to periwinkle powder applied in the shape of a sleep mask at Chanel." Determined that these runway looks were not too bizarre for their readers, *Allure* recommended "5 Fresh Ways to Try Blue Eye Makeup" (figure 29).[88]

The hue swirled around high fashion circles for the next two years. Its comeback was reinforced in December 2017 by a seventies-influenced British *Vogue* cover (figure 30)[89] and an enthusiastic editorial in the American edition (figure 31): "Call it modern maximalism or bold makeup for uncertain times: The trick here is to let one element go brilliantly off the rails. At Marni, it was a Rothko-esque

[86] Advertisement: L'Oréal, "Colour Riche Eyeshadow," *Vogue*, March 1, 2016, 405.
[87] Advertisement: Estée Lauder Inc., "New Pure Color Cyber Eyes," *Vogue*, December 1, 2011, 10-11.
[88] Sophia Panych, "5 Fresh Ways to Try Blue Eye Makeup," *Allure*, April 7, 2016, https://www.allure.com/gallery/spring-makeup-trend-blue-eye-makeup.
[89] Cover, British *Vogue*, December 1, 2017, C1.

smear of eye paint in an oceanic blue or green. […] The azure eyes on these pages command a similarly unapologetic confidence. Pared with a bare face, they present as practical, never careening into theatrics."[90] Even outside the high fashion arena, blue has appeared as a sartorial mark of individualism. Eyeshadow functions as the 'something blue' on the cover of *New York Weddings*, an offshoot of *New York Magazine* (figure 32),[91] and was incorporated as a feature image for Apple's "Selfies by iPhone X" billboard ad campaign in early 2018 (figure 33). The models in these four examples are all women of color, a positive indication that fashionable marketing and editorial visuals have become increasingly racially inclusive. This signifies a welcome departure from whitewashed twentieth-century beauty ideals and from the association between blue eyeshadow and the fair-skinned blue-eyed blonde.

Whether a woman can choose from four shadow shades or over 7,000 color combinations, eyeshadow products as material culture objects, can reveal a great deal about the values and priorities of the time. In "Differentiation in Design," a chapter in *Objects of Desire: Design and Society Since 1750*, Adrian Forty argues that the wide range of consumer objects available in the nineteenth century was a reflection not of necessities but of cultural attitudes. The dozens of styles of chairs, hairbrushes, watches, soaps, and pocket knives available to the Victorian consumer were manufactured not to meet urgent needs, but the physical properties of these objects reflected societal priorities. Since all of these items were imbued with cultural information about gender, class, and age, Forty argues that "to know the range of different designs was to know an image of society."[92] Through catalogues and objects

[90] Laura Regensdorf, "Bold Standard," *Vogue*, December 1, 2017, 238-239.
[91] Cover, *New York Weddings*, Spring / Summer 2018, C1.
[92] For instance, Forty demonstrates how a hallway chair could be ornately designed to please the master of the house, yet rigid to prevent a servant from sitting for too long. A small pocketknife featuring a pearl inlaid handle was designed to appeal to a virtuous lady whereas a larger model featuring a horn handle was intended to show a man's masculinity. Even beliefs about the innocence of childhood made their way onto designed objects through the use of specific motifs. Adrian Forty, "Differentiation in Design," chap. 4 in *Objects of Desire: Design and Society Since 1750* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), 93.

designed for mass consumption, "one can read the shape of society as manufacturers saw it, and as their consumers learned to see it."[93]

Societal values and social distinctions become apparent in Forty's enlightening study of home furnishings and toiletry items, just as they can be seen through a study of cosmetics and their presence in the fashion press. If we listen closely, a creme shadow encased in a plastic screw-cap container speaks of its origins in the grease-paint used by stage and film actresses; an iridescent stick twisted up out of a dainty golden tube murmurs of suburban sophistication and post-war consumer culture; a brightly-colored eye crayon box shouts about optimistic 'Youthquake' values. As Roland Barthes notes, "a variation in clothing" – or in this case, cosmetics – "is inevitably accompanied by a variation in the world and vice versa."[94] Despite, or perhaps because of these transformations, the use of blue eyeshadow has persisted. Even as it has been adapted to reflect the needs and values of different generations, the endurance of such a product and practice indicates a common set of shared values or beliefs about the use of makeup, detached from spatiotemporal boundaries. This calls for a shift in focus away from physical properties to an exploration of something intangible and perhaps more universal: the many meanings of makeup.

IV. Sociological and psychological functions of wearing makeup

Known as the windows to the soul, the eyes are extremely important communication tools. As behavioral science studies have shown, direct eye contact is particularly significant in Western cultures. Even newborns are responsive to the human gaze, suggesting that perhaps we are born with an inherent sensitivity to the power of the eyes.[95] The structure of the human eye supports its communicative function. It features high contrast between the central region – a colorful iris and deep black pupil – and the surrounding bright white sclera, a depigmented exterior layer of tissue. This high

[93] Forty, "Differentiation in Design," 93.
[94] Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. Matthew Ward and Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 20.
[95] Hironori Akechi, et al., "Attention to Eye Contact in the West and East," 1.

contrast feature enables us to instantly catch another person's glance and easily interpret gaze direction and emotion. Unique among the animal kingdom, researchers have contended "that the special appearance of the human eye is an adaptive consequence that implies the importance of detecting eye contact for social interaction."[96] Socially significant eye contact is complicated by the application of eye makeup.

Eye 'shadow,' interpreted literally, has a chiaroscuro effect and makes the whites of the eyes appear *even brighter* and more eye-catching by darkening the surrounding lid area. By heightening the contrast of the eyes and otherwise altering the face, makeup has a substantial impact on these loci of communication and identity. Makeup's transformative powers and inherent contradictions (e.g., achieving a 'natural' look through artificial means) can be polarizing and controversial in both scholarly and mass-media debates. As such, it is important to highlight some of the personal and interpersonal arenas – perception, emotion, communication, identity – that cosmetics influence. In order to explain where and why eye makeup has an impact I will present a number of theories on the functions of, and rationale for, enhancing the face with makeup that have been posited by sociologists and dress historians. These theories on the sociological and psychological functions of makeup will establish a foundation for understanding the use and significance of eyeshadow specifically.

In a brief yet seminal study, Murray Wax demonstrates how cosmetics can be used to communicate a wearer's status or role in society. The use of makeup to achieve a particular (i.e., socially acceptable) look, he argues, announces a woman's membership in the category of socially and sexually mature adult women.[97] "The girl who wears cosmetics is insisting on her right to be treated

[96] Akechi, "Attention to Eye Contact," 1.

[97] It is worth noting that Wax makes the distinction between the desire to display sexual maturity and sexual availability. These two distinct ideas were likely often conflated in 1957 when this article was published, and still plague our society sixty years later. He writes, "The function of grooming in our society is understandable from the perspective of *sociability*, not of *sexuality*. A woman grooms herself to appear as a desirable sexual object, not necessarily as an attainable one. In grooming herself, she is preparing to play the part of the *beauty*, not the part of the erotically passionate woman. In this sense, cosmetics and grooming serve to transmute the attraction between the sexes from a raw physical relationship into a civilized *game*." Murray Wax, "Themes in Cosmetics and Grooming," *The American Journal of Sociology* 62, no. 6 (1957): 593.

as a woman rather than a child; likewise, the elderly woman wearing cosmetics is insisting that she not be consigned to the neutral sex of old age."[98] Aileen Ribeiro points to the biological instincts behind the association between makeup and female sexual maturity. As she has observed, "the made-up face mimics the physiological changes which occur during sex – the moist glow on the skin, flushed cheeks and brilliant eyes."[99]

Yet in the twenty-first century, many makeup wearers – especially fourth-wave feminists – would vehemently oppose the accusation of making up to appear sexually mature and, by extension, to attract and please men. Hilary Radner poses an alternate understanding of why women wear makeup. She explains that

> historically the role of fashion has been to emphasize the distinctions between men and women. Artificially red lips, for example, are culturally defined as a 'female' characteristic, signaling to the male the availability and 'otherness,' the femaleness, of their owner. In terms of an affective relationship that I will refer to as 'feminine narcissism' the red lips figure less importantly for the male than for the female herself. The function of the red lips as a sign is no longer, at least exclusively, directed towards the other of a masculine gaze. Wearing lipstick is rearticulated as something the woman does for herself.[100]

This idea that makeup is pleasurable and primarily intended for women to enjoy has been reiterated in advertisements from the mid-twentieth century onwards, reflective of "a new libidinal economy that conflates the two seemingly contradictory demands of femininity and autonomy." Indeed, Radner suggests that the modern use of conspicuous cosmetics signals a woman's "autonomy, her right to act as an agent of her own desire."[101]

Exchanging money for cosmetics reinforces this agency. "In the United States, where the role of cultural capital has been largely subsumed by capital, a woman inscribes on her face her bank

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[98] Wax, "Themes in Cosmetics and Grooming," 592.
[99] Ribeiro, Aileen. *Facing Beauty: Painted Women and Cosmetic Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 16. This largely explains the critique against children wearing heavy makeup. Although innocent dress-up and whimsical face paint are permissible, it is jarring to see a child wear red lips and darkly-lined eyes as this application of makeup is subconsciously equated with sexual maturity.
[100] Hilary Radner, "'This Time's For Me': Making Up and Feminine Practice," *Cultural Studies* 3, no. 3 (1989): 304, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09502388900490211.
[101] Radner, "This Time's For Me," 304, 307.

balance,"[102] or at least her available credit, in an "expenditure [that] is pleasurable precisely because it is excessive, without any 'real' purpose."[103] But the consumption of makeup is not only about money:

> The marxist assumption that women are deluded into thinking that they are buying into a piece of glamor – that women are 'cultural dupes' – is predicated on the logic of exchange – something for something – and concludes that women are somehow being cheated. If we, on the other hand, consider that women are also buying an *activity* […], then the issue of duplicity is irrelevant. The goal is not an exchange of material goods or attributes but the creation of an affectivity of effect. If a woman takes pleasure in making up, she receives the product for which she paid.[104]

The entirety of this experience – the buying, sharing, applying, and wearing of makeup – is part of what Kathy Peiss calls "beauty culture" – "a system of meaning that [has] helped women navigate the changing conditions of modern social experience."[105] Echoing Radner's rebuttal of the idea that women have been fooled into buying makeup, Peiss argues that

> women knew then – as they do now – precisely what they were buying. Again and again they reported their delight in beautifying – in the sensuous creams and tiny compacts, the riot of colors, the mastery of makeup skills, the touch of hands, the sharing of knowledge and advice. Indeed the pleasures of fantasy and desire were an integral part of the product – and these included not only dreams of romance and marriage, but also the modern yearning to take part in public life.[106]

This passage encapsulates many of the personal and public dimensions of cosmetic use, from its ability to delight the senses to its tendency to unite women through a shared practice or interest.

Whether or not women intentionally mimic corporeal cues or attempt to increase their cultural capital through the use of cosmetics, they consciously consider *social* cues when making-up. Women adorn themselves not simply to please men or impress other women, as Murray Wax argues, but "in anticipation of a *social situation*" and the peers and people they might encounter.[107] For instance, someone who wears a fair amount of makeup during the workweek might be comfortable running errands on a Saturday morning bare-faced. But if she expects to meet a colleague along the way, she

[102] Radner, "This Time's For Me," 314.
[103] Radner, "This Time's For Me," 311.
[104] Radner, "This Time's For Me," 306.
[105] Peiss, *Hope in a Jar*, 6.
[106] Peiss, *Hope in a Jar*, 6.
[107] Wax, "Themes in Cosmetics and Grooming," 593.

might apply more makeup to achieve her usual workday appearance before leaving the house in anticipation of this interaction. "Just to go out – to the store, say – I don't use makeup. I might, if I'm going out with my boyfriend though," admitted model (and later actress) René Russo in a 1978 *Vogue* interview, revealing the importance of social context when making up.[108] As Brian Moeran explains, using makeup in a socially correct manner "is a special kind of face-work, of which all members of a particular social circle – from fash pack to glitterati, workplace to gym – have a particular knowledge and are expected to make use." [109]

In addition to these social functions, cosmetics serve distinctly intimate and psychological purposes as well. Makeup is often used as a tool for formulating one's self-image and establishing one's identity. The presentational exterior self and the psychologically understood interior self are not always exactly aligned, but cosmetics aid in the process of embodying a particular persona and conveying this persona to others. Wax illustrates this with the example of "a girl in late adolescence" who is still finding and defining her identity through cosmetics:

> Continually experimenting with new styles of dress and grooming, she is in effect trying on this or that role or personality to see what response it will bring her. She is most aware of new products and new styles, and she uses them to manipulate her appearance this way and that. To some social observers, however, the teen-ager appears as the slave to fad and fashion and not as the experimenter. A more accurate formulation would be that the teen-ager follows fad and fashion – to the extent that she does, and not all do – because she is experimenting with herself and has not yet developed a self-image with which she can be comfortable. An older, more stable woman, who knows herself and her roles and how she wishes to appear, can ignore fad and follow fashion at a distance.[110]

In this way, a distinctive makeup look, following a distinctive visual vocabulary, can ally this teenage girl with her desired cultural group and place in society. As Anthony Synnott notes in his two-part sociological study of facial beauty, "the face is a canvas upon which the desired image is painted, and the desired self therefore presented." He adds that "looking different is *being* different; and in our

[108] "René Russo," *Vogue*, June 1, 1978, 172-173.
[109] Brian Moeran, "The Portrayal of Beauty in Women's Fashion Magazines," *Fashion Theory* 14, no. 4 (2010): 496.
[110] Wax, "Themes in Cosmetics and Grooming," 591-592.

culture it is fashionably necessary for women to look and be different, to vary from time to time and place to place."[111] Thus, constant change and a desire for novelty are what characterize cosmetic fashionability. This craving for novelty explains how the same shade of eyeshadow that was once cast off can return to popularity a few years later simply by being elevated through new and original packaging or christened with a different name.

Novelty also explains why the cosmetic beauty ideal changes from one generation to the next. Many women prefer to continue wearing the same makeup style that they embraced in their youth, when they established their identity and paired this sense of self with a singular look. As they age, their preferred look becomes associated with an older population. One sixty-year-old woman explaining her approach to aging gracefully in *Vogue* warned women to "guard [themselves] against getting stuck in the time warp of wearing a hairstyle that was new when they first became adults or using the same blue eyeshadow year after year."[112] Beauty editorials occasionally criticize women for sticking with one particular look and refusing to change with the times.

For young people, generational alliances are important and relatively easy to convey through cosmetics. Hilary Radner explains that, "[t]hough young girls acquire the concept of makeup from mothers and older sisters, the process and products are generationally distinct."[113] Teenagers and young women may adopt dramatically different makeup looks as a reaction to, or rejection of, what their mothers wear, value, and represent. This rift is particularly noticeable in the late 1960s, when young women adopted fake eyelashes and playfully mixed bright colors on their eyelids. These application techniques differed dramatically from the more sophisticated and restrained application favored by women of the 1940s and 1950s.

[111] Synnott, "Truth and Goodness Part II," 62.
[112] "A New Age," *Vogue*, June 1, 1985, 48.
[113] Radner, "This Time's For Me," 310.

Issues of identity are both private and public, experienced by wearer and observer alike. Synnott classifies the face as "physical, and therefore personal and intimate, yet the face is also 'made up' and 'put on' and subject to fashion. It is public, but also intensely private and intimate. […] Physically, psychologically and socially, the face is hard to ignore."[114] He uses the term "facism" to identify "the belief that the face reflects the character of the individual," a belief which "ascribes a special quality to the face" and its features.[115] Many philosophical minds recognized the prominence of the eyes in this equation. Saint Jerome's observation on the face was "a classic statement of facism, echoing [the earlier theories of] Cicero: 'The face is the mirror of the mind, and the eyes without speaking confess the secrets of the heart.'"[116] This extreme level of transparency is not always desirable, however. The face "may be a mirror or an open book; but it may also be false, a disguise, a mask, a distorting mirror, a pretense."[117]

Persona, the Latin word for an actor's mask, is the etymological root of the word 'person.' This is a curious indication of the belief that as we move throughout the world, we constantly play specific roles and reinforce these with the mask of the social face. Synnott highlights "the social necessities of wearing a mask in public, and therefore of seeming to be what one is not, or of seeming to feel […] what one does not feel. We are expected to present ourselves, and thus our faces, in culturally approved ways."[118] One cosmetic example of false yet culturally approved self-presentation is the way that under-eye concealer effectively erases visible signs of women's labor, lack of sleep, and exhaustion in favor of seemingly effortless beauty.[119] Synnott expertly sums up the relationship between makeup, mask, the social face, and the actor inside us all:

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[114] Anthony Synnott, "Truth and Goodness, Mirrors and Masks – Part I: A Sociology of Beauty and the Face," *The British Journal of Sociology* 40, no. 4 (December 1989): 607-608, http://www.jstor.org/stable/590891.
[115] The term is derived from 'face' and '-ism' (not to be confused with fascism). Synnott, "Truth and Goodness Part I," 608.
[116] Synnott, "Truth and Goodness Part I," 618-619. Saint Jerome lived during the fourth and fifth centuries CE while Cicero lived in the first century BCE.
[117] Synnott, "Truth and Goodness Part II," 60.
[118] Synnott, "Truth and Goodness Part II," 61.
[119] See, for example, Jessica Leigh Hester, "How Concealer Covers Up Women's Labor," *Atlantic*, February 17, 2017, https://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2017/02/ready-set-gorgeous/515997/.

