Milk, Magic and the Disappearing Cow:

Advertising Cow's Milk in Australia during the Interwar Period

Nicola Evans

University of Wollongong

Alison Rotha Moore

University of Wollongong

Abstract The movement during Australia's interwar period to make milk a drink for everyone was a multimedia affair that cut across institutions of public health, entertainment and parenthood, reaching deep into public and private spaces. Using New South Wales as a case study, we examine how state government and dairy farmers constructed powerful new narratives of milk's magic that excluded the cow who supplied that milk. Well before cows were physically distanced from most city and country residents, advertising removed them from the visual culture of milk, replacing the cow with the fetishized milk bottle and re-gendering milk to support new connotations of masculinity and national health. The many and varied interests that coalesced in this effort help to explain how cow's milk became so deeply entrenched in Australian culture and the challenges faced by animal activists working to uproot these practices and end the cruelty of the dairy industry.

Keywords Milk, Advertising, Cows, Dairy Industry, NSW Milk Board, Gender, Commodity Fetishism

In August 1926, an advertisement for Dairy Farmers Cooperative Milk appeared in *The Commonwealth Home*, an Australian magazine on interior decorating. Addressed to 'Mrs Housewife', the 'guardian of the family hearth', the advertisement states in bold capitals that 'purity in milk is paramount' and invites the housewife to use Dairy Farmers milk because 'our milk is obtained from clean contented cows.' (Figure 1). Supporting its claim is a photograph of a herd of cows spread out along a shallow riverbed, surrounded by pasture, with trees in the background. The Dairy Farmers Cooperative had formed in 1900 to enable small dairy farmers to combine to sell their milk directly to the public, eliminating city vendors who were judged to be taking too much of the profit (Donaldson and Southall 19). By the 1920s, the Dairy Farmers Cooperative was one of the biggest suppliers of milk in the state of New South Wales alongside the Fresh Food and Ice Company (Todd 88).

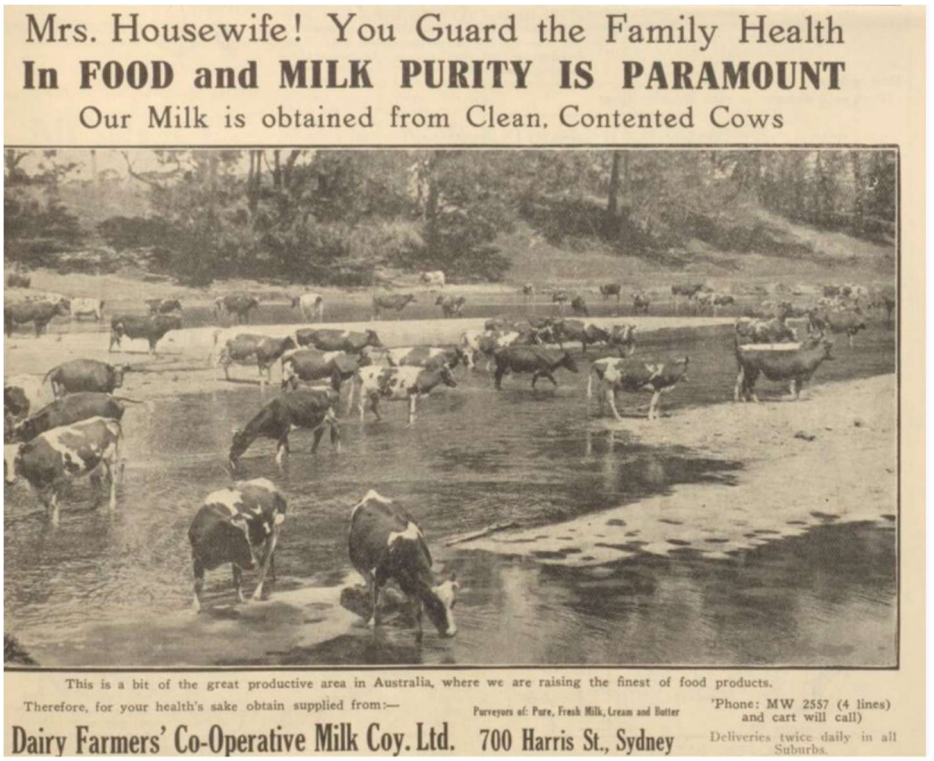

Figure 1. 'Mrs Housewife', The Commonwealth Home, August 2, 1926

Eight years later, Dairy Farmers produced another advertisement for its cow's milk (Figure 2). This time the cow is absent and the mood has shifted dramatically. The focus is now on an oversized milk bottle being ridden through the air by a young child and on the row of happy babies in the banner at the top. The curving lines reenact visually the promises of growth attached to cow's milk, as the child astride the bottle sweeps downwards past the line of babies towards the child in the image at the bottom who is old enough to sip milk from a glass. Whereas the first advertisement (Figure 1) anxiously acknowledged the risks of milk through its urgent appeal to Mrs Housewife to protect her family by choosing the right dairy, in the second advertisement (Figure 2), cow's milk is no longer something to defend, but something that has acquired an active, agentive role, leading children on a journey towards a healthy vigorous future, thanks to 'the health in every glass'.

Figure 2. 'Ride to health' Australian Dairy Products Journal, March 1934, 22.

This essay is in part about the removal of those 'clean contented cows' from the picture as farmers and the government reinvented cow's milk as an essential and irreplaceable drink for humans. The two advertisements are emblematic of a shift that takes place during the interwar years in Australia, from the defensive rhetoric of purity and hygiene of the 1920s to the dynamic and positive narratives that surround cow's milk in the 1930s – narratives that increasingly exclude the cow. The erasure of the living animal from texts to reduce our unease about exploiting their bodies has interested many scholars in animal studies. Carol Adams' influential concept of the 'absent referent' detailed the ways in which animals disappear both literally, when they are killed, and in language, when their death is disguised by the use of new names such as 'meat' or 'beef', or when anthropomorphic imagery turns nonhuman animals into miniature humans (Adams, *The Sexual Politics of Meat* 21). Stibbe's ecolinguistic exploration of erasure adds a further dimension, identifying different degrees of erasure. Granted that every text necessarily erases something of reality, we can distinguish between texts in which an important element is completely missing, or is present faintly as a trace, or present but in a 'denatured' or distorted fashion (Stibbe 587). In the image that introduces this essay, for example, the depiction of cows enjoying the riches of a pastoral landscape has already enacted two important erasures: first, there are no calves present with the cows, concealing who the milk in the advertisement was intended for. Second, the image shows the cows at ease, a typical move in milk advertising that routinely conceals the hard labour of the cows in producing milk and reproducing calves (Adams, 'Feminised Protein' 25). Yet, in Stibbe's terms, traces of the living cow remain in this first advertisement, especially by comparison with the second image in which all mention of cows as the source of milk has vanished. Most obviously, the first image still carries a realistic, visual representation of the cows. The reference to 'happy contented' cows preserves a sense of cows as animals whose well-being might matter.

The comparison of these two images also intersects with other erasures related to Australia's settler colonial history. The pastoral imagery of the photograph evokes the picturesque pleasures of an English landscape. It is strikingly similar to a popular image created by the Kerry company for the postcard craze that emerged in the early twentieth century (Figure 3). The image of cows drinking from the river is a reminder that the conversion of Australian land to dairy agriculture was a colonial project that erased the natural ecosystems and indigenous worlds that were here before Europeans arrived (Cohen 268). In the 1930s, these colonial associations would gradually vanish as cow's milk was claimed for the Australian nation. 'Erasure', in other words, is multiply inflected, a gradual process, not all or nothing, and filtered by the culture and social values of the period in which it occurs.

