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A DECADE OF THE

WOMAN'S WEEKLY

1932 - 42

BY

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PREFACE

The underlying concern motivating this long essay is an interest in how women were depicted in the New Zealand Woman's Weekly of the 1930's: their role, aspirations, experiences as presented by the Woman's Weekly.

Few attempts have been made to examine the popular women's press in New Zealand history as an indicator of prevailing attitudes, beliefs and ideals. Broadly-based Women's magazines provide a degree of insight into the prescribed role and preoccupations of women of their time, and the New Zealand Woman's Weekly is worthy of special notice in this context because of its role as the largest-selling popular women's magazine of the 1930's.

The Woman's Weekly like most popular magazines of the 1930s in New Zealand and elsewhere (1), followed trends rather than set them. The status quo was its frame of reference, and the image of women it presented was a conventional one. Thus the content was closely geared to the social role considered proper for women.

(1) There have been a number of studies on overseas women's magazines, although most of these were carried out on contemporary magazines. A few examples of these can be found in "Part 2, Women's Magazines" in Hearth and Home - Images of Women in the Mass Media. Page 91.
women, and the scale of values and priorities projected broadly reflects those held by the majority of the popu-
lation. To appeal to a cross-section of readers, its general content had to be consistent with the dominant
social values of the day. The Woman's Weekly then func-
tions on one level to convey to us a contemporary indication of women's role.

Although the content of the mag-
azine must obviously bear a considerable relationship to women's everyday experience in any study of this kind
the question must spring to mind as to what extent the "prescribed role" communicated by the Woman's Weekly was an accurate indication of women's experience of the time. This question is clearly beyond the scope of this study.
The relationship between the magazine and its reading audience is two-way: the Woman's Weekly served to reflect social attitudes and norms, in turn reinforcing and aff-
irming them. The important point to note is that the magazine functions as an important "vehicle of social values", particularly those relating to women.

This study is clearly an im-
pressionistic one in many respects and this is partly due to the nature of the Woman's Weekly itself. (2)

(2) And obviously due also to the volume of material: 520 issues of the magazine are available over the ten-year period.
While it may be reasonably straightforward, for example, in such areas as editorials, women in the work force and to a lesser extent, child-care, the field of personal relationships is a less tangible one which does not lend itself to quantification or ready generalisation.

Related to this is the arrangement of chapters, which may seem somewhat arbitrary. They are not intended to cover every aspect of women's lives in the 1930s as presented by the *Woman's Weekly*. The chapters cover four main areas and the regular columns related to those areas form the basis of the chapter outline. Obviously the *Woman's Weekly* contains many other features which may be relevant to these or other subjects and have not been included for reasons of space. The advertisements, for example, give a useful indication of prevailing social attitudes and could even themselves be the subject of a long essay.

It would be rash to rely on this analysis of aspects of the *Woman's Weekly* as a complete guide to women's experience in the 1930s. The questions raised relate specifically to the *Woman's Weekly* and no attempt is made to relate the findings to actual events of the time. Rather the study confines itself to looking at how the *Woman's Weekly* presented child-care and its attendant responsibilities to its readers, how the magazine presented women's preoccupations and role in her
personal relationships through the advice columns; how, given women's primarily domestic role, the world outside the home was presented through the editorials and career columns; and finally the external social roles and ideals held up to women. By examining these questions I hope some degree of insight will in a general sense, be gained into the role and experience of women in the 1930s.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: TRENDS, CHANGES, PREOCCUPATIONS

The aim of the British Woman's Weekly when it was first launched in 1911 was to help "the woman who rules the destinies of the home.... in her life, her work and her recreation", (1) and this sums up the object of its New Zealand counterpart in the 1930s. The British Woman's Weekly aimed at housewives of the working classes, was greatly successful, outlasting many of its more sensationalist competitors and reaching sales of half a million by the 1930s. Its tried and true formula of "fashion, fiction, furnishing and food" was held to by the New Zealand Woman's Weekly - "a National Journal devoted to the interests of women and the home" (2) - which was launched in December of 1932.