> The social face is the face we 'put on'; it is part of getting dressed. This is the public face, the decorated face, the created face […]. It is also the *particular* face we select from a range of possible options, depending on our self-definition, the person we wish to project, our artistic skill and our interests in impression-management: make-up is mask. Makeup therefore serves two principal functions: self-expression and self-creation. The two functions are in part contradictory since the first assumes that there is *one* self to express: the 'real me'; while the second function […] assumes that we are as *many* selves as we have roles to play. If 'All the world's a stage,' […] then make-up is merely stage make-up, supporting us in our various roles through life. It is socially desirable, necessary or useful precisely because we are actors.[120]

Through a description of her own relationship to makeup, one *Vogue* contributor and regular makeup wearer, Jill Robinson, articulates many of these theories in a more personal, immediate way:

> [W]hen I go at it with my brushes and powders, the liners and glosses […] I become my own canvas, the mannequin I can direct. I draw and arrange the persona that will be most captivating today. Makeup […] is about pleasure and paint, and color, and design and the artfulness that can go right into rewind if it doesn't work. […] It's a stroke of confidence here, a swash of flair, it's manageable and changeable and, when it needs to be, as distracting and absorbing as reproducing a mirage – but no more difficult than twisting a kaleidoscope. Then to some of us, at other times, it must be serious. I know when I'm going to have to try to be very direct, very confident, I do darker eyes. I want to take the room. Think Dovima, I tell myself. Very basic clear makeup when I must feel I belong.[121]

For Robinson, darker eyeshadow serves as an empowering tool. She can use the rest of the palette for artistic exploration and self-discovery or self-expression. "Makeup can be our fastest communicator," she asserts; it "can be the titles, the jacket copy."[122]

Making up is a way to prepare one's private self for the public sphere. Radner points out that, by and large, "[t]he process of making up takes place in the bathroom, an arena of private yet necessary activities – the locus of repressed cathexis, as opposed to public celebration."[123] It can help a woman experiment with different roles and personas until she is ready to embody and express her true self – or multiple versions of her true self. Powerful nonverbal communicators, the eyes can confess our

[120] Synnott, "Truth and Goodness Part II," 62.
[121] Robinson, "Makeup: The Romantic Imperative," 305, 364. In a later *Vogue* editorial where Natalia Vodianova poses as famous models, she wears clear blue eyeshadow when posing as Dovima, harkening back to mid-century glamour and this beauty icon's relationship to eye makeup. Mark Holgate, "The Great Pretender," *Vogue*, May 1, 2009, 193.
[122] Robinson, "Makeup: The Romantic Imperative," 305, 364.
[123] Radner, "This Time's For Me," 311.

secrets and declare our intentions. They are the face's most eye-catching features due to their natural – and oftentimes cosmetically heightened – high levels of contrast. Whether to express membership in a certain social group or generation, or to create a culturally approved visage primed for social interactions, eye makeup is worn for a variety of reasons and provokes a variety of responses and emotions from wearer and observer alike.

Given these understandings of the sociological and psychological significance of makeup, I will narrow my focus to one point on the face. The eyelid, to which eyeshadow is applied, is a site whose function and significance has long been the topic of much theoretical consideration within the fashion press. These theories are often overshadowed by heavily coded trend-oriented semantics, but they nonetheless persist as underlying themes across the decades.

V. Four functions of the shadowed eyelid

In American fashion magazines, the human eyelid is seldom (if ever) written about as an essential layer of skin providing protection for a delicate sensory organ. Rather, it is presented as a space for the application of eyeshadow and other makeup products. The shadowed eyelid, as I call it, has been conceived of and described in four distinct but related ways. First, the 'traditional' approach is to treat the eyelid as an extension of the iris. According to this philosophy, a woman's eyeshadow color should correspond to her natural eye color. Eye makeup should not be conspicuous but should instead be subtly applied to create the illusion of an enlarged and more brilliant eye. A second approach considers the eyelid as part of an aesthetic 'bigger picture.' Here, a woman is variably directed to coordinate her eyeshadow color with that of her hair, skin, or clothing. In a third approach, the eyelid is not considered in relation to the rest of the body but is treated as a standalone fashion accessory. Eye makeup is meant to be 'tried on' and worn visibly, exhibiting the novelty of vestimentary fashions. Finally, a fourth approach suggests that the eyelid is a canvas for tinctorial experimentation. Colors can be mixed regardless of the wearer's coloring or costume, and creative play is encouraged.

According to a 1931 advertisement by Marie Earle, eyeshadow "[e]nhances the eyes, making them seem larger. Transforms a 'tired look' into fascinating shadows!" The available colors – "[b]lue, brown, green, gray, violet"[124] – directly relate to common iris colors and reflect the first approach to the shadowed eyelid. This approach, wherein the eyelid should be an extension of the iris, proved to be indispensable over the decades (figure 34), at times considered a classic approach or even an old fashioned one. Within this framework, women were told by *Redbook* in 1963 to "[a]void […] eyeshadow in colors that have no relationship to any eye color […]. Shadow for day should enhance the color of your eyes – make people aware of *them*, not the shadow itself. If […] you have blue eyes, choose blue or turquoise-blue shadow."[125]

The early emergence of blue as a leading color choice during a time when eye makeup was supposed to match the wearer's eye color suggests a blue-eyed Caucasian beauty ideal, despite the iris color being relatively uncommon (and increasingly so in the United States) as the result of a recessive gene.[126] Although early advertisements did often reference other eye colors,[127] magazines primarily depicted and were directed at white women, omitting women of color from consideration. A few illustrations endorsing blue shadow for olive-skinned and Asian women appeared in *Vogue* around the year 1940, but of all the *Vogue* beauty and fashion editorials I examined, images of black models wearing blue eyeshadow did not appear until around 1970 (figure 35).[128]

In later decades, beauty brands would market azure eyeshadow as a bold choice for women of all colors and complexions. But before the late 1960s it was not uncommon for cosmetic companies to

[124] Advertisement: Marie Earle Inc., "Marie Earle Introduces These Lovely 'Make-Up' Mannequins," *Vogue*, October 15, 1931, 115.
[125] "Subtle Make-Up For Summer," *Redbook*, June 1963, 89. Emphasis added.
[126] At the start of the twentieth century, about 50% of babies were born with blue eyes and by mid-century this had decreased to 30%. In 2006, it was estimated that about 17% of Americans had blue eyes. Douglas Belkin, "Blue eyes are increasingly rare in America," *New York Times*, October 16, 2006, https://www.nytimes.com/2006/10/18/world/americas/18iht-web.1018eyes.3199975.html.
[127] Some beauty editorials suggested that women with hazel and brown eyes wear blue shadow to flatter their eye color as well, although not all agreed that deep brown irises were suited to blue lids. A *Redbook* editorial suggested that "[e]yes of any color except black and dark brown can be pointed up with shades of blue and green shadow." "For Brilliant Fall Fashions, Brighter Make-up," *Redbook*, October 1958, 74; "Key your Make-Up Colours to your Eyes," *Vogue*, November 1, 1941, 52-53.
[128] See, for instance, "The New York Collections: American Fashion," *Vogue*, September 1, 1970, 338-339, 358-359; "COLOURQUAKE," *Vogue*, March 1, 1970, 172-177.

describe blue as a neutral, similar to the way that indigo-dyed denim is understood as a neutral wardrobe color in the twenty-first century. Eyeshadow makeup color was not really meant to be seen or noticed according to this perspective, but it helped restore a sense of balance to the heavily made-up face. As a 1946 *Vogue* article explained, with the use of caked-on foundation, powders, and vibrant lipsticks,

> [e]yes tend to fade away in competition to all this acquired brilliance – and this is definitely wrong. For eyes must always remain the most notable feature in any face . . . . Eye-shadow is used for the sole purpose of giving the eyes more importance by framing them in depth. […] We believe that your choice of eye-shadow colour should depend on the colour of your eyes – to make the eyes seem larger and more brilliantly coloured.[129]

Like Maybelline's strategy of scolding those who only wore lipstick, this article argued that eye makeup was necessary to draw attention back to the face's most important feature. It also emphasized the importance of using eye makeup to create not an appearance of striking color but one of shadowy depth: "Although a colour is used, the eye-shadow's purpose is not to leave an obvious trace of colour – but to leave a shadow, as its name implies."[130]

Even those who wanted to match and flatter the coloration of their irises were occasionally warned about certain colors having the opposite effect. Customers at Colette's makeup salon in the 1930s were "presented with makeup brushes in the shape of tiny cats' paws, along with a pamphlet of beauty tips. Among them: 'If you have blue eyes, be careful using blue eyeshadow. Your irises must be bluer than the artificial halo surrounding them.'"[131] Additionally, some ads promoted subtle shades "to make you look all eyes . . . instead of all eyeshadow!"[132] This language expresses a hierarchy in which eye color is paramount to the garish whims of fashion. Subtlety was sometimes achieved with a restrained use of color. A 1947 beauty editorial suggested "a new trick about eye-shadow: use a soft

[129] "Colours For the Eyes," *Vogue*, October 15, 1946, 212.
[130] "Colours For the Eyes," *Vogue*, October 15, 1946, 212.
[131] Robert Reilly, "Colette's Salon," *Vogue*, November 1, 1998, 298, 302.
[132] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "Revlon says: Eyeshadows that shout are out, out, out!," *Vogue*, February 1, 1964, 26-27.

grey all over the outer area of the eyelid. Then put a spot of pure color (blue, green, amber – to match the iris) right in the centre of the eyelid."[133]

Sometimes the color relationship between eye makeup and iris was expanded in favor of a more holistic picture. Helena Rubinstein's "Iridescent Eyeshadow" of the early 1930s purported to add "mysterious depth and beauty to the eyes." The "[e]nchanting shades – Blue, Blue-Green, Green, and Violet-Gold"[134] were "alluring tones flecked with silver and gold, to harmonize with color of eyes *and costumes*."[135] The brand prided itself on being keyed in to current fashions: "Helena Rubinstein's make-up is famous for its instant, breath-taking flattery. But above all else, it is correct. Perfectly coordinated with the current fashion picture."[136] Not only was a woman to select an eyeshadow that aligned with her natural, permanent eye color, but she also needed to consider the hues in her ever-changing attire. As this second approach suggests, the shadowed eyelid can be considered as part of an aesthetic whole. This 'whole' may encompass a woman's hair or skin color, or her entire outfit.

Some directives insisted that complementing the iris was 'out' altogether, and that instead eyeshadow "should be chosen to harmonize with the color of your costume rather than the color of your eyes."[137] A 1972 editorial called "Fashion Essentials" argued that "eye makeup is essential – in […] colors keyed to what you're wearing."[138] To meet these demands, Elizabeth Arden – so-called "[c]onfidante of smart coutourieres" – developed cosmetic kits "of just the right shades to harmonize with new fabric hues."[139] When, in 1938, "the new costume colours" were considered "rather baffling" by the *New York Times* and "frankly difficult to wear" by *Vogue*, both publications suggested relying on makeup to soften the look. "[A]rmed with bits and pieces of important and difficult costume

[133] "Make-up Tricks: For the Precise and Pretty Pink-and-White Look," *Vogue*, May 1, 1947, 132.
[134] Advertisement: Helena Rubinstein Inc., "They have blazed a trail of beauty across Europe and America . . . these Helena Rubinstein color creations," *Vogue*, January 15, 1933, 69.
[135] This additional criterion likely made selecting the correct color more challenging yet underscored the importance of trusting the brand's authoritative guidance. Advertisement: Helena Rubinstein Inc., "Vibrant New Youth for summer-weary skin," *Vogue,* September 1, 1932, 91. Emphasis added.
[136] Advertisement: Helena Rubinstein Inc., "Your Personal Color Scheme," *Vogue*, November 1, 1935, 97.
[137] "A New Guide to Make-Up," *Redbook*, October 1965, 122.
[138] "Fashion Essentials," *Vogue*, August 15, 1972, 66-67.
[139] Advertisement: Saks Fifth Avenue, "Fiftieth at Fifth," *New York Times*, April 24, 1934, 7.

colours," *Vogue* "consulted leading cosmetic houses about the underlying make-up principles to supplement these colours." To master the "odd, rather hard, blues that you see so frequently in the new mode" women were encouraged to "match your eye-shadow as closely as you can to the blue [found in clothing], or blend a blue and green."[140] The article also prescribed shades of blue eyeshadow to women of varying skin and hair colors if they wore black (figure 36). Another editorial succinctly captured the relationship between clothes and cosmetics: "Makeup – fashion's strongest ally."[141]

Elsewhere in the annals of *Vogue*, it is hair color alone that determines which cosmetic colors are suitable. Marie Earle devised products "subtly toned for the five distinctive types – Blonde, Brunette, Titian, lovely Gray-Haired, and Dark Brunette"[142] and "advise[d] the *Blonde* for delicate charm to use […] Blue *Eyeshadow*"[143] regardless of whether her eyes were blue or another hue (figure 37). In the early 1950s, *Vogue* warned that "the blending or the choosing of colours in make-up can be risky." As a solution, the magazine "plotted […] two separately vivid make-ups. One, primarily for a blonde; the other, for a brunette. For the blonde: a grey-blue eyeshadow" – again, despite her eye color.[144]

Alternatively, some beauty experts advised that it was neither eye color, nor hair color, nor costume color, but the coloring of a woman's complexion that should be used to determine eye makeup. One humorous 1934 article identified a cast of characters and their beauty conundrums. Among them was one woman with "a passion for cosmetics," Mrs. Graeme.

> She buys the most expensive paints and powders, usually changing them every three or four months. Somehow – and she knows it in her heart – the finished make-up is never quite right. You are always conscious of the separate features, not of *the face as a whole*. Either her lipstick stands out, or her eye-shadow, or her rouge. Her whole face

[140] *Vogue* concluded that, even in the face of sartorial adversity, "you can do gay things with makeup." "Facing the New Colours," *Vogue*, October 1, 1938, 83, 150; "Casual Clothes for Out-of-Doors Offer a Striking Array of Colors," *New York Times*, April 17, 1938, 76.
[141] "An honest-to-good change in makeup," *Vogue*, July 1, 1975, 66-67.
[142] Advertisement: Marie Earle Inc., "She is a Dark Brunette with an Average Skin," *Vogue,* November 15, 1931, 103.
[143] Advertisement: Marie Earle Inc., "Débutante – as well as Dowager – needs this care," *Vogue,* December 15, 1931, 97.
[144] But the illustration *does* depict a blue-eyed blonde, which relates to ideas about the predominant blonde, blue-eyed beauty ideal. "Colour for Your Money," *Vogue,* September 15, 1951, 186.

> looks "cluttered," or like an expressionless theatrical mask. For her own good, we hope she'll read paragraph 4 on page 70.[145]

Upon flipping to page 70, the reader would find the solution to such an atrocious appearance: "To begin with, Mrs. Graeme, you must realize that it is your skin tone that determines what cosmetics you must wear – not your dress or your hair."[146] Other editorials painted a less dramatic picture while still communicating the necessity of considering complexion when selecting eyeshadow: "On lighter skin tones, deep shades may show up too strongly and create a hard-contrast effect; on darker skin tones, the pale pastels may provide too strong a contrast and be just as harsh,"[147] according to *Redbook* in 1965. The magazine suggested pale blues for white women and deep blues for black women (figure 38). In 1937, "The Beauty Spot at Macy's" advertised makeup kits "assembled for six distinct types of skin" but neglected people of color with their offerings: "Olive, Peach, Shell Pink, Golden Cream, Cream or Florid."[148] In a more general sense, makeup artist Way Bandy gave similar advice about matching makeup to skin tone in *Vogue*: "Makeup should be an extension of your own coloring. […] My feeling is to always go *with*, rather than against, what you've already got."[149]

In contrast to the understanding of the shadowed eyelid as part of an aesthetic whole – whether related to skin tone, hair hue, or costume color – another perspective wherein the lids are largely unrelated to the body itself permeates fashion periodicals. This third approach suggests that the eyelids are to be used and adorned as standalone fashion accessories. Following this strategy, it matters not what a woman looks like but how she wears her eyeshadow. From subtle hints – "Are your eyes as well dressed as you are?"[150] – to obvious statements – "The important thing is to start thinking of

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[145] "Six Characters in Search of Beauty," *Vogue,* July 1, 1934, 51. Emphasis added.
[146] "Six Characters in Search of Beauty," *Vogue,* July 1, 1934, 70.
[147] "A New Guide to Make-Up," *Redbook*, October 1965, 122.
[148] Advertisement: R. H. Macy & Co., Inc., "'The Beauty Spot at Macy's' Introduces the New Paris Idea," *New York Times*, October 31, 1937, 11. Another Macy's ad included guidelines for two skin tones with three unique hair colors each. Women of "THE ALABASTER TYPE" with either "Platinum" or "Auburn" hair, and women of "THE LATIN TYPE" with "Chestnut" locks were encouraged to use blue shadow. Advertisement: R. H. Macy & Co., Inc., "Under Your Easter Bonnet," *New York Times*, April 5, 1936, 35.
[149] "Out and out beauty . . . summer makeup . . . 7 'Ways,'" *Vogue*, April 1, 1978, 212.
[150] Advertisement: Lancôme Inc., "From sensible to sensational," *Vogue*, April 1, 1977, 50-51.

makeup as an accessory"[151] – beauty ads and editorials have conveyed this message in a myriad of ways.

Take, for instance, a wedding-themed advertisement by Kurlash from 1935 (figure 39). The ad dedicates a few lines to eyeshadow under the subtitle "Something Blue," suggesting that makeup can take on the role of a traditional wedding day accessory. It recommends that the blushing bride wear "blue eyeshadow – because it's so lovely beneath white filmy veiling. *Shadette*, the eyeshadow in compact form, comes in a heavenly cerulean blue […]. Pass it among the attendants, too, for a lovely ensemble effect."[152] In this instance, the bridesmaids can coordinate not only their dresses and bouquets but also their eye makeup. Another special-event themed 1930s advertisement by Helena Rubinstein created a tantalizing image of an evening at the opera (figure 40): "Flashing limousines . . . glittering lights . . . luxurious evening wraps . . . the flutter of programs . . . opera glasses raised to eyes of deep fringed loveliness […]. Eyes that look like deep pools of color sparkling with tiny lights. Eyeshadow that lends mystery and enchantment . . . Helena Rubinstein's Iridescent Eyeshadow, flecked with silver, flecked with gold. Blue, blue-green, green, violet-gold."[153] These are the same eyeshadows that were previously described (in advertisement form and this analysis) as coordinating with eye color and costume color. Here, however, the products are described as if they are precious jewelry items to be selected and worn for a special night out, as a glamorous *minaudière* or a treasured pair of earrings would be. An article published in 1978 used its own era's understanding of flashy accessorizing as a metaphor, noting that eye makeup "give[s] you just the bits of color you want […]. The way a purple boa does, or a pair of periwinkle-blue gloves, or a cyclamen jacket lining or an orange scarf."[154]

As early as 1934, *Vogue* dismissed the iris-color-coordination strategy as old fashioned: "Remember the days when the sole purpose of your eye make-up was to 'enhance the natural beauty

[151] "Makeup Now: Pencils Make the Point," *Vogue*, August 1, 1978, 195.
[152] Advertisement: Kurlash, "Bright Eyedeas by Jane Heath," *Red Book Magazine,* June 1935, 82.
[153] Advertisement: Helena Rubinstein Inc., "Beauty Engagements with Helena Rubinstein," *Vogue*, November 1, 1933, 79.
[154] "Makeup Now: Pencils Make the Point," *Vogue*, August 1, 1978, 195.

of your eyes?' It still does that, but it goes farther now." The ensuing advice underscored that artifice was acceptable – using eye makeup as a fashion accessory, the wearer would *want* it to be conspicuous. Finally, the author encouraged readers in stylish experimentation, insisting, "don't be afraid of doing exciting things to your eyes" (figure 41).[155] However, not everyone was ready to do 'exciting things' with eyeshadow. Some editorials criticized women for staying true to a single color that harmonizes with their eyes. A 1952 *Vogue* editorial expressed this critique while pointing out how readily women embraced change in clothing and accessories:

> Try it on. A new beauty product, we mean. Why not? You're used to trying on dozens of hats and dresses and shoes per season, until you find what most becomes you. How long is it since you've tried on a *different* makeup? […] Maybe too long. […] All you have to do is experiment. But oddly enough, many women never do. They find a certain kind of look attractive when they are young, and stick to the routine of it for years and years. The look sets in their mind like water in an ice tray, and they are almost frightened to see it melt away and be replaced by another. This mental block against looking different explains why there are so many *almost* beautiful women […]. For beauty that doesn't grow is either static (and so familiar it becomes unseen), or it is fading. The beauty that lasts forever doesn't last because it's durable, but because it changes: better, better, better. […] If you've always used a blue eyeshadow, for instance, you might, by experimenting, find a better blue with a better texture for your lids.[156]

This is a scathing assessment, perhaps, but it calls upon readers to shift their thinking from one approach to another. Once the 'mental block' is overcome and eyeshadow is treated like everything else in the wardrobe, eternal beauty awaits.