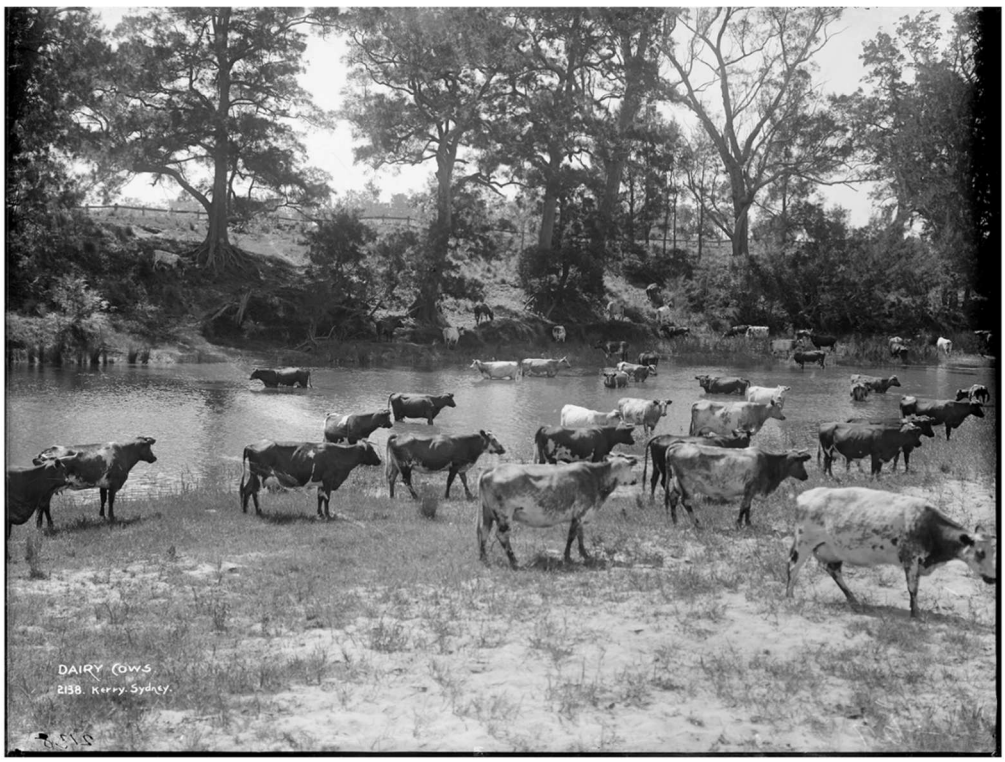

Figure 3. 'Dairy Cows' Postcard by the Kerry Company, Sydney, ca. 1894-1914

In what follows we explore the particular acts of erasure and reimagining in visual advertisements for cow's milk during the interwar years in Australia. Using the state of New South Wales (NSW) as a case study, we show how dairy farmers and the state Milk Board built a new visual culture that sent a river of milk coursing through every artery of the social body. This study joins a growing body of scholarship about the normalisation of cow's milk as an adult beverage in Western cultures and the transformations in the image of milk that this entailed (DuPuis; Valenze; Cohen). Unlike previous historical studies, however, our research shifts the vantage point to focus on the nonhuman actors.[i] How did the reinvention of cow's milk as a drink for humans alter the position of the cow in discourses of milk, and with what potential consequences for cows in the public's imagination?

To examine the visual promotion of milk, we sourced advertising images from print media using Trove, an online database of Australian newspapers, newsletters, and magazines, using keyword searches focusing on milk, dairy, nutrition and health, as well as additional searches on key slogans identified from preliminary searches of the period such as 'drink more milk'. The choice of the interwar period 1920-1939 captures two key developments in the history of milk promotion: the professionalization and rapid growth of Australia's newly established advertising industry (Crawford 58-59), and the establishment of the first NSW Milk Board in 1930 with a mandate to promote milk consumption. We supplemented our search of print media with images sourced from government archives, state library collections, and the booklets, posters and cards released as part of the annual Health Week and other state health campaigns featuring milk promotion. Other images were sourced from cultural heritage sites, the National Film and Sound Archive, pamphlets published by some of the larger dairy companies and key industry journals such as the monthly Australian Milk and Dairy Products Journal which began in 1933.

Our goal was not so much to find every milk advertisement used as to identify through close reading those recurring themes and images to which the public were exposed.

As Ciarlo, an historian of advertising, argues, the impact of advertising lies less in a particular image than in the visual environment that advertising creates. Writing of advertising in the early twentieth century, Ciarlo observes that the advertising image is never:

> a single illustration… [but] one droplet in a visual cascade. It appeared as chromolithographs lining the street and plastered onto walls of train stations. It was painted onto store display windows and laminated onto porcelain storefront signs. It circulated, as a black-and-white insert, in newspapers … a veritable tide of visuality washing through the urban landscape. (Ciarlo 3)

In advertising, 'imitation, not originality [is] the rule … and the building block of its hegemony' (Ciarlo 9). By studying the dominant visual tropes and patterns of commercial advertising, it is possible to tell 'something about *how* people saw, and even how they interpreted those images, merely by showing and analyzing *what* they saw, over and over and over again' (Ciarlo 17, emphasis in the original). As we will show, the pervasiveness of cow's milk advertising in 1930s Australia went well beyond the parameters of commerce. Promotional messaging for cow's milk was driven not just by the dairy industry but even more by the economic and public health agendas of government agencies. Advertisements for cow's milk traversed the social landscape reaching deep into both public and private, domestic space. The scale of cow's milk promotion and the many places in everyday life where the practice of drinking milk was embedded offers a fresh sense of the challenges facing animal advocates seeking to dissuade the public from using the products of a cruel industry.

But before cow's milk could be persuasively marketed to consumers, there were several ideas about cow's milk that needed to be dispelled.

Cow's Milk, Health and Disease

Before the twentieth century, cow's milk was consumed largely as an ingredient of another dish, added to oatmeal or bread, for example, for those who could not afford meat, or consumed in the form of butter, cheese and other dairy products that could travel without spoiling. In the nineteenth century, the discovery that mammal's milk contained proteins, fats and carbohydrates, the key building blocks of all food according to English biochemist William Prout, laid the groundwork for perceptions of milk as a nutritional powerhouse. Prout was moved to pronounce milk as evidence of the divine in nature, 'a model of what an alimentary substance ought to be – a kind of prototype, as it were of nutritious materials in general' (cited in Valenze,164). Throughout the nineteenth century the market for cow's milk increased exponentially, aided by the invention of condensed milk in the 1850s and powdered milk and infant formula in the 1860s. But in the last two decades of the century, the image of cow's milk underwent a sea change, as links were drawn between contaminated cow's milk, disease and rising infant mortality rates (Valenze 209-210).

By the 1920s, contamination was a serious concern for residents of Sydney. Approximately one third of Sydney's milk was supplied by dairies in areas close to the metropolis and two thirds came from the countryside (Codrington 122). Town dairies would milk the cows twice a day and deliver the milk raw to the consumer, usually left in jugs on the doorstep, open to flies and dirt. Cow's milk from country dairies was chilled for transportation by train or ship to the city and more likely to be pasteurized, but the processes of pasteurization used by different companies were highly variable and often ineffective (Lewis 71-72). This, coupled with the lack of mandatory testing of herds for tuberculosis and the adulteration of cow's milk with water from unsafe sources, helped turn cow's milk into a 'white poison' associated with scarlet fever, typhoid and high rates of infant mortality (Atkins 'White Poison?' 217-220). In 1923, a report by the NSW Board of Trade declared that fresh cow's milk was unsafe for infants and advised mothers to use canned or dried milk (Lewis 64). The same year in an address to farmers, Dr Harvey Sutton, chief medical officer of the NSW Department of Education went further, declaring that

drinking cow's milk in the current conditions was more dangerous for children than going to war was for soldiers ('The Danger of Milk').

Small wonder then that advertisements for cow's milk in the 1920s adopt a defensive tone, attempting to reassure a public that their milk is safe, a tactic that kept the risk of infection in view. 'Do you value your babies? They need pure milk!' was the alarming text of one advertisement by the Camden Vale dairy company which styled its milk 'special milk' to emphasise that it was produced under 'the most hygienic conditions possible'. Another Camden Vale advertisement for its 'special milk' featured a small girl skipping rope with (in small type) 'free from tubercle, typhoid and diphtheria bacilli.' (Figure 4)

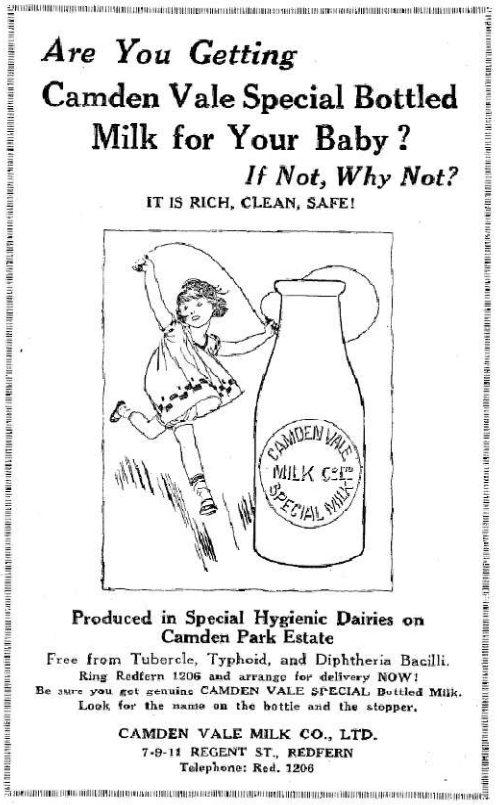

Figure 4. Are you getting Camden Vale Special Bottled Milk?
Health and Baby Welfare Week, Sydney, 1929, p.28