Like its British predecessor, its recipes were simple, its fashion ignored the extremes of taste and it was supplemented by a wardrobe of patters for the home dressmaker. There were also a number of features on such things as child health and economical housekeeping.

(2) Woman's Weekly, December 15 1932 page 5
and the fiction of course featured largely from the start. The New Zealand Woman's Weekly emerged at the same time as a number of women's magazines in Britain and Australia, all aimed at the working-class and lower-middle class market. Few of these were to last out the Depression of the 1930s: the New Zealand Woman's Weekly, appealing to the same audience, was one which did.

As the title indicates it was a weekly magazine, priced at 3d, or 3½d posted, an indication of its projected audience (the Woman's Weekly's nearest competitor, the weekly Mirror, was priced at 1/- per copy). Initially the circulation was about 7000, increasing to about 40,000 by 1940 (4), although its actual readership was probably much higher than this because of the circulation of secondhand copies.

The magazine, like its British (and Australian) predecessors, was launched and managed to succeed at a time when many other magazines were folding. Its approach and service gave it a distinct character and commended it to a particular group: in New Zealand as elsewhere this was, initially at least, working-class and lower middle class women. The Woman's Weekly never

(4) Letter from the Editor of the Woman's Weekly, April 18, 1980. These figures were from the Editors memory only since circulation information is not "readily available."
degenerated into the cloying, patronising tone of many of its contemporaries: it remained relatively straightforward and professional in manner while still retaining a certain intimacy with its readers. This may have been one of the keys to the magazine's success. Another related factor was its apparent ability to encompass a broad spectrum of both age and socio-economic level. It concentrated on those aspects of experience common to all women: the overwhelming majority of women in New Zealand in the 1930s were largely responsible for work within the home and it was to the domestic sphere that the Woman's Weekly directed itself, although there are indications that the magazine had a small but not insignificant male readership (probably husbands). Some advertisements, mostly for tonics, were clearly directed towards men, for example, and men regularly contributed to the advice columns.

During the decade 1932-1942 the magazine appeared to broaden its audience base slightly, from an emphasis on the young married or single woman in the early 1930s to an older reader as time went on. This was indicated in part by the content, with a decline in articles directed to the young unmarried and younger married (fashion and film stars, for example), and in part

(3) White, op. cit., gives a good account of the development of women's magazines in Britain.
by advertisements, which from 1937 on featured an increasing number of household products rather than cosmetic preparations, (5) and beauty and cosmetic products increasingly emphasized the "look young" theme, being directed presumably at older women. The cover was another indication of a possible change in audience as well as, in a more general sense, projecting an image of the magazine with which readers could identify. The first few years of the Woman's Weekly in New Zealand saw predominantly babies, toddlers or young women on the cover, while halfway through 1937 there was an abrupt change to older, sophisticated women, with the babies ceasing altogether. In conjunction with a slight shift in emphasis of the content this could have been an acknowledgement of the older woman as potential, or actual reader.

A checklist of the basic content of the magazine gives an indication of general preoccupations and trends over the years. First, the two major outside influences on the Woman's Weekly during our period were the Depression of the 1930s and World War II. The changes they found show themselves up on the most superficial level with the number of pages, beginning with 65

(5) Although caution is needed in drawing direct conclusions from these, since they may also have been related to the changing economic situation.
The magazine dropped to 49 in 1933, creeping back up to 65 by 1936 and in 1941 again dropping to 49. The backbone of content—editorial, advice page, children's page, knitting and recipes, and fiction—remained constant; the main drop was in advertising and "general interest" articles as would be expected.

The main general trend to be noted throughout the 1930s was a shift to the more basic and fundamental in nearly every sphere. Advertisements for luxury products (notably radios and silk stockings) for example, declined, and perhaps more significantly feature articles, making up quite a large part of the magazine, changed their emphasis: articles on the "modern woman" and travel abroad, for example, frequent in the early 1930s, were by 1935 being replaced by more practical household hint pages. The Woman's Weekly concentrated increasingly on the domestic sphere during the 1930s. The Depression as far as the content of the magazine was concerned, removing "general interest" features in favour of economical household hints and practical help for the woman in the home. There were also smaller trends within each section which were possibly related to the economic situation.