The woman stuck in this dreaded routine would rejoice at Max Factor's 1961 eyeshadow collection, consisting of an array of sapphire shades (figure 42). The advertisement noted that a fashionable woman "may wear cool pools of soft azure. Or bloom like bluebells. Or dance with the deep lights of a spring evening sky" by using one of the available cool hues.[157] Revlon's Ultima II crafted an evocative sartorial narrative for its "Highland Heathers" eyeshadow collection in 1976: "One

[155] "Eye-Eye," *Vogue,* November 1, 1934, 52-53. Emphasis added.
[156] "Trial by Beauty," *Vogue*, June 1, 1952, 74.
[157] Advertisement: Max Factor & Co., "EYES 1961," *Vogue,* March 1, 1961, 61.

night soon, while you're asleep, autumn will come. What will you wear the next morning with your cashmeres and tweeds? We think it would be lovely to put on these brand-new colors."[158] A creme shadow duo in "Heather Blue / Misty Blue"[159] was suggested as the perfect accessory to an autumnal outfit. In both instances, the language of *wearing* an eyeshadow color identifies eye makeup as an important facet of fashionable dressing. For the fashionable woman of the 1930s, a Maybelline advertisement featuring Lilly Daché millinery designs proved that "MODERN *Eye Make-up* IS AS NECESSARY TO *Chic* AS THE SMARTEST *Hat.*"[160] A few beauty editorials even depicted makeup samples alongside fabric swatches (figure 43), demonstrating how eye makeup can accessorize an ensemble.[161]

Three *Vogue* covers from the 1950s demonstrate these varying approaches to the eyelids in their use of blue eyeshadow and blue ensembles (figures 44, 45, 46). The cover of the March 1951 issue shows a blue-eyed model in a blue hat and aquamarine earrings to pick up the colors, along with blue eyeshadow.[162] This reflects the standard practice of matching eyeshadow to irises, as well as the eyelids-as-accessory approach. However, a very similar cover in December of the same year shows a brown-eyed beauty wearing a bejeweled blue beret and a glimmering sapphire brooch pinned to a navy collar.[163] She too wears blue eyeshadow despite it differing from her eye color. This approach embraces the use of the eyelids as a space for fashionable display – the alignment of color from her eyelids to her glittering accoutrements situates them all as fashionable accessories. Similarly, the May 1952 cover depicts a model wearing a solid blue dress accented with blues in varying shades on her hat, earrings, gloves, purse, and eyeshadow.[164] It is unclear what the model's eye and hair color are in this image, but the significant point is that she is accessorizing her eyes along with the rest of her body.

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[158] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "The Beautiful Highland Heathers from 'Ultima' II," *Vogue*, October 1, 1976, 6-7.
[159] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "The Beautiful Highland Heathers from 'Ultima' II," *Vogue*, October 1, 1976, 6-7.
[160] Advertisement: Maybelline Co., "Hat by Lilly Daché, Eye Makeup by Maybelline," *Vogue*, June 1, 1936, 104.
[161] "Colour for Your Money," *Vogue,* September 15, 1951, 186.
[162] "On the cover," *Vogue*, March 1, 1951, C1, 135.
[163] "Cover," *Vogue*, December 1, 1951, C1, 95.
[164] "Cover," *Vogue*, May 1, 1952, C1, 77.

Another way eyeshadow has been aligned with fashion is through references to fabrics and fibers. Eyeshadow ads are peppered with commentary on their "soft, silken shades"[165] and silky-smooth textures; color names like "Cashmere Blue"[166] by Lancôme (figure 47) as well as "Cotton Blue"[167] and a bold blue "Zircon Velvet"[168] by Il-Makiage (figure 26) communicate the same mood by associating eyeshadow products with luxuriously soft textiles. Ultima II considered itself "the *couturier* of eyemakeup"[169] and was particularly keen on associating its products with the fashion industry. The brand enthusiastically promoted "*Eyecouture Shadows*"[170] (figure 48) as well as a look called the "Silkprint Eye," created with "daring" yet "immensely wearable [colors] – like silkscreened prints, in vivid multi-tint motif."[171]

While some stories presented eyeshadow products as fashion accessories, other editorials advised women that "[e]ye, lip, and cheek colors don't have to 'match' what you're wearing: they should coordinate a look" all on their own. "Think about dressing your face the same way you think about dressing your body. Learn to look at makeup colors as accessories that pull a look together."[172] This look had very little to do with the wearer's iris hue or hair color and everything to do with adventurous creativity. When the eyelids are approached as spaces for creative color mixing, experimentation, and drama, they are often largely removed from the rest of the body and face.

As it became the norm to wear conspicuous cosmetics on all parts of the face, brands and beauty authorities encouraged women to treat their eyelids as miniature canvases – the fourth approach to the shadowed eyelid. Women were urged by *Vogue* to "experiment with [their] eye shadow" as an artist would experiment with a palette of paints: "There is no good make-up reason why you should

[165] Advertisement: Estée Lauder Inc., "Now the best of all eyeshadow forms in one easy form," *Vogue*, October 1, 1976, 14-15.
[166] "A New Way with Black," *Vogue*, May 1, 1982, 307.
[167] Wendy Schmid, "Beauty Bets: Code Blue," *Vogue*, February 1, 1996, 175, 272.
[168] Wendy Schmid, "Beauty Bets: Code Blue," *Vogue*, February 1, 1996, 175, 272.
[169] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "Opening now: the greatest show of eyes on earth," *Vogue*, November 1, 1969, 8-9.
[170] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "Opening now: the greatest show of eyes on earth," *Vogue*, November 1, 1969, 8-9.
[171] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "The 'Silkprint Eye,'" *Vogue*, June 1, 1970, 4-5.
[172] "Tricks of the Trade," *Vogue*, September 1, 1984, 204.

not combine several eye shadows to reach your own most becoming shade; no reason why delicate nuances of green, mauve, rust, blue should not be used to add excitement to your eye colouring. […] A palette of eye shadows and a half hour of experiment may make an entirely new woman of you." For instance, the standard blue shadow could be "charged with silver, brushed with violet."[173]

With a wide array of blues and other hues available by the mid-twentieth century, *Vogue* acknowledged that "[e]ye shadow colours are many enough to make experiments fun, and choice difficult. The safe selection is a colour matching the eyes. But an infinitely bigger beauty-bonus is received from other less-obvious colours" such as "mauve-blue." Here, it is clear that the eyelid-as-extension-of-the-iris strategy was still acceptable but not necessarily fashionable or exciting. Instead, more unusual color choices were recommended for the fashion-forward. But the article included a warning to would-be eye experimenters: "Eye make-up must be applied skillfully, or it destroys even a naturally pretty face. Used with skill, it can give a quality of drama to the plainest face."[174] As with the fine arts, technical skill is crucial in creating desirable results.

Eyeshadows named after the fine and decorative arts, like Clarion's "Wedgewood Blue"[175] and Eve of Roma's "Bernini Blue,"[176] reflect the creative possibilities of cosmetics while alluding to high culture and refinement. Cover Girl's "GALLERY COLLECTIONS" (figure 49) suggested that each eyeshadow look might be its own work of art. The ad called for consumers to "[m]aster the art of self-expression with 4 new eyeshadow [palettes]" ranging "[f]rom the sophisticated glimmer of Art Deco, to the romantic pastels of Impressionism. From the refined neutrals of the Renaissance, to the unabashed brights of Modern Art."[177]

The expertly made-up face was regularly likened to a portrait painting (figure 50). According to one evocative ad from 1935, "the faces you remember are living portraits by Helena Rubinstein.

[173] "Two-Point Make-Up Program," *Vogue*, March 15, 1950, 102-103.
[174] "Eyes," *Vogue*, May 1, 1948, 123.
[175] Advertisement: Clarion, "The smart approach to beautiful," *Vogue*, April 1, 1988, 57.
[176] Advertisement: Eve of Roma, "7.50 Brings you Eve of Roma's Perfetto Eye Kit," *New York Times*, December 15, 1974, 53.
[177] Advertisement: Cover Girl, "Now Showing! The Cover Girl Gallery Collections," *Vogue*, May 1, 1987, 38-39.

Cool, elusive faces in the most delicate nuances of color. Vivid, stirring faces […] whose individuality is so startlingly depicted they tease the memory forever. Create a living, unforgettable portrait of yourself – dramatize your personality with Helena Rubinstein's vibrant, thrilling cosmetics."[178] A few years later, the *New York Times* announced that "18th Century Portraits inspire[d] Marie Earle to a new make-up." New products inspired by the "'English Masters Show' at the Louvre" were guaranteed to "make you look like a Great Lady Portrait by Romney, Reynolds or Gainsborough."[179] In an attempt to explain the phenomenon of art-inspired eye makeup, a 1965 *New York Times* headline read: "Art Boom Hits Make-Up Field." "Everybody's so art-conscious these days, it's no surprise that Esteé Lauder, who is somewhat a collector herself, has been looking at portraits to inspire her new make-ups." She looked to artists around the world for a series of "international looks" including one "Swedish beauty, […] all healthy and natural in baby-blue eye-shadow," supposedly based on the portraiture of Anders Zorn.[180] Even in 2017 the rhetorical positioning of eye makeup as artistic practice was still in use. As blue eyeshadow came back into fashion, "beauty adventurists" were encouraged to revisit the shade and its "endless variations that invite experimentation – a crisp line of aquamarine pigment *drawn* along the lashes, a *painterly pop* of cobalt pressed onto lids, or a *graphic* teal cat-eyed wing."[181] These phrases are all borrowed from the vocabulary of art and graphic design.

Though the four approaches to the shadowed eyelid have often been used separately, they have also been successfully combined. For instance, the *New York Times* mentioned three in the same story in 1936. "Blue-eyed girls who like to make their eyes look even bluer in the evening can try a new non-iridescent eyeshadow that is soft, hazy aquamarine," the article noted. But it was said that the "the shop which offers these new cosmetics" had a staff of "operators [who could] mix eyeshadow to individual requirement. For example, the woman who has a gown which calls for special shades in

[178] Advertisement: Helena Rubinstein Inc., "Your Cosmetic Portrait for summer," *Vogue*, July 1, 1935, 69.
[179] Advertisement: Bonwit Teller, "18th Century Portraits inspire Marie Earle to a new make-up," *New York Times*, April 3, 1938, 39.
[180] "Art Boom Hits Make-up Field," *New York Times*, May 13, 1965, 40.
[181] Calin Van Paris, "Rita Ora Takes the Trickiest Makeup Shade for a Test-Drive," *Vogue*, August 5, 2017, https://www.vogue.com/article/rita-ora-makeup-blue-eyeshadow-los-angeles-blonde-hair. Emphasis added.

cosmetics can take a swatch of the material to this salon and have powder, rouge, lipstick and eyeshadow blended to suit it *and* her own coloring."[182] Here, the reader is given permission to match her eyeshadow to her irises, complexion, clothing, or all of the above. Yet even these guidelines have been challenged with the more creatively free notion that the eyelids can be decorated any way imaginable. The four approaches to the shadowed eyelid – as relating to the iris, as part of an aesthetic whole, as a fashion accessory, or as a blank canvas – heavily informed the early stages of how eye makeup was discussed in the fashion press and continue to influence how eyeshadow and the made-up eye are discussed in the twenty-first century.

To communicate how an eyeshadow should function – whether as fashion or art form, for instance – products have been named after textiles and artists. However, as I will demonstrate, these are not isolated incidents. Beauty brands mark their products with monikers conjuring a wide range of evocative associations, which often speak more about the intended consumer than the color itself.

VI. Implications of eyeshadow names

If every brand and every shade of blue eyeshadow was sold under the simple name 'blue,' where would the excitement be for the consumer? A unique name helps differentiate one product from another while suggesting something unique about the item itself. The regular revivals of this product prove that a new name can create a new fashion. As Roland Barthes has argued, "it is not the object but the name that creates desire."[183] In his examination of the semiotic and linguistic functions of the "written garment" in fashion magazines, he argues that "written clothing has no practical or aesthetic function: it is entirely constituted with a view to a signification: if the magazine describes a certain article of clothing verbally, it does so solely to convey the message whose content is: *Fashion*."[184] The power of the written description is contrasted with the weakness of the photograph: Barthes argues that

[182] "SHOPPING SUGGESTIONS: New Handbags and Gloves for the Fall Costume – Novelty Eye Cosmetics," *New York Times*, August 9, 1936, X9. Emphasis added.
[183] Barthes, *The Fashion System*, xii.
[184] The written garment is contrasted with the photographed garment and the physical object itself. Barthes, *The Fashion System*, 8.

"the image makes the purchase unnecessary, it replaces it; we can intoxicate ourselves on images" and be satisfied by merely consuming and identifying with them, but "the described garment encourages the purchase."[185] This is true not only of clothing but of cosmetics as well. As such, blue eyeshadow has been marketed (in the words of one Almay ad) "[i]n colors from shy to wild."[186]

In the 1930s, when eyeshadow was just beginning to appear in the pages of fashion magazines, simple, straightforward color names were used. Product lines were limited to about four or five shades, usually with only one blue. In 1930, Maybelline sold eyeshadow in "[f]our colors: Black, Brown, Blue, and Green"[187] and in 1938 Macy's offered "Light Blue, Light Green, Dark Blue, Dark Green, Brown or Violet."[188] In an early instance of creative color naming, Helena Rubinstein marketed a collection of "brilliant new makeup that has the spirit of Life itself [… including] Life Blue Eyeshadow."[189] Evocative of the open sea beneath an endless sky, the name Life Blue has a vibrant and refreshing appeal. Unlike other boring blues, this product promises to bring new life to the wearer – surely a compelling pitch in 1940. By the 1950s brands offered much wider ranges of blue eyeshadows in varying shades. Creative and evocative names were applied to each in order to entice customers and to differentiate between similar options. *Vogue*'s 1957 "Eye-Shadow Blues" editorial discussed nine oceanic eyeshadows – in varying hues, "the shades and the fashion intensity are as different as night and day."[190] Two such opposites, "Sea Blue and Striking blue eye shadows [were] stratified" across the "extremes of the Elizabeth Arden spectrum."[191]

As more blues became available, and more manufacturers caught onto this name game, virtually every shadow shade was christened with a meaningful moniker. Hilary Radner argues, "[l]ast

[185] Barthes, *The Fashion System*, 17.
[186] Advertisement: Almay, "Right now, I don't have a thing on my face," *Vogue*, October 1, 1986, 213.
[187] Advertisement: Maybelline Co., "Take these 3 steps to Instant Loveliness," *Vogue*, November 24, 1930, 95.
[188] Advertisement: R. H. Macy & Co., Inc., "MAKE UP YOUR EYES to be as provocative as your Easter bonnet," *New York Times*, April 11, 1938, 5.
[189] Advertisement: Helena Rubinstein Inc., "Beauty goes a-Maying from starlit nights to sunlit days," *Vogue*, May 1, 1940, 95.
[190] "Eye-Shadow Blues: 26 Beautiful Applications," *Vogue*, April 15, 1957, 105.
[191] "Eye-Shadow Blues: 26 Beautiful Applications," *Vogue*, April 15, 1957, 102, 106.

season's makeup is illegitimate, ready for the waste basket. This season's makeup may prove to be only marginally different; however, these differences are crucial to the legitimization of the process [of making up] and become the minimal but necessary difference that fuels the circulation of capitalization in a consumer economy."[192] Essentially, *something* compelling is required to encourage consumers to discard outdated (yet perhaps still functional) makeup products and purchase new, fashionable ones. Assigning engaging product names is one strategy beauty brands use to prompt a purchase – "for it is difference that makes meaning, not repetition," notes Barthes, adding that "the objective here is to *distinguish*."[193] Brian Moeran has suggested that this is intentional; that "cosmetics and skincare companies assign names to their products as a means of provoking action (the purchase of the product advertised)."[194]

Countering the flawed assumption that the main objective in purchasing a cosmetic product and making up is to "render the practitioner more attractive, closer to a prototype of feminine beauty," Radner points to widely used "marketing techniques evoking 'ego-sense.'"[195] Beauty brands know that a consumer seeks much more from makeup – the pleasure of the transaction and the making-up experience; a way to engage with identity and self-presentation. These needs are satisfied by the process and the product itself, but also by what the product represents. Radner contends that because "image and style have long offered women a way to express cultural identities, now those identities offer [those in the beauty] business a new set of images to sell."[196] And sell images they do.