Not all companies were as explicit about the potential harms of drinking cow's milk, but recurrent use of terms such as 'pure' 'hygienic' and 'clean' in advertisements of this period provided continual reminders of the risks of drinking cow's milk. One way of defending the purity of the milk was to emphasise the use of modern technology. This strategy is especially visible in the booklets produced by large dairy companies that described the entire process of bringing cow's milk to the consumer, drawing attention to their use of the latest machinery. Following the introduction of bottled milk in 1925 (Todd 81), Fresh Food and Ice's booklet, *The Milk of Purity*, for example, touted its use of bottles with special wire stoppers to seal the milk from contamination.

Another way to reassure the public about the purity of the milk was to emphasize that the milk came from 'contented cows' grazing rich pasture lands. Carnation Milk, the condensed milk company, had popularized the expression when it introduced 'milk from contented cows' as its slogan in 1906 (Valenze 189). Helen Thompson, the copywriter who coined the phrase, recalls that it was inspired partly by listening to the company chair's lyrical description of the sparkling waters and green meadows that housed his cows, and partly by the connection between digestion and physical ease (Valenze 189). 'Imitation not originality is the rule of advertising' (Ciarlo 19) and the idea that contented cows might make for contented humans is a connection one sees frequently in early promotional material for cow's milk in Australia. *The Milk of Purity* similarly emphasises that the purity and richness of its milk are because it 'is the product of no less than 20,000 cows, the pick of all the finest herds that pasture on the rich natural grasses of the dairying districts within easy reach of the Metropolis. These cows graze contentedly in the bright sunshine, amid congenial surroundings and drink the pure water of mountain streams' (12). Perhaps paradoxically, one effect of concerns over the quality and safety of cow's milk in the early twentieth century was to keep the cow as source of the milk firmly within the social field of vision.

The Milk of Purity also devotes several pages to explaining why the quality of milk derived from a herd of cows is as good as, if not better than, milk from a single cow. The aim may have been to discourage households from keeping what was called a 'family cow' to assure a safe supply of milk ('The Family Cow'). Although the practice of keeping a cow in the backyard declined as land in the city became more expensive, it was still common enough through the 1920s and 1930s to prompt news articles about the antics of cows who went astray and knocked down someone's kitchen ('A Cow's Retreat'), letters to the editor for and against the practice of allowing cows to graze the footpaths ('The Cows') and articles warning householders not to assume that milk from the family cow was safe ('Care of the Family Cow').

In the 1920s, illustrations became more frequent in advertisements after advertisers saw the impact of the patriotic images used in World War I propaganda (Crawford 28) and the cow played a key role in advertisements for milk. A 1927 advertisement for Lifeguard condensed milk, 'Australia's richest purest milk' (Figure 5), depicts an officer wearing the uniform of the British royal cavalry 'Lifeguard' regiment, giving emphasis to the themes of protection present throughout this period and the continued association of cow's milk with empire. To the right a cow stands in pastures, lifting her head to the man on horseback as though to acknowledge that both are engaged in offering assurances about the milk product. Even a much smaller 1923 (Figure 6) advertisement for the brand which describes its condensed milk, hopefully, as 'the nation's milk supply', manages to fit two cows on top of the tin of condensed milk, one standing, and one relaxed and reclining, alongside text promising a product that is 'from selected herds cared for in Australia's finest pastures.'

Figure 5. 'Australia's Richest Purest Milk', The Bacchus Marsh Express, 2 July 1927

Figure 6. The Nation's Milk Supply, The Bulletin, 5 July 1923

Why was it important to assure the public about contented cows? According to Block, some of the agricultural science of the early twentieth century asserted that the quality of the milk depended upon the cow's nervous condition. A passage from a 1912 dairy handbook cited by Block explains that:

> good dairy cows possess a highly developed nervous system with which the secretion of milk is intimately associated. …It is owing to her high nerve development that a cow is so very sensitive to excitement, boisterousness, unkindness, rough treatment and allied abuses which always react so unfavourably upon the production of milk and butterfat. (Michels 5, cited in Block 119)

The theory about the cow's nervous condition affecting milk echoes earlier ideas about wet-nursing and beliefs that the mental disposition of a human wet nurse could influence the health and even the character of the baby she fed (Maillet). As late as 1898 an article from *The Times*, London, reprinted in many Australian newspapers, advised physical checks of candidate wet nurses in terms that evoke a farmer assessing a prospective cow. The article recommended careful inspection of the woman: 'the gums should be red and firm, the breasts should preferably possess a pyriform shape and should be marbled with blue veins' ('Choosing a Wet-nurse' 5). If wet nurses were inspected as though they were cows, cows, on the other hand, would frequently be described as 'foster mothers of the human race'. The phrase appears in a 1919 article entitled 'Know Thy Cow', which states that 'as a mother she [the dairy cow] is entitled to the consideration that can only come from those who know and understand her.' A 1927 article on 'Wholesome Milk' quotes a biologist who begins by observing that the 'trite maxim' that the cow is foster mother of the human race is only 'half the story. For the dairy cow not only takes up and extends the work of the human mother but furnishes absolute necessities for mankind throughout the life span' (Newton, 5). Even the *Australian Dairy Products Journal*, a periodical not given to sentimental attitudes, described the cow as 'the fostermother of the human race' in a 1934 article, recording the many cultures that had through history revered the cow and the bull as deities ('Milk in History' 9). It is noticeable that in 1938, when the periodical again ran a history

article about the 'romance of 150 years progress' of the dairy industry, the reader is invited to think of the cow this time as a 'milk factory' ('The Dairy Industry' 25).

This is not to suggest that the actual happiness of the cows was a priority during this period. As Canavan observes:

> Dominant anthropocentric ideas about human-nonhuman animal relations thus make us believe in notions of 'happy cows' grazing in idyllic pastures, as if granting them some months of access to sunlight, fresh air, and outside space would countervail lifelong subordination to human rule and being subjected to confinement, repeated forced impregnation, being milked while pregnant, being bereft of their calves, and being killed once their bodies are seen as 'used up'. (36)

Yet the emphasis on contented cows did at least acknowledge the cow as the source of the milk that humans were taking and as a being whose well-being would make a difference to the quality of the milk.

This would change in the 1930s, but before this there was another idea about cow's milk that needed to be addressed. Dr Elma Sandford Morgan, who would later become the first woman to hold state office as the Director of Maternal Welfare for NSW, published an article for Health and Baby Welfare Week in 1929. Entitled simply 'Maternal and Baby Welfare', the article was a contribution to the new science of 'mothercraft,' premised on the idea that mothers needed to be taught the science of parenting rather than relying on maternal intuition (Reiger 128-129). Although mothercraft made mothers subservient to a largely masculinized culture of scientific expertise, there was one area where mothers were irreplaceable, as Sanford Morgan emphasised, and that was in the priceless benefits of breast milk:

> There is only one proper food for a baby and that is his own mother's milk. Nature has intended human milk for the human baby; cows' milk for the calf. Cow's milk however (suitably) modified or scientifically prepared can never take the place of

> human milk for the human baby. With all our advances in science we can never overcome that fact. (Sandford, 29)

For much of the 1920s, nature was on the side of mothers' milk for infants, and advertisements for feeding infants with condensed milk would often advertise it as a substitute for those mothers whose milk was insufficient. As Sandford's declaration reveals, the sense that mother's milk was the most natural option for infants would sometimes include the cow as a mother as well, acknowledging the fact that Nature had intended the cow's milk for her own young, not for humans. By the end of the 1930s, the rhetoric of cow's milk promotion would have engineered a new discourse in which cow's milk was no longer seen as a replacement for anything else: in the words of a Dairy Farmers advertisement in 1933, 'there is absolutely NO SUBSTITUTE for fresh milk' (see Figure 9 below).