(6) The major difficulty in using advertisements to monitor changes here should be noted: since the magazine was only launched in 1932, advertising would probably have taken a few years to stabilise.
and these will be discussed in the appropriate chapter.

World War II appeared to have an insignificant effect on the magazine: indeed a cursory glance at the issues of 1940-1942 may even point to the conclusion that as far as the Woman's Weekly was concerned there was no war. A closer look reveals certain small trends making themselves felt, although the basic content of the magazine remained unchanged. The almost negligible effect of World War II, the major international concern of this time, on the Woman's Weekly is not surprising after reflection, and is an illustration in fact of the magazine's nature and function. Its major concerns were centred on women's life in the home and the fundamentals of the magazine remained attuned to the relatively unchanging rhythms of domestic life for women: caring for home and family.

Most striking at first glance is the predominantly domestic orientation of the magazine throughout this decade. Approximately a third of each issue dealt with the purely practical aspects of homemaking: knitting and clothing patterns, recipes and home decorating. This was a clear reflection of the fact that the majority of women in New Zealand at the time held the major or complete responsibility for the running of their homes: these pages provided them with useful
information on important aspects of home management.

These pages also had a secondary and more indirect function. While they reflected women's actual involvement in the domestic sphere, they also provided reinforcement of that involvement and reassurance that women's role in the home was a worthwhile and important one. The standard household information pages provided valuable practical guidance to women in the home and also indicated, either directly or by implication, certain attitudes or behaviours as being appropriate to her role. The pages on knitting, recipes, household hints, gardening and physical health all appeared regularly throughout 1932-1942; and made up a substantial part of the magazine: we can surmise from this that this kind of practical information and guide filled a definite need related to an important, if not the major, part of the New Zealand woman's life; running her home, and the pages give us an indication of what a woman should have been concerned about in order to successfully carry out her specific function in the home as well as in the wider context of her social role. On a superficial level she should appear physically healthy and attractive; be able to provide nutritious and appealing meals for her husband and children; be able to knit and sew for herself and her family; provide a comfortable and aesthetically pleasing home environment for her family, and know how to budget for the household and economise in
In addition to basic information on household management, the *Woman's Weekly* through feature articles and editorials offered readers contact with the world outside their immediate home: the advice columns and childcare pages gave them guidance in their own lives. A respite from daily routine was provided by the fiction, supplemented by weekly pages on such things as astrology and graphology (handwriting analysis).

The following chapters will look at the guidance the *Woman's Weekly* give to women in their personal lives and their relationships; and in one of their major responsibilities and concerns: the raising of children; how the world outside the home was presented, given women's primarily domestic role; and finally the external social models and ideals held up to women in the magazine.
Reproduction and motherhood, the care and raising of children, was obviously a large part, if not the major part, of New Zealand women's lives in the 1930's. The role of women as mother was reflected in the pages of the Woman's Weekly, which ran regular columns on the physical care of babies and children as well as methods of child-rearing. These were supplemented by a number of feature articles by "child experts" and reinforced by the slant of the remainder of the magazine: advertisements, and home craft columns, for example, were clearly catering to women with children. This chapter will look first briefly at the weekly childcare columns appearing in the Woman's Weekly from 1932 to 1942, then go on to consider them in the context of attitudes to child-rearing and motherhood generally as presented by the Woman's Weekly.

From the inception of the magazine to mid-1935, the only child-care column to appear weekly was "Our Babies", by Hygeia" (a pseudonym for the Plunket Society); at irregular intervals during the same period "Nurse Helen" (also by the Plunket Society) (1)

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(1) By the 1930's the majority of non-maori infants were under the control and care of the Plunket Society: 65% in 1930.
was featured, covering much the same ground as "Hygeia". As the title suggests, "Our Babies" was concerned primarily with babycare, although it come during its time to deal also with young children and even extended itself to include child-rearing and psychology generally.

"Hygeia" saw child-rearing very much as a "professional" enterprise to be governed by scientific techniques. The focus was on simple, authoritative, uniform advice on the care of the baby, with regular and routine treatment of paramount importance.