This is done through what Moeran considers to be "probably *the* most sophisticated psychological weapon"[197] used to manipulate consumers: the technology of enchantment. He reasons that "[m]agazine and advertising language is imbued with 'magical' power, and the structure of beauty

[192] Radner, "This Time's For Me," 310.
[193] Barthes, *The Fashion System*, 11.
[194] Moeran, "Portrayal of Beauty," 502.
[195] Radner, "This Time's For Me," 306.
[196] Peiss, *Hope in a Jar*, 269.
[197] Moeran, "Portrayal of Beauty," 498-499.

advertisements closely parallels that of magical spells used in healing rituals."[198] In their marketing efforts, makeup brands "use language in a way that connotes their power (over beauty) to exorcise the demons of unattractiveness."[199] An advertisement's structure and syntax are key elements in this process.[200] Firstly, the ad's headline – packed with persuasive, enticing rhetoric – serves to either "summon" an ostensibly problematic body part or the particular product being sold. This is followed by a subheading and the ad copy which identify the "problem" that the ad and its product promise to solve.[201] Lastly, "the closing *mantra* of every advertisement is the *tagline*, which is used to announce the necessary condition of the cure provided." Moeran notes that in "healing rituals, the *mantra* is in many ways incomprehensible to ordinary people because it makes use of an archaic language no longer spoken by ordinary people."[202] He points to "a slight, though not exact, parallel here with advertising headlines, which are not always immediately or fully comprehensible, even though they clearly make *some* sort of sense."[203] As I have found in examining scores of primary sources, the unconventional syntactical structures and bizarre figurative messages found in eyeshadow ads can be perplexing, yet their powers lie in the fact that they *do not* make complete, literal sense. If the process of making up is non-natural and psychologically complex, why should the ad copy selling these products be any different?

Makeup advertisers possess "secret knowledge" that is communicated through complex yet persuasive rhetoric which "invites the magazine reader to participate in a dream world of fantasy and *belief*."[204] Moeran concludes that both beauty advertisements and healing rituals "make use of the magical power inherent in sacred words to persuade adherents to believe in what is displayed. This is

[198] Moeran, "Portrayal of Beauty," 492.
[199] Moeran, "Portrayal of Beauty," 501.
[200] Although the complete textual structures of the ads cited in this analysis have been lost in the process of extracting short quotations as evidence, each statement plays an integral part in the discourse of a greater 'spell.' As Roland Barthes demonstrates, "the value of a word is not found in its origin [i.e., the physical fashion object] but in its place in the language system" in the magazine. Barthes, *The Fashion System*, 7.
[201] Moeran, "Portrayal of Beauty," 500.
[202] Moeran, "Portrayal of Beauty," 501.
[203] Moeran, "Portrayal of Beauty," 501.
[204] Moeran, "Portrayal of Beauty," 501.

where *naming* becomes so important."[205] He suggests that "part of the naming process is that each product name is an entity that can act and produce effects in its own right."[206] As I will demonstrate, blue shades entitled "Malibu Mist"[207] and "SPACE OWT"[208] promise very different results, just as product lines like "Compact Disk EyeShadows"[209] and "Moon Drops"[210] invite consumers to participate in very different fantasies.

A suitable starting place is the fashionable fantasy of France. Associated with high style and European sophistication, from the mid-1930s through to the twenty-first century Paris has been a popular source of inspiration for cosmetic names. Sometimes an ad's headline or copy imbues it with Parisian appeal. Helena Rubinstein's 1935 "Iridescent Eyeshadow in blue or blue-green" was billed as "Make-up With a Paris Air"[211] alongside an illustration of the Arc de Triomphe (figure 51). The brand continued to use this strategy for decades, declaring "Les 'Shadows Français' Sont Ici!"[212] in 1977. *Vogue* writers also made use of this discursive strategy: "NOUVEAUX EYES. See the gaze across the way? Dimension is what these eyes have [… thanks to a] French Blue eye-shadow stick."[213] Here, the bilingual headline plays up the eyeshadow's name.

Some product names rely on French translations of English words to get the message across. For the American consumer, Dior's "Bleu Paon (peacock blue),"[214] Germaine Monteil's (periwinkle) "'Pervenche' eye-shadow,"[215] and Orlane's "emphatic […] Lagon Bleu eyeshadow"[216] and "Bleu Ardoise"[217] (slate blue) eye pencil all ooze Parisian sophistication. Similarly, for a cobalt-colored

[205] Moeran, "Portrayal of Beauty," 502.
[206] Moeran, "Portrayal of Beauty," 502.
[207] Wendy Schmid, "Beauty Bets: Code Blue," *Vogue*, February 1, 1996, 175, 272.
[208] "GALAXY EYESHADOW PALETTE," Fenty Beauty, https://www.fentybeauty.com/galaxy/eyeshadow-palette/23978.html.
[209] Advertisement: Estée Lauder Inc., "Now C.D.'s for your eyes," *Vogue*, August 1, 1993, 12-13.
[210] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "News for Eyes: Revlon creates the 'luminesque eye,'" *Vogue*, September 1, 1969, 108-109.
[211] Advertisement: Helena Rubinstein Inc., "Your Midwinter Beauty Calendar," *Vogue*, February 1, 1935, 73.
[212] Advertisement: Helena Rubinstein Inc., "Les 'Shadows Français' Sont Ici!," *Vogue*, May 1, 1977, 25.
[213] "Beauty Bulletin: International Cable . . . Beauty News from all Vogue Countries," *Vogue*, March 15, 1965, 110-111.
[214] Advertisement: Bonwit Teller, "It's a Paris Opening for the Eyes – Bonwit's Introduces New Designer Eye Makeups from Dior!," *New York Times,* August 30, 1970, 59.
[215] "Beauty Serial – on Location," *Vogue*, June 1, 1951, 63, 120.
[216] "A New Way with Black," *Vogue*, May 1, 1982, 303.
[217] Shirley Lord, "Beauty Report '84: Space-age Beauty," *Vogue*, October 1, 1984, 615.

shadow called "OUTREMER,"[218] Nars borrowed the French word for 'overseas' to lure in prospective buyers. Of course, these brands have legitimate connections to France through their founders, but it is noteable that they capitalize on this genealogy when selling to the American market. Even American brands such as Revlon's Ultima II used names like "Ultra-Bleu,"[219] borrowing spelling conventions from the French.

French references often lean towards travel, encompassing a luxury lifestyle. Under the headline "TWILIGHT COLORS: PARIS / NEW YORK," Ultima II aligned its eyeshadows with a jet-setter's schedule in 1987: "Ultima II color is a lot like first class travel. […] The eyeshadows blend with the ease of time zones and stay elegantly fresh for hours. Have a gorgeous flight."[220] Beauty brands have also cited romantic coastal cities as eyeshadow inspiration. "PICTURE THIS: morning on the French Riviera, with a cloudless view of the cerulean waters meandering peacefully between Nice and Monaco. That was the inspiration behind Nars' new Cap Ferrat eye-shadow palette, a trio of cool blues and greens."[221] Other international place names appear in American eyeshadow names as well, such as "Blue Acapulco"[222] by Princess Galitzine which references a coastal Mexican resort city and alludes to travel, luxury, and unforgettable cerulean waters.

Some references to foreign locales are blatantly Orientalizing, exhibiting references to exotic cultures and ancient civilizations (figure 52). In 1950, women were told they could "ACHIEVE THE NEW EXOTIC EYE MAKE-UP WITH *Maybelline*" in an advertisement featuring the image of a Caucasian woman and the word "EXOTIC" called out in a font all but borrowed from a Chinese food menu (figure 53).[223] Macy's commanded women to "GO NATIVE" like "lovely golden Balinese dancers" with eyeshadow in "Island Blue."[224] Even the Japanese brand Shiseido spun a similar story

[218] Chioma Nnadi, "Color Coordination," *Vogue*, September 1, 2011, 591.
[219] "Bright Nights," *Vogue*, November 1, 1967, 174.
[220] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "Twilight Colors: Paris / New York," *Vogue*, August 1, 1987, 13.
[221] Ana Dragovic, "Sand & Sea," *Vogue*, June 1, 2011, 114.
[222] Advertisement: Princess Galitzine, "From the Desk of Princess Galitzine: Eyes, Blue or Green," *New York Times,* April 9, 1974, 27.
[223] Advertisement: Maybelline Co., "Achieve the New Exotic Eye Make-up with Maybelline," *Vogue*, July 1, 1950, 106.
[224] Advertisement: R. H. Macy & Co., Inc., "Your new make-up must be 'BALINESE GOLD,'" *New York Times*, May 23, 1938, 5.

in 1967: "THE LOOK TO WATCH: ORIENTAL EYES[.] New in America! The ancient and exciting mystery of the Far East, seen in the deep, exotic beauty of Oriental Eyes. […] Shiseido creates eye make-up with the supreme artistry of Japan, make-up inspired by the ancient 'Noh' plays. […] See how enchanting American eyes can be with these cherished Oriental beauty secrets."[225] Though the ad does refer to specific elements of Japanese culture and history, its exploitative tone caters to prevalent white American stereotypes in a manner that would be considered highly inappropriate and offensive in the twenty-first century. Even products as ostensibly harmless as "Maybelline's Oriental Blue / Glacier Blue Colors That Cling Duo Eyeshadow"[226] draw upon Orientalist notions of overt sexuality, denoted here with erotic imagery of material clinging to the body.

With less overt Orientalist offense, some more specifically identified place names hold romantic ancient associations. Dior's "Gel-Creme Eyeshadow in six tender terrestrial shades" exploited this ancient romance with "African Mauve. Egyptian Clay. Afghan Green. Indian Purple. China Blue. And Cypress Rose."[227] It is doubtful that the creators of this 1973 China Blue eyeshadow intended to evoke a contemporary image of Communist China with this moniker. Instead they were referencing the blue and white porcelain produced there between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. Eve of Roma drew on Italy's rich cultural heritage by releasing a "Patina Eyeshadow Stick,"[228] using patina – a surface treatment achieved with time and exposure to the elements – as a metaphor for makeup. This term connects the cosmetic wearer with artistic and architectural masterworks, from ancient Roman stone facades to Renaissance frescoes. Helena Rubinstein's "Ionian Blue" quite literally delivered Hellenistic appeal with a promise – "You're Going to be a Grecian Beauty!"[229] – and promoted "Aegean blue" as a crucial component in the "MYKONOS LOOK" (figure

[225] Advertisement: Shiseido, "The Look to Watch: Oriental Eyes," *Vogue*, October 1, 1967, 139.
[226] "The Best Dressed Leathers," *Vogue*, September 1, 1983, 660-661.
[227] Advertisement: Christian Dior, "Eyes. Dior.," *Vogue*, April 1, 1973, 85.
[228] Advertisement: Eve of Roma, "The Roman Glow," *Vogue*, September 1, 1970, 28-29.
[229] Advertisement: Helena Rubinstein Inc., "Now Dance in the Isles… You're Going to be a Grecian Beauty!," *New York Times*, March 23, 1969, 83.

54).[230] Meanwhile, some shades more indirectly cited exotic locales and travel-related influences. "Les Fantastiques" by Dior featured "Plumes of colour in swagger shades" like "Parrot Blue."[231] This whimsical description evokes the image of seafaring pirates and their feathered companions. Unlike some of the more classically inspired names, this product may have appealed to a high-spirited, adventurous fashionista.

While entire countries and ancient civilizations have been recalled in the naming of blue eyeshadow, something as small as a single gemstone can have just as big an impact. The names of precious jewels imbue cosmetic products with a sense of luxury, exclusivity, and timelessness. Additionally, they reinforce the notion that the eyes are the jewels of the face. Lapis lazuli, an ornametal semi-precious stone that has been valued since antiquity, lent itself to describing vibrant blue eye tinctures in the twentieth century including "the first metallic liquid eyeliner" by Madeleine Mono. The name "Lapis Lazuli" gave this brand new product a reputation of timeless authenticity.[232] Used elsewhere in jewelry and the decorative arts, sapphire and turquoise figure as popular product names for blue and blue-green eyeshadows, respectively. Playing up the idea of luxury, women in 1956 were urged, "[t]reat your eyes to Color [with a] new . . . eye shadow stick by Maybelline in 5 lovely, iridescent, jewel-tone shades."[233] At just one dollar and each in a "Beautiful Gold-Tone Swivel Case,"[234] eyeshadows in "Sapphire Blue," "Blue Pearl Grey," and "Turquoise"[235] would have been affordable accessories to decorate the vanity table as well as the eyelids (figure 13). Even diamond – most commonly found as a colorless stone – is used to evoke the same message about luxury and ornamentation as other stones. Emphasizing eyeshadow's ability to scatter light like an expertly-

[230] Advertisement: Arnold Constable, "The Fabulous Faces Are Wearing Helena Rubinstein's 'Mykonos Look,'" *New York Times*, May 12, 1969, 17.
[231] Advertisement: Christian Dior, "Les Fantastiques! Dior," *Vogue*, October 1, 1978, 129.
[232] "Beauty Report 1982," *Vogue*, October 1, 1982, 542-547, 608.
[233] Advertisement: Maybelline Co., "Treat your eyes to Color," *Vogue*, September 15, 1956, 181.
[234] Advertisement: Maybelline Co., "Treat your eyes to Color," *Vogue*, September 15, 1956, 181.
[235] Advertisement: Maybelline Co., "Treat your eyes to Color," *Vogue*, September 15, 1956, 181.

faceted diamond, Ultima II's "Diamond Blue Super Luscious Creme Eyeshadow" was described as "lighting the eyes" in a *Vogue* editorial.[236]

In the 1950s, when sophisticated style was in vogue and mature, married women fit the feminine ideal, gemstone names were particularly prevalent as advertisers catered to their supposed interests. These women were more likely than teenagers to own and wear jewels, so once the 'Youthquake' arrived in the 1960s these names all but disappeared. In the aforementioned *Vogue* covers that align blue eyeshadow with blue fashions and jeweled accessories, two of the shadows used were called sapphire. In the description of the March 1951 cover (figure 44), "'Sapphire blue' eyeshadow […] by Harriet Hubbard Ayer" was aligned with glistening earrings made of "[a]quamarines with diamonds."[237] The December 1951 cover (figure 45) featured "[a] beret that looks chipped out of stars [… decorated with] moonstone beads, at least a thousand of them, each shedding its own lovely light on the face" along with "diamond earrings and the diamond and sapphire clip […] from Van Cleef & Arpels. Adding to all the radiance: […] 'Sapphire' eye-shadow"[238] by Gourielli. Here, sapphire shadow is just one of the many precious stones adorning the model.

Sometimes brands abandoned rooting eyeshadow names in precious gems and went directly to words evocative of shimmer and glow. In 1969, Revlon marketed "[a] whole new way to dress your eyes . . . in soft, shimmery *iridescent* color that's more than frosted. (It's luminous color that flickers and flutters – seems almost alive!) […] 'Moon Drops' eyeshadows and liners give your eyes the new 'luminesque look' – like great, gleaming opals held up to the light."[239] The shimmering quality of this product, described like a flickering candle or a radiant opal, is heavily emphasized with an assortment of comparisons. The connection between eyeshadow and light remained significant for beauty brands to communicate even without references to gemstones, and often in a more abstracted manner. The

[236] "Instant charm!," *Vogue*, April 1, 1976, 154.
[237] "On the cover," *Vogue*, March 1, 1951, C1, 135.
[238] "Cover," *Vogue*, December 1, 1951, C1, 95.
[239] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "News for Eyes: Revlon creates the 'luminesque eye,'" *Vogue*, September 1, 1969, 108-109.

most prominent word used to express this effect was 'luminosity.' Some brands considered the colors themselves luminous, while others described how a shadow's shimmering texture would flatter and enhance the wearer's eyes. This was applied as early as the 1930s, with Helena Rubinstein's "Luminous Eyeshadow in Blue or Blue-Green for starry eyes"[240] and lasted into the 2010s with Maybelline announcing, "NOW, EYES LIGHT UP WITH SHIMMERING LUMINOSITY. NEW EXPERTWEAR LUMINOUS LIGHTS EYESHADOW COLLECTION" (figure 55).[241] Both product lines indicated to a prospective buyer that they would not simply gleam on their own, but that they would draw attention to the wearer's natural radiance. Selling luminous colors, Almay advertised a "new stroke of brilliance – super-gleam, powder-in-cream eye shadow!" The "pretty pair of high-sheen eye colors" featured in the ad were purple and pale blue-green hues called "*Softlight*, all tender color and shine; [and] *Superlight*, luminous over-glow" (figure 56).[242] In a similar approach, Givenchy promoted a palette of blue shadows arranged in a prism-like design under the headline "EYESHADOW PRISM[:] Harmony of Light and Shade" (figure 57).[243] Both advertisements feature models wearing glimmering jewelry to underscore this idea. Brilliance, used in an innocuous double entendre by Almay (referencing the creator's genius as well as the color's visual impact) has also been isolated as an eyeshadow color name. In an advertisement promoting Max Factor's "30 custom colors you can pick and choose and then change around, in a refillable case," the color "Brilliant Blue" saturates the entire page (figure 58).[244]

Stars and celestial references carry on this notion of light reflectivity while adding a layer of mystery and extraterrestrial allure. Max Factor's "'Starlights, Starbrights' Colorfast eyeshadow

[240] The color was also advertised as "Blue for coquettes." Advertisement: Helena Rubinstein Inc., "The Riviera Make-up by Helena Rubinstein," *Vogue*, July 1, 1937, 76.
[241] Advertisement: Maybelline Co., "Now, Eyes Light Up with Shimmering Luminosity," *Vogue*, December 1, 2012, 199.
[242] Advertisement: Almay, "Look! Look into my eyes! Here's Almay's new stroke of brilliance – super-gleam, powder-in-cream eye shadow!," *Vogue*, May 1, 1969, 105.
[243] Advertisement: Givenchy Inc., "Eyeshadow Prism," *Vogue*, September 1, 1993, 339.
[244] Advertisement: Max Factor & Co., "Satin Shadows: They leave other powders in the dust," *Vogue*, November 1, 1987, 177.

collection"[245] and "Starlight Blue eyeshadow"[246] contain a direct link to the outer atmosphere, as do Revlon's "'Moon Drops' Demi Eyemakeup" line. Described romantically as "[e]yeshadows with a softsilvered sheen like powdered moonlight," Moon Drops included a dreamy, soft spectrum of "Tranquil blues [and] Hushy taupes."[247] Celestial references have also been more energetic, as a 1978 *Vogue* editorial demonstrates: "DISCO! Hold the makeup. Dare to go bare [... with] a few jazzy strokes of […] Cosmic Blue Eye Coloring Pencil."[248] Similarly, the "Galaxy Palette" released by Fenty Beauty in late 2017 included dazzling hues under names like "COSMIC OCEAN (sheer aqua glitter)" and "SPACE OWT (smoky grape with holographic blue glitter)."[249] This strategy of conflating the eyeshadow with the moon and stars is not only found in makeup advertisements. Radner notes that some cleansing rituals imbue cleansing objects with the powers of these celestial forces by calling upon the moon and stars during ritual chants. Their magical qualities are then physically transferred to the body through contact with the skin. The same transfer occurs in the application of cosmetics which, through ad copy, have been figuratively charmed with the powers of the celestial realm.[250]

Drifting back into Earth's atmosphere, many names for blue eyeshadow reference dewy moisture and hazy atmospheric conditions to communicate a dreamy, romantic message. The sky in general functions as a useful reference: "Sky Blue Eyeshadow" was featured in "a glorious palette"[251] by Jerome Alexander and given an Italian twist with Eve of Roma's "Cielo Blue."[252] More commonly cited, mist and haze are used time and again in the names of blue shadow shades. Examples include Halston's "Pearl / Hazy Blue eyeshadow,"[253] "Misted Blue" from "The 'Smoky Pales' by Revlon,"[254]

[245] "Beauty: Easier Too!," *Vogue*, November 1, 1983, 410-411.
[246] "Rain," *Vogue*, February 1, 1982, 322-323.
[247] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "New from Moon Drops: The 'Almondine Eye,'" *Vogue*, July 1, 1970, C2, 1.
[248] "Out and out beauty . . . summer makeup . . . 7 'Ways,'" *Vogue*, April 1, 1978, 214.
[249] "GALAXY EYESHADOW PALETTE," Fenty Beauty, https://www.fentybeauty.com/galaxy/eyeshadow-palette/23978.html.
[250] Radner, "This Time's For Me," 309.
[251] "Holiday Makeup: How-tos and what-tos," *Vogue*, December 1, 1978, 100.
[252] Advertisement: Eve of Roma, "7.50 Brings you Eve of Roma's Perfetto Eye Kit," *New York Times*, December 15, 1974, 53.
[253] "A New Way with Black," *Vogue*, May 1, 1982, 303.
[254] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "Revlon says: Eyeshadows that shout are out, out, out!," *Vogue*, February 1, 1964, 26-27.