Drink More Milk

On April 16th 1929, *The Sydney Morning Herald* reported on the start of a 'Drink More Milk' campaign which was to launch a week of activities in Sydney and surrounding suburbs ('Milk Week: Campaign Opened'). There would be films about milk showing at Sydney cinemas, talks on the radios and the free distribution of milk at booths set up in Martin Place. The campaign was opened by the Minister for Health, Dr Arthur, who told the people assembled that they should not be thanking him but 'that invaluable producer of milk the dairy cow' prompting laughter. Even more hilarity followed when Dr Arthur proposed to repeat a stunt carried out at a 'drink more milk' campaign in Canada, in which a cow was driven on a decorated truck to Parliament House and milked by the Minister for Agriculture. Dr Arthur ended his speech by instructing his audience that 'if in the course of time you are going to put up a monument … to that invaluable animal that gives you this precious fluid, all I would ask you is that you bury my ashes at the foot of that monument and write an epitaph: Here lies one who tried to give the children more milk. (Laughter and cheers).'

This wasn't the first push to increase milk consumption. In 1923, dairy farmers from around NSW had organised a procession up the middle of Sydney with floats decorated with 'more milk' and other slogans. By 1929, the phrase 'drink more milk' was sufficiently well known to prompt sarcastic rebuttals given the high prices that townspeople were paying for their fresh milk. 'Drink *still* more milk' was the headline in the *Telegraph* covering the event, and editorials by women suggested their outrage that people should be asked to drink more of a commodity that remained expensive, particularly as the Depression hit Australia ('Women's Column: Drink More Milk'). As big as these early milk promotion efforts were, they pale in comparison to the 1930s as efforts to increase consumption ramped up. And as they did so, the cow, barely in the frame in the minister of health's jocular remarks, would quietly lose her footing altogether as the narrative around cow's milk shifted.

Promoting Cow's Milk in 1930s Sydney

The Milk Board of NSW was convened on January 1, 1932, under the provisions of the 1931 Milk Act. The introduction of state Milk Boards was consistent with international what countries were doing internationally. Its primary function was to centralize control over measures to improve the quality and safety of Sydney's milk supply. Before the existence of the Board, responsibility for registering and inspecting the conditions of dairies was vested in fifty-nine different councils, which produced many conflicting ideas and practices around sanitation (Lloyd 206). The Board was also responsible for regulating the milk market, setting minimum prices for cow's milk sold by farmers for distribution in Sydney. In the early 1930s there were consistent surpluses of liquid milk (Lloyd 216), which meant that many farmers had to sell off their milk for less profitable cheese and butter. In order to bring demand into alignment with supply, it was necessary to increase consumption of cow's milk in the city. The goal of increasing consumption was consistent with the new science of cow's milk that promoted it as an essential part of human diets. Given the need to improve

demand for cow's milk, it was helpful that one of the powers assigned to the Milk Board was to publish reports, information and advice … and by these and other means encourage the consumption of milk' (NSW Parliament, 527). In the 1920s and 1930s organizations to promote cow's milk were appearing in countries around the world, from the Milk Publicity Council (1920) established by the UK to 'Milk Propaganda' associations in Scandinavia and Japan (Martiin 214).

The scale of the New South Wales Milk Board's efforts to promote cow's milk as a beverage is impressive. The minutes of the September 1936 meeting of the Milk Board give a sense of the scope and variety of the milk promotion activities they initiated. Under the heading 'publicity,' the Board members approved advertisements in a range of media from newspapers and radio to outdoor posters for rail hoardings as well as the production of 100,000 school diaries and 10,000 advertising strips to decorate the counters of milk bars. Giving an idea of the different demographics targeted, advertisements were to appear in magazines ranging from the Electrical Home Journal published by the Newcastle City council to the Willoughby Parents and Citizens Association Sports programme. The minutes of other meetings that year record approvals for advertisements in Rugby publications (February), women's magazines (March), the production of 10,000 cookery books and dental folders (September). Much of the radio and print press advertising was timed to appear during Health Week. Health Week was started by a group of politicians and public health officials in 1920. By 1933 it had grown considerably with over 300,000 copies of the Health Week booklet entirely paid for by sponsorship (Weaver 11). The Milk Board began collaborating with the Health Week executive in 1933 and by 1934 the Week had been rechristened 'Health and Milk Week'.

One of the NSW Milk Board's most successful promotions was a play, 'The Milky Way', commissioned by the Board, which ran initially at the Savoy Theatre for five nights in 1936 and proved so popular it was repeated in other parts of the city as well as Newcastle. According to the Milk Board's 1936 annual report, over 75,000 people saw 57 performances of the play. Described as a 'Fairy Play and Ballet' ('Use More Milk! The Milk

Board's Unique Propaganda'), the play featured the demon Anti-Milk in a battle with the milk fairies 'fat, sugar, protein, vitamins and minerals', servants of the goddess of health, Hygeia, whose temple was decorated with an enormous milk bottle. The play was followed by short talks on the value of consuming cow's milk by various medical experts as well as short films, of which the Milk Board had an entire library, including films from the UK and the US that would be lent out to various schools and educational programs or community associations. Also in the works that year were plans for other promotion capitalizing on the glamour of the entertainment industry including posters in which new film star Sybil Jason delivered an encomium on the virtues of milk and cutouts of Shirley Temple, star of a major milk advertising campaign in America, for display in milk shops and milk bars.

The NSW Milk Board frequently borrowed campaign strategies and advertisements from the UK, which had instituted a National Milk Publicity Council in 1920. In the minutes of 11 January 1938, the Board approves the recruitment of offices and insurance companies to encourage 'milk clubs' or breaks for milk drinking at work, following the successful introduction of what came to be called 'elevenses' in Britain. The Milk Board also targeted domestic spaces, sponsoring cooking sessions in schools on ways of using milk in recipes, workshops on mothercraft and infant welfare that advised mothers on the importance of drinking cow's milk for the health of their baby, and publishing articles on how to keep the cow's milk they bought safely in the home at a time when refrigeration was not widely available. Surveying the breadth of the Milk Board's campaigns across public and private spaces, from work to education, from sports and entertainment to the media and public transport, one has the impression that there was scarcely a social place, event or practice that was not recruited for encouraging consumption of cow's milk.

In the flood of materials promoting cow's milk as a beverage, some distinctly new visual conventions emerge.

Milk and Masculinity

For the most part, advertisements for fresh or canned cow's milk in the 1920s built on milk's established connection to femininity, with images of mop-headed girls, like the little girl skipping on the Camden Vale dairy advertisement, or toddlers and babies of indeterminate gender as part of an address to mothers. During the 1930s, one sees a concerted push to broaden associations with cow's milk to include the whole family, with a new emphasis on masculine strength and vitality. A 1935 advertisement shows a boy in school uniform and his suited father, both leaning against a counter sipping milk from a straw (Figure 7). In the text below, the father thanks his son for introducing him to milk, observing 'so this is where all your pocket money goes' as his son declares, 'I couldn't get better value could I?' The stilted exchange of testimonials finishes with his father's statement that 'now I've joined the army of milk drinkers.' The thick clustering of signs connoting masculinity – 'army' 'money' 'sons and fathers' is reinforced by the setting, a milk bar.

Figure 7. For sons and their fathers,
Australian Women's Weekly, 24 August, 1935.

As the name implied, the 'milk bar' was implicitly coded as an alternative to alcohol. The first milk bar in Australia was opened in Martin Place Sydney in 1932 by a Greek immigrant, Joachim Tavlarides (Janiszewski and Tsirtsakis 294). It sported a classy black and white décor, apparently inspired by an American whiskey campaign (Tsirtsakis, 2017) and was phenomenally popular with five thousand attending the opening in Sydney and 27,000 per week thereafter, most of them men (Janiszewski and Tsirtsakis, 297). When beer and milk were conjoined in public discourse it was often as opposed terms of a binary as in headlines such as 'Cow mightier than beer pump' or 'Less beer for dad more milk for the kids,' a slogan favoured by the Minister of Health Dr Arthur ('Less beer'). The success of the milk bar on the other hand seemed to offer a way to soften the opposition between beer and milk into something that might coexist in the lives of both boys and men. Building on this theme the Milk Board sponsored other advertisements featuring cricketers and other sportsmen, linking milk to energy and athletic prowess. In addition to the campaign to introduce milk clubs in offices and factories, this strategy began to create new, more masculine reference points for cow's milk.