The practical concerns of "Our Babies" followed the guidelines laid down in the first few weeks of the column: "Bathing, Feeding, The Bowels, Exercise and Sleep." (2) Regularity was "Hygeia's" catchword: the baby should eat and sleep at certain times (be fed for example, once every four hours during the day and not at all at night) and learn as early as possible to be regular in its habits. This emphasis on regular and routine treatment of the baby was meant to help inculcate obedience and discipline in the child, and a direct relationship was always made between the treatment of the baby and its future character. The correct treatment of the child was all-important to its development and this was sometimes backed up by frightful examples of what happened to individuals who were raised by lax, undiscipline parents.

(2) New Zealand Woman's Weekly, January 9, 1933 page 43
"Mother and baby should live by the clock," instructed Hygeia in her opening column, (3) going on to explain the importance of the correct (Plunket) method:

The careless, shiftless and ignorant mother whose child is brought up without method .... is injuring both the health and character of her child. .... without discipline or self-control he grows up self-willed and unable to adapt himself to our customs, and is neither physically or morally a credit to the race. (4)

This was the cornerstone of Plunket ideology as presented by Hygeia and "Nurse Helen". The greatest danger a child faced, according to these columns, was of being spoilt or indulged, and the methods of child care they advocated were geared to prevent this. Indulging the child prevented him or her from acquiring self-discipline which was fundamental to the kind of character desired by Hygeia. The training of baby in regular habits should begin at birth, since the foundation of their character was laid in infancy.

(3) Woman's Weekly, January 5, 1933 - page 9
(4) ibid.
The philosophy of child-rearing as presented by the Plunket Society in its two columns is important not only for its implications concerning the kind of person considered to be socially desirable, but also for the role of women as mothers as we will see. The Plunket pages were directed towards mothers only, presenting motherhood as a profession requiring dedication, discipline and an iron will. Mothers should never at any time allow their own feelings to "interfere with the regular treatment of their children, and remember always the enormous responsibility they held in their hands.

This then was the Woman's Weekly regular childcare column until 1935. Until this time the magazine frequently reinforced its support for the Plunket message. Several feature articles appeared in 1933-34 paying tribute to Sir Truby King, and editorials often noted the great contribution of the Plunket Society to the care of babies and young children. In mid 1935 however, both Plunket columns disappeared, and there was no subsequent mention of the Plunket Society.

A few months after the demise of "Our Babies" the first instalment of "Pages From a Teacher's

(5) For obvious reasons of space this aspect of the subject cannot be fully investigated here.

(6) This is one point where access to the Woman's Weekly editorial files would have been helpful, particularly in view of the subsequent childcare columns which as we will see conflicted with Plunket philosophy.
appeared, in August 1980. "Teacher's Dairy", was to run until 1938, dealing at first with education and the child at school, then expanding its theme to include fairly detailed studies of the education system and methods of child-rearing.

Although the "Diary" was concerned with an older age group than "Our Babies" and dealt with child education and psychology rather than physical care it revealed an underlying ideology somewhat at odds with Plunket one. (7) The "Diary" began by looking at various problems encountered by children at school and how these should be dealt with. The writer of the column consistently emphasized a sympathetic and understanding approach, advising parents to let their child grow in his or her own way, being subject to little discipline and reasoned with instead of punished. While the "Diary" directed itself primarily at the mother of the child, unlike the Plunket columns it made no mention of the great burden of responsibility resting on her shoulders, and indeed sometimes expressed sympathy for mothers raising children in a society "unresponsive to children's needs."

(7) A simple illustration serves to point out the differences in approach: "Teacher" declared thumb-sucking to be a harmless stage all children go through, while Hygeia devoted over a page to instructions on making a splint for the baby's arm, to prevent this habit.
As time went on the "Diary" increasingly came to look with a critical eye on the schooling and education system itself. In 1937 the column discussed the subject of corporal punishment, which it had been consistently opposed to in the past; this time it took the opportunity to point out corporal punishment as merely a symptom of a sick system:

The whole of our educating process, from the primers to the university, is guided not by any philosophy, but by entirely wrong materialistic standards. (8)

The "Diary" itself went on to bemoan the lack of a "practical philosophy" on the part of schools and parents, calling for children to be able to express themselves in their own way, without fear. This attack on the education system was incorporated with an increasingly permissive approach to child-rearing, even at one stage suggesting parents should withdraw their children from school altogether if they felt the school's teachers to be too authoritarian.