"Blue Haze [and] Misty Turquoise"[255] by Estée Lauder, "Malibu Mist"[256] by Cover Girl, "Blue Smoke / Blue Fog"[257] by Ultima II, and Max Factor's "BLUE MIST"[258] and "Dawn to Dusk Eyeshadow in Marina and Aqua Mist" (figure 24).[259] Associating blue eyeshadow with beads of water as these brands do suggests subtlety and a natural quality that may alleviate any concern about harshness and artificiality. As the human body is largely composed of and cleansed with water, it seems only natural to apply a pure-sounding cosmetic like Aqua Mist to the eyes.

Aquatic associations extend with references to the ocean as well. In summer 1947, *Vogue* suggested that readers pair their "golden complexion" with "a touch of sea-blue or sea-green eye-shadow,"[260] and in 1970 admired "Dorothy Gray's latest project […] the Secret of the Sea collection."[261] The following year, Revlon released "9 vibrant, intensified shades that shine like liquid neon" under names dripping with many of these under-the-sea associations: "Starry Blue. Bottle Green. Sea Turquoise. Wet Violets. Polished Plum. […] Crystal Coral. Freshwater Pearl."[262] Romantic, delicate, and nostalgic, these shadow shades would surely delight a would-be mermaid. But stormier shades like Clarion's "Thunder Blue"[263] and Dior's "very new, very unusual Eyeshadow Palettes called Lightning, Thunder, Passion and Tempest"[264] offered a slightly different take. While haze and mist names feel more passive and even submissive, these hues promise to deliver an intensity and agency to the woman wearing them. Misted Blue evokes the image of a woman waiting out in the rain with a broken heart, whereas Thunder Blue recalls an in-control woman with electric charisma.

While many color names – particularly those related to nature and ancient civilizations – are more timeless and could be relevant to any generation, other color names distinctly reflect current

[255] Advertisement: Estée Lauder Inc., "Now the best of all eyeshadow forms in one easy form," *Vogue*, October 1, 1976, 14-15.
[256] Wendy Schmid, "Beauty Bets: Code Blue," *Vogue*, February 1, 1996, 175, 272.
[257] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "Opening now: the greatest show of eyes on earth," *Vogue*, November 1, 1969, 8-9.
[258] Advertisement: Max Factor & Co., "EYES 1961," *Vogue,* March 1, 1961, 61.
[259] Amy Astley, "Quick-Change Color," *Vogue*, April 1, 1994, 372-373.
[260] "The golden complexion," *Vogue*, May 1, 1947, 126.
[261] "Vogue's Ready Beauty: Young loves," *Vogue*, August 1, 1970, 26.
[262] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "The 'Shining, Sultry Colors' for eyes, for cheeks, for lips," *Vogue*, November 1, 1971, 12-13.
[263] Advertisement: Clarion, "Captive Color Eyeshadow," *Vogue*, September 1, 1992, 84a-d.
[264] Advertisement: Christian Dior, "Les Diaboliques," September 1, 1986, 197.

social goings-on. For instance, during the year of a British coronation, Elizabeth Arden introduced "Royal eyeshadow, blue-green flecked with silver"[265] (figure 59). In the Digital Era Estée Lauder has directly referenced technology – in 1993 the brand advertised "C.D.'s for your eyes," referring to "Compact Disc EyeShadows in 80 resonating shades"[266] (figure 60) and marketed "PURE COLOR CYBER EYES"[267] in 2011. Perhaps most interesting is a selection of shadows that paid homage to the new working woman of the 1980s. A 1986 Almay ad opened with a clever headline that simultaneously addressed its product's features while speaking to the needs of its target consumer: "RICH EYE COLORS THAT WORK AN 8-HOUR DAY? GREAT JOB!"[268] Likewise, "Blueprint Blue shadow [...] from Estée Lauder's Color Graphics collection"[269] alluded to a few possible career fields (architecture and graphic design), and Max Factor released "Blue Blazer eyeshadow"[270] in 1982, referencing a professional woman's working wardrobe (figure 61). Influenced by the bullish economy of the decade, Revlon exclaimed, "THERE'S NOTHING BETTER THAN: LOOKIN' LIKE A MILLION." Described under this headline was a selection of "shades guaranteed to *enrich* your lipsandnails, cheeksandeyes. Even the names sound like a million bucks" – or more, as with "Billionaire Blue."[271] While this type of discourse would have been meaningful to a career woman in the eighties, it would not hold the same appeal to a consumer in 2018, due in part to changing values and perspectives on work, wealth, and capitalism.

As I have demonstrated, the same kind of hues appear again and again (albeit in different packaging or formulae) but the very fact that they are *named* differently means they *are different*. They are new and novel, which is crucial to their fashionability. Despite assumptions about women being

[265] Advertisement: Bonwit Teller, "What is the Lure of Elizabeth Arden," *New York Times*, April 4, 1937, 38.
[266] Advertisement: Estée Lauder Inc., "Now C.D.'s for your eyes," *Vogue*, August 1, 1993, 12-13.
[267] Advertisement: Estée Lauder Inc., "New Pure Color Cyber Eyes," *Vogue*, December 1, 2011, 10-11.
[268] Advertisement: Almay, "Rich Eye Colors That Work an 8-Hour Day? Great Job!," *Vogue*, January 1, 1986, 69.
[269] Shirley Lord, "Age Makes No Difference," *Vogue*, October 1, 1983, 568-569.
[270] "Upbeat . . . All the Way!," *Vogue*, September 1, 1982, 494-495.
[271] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "Revlon Says There's Nothing Better Than: Lookin' Like a Million," *Vogue*, October 1, 1983, 14-15. Emphasis added.

'cultural dupes' and falling for advertisers' fake promises, cosmetics consumers know what they are buying, and what they are buying into. They are not expecting a life-changing miracle product but rather a pleasurable, semi-ritualistic experience. If, through language, a product can reflect a woman's desires (for travel and luxury), calm her anxieties (about her career or cosmic worth), or help her reach ever closer toward her aspirations and identity, then there is a chance that it might just be welcomed into her daily ritual of making up. She will still have to grapple with the question of artificiality – but beauty brands provide some assistance with that as well.

VII. Nature, artifice, and visual noise

Conspicuous cosmetics like bold blue eyeshadow "trouble us because they are unnatural," as fashion historian Elizabeth Wilson has noted: "in using cosmetics we at one and the same time indicate our readiness for flirtation and dalliance, and attempt to improve on Nature's – or God's – work."[272] As makeup consumers, women have long faced judgment for painting on 'false' faces and thereby deceiving others.[273] This issue of cosmetic artifice continues to create tension, even in the fashion press.

In the twentieth century, the fashion media occasionally invoked these age-old anti-artifice messages. A 1948 beauty editorial called "Eyes" opened with this assertion: "If you can see it three feet away – it isn't art, it's artificial. That's the traditional test for adept eye make-up technique."[274] And in the 1970s and 1980s, readers were warned about the dangers of overdone makeup in certain situations. "A country atmosphere doesn't lend itself to artifice. Color in the country – for day or night," according to *Vogue*, "is best kept simple and clean."[275] Considering an office setting, makeup artist Fran Cooper suggested that "for daytime, makeup should always be applied sparingly. People are in close contact with you under office or natural lighting; anything overdone is unsettling."[276] Cooper

[272] Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (New York: I. B. Tauris & Co., 2003), 107-108.
[273] Moeran sums it up thusly: "The argument went that, precisely because they made women look more beautiful than they in fact were, cosmetics were deceitful, and by corollary women who wore makeup were themselves deceitful." Moeran, "Portrayal of Beauty," 494.
[274] "Eyes," *Vogue*, May 1, 1948, 123.
[275] "The Biggest Makeup Change: How to Get It with Vogue's Colors," *Vogue*, October 1, 1975, 178.
[276] "Upbeat: Model, makeup appeal – from a black woman's point of view," *Vogue*, August 1, 1985, 170.

encouraged readers to find a shade of blue eyeshadow to complement their skin tone to avoid an unsettling appearance in the workplace. Rhetoric such as this clearly states that eyeshadow's artifice is unattractive and unacceptable.

Alternatively, some editorials suggest that conspicuous cosmetics can avoid looking artificial and may even imbue the wearer with aesthetic authenticity. *Vogue* decided in 1951 that "[e]ye-shadow shades in make-up itself are more intense than they once were. And used deliberately, as artifice, they are the newest way we know of, to experiment successfully with your looks."[277] Instead of rationalizing blue pigments as natural and subtle by reaching for terrestrial metaphors, the article asserted that "eye-shadow is used emphatically for color."[278] The "COLOURQUAKE" editorial described one fashionable muse as being able to steer artificial makeup in the right direction: "Her whole patina is frankly contrived and frankly fantastic. But it's fantasy under control. That's what the return of the kicksy madeup face is all about. You plot your own facial design, and you don't care who knows it."[279] A 1984 *Vogue* editorial entitled "Minimal Dazzle" detailed a new trend for "the all-out glitter, the glamour of beauty at night, with a modern twist – with all the ease, the speed demanded now. What's diminished: the time factor, the artifice. What's not: the all-out, very refreshing appeal of makeup at night."[280] There was something very cool – and almost *natural* – about the unabashed artifice of glittery, gutsy makeup (figure 21). In a 2018 editorial, *Vogue* backed a new devil-may-care approach to brazenly wearing blue in the evening: "Dressed-up makeup has always played by certain rules, from black-tie eyeliner to disco glitter. But beauty's latest boom calls for embracing flash whenever – and however – you can" (figure 31).[281]

[277] "Eye-shadow Shades," *Vogue*, June 1, 1951, 103.
[278] "Eye-shadow Shades," *Vogue*, June 1, 1951, 103.
[279] "COLOURQUAKE," *Vogue*, March 1, 1970, 172.
[280] "Minimal Dazzle," *Vogue*, November 1, 1984, 470.
[281] Laura Regensdorf, "Bold Standard," *Vogue*, December 1, 2017, 238-239.

Even the well-known tagline "Maybe she's born with it. Maybe it's Maybelline" adds coquettish confusion to the difference between the artificial and the natural. Indeed, on the relative shock factor of makeup, Wilson believes that

> the use of cosmetics has become a banal convention. A kind of hyper-naturalism is the norm on the streets of every city, large and small: lots of blusher, lots of foundation colour, lots of lipstick in a 'subtle' shade, the same with eye make-up. Women seem to wear this cosmetic 'uniform' in much the same spirit as most men wear ties – in order to look 'dressed,' in order not to stand out from the crowd. The standardized styles of make-up 'art' are there, one feels, to reassure the wearer that she has not strayed too far outside the norms of reasonable good looks, of ordinary prettiness, rather than to 'make a statement' or 'express her personality.' [… C]osmetics are more something that you can't be seen without […] than the daring display of emancipation and sexuality they once seemed.[282]

She concludes, "no doubt it is the fate of all fashions to describe a trajectory from the outrageous to the banal."[283]

Although a woman can theoretically paint her face in an endless array of unusual and visually challenging ways, the typical woman constructs her makeup look within a certain standard. She relies on a set of socially accepted aesthetic and semiotic cosmetic possibilities. When she diverges in favor of a heavier-than-usual application or an outlandish look, the results can be problematic, as Synnott observes. "The more the face is made up […] and the more effective the artistic statement, the greater the *disparity* between the physiological and the social faces . . . to the delight of satirists."[284] This notion begins to uncover the logic behind marketing colorful eyeshadow as 'natural' even when it is decidedly not. "Why does [fashion] interpose, between the object and its user, such a luxury of words […], such a network of meaning?" Barthes asks. "The reason is, of course, an economic one. […] In order to blunt the buyer's calculating consciousness, a veil must be drawn around the object – a veil of images, of reasons, of meanings."[285] The aim of advertising eyeshadow as 'natural' is to enchant the consumer and reduce the cognitive dissonance that arises when the social, made-up face consists of

[282] Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*, 114.
[283] Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*, 114.
[284] Synnott, "Truth and Goodness Part II," 63.
[285] Barthes, *The Fashion System*, xi.

bold colors and artificial shadows. By buying into something 'natural,' the wearer can rest assured despite presenting herself in a manner that significantly departs from her bare face and inherent biological features.

Beauty brands and the fashion press have attempted to alleviate this cognitive dissonance by explaining facial beauty as a process. This process is represented as a natural and instinctual one for women. It requires cosmetic products, time, a little effort and skill, and most importantly, visible change (figure 62). "THESE EYES TELL THE STORY OF AN *enchanting change*," swooned one Maybelline advertisement. "You can look far lovelier . . . [and] have more beautiful eyes [than you naturally do]"[286] by wearing the brand's products. According to another ad, "[i]t's easy to see what Maybelline eye make-up means – plain faces become pretty, and pretty faces beautiful."[287] Beauty editorials in *Vogue* have similarly expressed the importance of transformation: "She's switched from a sort of un-touched-by-human-makeup outdoor girl look […] to something much more moving, more exciting. She encircled her sea-blue eyes in a deliciously startling pool of blue (courtesy of an Almay colourstick). […] She always was a beauty. Now she is a show-stopper . . . ."[288] Additionally, the aforementioned critique of cosmetic consistency stated definitively that "beauty that doesn't grow is either static […] or it is fading. The beauty that lasts forever doesn't last because it's durable, *but because it changes*: better, better, better."[289] Plenty of other articles reference the ability of artificial cosmetic means to enhance inherent, natural beauty, always suggesting a necessary makeup-induced transformation to achieve 'true' and complete beauty.[290] The author of a 1998 *Vogue* story admitted to

[286] Advertisement: Maybelline Co., "These Eyes Tell the Story of an Enchanting Change," *Vogue*, April 1, 1953, 161.
[287] Advertisement: Maybelline Co., "Do you see the difference?," *Vogue*, October 15, 1949, C3.
[288] "COLOURQUAKE," *Vogue*, March 1, 1970, 172.
[289] "Trial by Beauty," *Vogue*, June 1, 1952, 74. Emphasis added.
[290] *Vogue* is filled with enough of such rhetoric to warrant future studies. "The power of makeup: the ability to enhance any woman's natural beauty" and "[t]oday, let Maybelline magic bring out the unsuspected loveliness of *your* eyes!" suggest that true beauty is already there naturally, but requires a cosmetic transformation to be revealed. Shirley Lord, "Age Makes No Difference," *Vogue*, October 1, 1983, 568-569; Advertisement: Maybelline Co., "3 quick tricks to eye beauty," *Vogue*, April 1, 1954, 168.

subscribing to the belief that "[t]here's no such thing as natural beauty" and concluded that most women "have to pay for it."[291]

More optimistically, others have identified the desire to enhance a bare face – even a beautiful one – as an instinctual desire and a positive one. As Jill Robinson explained, "it is not […] that women are subjected to makeup, no, only that men are deprived." Referring to her lover, she admitted: "My secret longing is to reach over, when he is sleeping, when his face is the most revealed, the lashes are so long – it is all I can do from decorating those lashes, those lids and those cheekbones and lips. Who could think, then, that makeup is vanity – it is a celebration, it is arranging the flowers, painting the banners, lighting the candles, and flying the streamers."[292] Her intimate, poetic appeal aligns making-up with innocent romance, purity of affection, and a natural human longing for beauty.

Following the template of wearing makeup in ways that mimic physiological processes – like reddening the lips and cheeks or brightening the eyes – some sources suggest that for eyeshadow to be considered 'natural,' its colors must relate closely to those found in the bare eyelid. The ideal eyeshadow in this instance must exhibit earthy warmth and seem to emanate from within. "The trick to a good makeup is for the color to look as if it were 'born' there . . . naturally,"[293] according to one editorial. Similarly, as Serge Lutens of Shiseido told *Vogue*, "You want the look not of color *on* the face but of color that comes from the face." He recommended "warmed-up colors […] of earth and sun."[294] Another beauty feature summed up this approach while demonstrating why cool blues were neither 'natural' nor fashionable in this framework:

> What's natural about makeup colors as emphatic as those shown here? It has to do with a warming down – or earth-ening up – of all shades, so that they are not sharp, not blatant, not primary. [… These colors] all have at heart tones that are related to those of your skin. That's why you won't find turquoise-blue eye shadow here – not that it doesn't exist at the cosmetic houses. […] T]urquoise blue is to us this year a color as

[291] "Can Money Buy Beauty?," *Vogue*, December 1, 1998, 333.
[292] Robinson, "Makeup: The Romantic Imperative," 365.
[293] "Color: The Fresh Approach," *Vogue*, September 1, 1981, 557.
[294] "Summer makeup directions from the experts who advise the experts," *Vogue*, June 1, 1981, 126.