Even when women are the putative addressees of an advertisement, they are hedged about by signs of masculine authority. Figure 8, portraying the visit of a family to a doctor, visually maps the gender hierarchies surrounding milk in which women are subject to the masculinized authority of science. The doctor wearing a white lab coat is seated behind a polished desk, looking at the son on the other side of the desk who smiles back at him, with the text banner announcing the doctor's news 'he's 100% fit because of milk!'. The mother, also looking at her son, is seated, with her husband and son standing either side of her, while the father, positioned close to the doctor's side of the desk seems to look at the doctor's report, placing him in a solidary relation with scientific expertise. Meanwhile to the side, a glass of milk tilted in the direction of the family reinforces the message of the slogan: it is milk that has brought about this happy scenario.

Figure 8. 'He's 100 Percent Fit'

The Australian Women's Mirror, November 1, 1938

The dynamic of a masculinized science of milk and the women who receive and implement its lessons is more overt in a 1933 Dairy Farmers' advertisement (Figure 9). Addressed 'To the Wives and Mothers of Sydney,' the text bids those wives and mothers listen to what 'medical authorities of the world unanimously have agreed.' Further text on the left of the advertisement ups the stakes considerably by declaring that the 'health of the seventh largest city in the world depends on its Milk'.

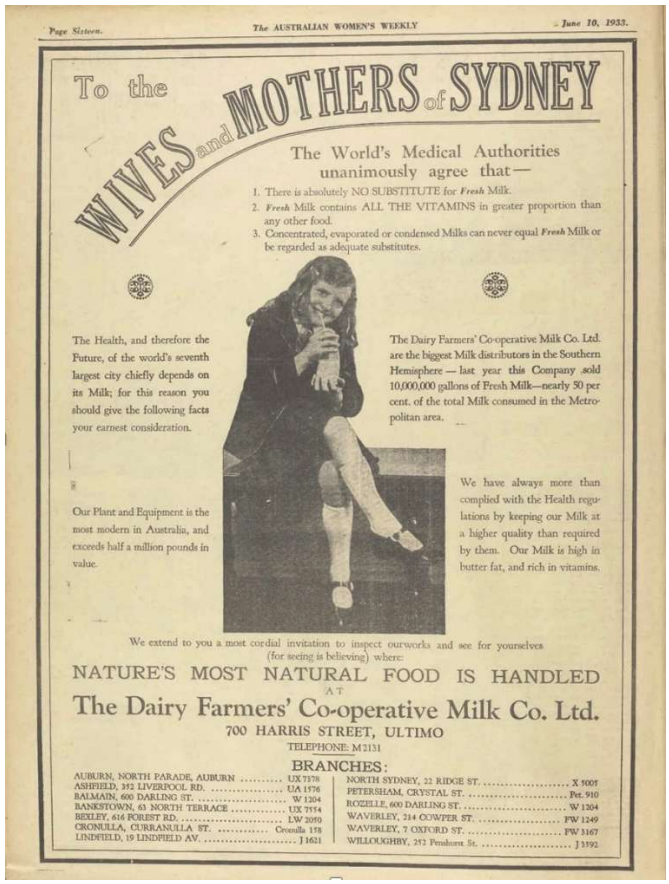

Figure 9. To the Wives and Mothers of Sydney, Australian Women's Weekly, June 10, 1933.

The text of this advertisement is a reminder of what boys and girls, but especially boys are getting fit for: the defence of their society, which might require an 'army of milk drinkers.' By the 1930s, cow's milk in many countries had achieved a 'high political profile as a symbol of the nation's health' (Gilmour 3). The incorporation of diet and nutrition into the obligations of governments across Europe was influenced by the need to build citizens capable of defending that nation in wartime. In Britain, for example, the introduction of school meal programs was catalysed by the Boer war, which had revealed how many potential recruits were malnourished (Atkins 'School Milk' 396). Politicians, pundits and

patriots in the 1930s frequently drew comparisons between per capita milk consumption on the home front and the higher rates of cow's milk consumption in countries in Europe and the US. The graphic below (Figure 10) derives from the Berlei company, a lingerie company whose founder, Fred Burley, also founded the buy-Australian preference league in 1924 and toured the country on the 'great white train' to promote Australian manufacturing and commerce in 1926. The fact that women selling corsets were also recruited to the promotion of cow's milk is an example of just how wide a net was cast in the claims made by promoters.[ii]

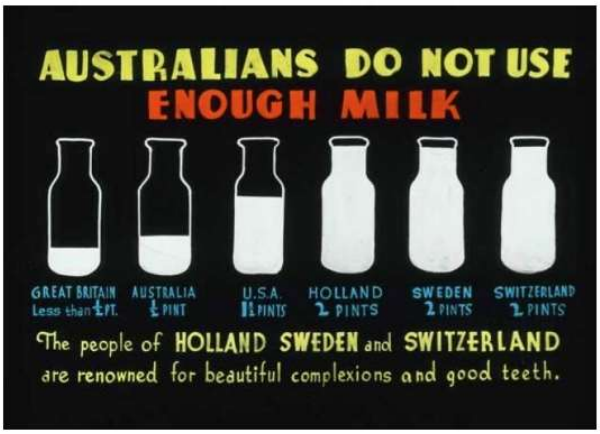

Figure 10. Australians Do Not Use Enough Milk, National Film and Screen Archive, 1935

In the 1930s, cow's milk advertising promises that its product can be everything to everyone, offering a miraculous panacea that solves complexion problems, dispels fatigue, grows healthy children and stops the ageing process. It is as though the miraculous powers to heal 'infertility, eye ailments, the fragility of old age' attributed to breast milk by the ancient world (Valenze 21) had now been hijacked to promote the sale of cow's milk.

Many of the claims for cow's milk in the 1930s are summed up in Figure 11. To the left are promises of health and good complexions, to the right, energy, stamina and strong

teeth.[iii] But it is what lies at the centre that we turn to now, the oversized milk bottle from which all such benefits will flow. A key aspect of the new iconography of cow's milk in the 1930s was the replacement of the cow by the milk bottle.

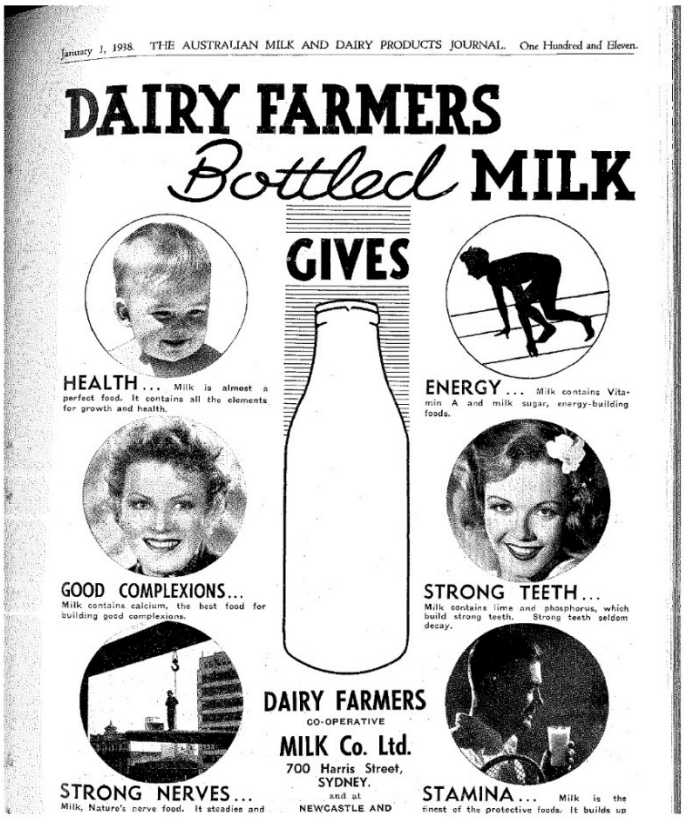

Figure 11. Dairy Farmers Bottled Milk Gives…
Australian Milk and Dairy Products Journal, January 1, 1938

Cow's milk comes from bottles

'A commodity appears, at first sight, a very trivial thing, and easily understood,' Marx (163) writes at the beginning of his famous account of commodity fetishism. But though the use value of a wooden table may be obvious,

> so soon as it steps forth as a commodity, it is changed into something transcendent. It not only stands with its feet on the ground, but, in relation to all other commodities, it stands on its head, and evolves out of its wooden brain grotesque ideas, far more wonderful than table turning ever was. (163).