The radical tone of "Teacher's Diary" may have been responsible for its disappearance early in 1938, although the views expressed coincided with sweeping

(8) Woman's Weekly, February 1937, page 43
changes in the education system (9) breaking down rigid discipline and rote learning. The "Diary" during its three year stay introduced to the pages of the Woman's Weekly a new approach to child-rearing which again had implications for the mothers' role: the greater freedom of expression for children advocated by "Teacher's Diary" also gave their mothers freedom from the clock. (10)

The successor to "Teacher's Diary" arrived in April 1939: "Let's Understand Our Children," by "Our Child Guidance Expert (Brian W. Knight, B.A. Dip Ed.)" This column was to continue until the end of this period. (A few months later "Mother Machree," dealing with straightforward child health problems, began a weekly page which also continued through to 1942).

The views of Brian W. Knight were similar to those expressed by "Teacher's Diary", only slightly more moderate. His tone was consistently liberal and he extended his column to cover all aspects of child-rearing and education, calling for "sympathy, praise and understanding" for children and their problems. (11)

(9) Changes in the education system, particularly at the primary level, were introduced by the Labor Government in the 1930's beginning a trend towards greater autonomy and freedom of the child at school.
(10) This will be looked at more fully later.
(11) Woman's Weekly, June 1 1939 page 29
and stressing the importance of keeping children trusting and unafraid.

Brian W. Knight was also critical of the education system, although his criticism was directed against specific aspects of it rather than its underlying structure. He shared with "Teacher's Diary" a dislike of corporal punishment which he saw as a symptom of the:

system which claims for its victims both teacher and pupil - a system which caters for a nonexistent entity, known as the "average child." (12)

"Teacher's Diary" and "Our Children" both emphasized a less authoritarian, more permissive approach to child-rearing, coupled with passing criticisms of the New Zealand school system which they considered to be repressive and stifling for children. From 1935 on then the Woman's Weekly in its regular childcare columns presented to its readers a different method of raising children, different from its Plunket predecessor, and also in the vanguard of changes towards the new values of spontaneity and freedom of expression.

Besides the weekly columns on childcare

(12) Woman's Weekly, March 14, 1940 page 31
however, there were also feature articles appearing from time to time, mainly in the early and mid-'30's. Most of these articles, like the regular columns, instructed parents to treat their children as equals and use reason rather than punishment to teach them. Most, however, acknowledged the possibly controversial nature of the more permissive methods they were espousing, and many displayed a certain ambivalence in their approach.

"Train Your Child the New Way", was one such article, reflecting in its title a degree of its ambivalence. It which called on parents to forget their prestige and respect owed to them, and let the child express itself freely. The tone throughout however, was an instructive one, emphasizing the "training" and "teaching" of the child ("the child must learn...") and aiming eventually to inculcate in the child the same characteristics of duty and self-control as the Plunket columns did. (13)

"Bad-Tempered Children : Some Reasons and Remedies" indicated a similar ambivalence. This article advised the parents of a troublesome child to:

(13) Woman's Weekly, January 12, 1933, page 45
study him carefully, his worst faults, and the reasons for them, and then deal with him in a sensible and consistent manner. Your own feelings ... should never influence you in dealing with children. An eminent child psychologist advises ..... when it is necessary, punish (your child) thoroughly SO THAT HE WILL REMEMBER IT. (14)

The article advocated a careful, disciplined approach to child-rearing throughout, but then ended with the admonition to "Respect your child as an individual with rights as important as those of adults," and to cast aside preconceived ideas about good and bad behaviour.