> artificial as a mask. The exciting new tones we found for this report were not the true blues but the true "you's."[295]

This references the existence yet lack of fashionability of blue and suggests other, earthier colors to reflect a wearer's 'true' identity.

Though some products communicate a 'natural' connection through tongue-in-cheek names – like Urban Decay's immensely popular "Naked" eyeshadow palette of the 2010s[296] – it is not always possible to market eyeshadow with such literal vocabulary. This becomes particularly challenging when the eyeshadow colors being sold are not actually related to the skin. How can beauty brands sell blue as a natural hue? It *is* possible to sell blue eyeshadow as the 'natural' accompaniment to blue irises, and many brands have employed this strategy, but this approach excludes the vast pool of prospective buyers who were not born with azure eyes. Blue shadow has also been connected to water and gemstones. These, of course, occur in nature, but cannot be likened to the skin and therefore pose a problem.

Instead, ad copywriters have hinted at the 'natural' qualities of brightly colored cosmetics by using language relating to soothing sonic experiences and soft speech. The eyes are powerful communicators, but according to these ads, it is not desirable for the made-up woman's eyes to scream and shout. Instead, they should whisper softly and sweetly with the assistance of 'quiet' shadow shades. Revlon's evocative ad copy illustrates this process:

> Revlon says: Eyeshadows that shout are out, out, out! the look that's in for eyes: The 'Smoky Pales' […] 7 soft-spoken eyeshades to make you look all eyes . . . instead of all eyeshadow! Suddenly eyeshadow should be seen but not heard. Exit the shouting blues, garrulous greens, violent violets! The whispering campaign is on for 'Smoky Pales' – 7 hush-hush shadow shades that make your eyes look great and glowy.[297]

[295] "The intense, subtle look of 'foolproof' color," *Vogue*, October 1, 1975, 180.
[296] In 2015 it was reported that one of these palettes sold every six seconds. Michaela Rollings, "This Is How Urban Decay Became One Of The Most In-Demand Beauty Brands," *Refinery29*, December 7, 2016, http://www.refinery29.com/2016/12/130673/urban-decay-history-founder-behind-the-scenes#slide-8?bucketed=true.
[297] Colors in this product line included the soft-sounding "Misted Blue" and "Alabaster Lustre – a lovely off-white – too subtle to show you here!" Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "Revlon says: Eyeshadows that shout are out, out, out!," *Vogue*, February 1, 1964, 26-27.

A subsequent collection of pressed-powder eyeshadows was intended to have a similar effect: "Revlon's sheer pressed-powder eye-shadow […] fluffs on so discreetly, your eyes seem all soft-lights-and-sweet-color (played up, not made up!) […] It's all so subtle you can't overdo!" Colors like "Quiet Blue" and "Tender Turquoise" embodied the intended subtlety.[298]

Maybelline, too, employed these discursive strategies and aligned its eyeshadow products with soft sounds and hushed speech: "With […] just a *whisper* of eye shadow on the lids to accentuate the color of your eyes, your *entire face* is more attractive."[299] The brand urged readers who desired "eyes that *plainly speak* the loveliness of your beauty, but that do not even *whisper* the means taken to accentuate them – use *genuine* Maybelline preparations. Only they can transform eyes into bewitching pools – without revealing the secret."[300] *Vogue*'s beauty editorials follow along the same lines. One described Dorothy Gray's "Pastel Eyeshadow Collection" as containing "*sotto voce* blue, green, turquoise, and plum."[301] Another recommended applying eyeshadow in "true colors [like] blue green" followed by eyeliner "blended into the shadow to *muffle* the color."[302] According to this guidance, bold colors were to be muted with smudgy eye pencil to avoid being too visually 'loud.'

Yet when flashiness and non-natural eyeshadow were considered fashionable and artifice acceptable, advertisers appropriated sound and speech rhetoric to prove that noise can be a good thing. Instead of instructing consumers to be visually quiet with mere whispers of color, brands employed music metaphors to turn up the volume. An advertisement for Max Factor's line of blue eyeshadows explicitly related color-mixing to musical composition. Entitled "MAX FACTOR SETS THE FASHION TEMPO WITH CALIFORNIA BLUES" and announcing "the birth of a new kind of blues

[298] Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "Sweeping change in eye makeup!," *Vogue,* February 1, 1965, 30-31.
[299] Advertisement: Maybelline Co., "The top of Your Face is important, too!," *Vogue*, August 15, 1947, C3. Emphasis added to "whisper."
[300] Advertisement: Maybelline Co., "Genuine Maybelline Preparations for Alluring Eyes Instantly," *Vogue*, July. 15, 1931, 74. Emphasis added to "plainly speak" and "whisper." These examples openly reference speech, but even more subtle phrases like "use *Maybelline Eye Shadow* to […] add a subtle, refined note of charming allure" incorporate musical terms such as "note" and "charm." Advertisement: Maybelline Co., "Take these 3 steps to Instant Loveliness," *Vogue*, November 24, 1930, 95.
[301] "Vogue's Ready Beauty: Young loves," *Vogue*, August 1, 1970, 26. Emphasis added.
[302] "An honest-to-good change in makeup," *Vogue*, July 1, 1975, 67. Emphasis added.

[…] like music to your eyes," the ad made a play on words, overlapping the color with the musical genre. The music metaphor was extended to color composition on the eyelids: "Put your own eye combo together from the cool ones, the true blue ones, the blues with a *lilt* of green."[303] Max Factor also promoted a "HI-FI EYESHADOW STICK,"[304] borrowing 'high-fidelity' from the music world to indicate the superiority of their product's clear color. Although both of these ads appeared in the 1960s, the pattern continued in 2017 as *Vogue* commended one pop singer's use of blue shadow, reassuring "beauty adventurists" that if her "irreverent sophistication is any indication, what better time to take the boldest of eyeshadow hues for a test-drive? Here, four *pitch-perfect* formulas."[305]

As the times have changed, so have the tunes. Beauty brands have sold blue eyeshadow to the beat of whatever drum their buyers have been following, in a sort of textual synesthesia. Whether loud or soft, worn unabashedly as artifice or applied with sneaky subtlety, makeup consumers associate their eyeshadow products with a visual volume and communicative power, and these levels are set from the start by advertisers. Whether women are encouraged to keep quiet or make their voices heard, advertisers play whatever tune they think society wants to hear.

VIII. Conclusion

Blue eyeshadow has shifted in and out of popularity in a way that mirrors the behaviors of other recurrent fashions such as the little black dress and the iconic trench coat. Microtrends may come and go, but this type of style stands the test of time. Rather than becoming extinct, it exists as a constant, even in its absence from the realm of high fashion.

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[303] Advertisement: Max Factor & Co., "Max Factor Sets the Fashion Tempo with California Blues," *Vogue*, September 15, 1962, 27. Emphasis added.
[304] Advertisement: Max Factor & Co., "EYES 1961," *Vogue,* March 1, 1961, 61.
[305] Calin Van Paris, "Rita Ora Takes the Trickiest Makeup Shade for a Test-Drive," *Vogue*, August 5, 2017, https://www.vogue.com/article/rita-ora-makeup-blue-eyeshadow-los-angeles-blonde-hair. Emphasis added. An embrace of bold, energetic colors is occasionally expressed with terms related to physicality and movement. "Wild, impetuous eyeshadows flash across lids" in a 1986 Dior advertisement that urged the reader "to take this irreverence of colour and make it your own." This rhetoric conjures up images of uncontrollable activity and even violence. Likewise, Revlon promoted "KNOCKOUT EYES" relying on a metaphor of physical impact (as in boxing) to underscore the visual impact of their product. Advertisement: Christian Dior, "Les Diaboliques," September 1, 1986, 197; Advertisement: Revlon Inc., "Knockout Eyes," *Vogue*, April 1, 1992, 26-27.

As a cosmetic possibility, blue shadow sits at the eye of a swirling tornado of social change. When gender relations, sexual and sartorial politics, the media, and societal value systems experience dramatic changes, the ways in which people use, perceive, and discuss blue eyeshadow shift accordingly. Blue was an early eyeshadow favorite during the first half of the twentieth century, when only a few creme colors were available. The 1960s opened cosmetic possibilities to playful color combinations, but blue remained a perennial palette favorite. The 1970s and 1980s enjoyed pretty pastels, smoky shades, and bold hues while the early 2000s favored frostier tones. When it became fashionable again in the mid-2010s, it was still thought of as a taboo due to its overuse in the eighties. Throughout its lifetime, blue eyeshadow has been used as shorthand for both glamour and tackiness; it has been seen alternatively as old fashioned and boundary pushing. As shifts in thinking take place, the same shade can evoke visceral responses and stir emotions ranging from terror to total confidence.

Along with these fluctuations, my study of ads and editorials in the American fashion press has revealed patterns in conceptual approaches to the product and its application methods from the 1930s through the late 2010s. The shadowed eyelid has been treated as an extension of the iris, as part of an aesthetic whole, and as a space suited to color mixing, experimentation, and play. Shadow shades have been marketed to match a woman's eyes, skin tone, hair color, or attire, but ignoring the context of the body, eyeshadow can be embraced as a fashionable accessory or artistic statement.

Following Helena Rubinstein's pioneering Life Blue eyeshadow, product names have referenced many aspects of life and lifestyle, from travel and aspirational luxury to transcendental nature. Gemstones, romantic mist, career concerns, and the celestial realm have all lent themselves to the names of shadow shades. In order to manufacture novelty and prompt purchases, beauty brands have literally and linguistically repackaged their products, borrowing terms from fashion, France, and fantasy while seeking to silence or amplify women's visual voices with synesthetic vocabulary. As the fashion press offers to help women navigate the labyrinthine path towards 'ultimate' beauty, readers

are steered variably from "the true blues" to "the true 'you's,'"[306] encountering 'personalized' offerings and paradoxes along the way.

Regardless of these efforts to entice and manipulate consumers, the eyes serve as significant nonverbal communicators whether they are brilliantly decorated or left bare. When enhanced with eyeshadow, their levels of eye-catching contrast are heightened in a chiaroscuro effect that is impossible to ignore. Makeup's various meanings permeate the social and psychological realms; through its use, women can experiment with, establish, and communicate their identity while delineating the boundaries of the public and private spheres. Whether used as 'natural' beauty enhancers or 'artificial' accessories, conspicuous cosmetics can cast a luminescent glow, give a quick confidence boost, or participate in a complex transformative process. Because *and* in spite of its non-natural qualities and powerful pigments, blue eyeshadow is well-positioned to continue its reign as a ubiquitous cosmetic product and cultural symbol, whether it is cast away in the shadows or ushered proudly into the light.

[306] "The intense, subtle look of 'foolproof' color," *Vogue*, October 1, 1975, 180.

Illustrations

Figure 1. Nine blue eyeshadow looks proposed by *Into the Gloss* in "14 Updated Shades of Blue Eyeshadow," April 2015. Makeup by Adam Breuchaud, modeled by Alyssa Reeder. Photograph by Tom Newton.

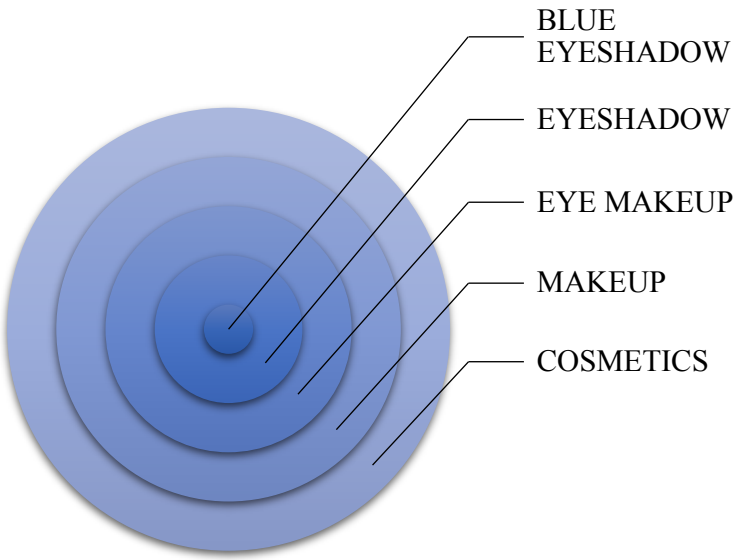

Figure 2. Categories of cosmetics from most specific (center ring) to most general (outer ring).

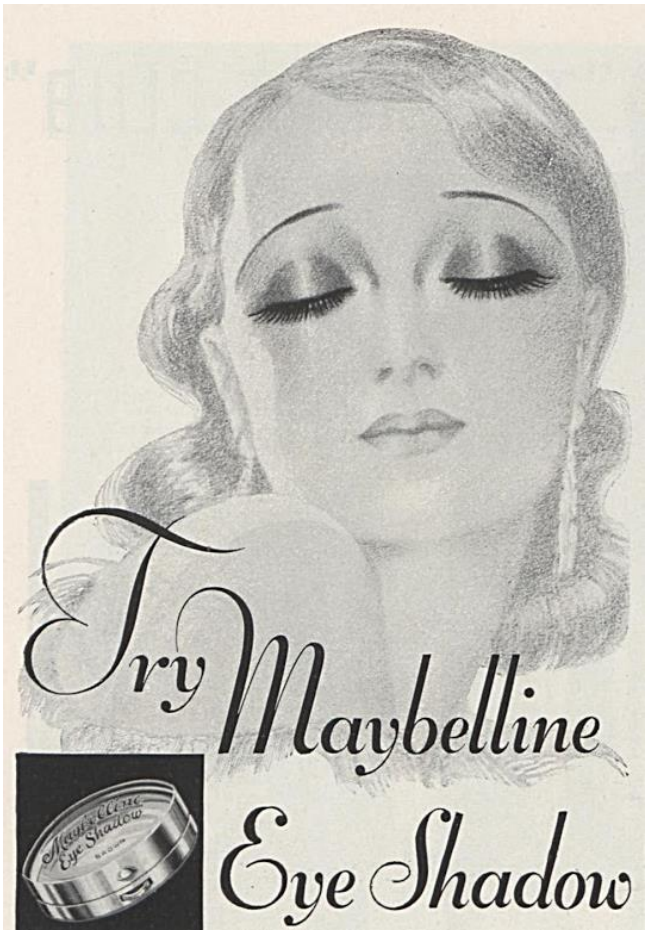

Figure 3. Creme eyeshadow in gold-tone compact. Detail of advertisement in *Vogue*, September 15, 1930.

Figure 4. Maybelline creme eyeshadow in Blue, c. 1943 – 1949. Courtesy of the Maybelline New York archives. Photograph by author.

Figure 5. “Eye-Shadow Blues” fashion editorial illustrated by René Bouët-Willaumez. Published in *Vogue*, September 15, 1945.

Figure 6. Eyeshadow blue bolero and dress ensemble by Saks & Company, advertised in *Vogue*, April 15, 1957.

Figure 7. Two eyeshadow blue wool cardigans by Lee Herman, advertised in *Vogue*, April 15, 1957.

Figure 8. "Eye-Shadow Blues: 26 Beautiful Applications" fashion editorial illustrated by Vevean with photographs by Karen Radkai. Published in *Vogue*, April 15, 1957.

Figure 9. "Racy Looks for the Car in Your Life" fashion editorial photographed by Gene Laurents. Published in *Vogue*, November 1, 1963.

Figure 10. Maybelline advertisement promoting the use of eye makeup in addition to lipstick. Published in *Vogue*, August 15, 1947.

Figure 11. Maybelline advertisement promoting the use of eye makeup in addition to lipstick. Published in *Vogue*, June 1, 1955.

Figure 12. Iridescent eyeshadow stick in gold-tone tube. Detail of advertisement in *Vogue*, September 15, 1956.

Figure 13. Maybelline Iridescent Eye Shadow Sticks in Sapphire Blue and Jade Green, c. 1956 – 1963. Objects featured in *The Eye of the Beholder, Decade-defining Lids, Lashes, & Brows* exhibition, 80WSE Gallery, New York, NY, 2018, courtesy of the Maybelline New York archives. Photograph by Heidi Bohnenkamp.

Figure 14. Elizabeth Arden's "Startwinkle" illustrated by René Bouët-Willaumez. Featured in *Vogue*'s "Nth Degrees of Change" beauty editorial, October 15, 1952.

Figure 15. Powder eyeshadow by Revlon, advertised in *Vogue*, February 1, 1965.

Figure 16. Mary Quant Pastel Eye Crayons, c. 1969. Installation view of *The Eye of the Beholder, Decade-defining Lids, Lashes, & Brows* exhibition, 80WSE Gallery, New York, NY, 2018. Courtesy of the Makeup Museum collection. Photograph by Leticia Valdez.

Figure 17. RealGirl by Tussy Hieroglyphics Makeup Palette, c. 1968. Installation view of *The Eye of the Beholder, Decade-defining Lids, Lashes, & Brows* exhibition, 80WSE Gallery, New York, NY, 2018. Courtesy of the Makeup Museum collection. Photograph by Leticia Valdez.