In the upside-down relations produced by capitalism, the animated table figures forth the grotesque process by which the commodity's exchange value renders invisible the human labour that created it, as 'a definite social relation between men … assumes in their eyes, the fantastic form of a relation between things' (Marx 172). We can extend the analogy to the way in which the milk bottle's pervasive presence in 1930s milk advertising becomes the lively fetish that disavows the enforced labour of cows producing milk under conditions of exploitation by humans. An early illustration in 1925 foreshadows the way the bottle would substitute for the cow (Figure 12). Accompanying a 'Health Story' about milk for children called 'The Magic Flash,' the bottle in the image is placed in the outdoors where cows might normally be pictured, ringed about by small fairies.

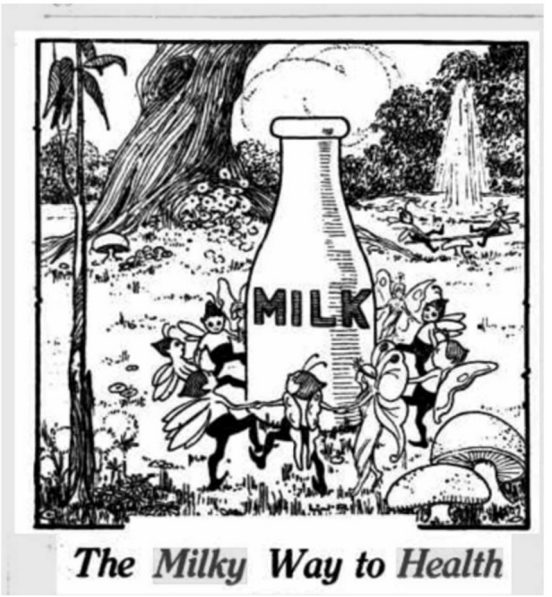

Figure 12. The Milky Way to Health,
The Mail (Adelaide), 24 November 1923

The introduction of milk fairies which had formed part of milk publicity in London, and which would be central to the NSW Milk Board's own play, *The Milky Way*, symbolises the 'magic' of cow's milk that was often a theme of milk panegyrics. 'The magic of milk,' reported the *Australian Dairy Products Journal* in 1934, sandwiched between announcements about Caterpillar tractors and new bottling machines, '[is that] milk feeds the tissues easily and naturally, contains nothing to irritate the skin from within, balances the diet, it makes for glowing health, the beauty of contour and line that is more than skin deep'(26). As the 1930s wore on, some of this magic attached itself to the milk bottle. In these images, the bottle is always fantastically oversized, dwarfing humans, and drawing all eyes. An advertisement by Australian Glass Manufacturers depicts the milk bottle high up in the skies pouring a curling lick of milk over the rooftops of the city, beneath a splendid banner that proclaims, 'protecting the nation's health … with glass' (Figure 13). The slogan suggests that the theme of cow's milk's protective qualities is now well established enough that it can be extended to the bottle it comes in.

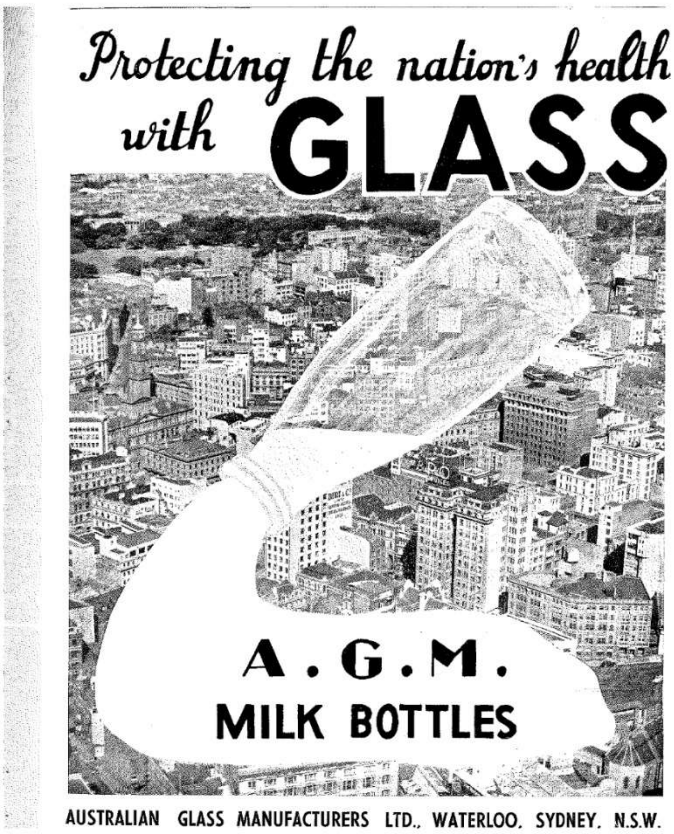

Figure 13. Protecting the Nation's Health,
Australian Milk and Dairy Products Journal, August 1, 1938

If it is to be expected that the manufacturers of glass milk bottles would amplify the charms of their own commodity, they were not the only ones, for the bottle had done wonders for the milk industry as well. In a review of that industry, Mr Sidney Foster, chairman of the Milk Board in Britain commended 'the full glare of press and poster propaganda [that had] made the common milk bottle glisten like a newfound treasure' ('Milk Marketing Board' 37). That glow embraced the milk glass as well. In the NSW Milk Board's 1938 image depicting lifeguards striding up the beach, waving the nation's flag (Figure 14), the image is embellished with milk glasses adorned with wings, as though milk's ability to lend wings to lifeguards extended to the glasses that milk comes in. The fact that these

'lifeguards' are no longer British cavalrymen but the iconic heroes of Australia's beach culture emphasises that this magic now belonged to the Australian nation.

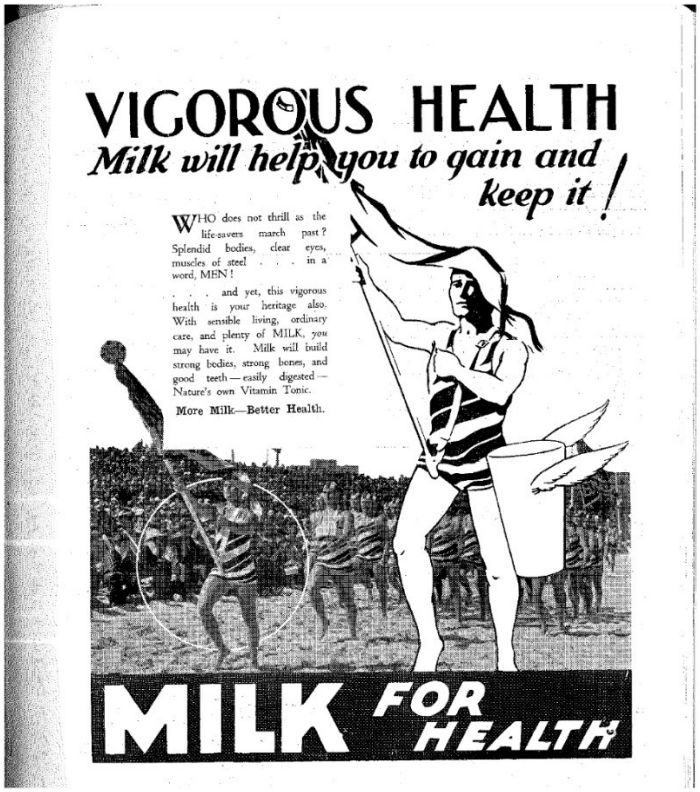

Figure 14. 'Vigorous Health,'
Australian Milk and Dairy Products Journal, March 1, 1938

Perhaps the most powerful magic was performed by one of the Milk Board's early advertisements (Figure 15). Designed by J.M. Shield, the Milk Board's advertising director,[iv] the image shows milk pouring down into three glasses held out by three pairs of hands, one large, one medium and small. The hands suggest the family, but the magic lies in all this advertisement sweeps away, from the cows who produce the milk to the farm technologies that transform the milk for human consumption, leaving just the glasses held up to catch a liquid flowing from the word 'milk' itself.