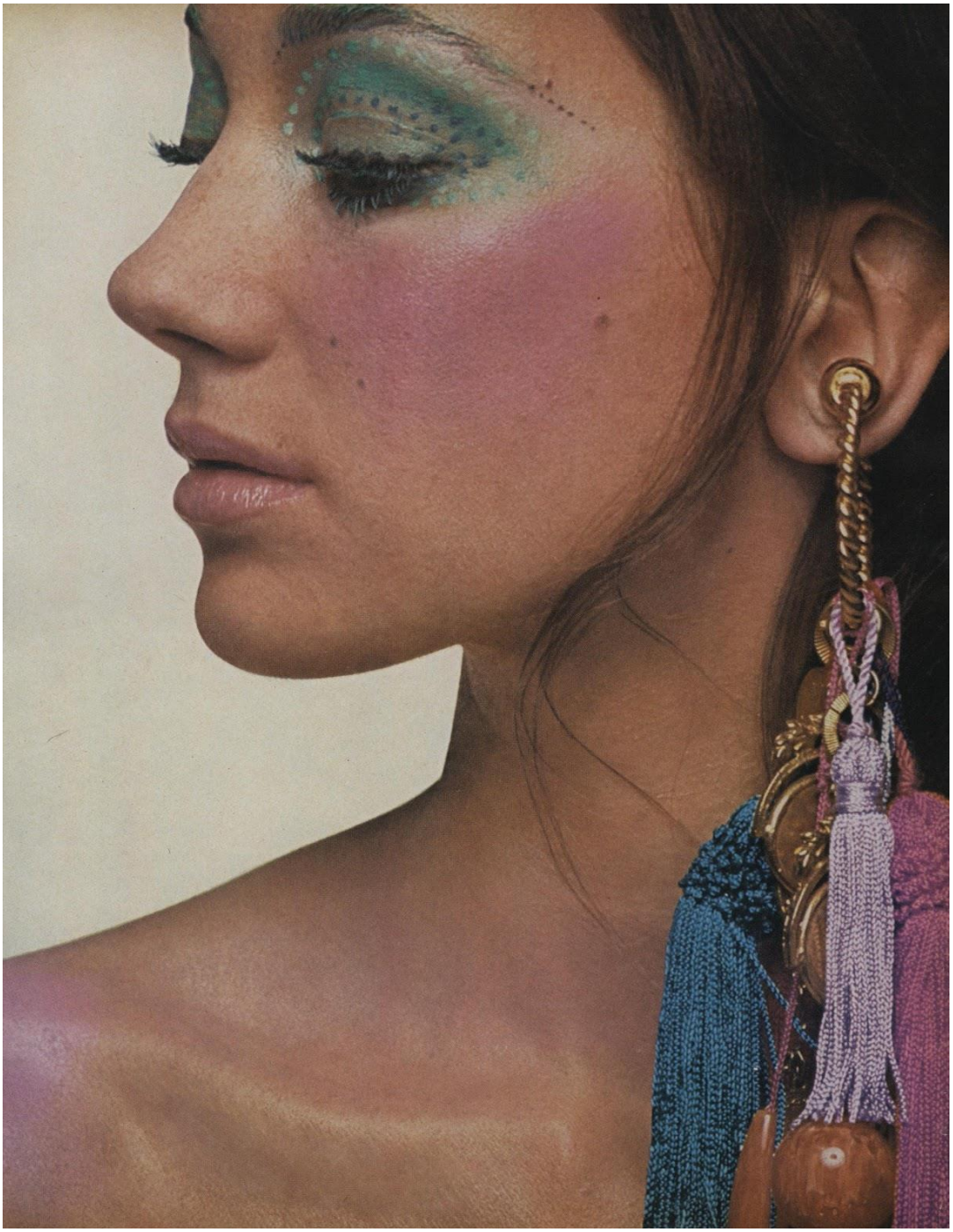

Figure 18. Marisa Berenson modeling pointillism-style eye makeup for *Vogue*'s "COLOURQUAKE" beauty editorial, March 1, 1970. Photograph by Bert Stern.

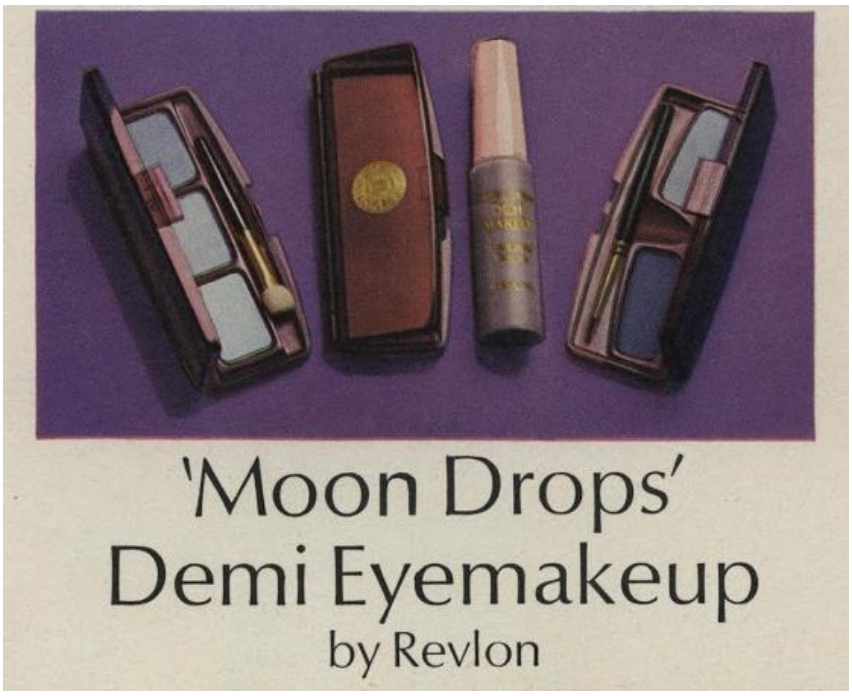

Figure 19. Multicolor eyeshadow compacts by Revlon. Detail of advertisement in *Vogue*, July 1, 1970.

Figure 20. Detail of two "Best" and "Worst" eye makeup comparisons from *Vogue*'s "The Best and Worst Ways to Use Beauty Now" editorial, April 1, 1974. Photographs by Arthur Elgort, Bob Stone, Theo, and Keith Trumbo.

Figure 21. "Glitter eye" by Lydia Snyder (left) and "Butterfly colors" by Linda Cantello (right), featured in *Vogue*'s "Minimal Dazzle" beauty editorial, November 1, 1984. Photographs by Tohru Nakamura.

Figure 22. Subtle eye asymmetry in blue and gold by Linda Cantello, modeled by Renée Simonsen. Featured in *Vogue*'s "The Best Dressed Leathers" fashion editorial, September 1, 1983. Photograph by Lothar Schmid.

Figure 23. Adventurous eye makeup by Tyen of Paris to accompany fashions by Yohji Yamamoto, featured in *Vogue*'s "The Contrast" fashion editorial, July 1, 1983. Photograph by Hans Feurer.

Figure 24. Makeup by François Nars including Max Factor's "Dawn to Dusk Eyeshadow in Marina and Aqua Mist." Featured in *Vogue*'s "Quick-Change Color" beauty editorial by Amy Astley, April 1, 1994. Photograph by Irving Penn.

Figure 25. Frosty-colored eyeshadow cubes by Estée Lauder. Detail of advertisement in *Vogue*, March 1, 2003.

Figure 26. Blue and green eyeshadow shades, including "Cotton Blue" and "Zircon Velvet" by Il Makiage, as shown in *Vogue*'s "Beauty Bets: Code Blue" beauty editorial by Wendy Schmid, February 1, 1996.

Figure 27. Blue eyeshadow single in "Grand Bleu 211" by L'Oréal, modeled by Zoe Saldana and advertised in *Vogue*, March 1, 2016.

Figure 28. Fifteen-color eyeshadow palette by Gwen Stefani for Urban Decay, advertised in *Vogue*, December 1, 2015.

Figure 29. Graphic blue eyeshadow by Rommy Najor, modeled by Masha Gutic. Featured in *Allure*'s "5 Fresh Ways to Try Blue Eye Makeup" editorial by Sophia Panych, April 7, 2016.

Figure 30. Adwoa Aboah modeling makeup by Pat McGrath on the cover of British *Vogue*, December 1, 2017. Photograph by Steven Meisel.

Bold Standard

Dressed-up makeup has always played by certain rules, from black-tie eyeliner to disco glitter. But beauty's latest boom calls for embracing flash whenever—and however—you can.

"AGREED: YOU WANT to change your look for evening. Powder, pearls, pale colorings—that's one way to do it. But why stop there?" asked a story in a November 1972 issue of *Vogue*, egging on readers to try a dusting of outré gold shadow. Forty-five years later, the spring runways once again posed that same question. Call it modern maximalism or bold makeup for uncertain times: The trick here is to let one element go brilliantly off the rails. At Marni, it was a Rothko-esque smear of eye paint in an oceanic blue or green. Dries Van Noten's cast wore tiny rhinestones along their lips or dotted on the lashline, which served as live bait for the stardust-filtering Kirakira+ app. Model Teddy Quinlivan put her self-taught cat-eye skills to the test at Marc Jacobs, asking backstage makeup artist Diane Kendal permission to draw on her own wide-rule black liner. Quinlivan traces her steady hand back to middle school in New England, where her crew of emo-goth friends doled out Hot Topic eyeliners and eye shadow from their lockers. "We understood that makeup was this powerful tool of self-expression, a rebellious act," she recalls. The azure eyes on these pages command a similarly unapologetic confidence. Paired with a bare face, they present as practical, never careening into theatrics. Retaining that sense of real-world wearability is what makes these provocations attractive to front-row renegades such as Delfina Delettrez. "I like the contrast between natural, healthy skin and focused makeup on just one part of the face," explains the jewelry designer, who is known to wear a swipe of teal or emerald pigment beneath her lower lashes. It's enough for a double take, as her ten-year-old daughter has noted. "She asks me to remove my liner before taking her to school! It's too experimental for her," Delettrez says, unfazed. "One day she'll want me to teach her my makeup skills."—LAURA REGENSDORF

Photographed by Patrick Demarchelier

THEN & NOW

BLUE STREAK

Set against luminous, untouched skin, a shot of lapis lazuli across the eyes is the next-generation stand-in for a statement red lip. Model Adut Akech in a Gucci dress and earrings by Fallon, Lynn Ban for Fenty Puma, and Agmes. OPPOSITE PAGE: Akech (RIGHT) and Oumie Jammeh, both wearing Marni. Hair and head wraps, Shon; makeup, Diane Kendal for Marc Jacobs Beauty. Details, see In This Issue.

Fashion Editor: Phyllis Posnick.

Figure 31. Bold blue makeup by Diane Kendal for Marc Jacobs Beauty, modeled by Adut Akech and Oumie Jammeh, featured in *Vogue*'s "Bold Standard" beauty editorial by Laura Regensdorf, December 1, 2017. Photographs by Patrick Demarchelier.

Figure 32. Cover of *New York Weddings*, Spring / Summer 2018. Photograph by Radka Leitmeritz.

Figure 33. Apple "Selfies by iPhone X" billboard as seen on the corner of 4th Avenue and 9th Street, New York, NY, April 2018. Photograph by author.

Figure 34. Eyeshadow and lipstick shades depicted as folding fans in *Vogue*'s "Key your Make-Up Colours to your Eyes" beauty editorial, November 1, 1941. Illustrations by Milena.

Figure 35. Unidentified model wearing blue eyeshadow in *Vogue*'s "COLOURQUAKE" beauty editorial, March 1, 1970. Photograph by Gianni Penati.

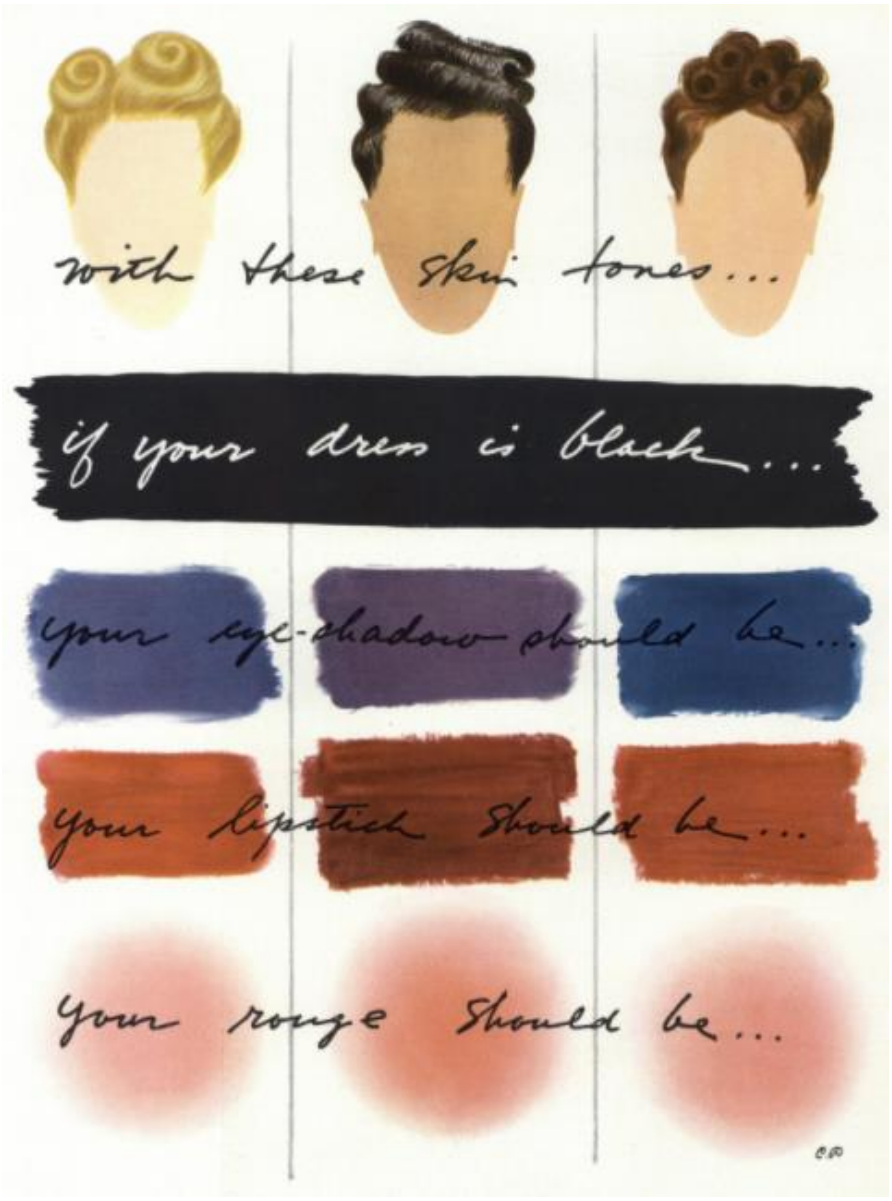

Figure 36. Table recommending shades of makeup by Primrose House for women to pair with a black dress in *Vogue*'s "Facing the New Colours" beauty editorial, October 1, 1938.

Figure 37. Marie Earle's makeup recommendations to suit different hair colors. Detail of advertisement in *Vogue*, October 15, 1931.

(Continued on page 122)

Figure 38. Makeup suggestions for different skin tones, featured in *Redbook*'s "A New Guide to Make-Up" beauty editorial, October 1965. Photographs by Harold Krieger.

Figure 39. Wedding-themed Kurlash advertisement in *Red Book Magazine*, June 1935.

Figure 40. Detail of event-themed Helena Rubinstein advertisement in *Vogue*, November 1, 1933.

Figure 41. "Eye-Eye" beauty editorial suggesting "exciting" color combinations for eyeshadow and mascara to dazzle various eye colors. Published in *Vogue*, November 1, 1934.

Figure 42. A range of blue eyeshadows in various formulae by Max Factor, advertised in *Vogue*, March 1, 1961.

Figure 43. Swatches of fashionable eye makeup and fabric alongside illustrations by Eduardo Garcia Benito in *Vogue*'s "Colour for Your Money" beauty editorial, September 15, 1951.

Figure 44. Martita modeling "Sapphire" eyeshadow by Harriet Hubbard Ayer on the cover of *Vogue*, March 1, 1951. Photograph by Erwin Blumenfeld.

Figure 45. Unidentified model wearing "Sapphire" eyeshadow by Gourielli on the cover of *Vogue*, December 1, 1951. Photograph by Erwin Blumenfeld.

Figure 46. Lisa Fonssagrives modeling “Blue” eyeshadow by Dorothy Gray on the cover of *Vogue*, May 1, 1952. Photograph by Irving Penn.

Figure 47. Kelly LeBrock modeling “Cashmere Blue” eyeshadow by Lancôme, also shown in the swatch, in *Vogue*’s “A New Way with Black” fashion editorial, May 1, 1982. Makeup by Vincent Nasso. Photographs by Irving Penn.

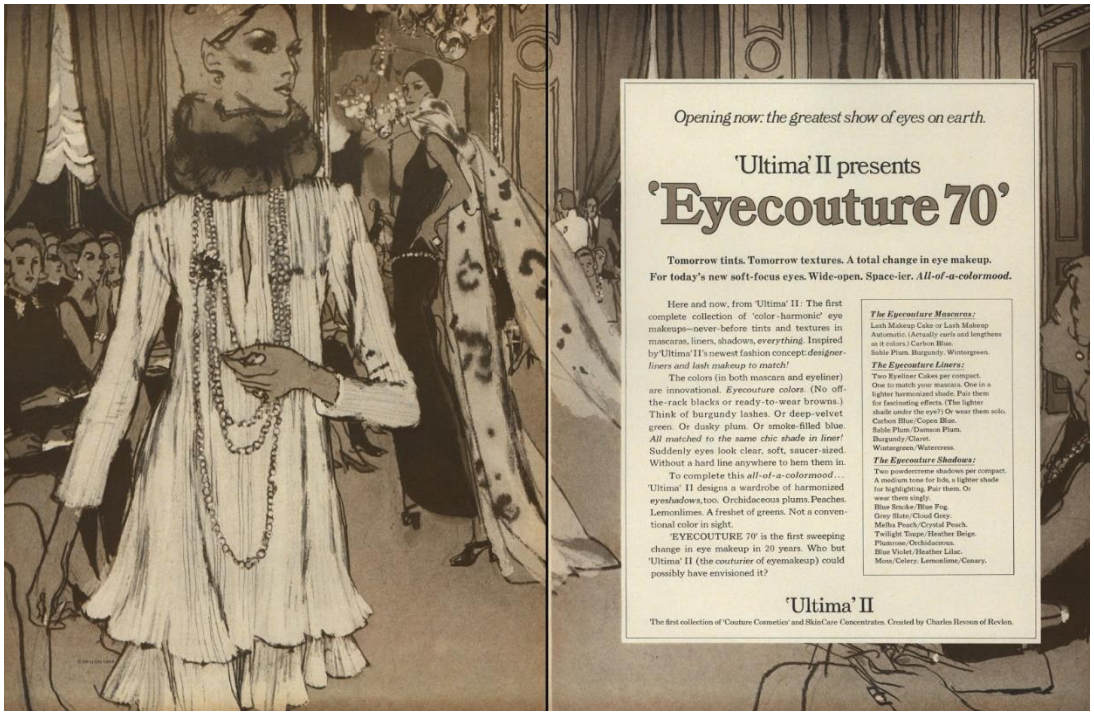

Figure 48. Fashion show themed makeup advertisement for Ultima II by Revlon. Published in *Vogue*, November 1, 1969.

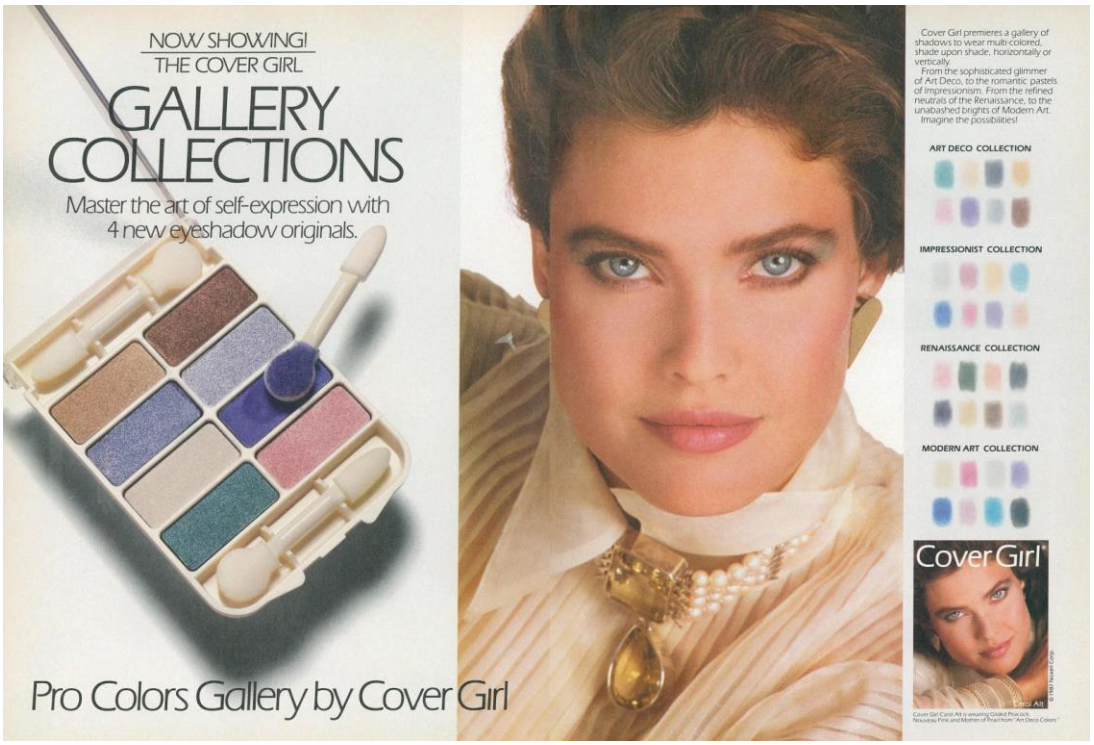

Figure 49. Art themed advertisement by Cover Girl. Published in *Vogue*, May 1, 1987.

Figure 50. Portrait themed beauty editorial, "Which of these great masters would have chosen you as a model?" Published in *Vogue*, November 1, 1940. Illustrations by Graftsman.

Figure 51. Detail of Helena Rubinstein advertisement featuring the Arc de Triomphe. Published in *Vogue*, February 1, 1935.

Figure 52. Givenchy advertisement showcasing exotic "Influences." Published in *Vogue*, March 1, 1998.

Figure 53. Maybelline advertisement promoting "exotic" beauty. Published in *Vogue*, July 1, 1950.

Figure 54. Detail of Helena Rubinstein advertisement promoting Grecian beauty. Published in the *New York Times*, March 23, 1969.

Figure 55. Advertisement for Maybelline's "Luminous Lights" eyeshadows. Published in *Vogue*, December 1, 2012.

Figure 56. Advertisement for Almay's "Softlight Eye Shadow Duo." Published in *Vogue*, May 1, 1969.

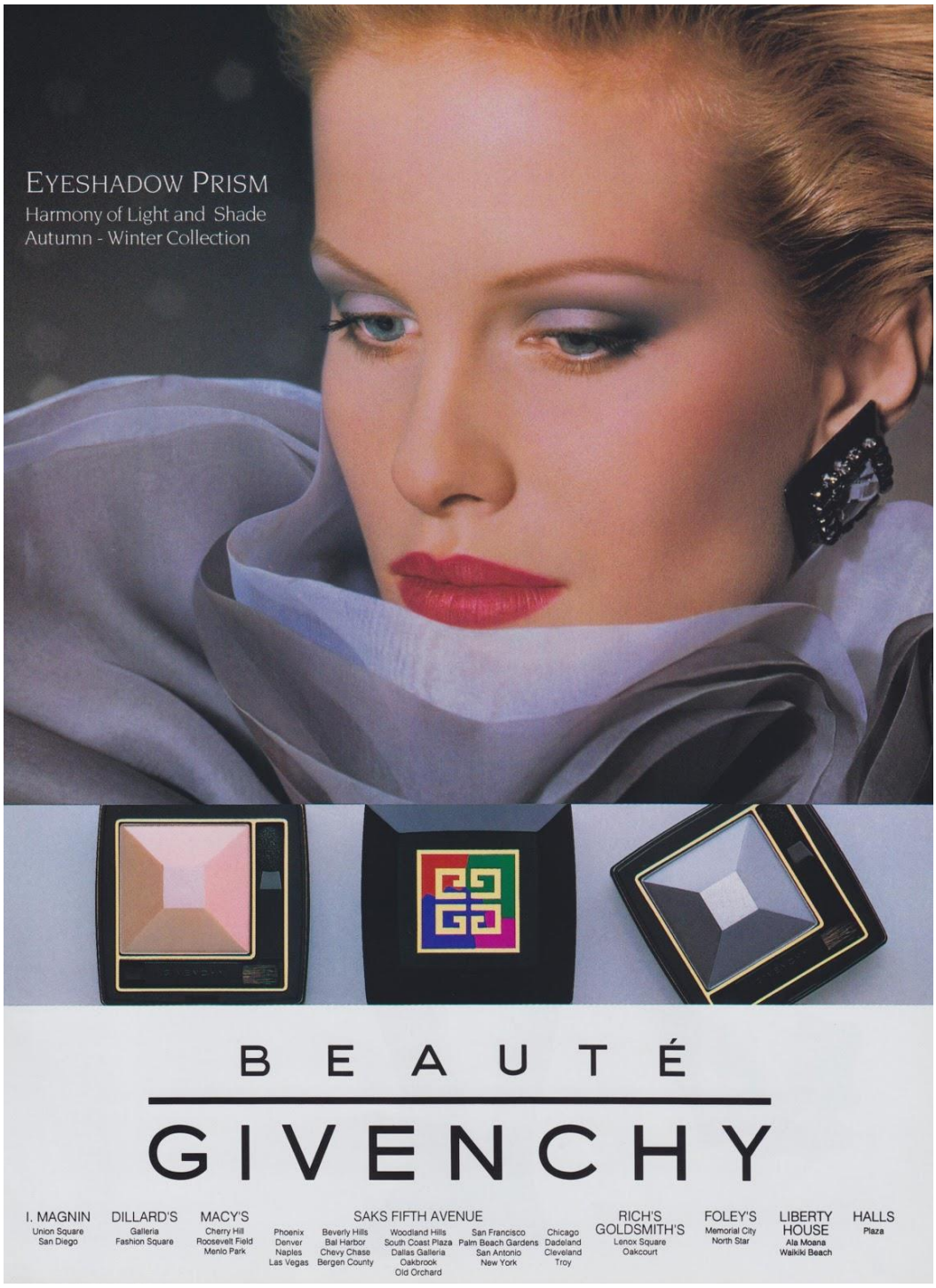

Figure 57. Advertisement for Givenchy's "Eyeshadow Prism." Published in *Vogue*, September 1, 1993.

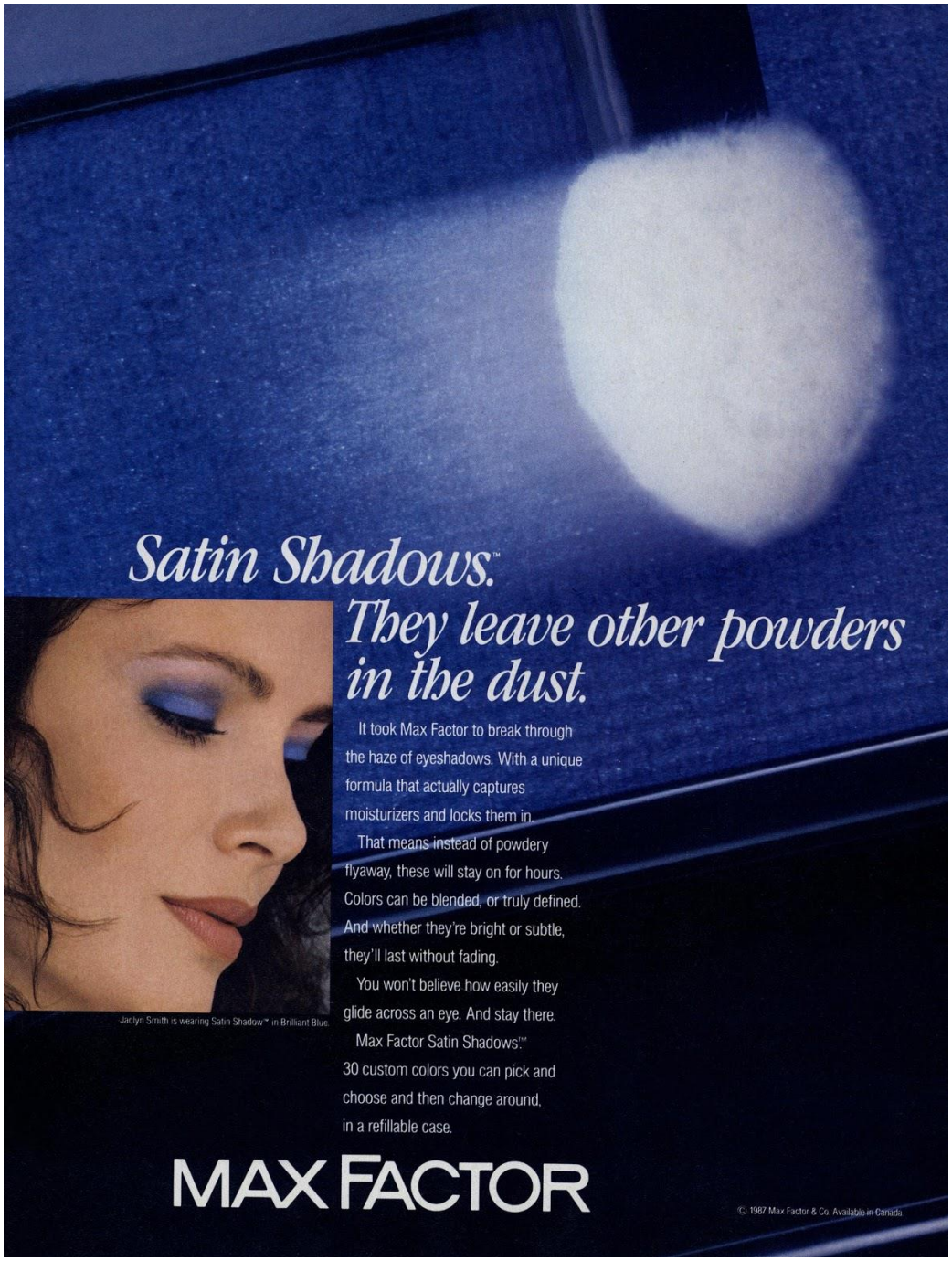

Figure 58. Advertisement for Max Factor's "Satin Shadows," featuring the shade "Brilliant Blue." Published in *Vogue*, November 1, 1987.

Figure 59. Detail of advertisement for Elizabeth Arden's "royal makeup." Published in the *New York Times*, April 4, 1937.

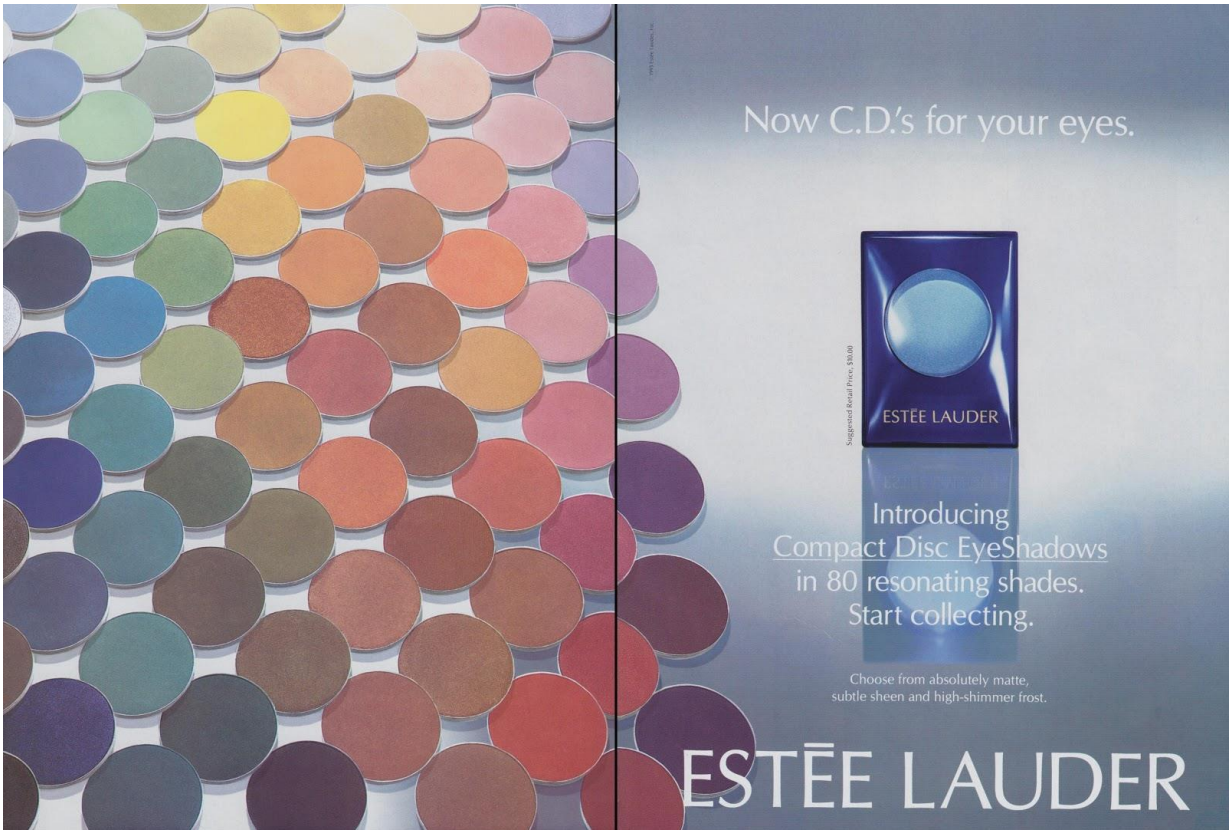

Figure 60. Advertisement for Estée Lauder's "Compact Disc EyeShadows." Published in *Vogue*, August 1, 1993.

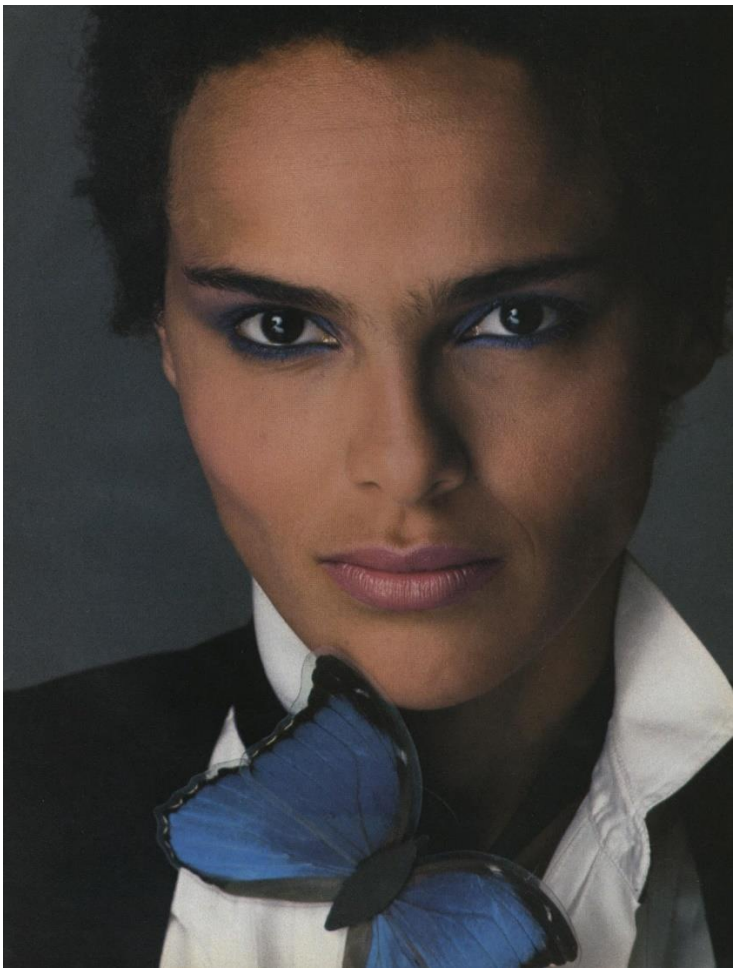

Figure 61. Shari Belafonte-Harper modeling Max Factor's "Blue Blazer" eyeshadow in *Vogue*'s "Upbeat . . . All the Way!" fashion editorial, September 1, 1982. Makeup by Ariella. Photograph by Bill King.

Figure 62. Maybelline advertisement emphasizing the cosmetic transformation necessary to achieve "unforgettable" beauty. Published in *Vogue*, September 15, 1963.

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