Figure 15. Drink More Milk,
ca. 1921-1930 State Library of Victoria

Depicting milk visually as an endless stream parallels its grammatical treatment in dominant European languages as 'unbounded'. We cannot 'count' resources such as milk or air or water, we must say *a glass of milk*, *a reservoir of water* and so on, 'as if they in themselves were inexhaustible', and in doing this we perpetuate an ideology where 'we [humans] can

expand for ever – our own numbers, our own power and dominance over other species, our own consumption and so-called standard of living' (Halliday 170; see also Moore 191-220).

The culmination of the new iconography that renders cow's milk a triumphantly and exclusively human story of abundance is the milk float authorised by the Milk Board in 1938 as part of Australia's 150-year celebrations (Figure 16). The float rises up like a pyramid to suggest an ancient temple of health, surmounted by a canopy where Hygiea, the goddess of health is enthroned. Its sides are covered in copious white roses, where temple maidens in vaguely Grecian costumes recline alongside two enormous white milk glasses. A further glass is displayed on a table below the throne where two children in modern dress sip milk from a straw. The float, which also carried the slogan 'milk builds an A1 nation' participated in the 150th year celebration pageant, 'travelling five miles of streets of the pageant [and] shown three times in the ring at the Royal Easter Show, being universally admired' ('The Milk Float – Sydney Celebrations' 7). The theme of the float is consistent with a tendency to represent the drinking of cow's milk as timeless and universal, dating back to antiquity, despite evidence that few cultures relied on drinking cow's milk before the twentieth century (DuPuis). But while the value of milk is displayed and celebrated by this elaborate float, its maker, the cow, is nowhere to be seen.

Figure 16. 'The Temple of Health,' Australian Milk and Dairy Products Journal, May 1, 1938

The cow did not vanish from advertising in the interwar period, but through the 1930s it appeared, if at all, in an obviously stylised and artificial form, like the large mechanical black and white cow that decorated the shopfront at the opening of the first milk bar (Janiszewski and Tsirtsakis 297-298). The 1941 advertisement for Cadbury's 'dairy milk' chocolate is a good example: two glasses of milk dominate the image representing Cadbury's famous promise of 'a glass and a half of milk in every half pound block.' Below, we see two tiny wooden cows and an old-fashioned milk maid reduced to toylike proportions. Consciousness of the cow as a living animal was undoubtedly still present for those who still lived within earshot of dairy farms, but as the spread of suburbia and rising land prices meant fewer dairies in residential areas, there was less and less reason to think of the cow that way, or to think of her at all.

Figure 17. Cadbury's Dairy Milk Chocolate, Australian Women's Weekly, May 10, 1941

Conclusion

Cows continue to be part of dairy advertising, most commonly represented as figures bearing little resemblance to the actual animals in highly stylised green pastures connoting a vision of rural nature that is 'markedly removed from the urban industrial experience' (Molloy 114). The success of such strategies is suggested by contemporary studies showing striking ignorance of the lives of cows. A recent survey of Australian school children in 157 schools found that four in five primary school children and three in five secondary schoolchildren thought that cows were milked by hand (McLennan). Ignorance of how milk is produced is not confined to Australia. A 2017 survey of British school children of primary

school age (4-8 years) found nearly one in five children thought milk came from a fridge or the supermarket (FarmingUK). Many of the children had never seen a cow: ten percent of the children thought cows were as big as double decker buses, while more than ten percent thought they were as small as cats. A study commissioned by the Innovation Centre of US Dairy made headlines in 2017 for revealing that seven percent of American adults (a number approximating the population of Pennsylvania) thought that chocolate milk came from brown cows (Dewey). Such levels of ignorance about cows and their milk help keep the public unaware of the cruelties involved in dairy farming.[v] The campaigns to promote cow's milk during Australia's interwar period might be said to have planted the seeds of this separation of the cow from the milk she produces. Advertisements during this period reduced cows to a mere symbolic presence, if they mentioned them at all, and replaced them with the lively magical powers of human technology, of bottles that flew and glasses that dispensed miraculous gifts of strength and vitality. While modernization of dairy technology and the increasing scientific interventions into milk were a part of the changing themes we observed, identifying any single cause would ignore the wide variety of groups that found common cause in promoting cow's milk from business owners to public health officials, from rural farmers to lingerie salespeople, from politicians to the Australian Housewives Associations who campaigned throughout this period for lower prices on staple goods including milk (Smart 56). What can be said of the shifts in the imaginary of cow's milk is that well before the cow was removed from the physical proximity of most Australians, a narrative emerged that excluded her as a living being in every way that mattered.

Notes

[i] As one reviewer noted, while contemporary studies of cow's milk advertising exist that take an animal-centred perspective, such as Cole and Adams cited above, historical studies of dairy promotion tend to focus on the consequences for humans.

[ii] Although beyond the scope of this essay, there are clear connections between the promotion of milk as a perfect white food and the racist rhetoric of White Australia proponents at the time. Fred Burley's company in-house magazine, *The Berlei Review*, published a series of essays by the Dutch anthropologist P.K. Roest supporting the superiority of the White race. Similarly, the 1935 *Milk and Health Week* booklet included an essay by the eugenicist *Racial Hygiene Society*, and Professor Harvey Sutton, one of the founders of Health Week and an ardent promoter of drinking cow's milk, also had ties to eugenic schools of thought (Grant). See Stănescu (103-128) on the resuscitation of a racist politics of milk by the far right in America.

[iii] As Cole points out, cow's milk advertising is a classic example of Marcuse's idea of the 'false needs' that capitalism generates (20-21).

[iv] According to the minutes of the December 6 meeting, 1935.

[v] A nationwide survey of Australians in 2019 found that the majority of respondents rated the welfare of dairy cows as 'moderately good' (Hemsworth, Coleman et al. 19).

Works Cited

'A Cow's Retreat.' *The Kyogle Examiner (NSW : 1912; 1914 - 1915; 1917 - 1954)*, 29 Jan 1929: 5. Accessed 23 Jul 2024 http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article234707536.

Adams, Carol. *The Sexual Politics of Meat - 25th Anniversary Edition: A Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory*. Bloomsbury, 2015.

---. 'Feminised Protein: Meaning Representations, and Implications.' *Making Milk: The Past, Present and Future of our Primary Food,* edited by Mathilde Cohen and Yoriko Otomo, Bloomsbury, 2017, pp. 19-40.

Atkins, Peter. 'White Poison? The Social Consequences of Milk Consumption, 1850-1930.' *Social History of Medicine*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1992, pp. 207-227. https://doi.org.ezproxy.uow.edu.au/10.1093/shm/5.2.207

---. 'School Milk in Britain 1900-1934.' *Journal of Policy History*, vol 19, no. 4, 2007, pp.395-427.

Block, Daniel. 'Saving Milk Through Masculinity: Public Health Officers and Pure Milk, 1880–1930.' *Food and Foodways*, vol. 13, nos. 1-2, pp. 115-134. doi:10.1080/07409710590915391.

Canavan, Jana. 'Happy Cow: Welfarist Ideology and the Swedish "Milk Crisis": A Crisis of Romanticized Oppression.' *Animal Oppression and Capitalism Vol. I*, edited by David Nibert, Praeger, 2017 pp. 34-55.

'Choosing a Wet-Nurse.' *Kyabram Union (Vic.: 1886 - 1894).* 15 Feb 1889, p.5. Accessed 20 Jul 2024, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article65802591.

Ciarlo, David. *Advertising Empire: Race and Visual Vulture in Imperial Germany*. Harvard University Press, 2011.

Cohen, Mathilde. 'Animal Colonialism: The Case of Milk.' *AJIL Unbound*, vol. 111, 2017, pp. 267-271. doi:10.1017/aju.2017.66.

Cohen, Mathilde, and Yoriko Otomo, editors. *Making Milk: The Past, Present and Future of our Primary Food*. Bloomsbury, 2017.

Cole, Matthew. 'Hiding and Legitimating Oppression in "Dairy Product" Advertising.' *Animal Oppression and Capitalism Vol. I*, edited by David Nibert, Praeger, 2017 pp. 19-33.

Coleman, Grahame, Lauren Hemsworth and Rutu Acharya. *Monitoring Public Attitudes to Livestock Industries and Livestock Welfare*. Department of Agriculture and Water Resources, July 2019. <https://www.awstrategy.net/uploads/1/2/3/2/123202832/nawrde_no._2018-0014_final_report.pdf > Accessed 23 July, 2024.

'Cow Mightier than the Beer Pump.' *Evening News (Sydney, NSW: 1869 - 1931)*. 25 Oct 1927, p.12, accessed 22 Jul 2024 <https://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article118939986>.

Crawford, Robert. *But Wait, There's More … A History of Australian Advertising 1900-2000*. University of Melbourne Publishing, 2008.

Dewey, Caitlin. 'The Surprising Number of American Adults who Think Chocolate Milk comes from Brown Cows.' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 Jun 2017. https://www.smh.com.au/goodfood/the-surprising-number-of-american-adults-who-think-chocolate-milk-comes-from-brown-cows-20170616-gws81e.html. Accessed 22 Jul 2024.

Donaldson, Mike and Nick Southall. *Illawarra Cooperatives: The First One Hundred Years*. Flame Tree Community Food Co-op, 2014.

'Drink Still More Milk.' *The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, NSW: 1883 - 1930)* 11 Apr 1929 p.7, accessed 22 Jul 2024, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article246782589.

DuPuis, E. Melanie. *Nature's Perfect Food: How Milk Became America's Drink.* NYU Press, 2002.

Farming UK Team. 'Survey Shows a Third of British Children Don't Know Where Milk Comes From.' FarmingUK, 28 Jun 2017.

<https://www.farminguk.com/news/survey-shows-a-third-of-british-children-don-t-know-where-milk-comes-from_46824.html.> accessed 20 July 2024.

Grant, Rodwell. 'Professor Harvey Sutton: National Hygienist as Eugenicist and Educator.' *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 1 Dec 1998.

Halliday, Michael A.K. 'New Ways of Meaning: The Challenge to Applied Linguistics.' *On Language and Linguistics*, volume 3 in the Collected Works of M.A.K. Halliday. Continuum, 2003 (1990), pp.139-174.

Janiszewski, Leonard and Effy Alexakis. 'The Australian Milk Bar: A Refreshment Retailing Revolution – a History.' *History of Retailing and Consumption,* vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 293-309. doi:10.1080/2373518X.2023.2295664.

'Know Thy Cow.' *Examiner (Launceston, Tas.: 1900 - 1954)* 6 Jun 1919, p. 2 (DAILY). Accessed 23 Jul 2024 http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article51038261.

'Less Beer.' *Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate (NSW: 1876 - 1954)* 10 Oct 1930, p. 11. Accessed 22 Jul 2024 http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article135417078.

Lewis, Milton J. *Populate or Perish: Aspects of Infant and Maternal Health in Sydney, 1870-1939*. PhD Thesis, Department of History, Australian National University.

Lloyd, Alan G. 'The Marketing of Milk in New South Wales.' *Review of Marketing and Agricultural Economics*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1950, pp.1-33.

Maillet, Chloe. 'More than Food: Animals, Men and Supernatural Lactation in Occidental Late Middle Ages.' *Making Milk: The Past, Present and Future of our Primary Food,* edited by Mathilde Cohen and Yoriko Otomo, Bloomsbury, 2017, pp. 7-18.

Martiin, Carin. 'Swedish Milk, a Swedish Duty: Dairy Marketing in the 1920s and 1930s.' *Rural History*, vol 21, no. 2, 2010, pp. 213-232.

Marx, Karl. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Penguin Books New York, 1990/1867, pp. 163-177.

McLennan, Chris. 'School Students Believe Dairy Farmers Milk their Cows by Hand: Survey Shock.' *Farmonline National,* 14 Sep 2022. https://www.farmonline.com.au/story/7898678/school-students-think-dairy-farmers-milk-cows-by-hand/. Accessed 20 Jul 2024.

'Milk in History.' *Australian Milk and Dairy Products Journal*, 28 Aug 1934, pp. 7-9.

'Milk Marketing Board.' *Australian Milk and Dairy Products Journal*, 2 Jan 1939, p.37.

'Milk Week.' *The Sydney Morning Herald (NSW: 1842 - 1954)* 16 Apr 1929, p.10. Accessed 22 Jul 2024, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article16548158.

Molloy, Claire. 'Farmed: Selling Animal Products.' *Popular Media and Animals*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2011, pp. 102-123.

Moore, Alison R. 'Considering Cows in Australian Dairy Discourse.' *Language as an Ecological Phenomenon: Languaging and Bioecologies in Human-Environment Relationships,* edited by Sune Steffensen, Martin Döring and Stephen Cowley, Bloomsbury, 2024, pp. 191-220.

Newton, E.A.R. 'Wholesome Milk'. *West Australian* (Perth, WA: 1879 - 1954), Tuesday 28 Jun 1927, p.5.

NSW Parliament. 'Milk Act.' Act no. 59, 1931, Section 39 (d), p. 527. 22 Jul 2024, https://legislation.nsw.gov.au/view/pdf/asmade/act-1931-59

Reiger, Kerreen M. *The Disenchantment of the Home: Modernizing the Australian Family 1880-1940*, Oxford University Press, 1985. <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/heb03378.0001.001>.

Sandford Morgan, Elma. 'Maternal and Baby Welfare.' *Health and Baby Welfare Week: October 20th-26th, 1929*, W.A. Pepperday & Co, Sydney, 1929, pp. 27-31.

Smart, Judith, 'The Politics of the Small Purse: The Mobilization of Housewives in Interwar Australia.' *International Labor and Working Class History*, no. 77, 2010, pp. 48-68.

Stănescu, Vasile, '"White Power Milk": Milk, Dietary Racism, and the "Alt-Right".' *Animal Studies Journal,* vol. 7, no. 2, 2018, pp. 103-128. https://ro.uow.edu.au/asj/vol7/iss2/7

Stibbe, Arran. 'Ecolinguistics and Erasure: Restoring the Natural World to Consciousness.' *Contemporary Critical Discourse Studies,* edited by Christopher Hart and Piotr Cap, Bloomsbury, 2017, pp. 583-602.

'The Cow.' *Australian Milk and Dairy Products Journal*, 1 Mar 1938, p.27.

'The Cows.' *Daily Standard (Brisbane, Qld.: 1912 - 1936)* 8 February 1928: 6 (3 p.m. EDITION). Accessed 23 Jul 2024 http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article181100831.

'The Dairy Industry – The Romance of 150 Years Progress.' *Australian Milk and Dairy Products Journal*, 1 Mar 1938, pp. 25-28.

'The Danger of Milk: Greater than the War.' *Farmer and Settler*, 25 May 1923, p.11.

'The Family Cow.' *Bunbury Herald and Blackwood Express* (WA: 1919 - 1929), Friday 28 Jan 1921, p.7. Accessed 23 Jul 2024 http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article87053308.

'The Magic of Milk.' *Australian Milk and Dairy Products Journal*. 29 Oct 1934, p.26.

'The Milk Float – Sydney Celebrations.' *Australian Milk and Dairy Products Journal*, 1 May 1938, p.7.

The Milk of Purity, NSW Fresh Food and Ice Company, Sydney, NSW ca. 1910-1930.

Todd, Jan. *Milk for the Metropolis: A Century of Co-operative Milk Supply in New South Wales.* Hale & Iremonger, Sydney, 1994.

Tsirtsakis, Anastasia. 'Marking 85 Years Since Australia's First Modern Day Greek-owned Milk Bar.' *Neos Kosmos*, 3 November 2017.

'Use More Milk! The Milk Board's Unique Propaganda.' *St George Call (*Kogarah, NSW: 1904 - 1957), Friday 7 Feb 1936, 1. Accessed 22 Jul 2024. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article232221827.

Valenze, Deborah M. *Milk: A Local and Global History*. Yale University Press, 2011.

Weaver, Reginald W.D. 'Foreword' in *Health Safety and Recreation Week Nov 17 to 28th, 1933*. F.H. Booth & Son, Sydney, 1933, pp. 9-11.

Wilson, Penelope A. *Not for Human Consumption: The Contested Practice of Raw Milk Drinking*. PhD. Thesis, School of Archaeology and Anthropology, Australian National University, 2020.

Women's Column. 'Drink More Milk.' *The Sydney Morning Herald (NSW: 1842 - 1954)* 17 Mar 1922, p.7. Accessed 22 Jul 2024 http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article15993594.

Acknowledgements

The authors wish to thank Susan Jones, Research Librarian, University of Wollongong, and Bonnie Wildie, Lead Archivist, Public Access Policy Collections, Museums of History, NSW for their generous assistance in the location of records. The authors also sincerely thank the two reviewers for their excellent comments and Deidre Wicks for her warm engagement with early presentations on this topic and her inspiring body of work on cows in dairy.