Feature articles from 1932 on were not always consistent with themselves or with each other, but they pointed to a change in attitudes to child-rearing as presented by the Woman's Weekly. By the late 1930's the magazine's pages on childcare presented "The New Way" as the way to raise children, emphasizing the new values of individual expression and autonomy rather than authoritarian discipline.

Apart from columns and articles concerned specifically with childcare, other regular columns in the magazine occasionally directed their attention

to child-rearing. The most notable of these was the agony column, whose advisor was sometimes asked for advice on the treatment of children's problems. Questions concerning children appeared most often in the mid-'30's when the column was under the guidance of "Dorothy Dix". (15). Miss Dix also voluntarily presented her opinions concerning child-rearing on several occasions. Her column emphasized the importance of obedience and self-discipline in children; like the Plunket columns, she had a fear of children being spoilt, and always drew a direct line between the correct treatment of children and their character in later life. This was usually illustrated with examples of what happened to those who were not taught self-control in infancy.

"Don't Spoil Your Child's Prospects by Mollycoddling," she warned in 1937, going on to give an example of a man who was ruined as a result of his mothers' spoiling him. This individual was not properly disciplined as a child, with the result that when he grew up, he had no self-control, became a womaniser and drank himself to death. Finally he was contrasted with a man given the right training for obedience and discipline, who grew up to be a successful businessman. (16)

(15) The advice columns will be dealt with more fully in Chapter III.
(16) Woman's Weekly, February 18, 1937 page 39
This illustrates the Dorothy Dix approach to child-rearing: parents should be forewarned about the dangers of "pampering and indulging" children. Insufficient discipline or the proper respect for authority would lead to a life of vice, while the correct training led, significantly, to a man successful in business.

Dorothy Dix was the only agony columnist to expound on her methods of child-rearing. All the columnists however, dealt in the same way with one particular recurring subject: the question of children's duty or responsibility to their parents. This is important to a discussion of attitudes to children and the raising of children, because of the regular recurrence of the subject and the degree of unanimity of the replies.

Younger people wrote to say that their parents were dominating them. Mothers wrote to say that their children, especially sons, were ungrateful. The advice columnists consistently took the mother's side. "There is a lot of duty required of us in our close relationships with others," said Lou Lockheart in 1940, (17) summing up the response of all the problem pages during this decade. Dorothy Dix regularly waxed eloquent on the subject of children's duty and indebtedness to their parents, an "indebtedness so great that (they) could not hope to pay it off in one dozen lifetimes." (18)

(17) Woman's Weekly April 11, 1940 page 38
(18) Woman's Weekly February 4, 1937 page 28
Unlike the regular Woman's Weekly child-care pages, the advice columns stressed the importance of children's dutifulness to their parents, and one in particular, Dorothy Dix, was in favour of a more disciplinarian approach to children in order to inculcate in them from an early age the virtues of obedience, responsibility and self-control. The two different messages presented came together in feature articles of the 1930's which sometimes attempted to express both simultaneously. During this decade then differing approaches to child-rearing were presented by the Woman's Weekly. The "official" child-care columns of the magazine from 1935 on pointed the way to the new values of individual expression and autonomy, while the remainder of the magazine retained elements of the more authoritarian approach espoused by the Plunket columns, geared towards producing obedient and disciplined children.

The columns looked at above have all been actively instructing women on how they should raise their children. One other area where children featured largely was in the advertisements carried by the Woman's Weekly. The advertisements of the magazine provide a useful index to contemporary attitudes to children, and since they were directed to exploiting the main concerns of the time they also give an indication of contemporary preoccupations.

Physical health was the central
concern of nearly all advertisements related to children's needs during this decade, and this was particularly so during the mid and late '30's. Most of them were for foods and drinks (Glaxo, Weetbix and Marmite running regular full-page advertisements throughout) as well as a large assortment of tonics. Nearly all emphasized the importance of good health (19) and the great responsibility of parents (mothers usually being pictured or mentioned) in keeping their children healthy. The child's health was presented as being paramount: it was related to the happiness of the child, and often presented in terms of competitive success, such as winning races or being top of the class at school. (The Glaxo advertisement, running in nearly every issue in the mid '30's, is a good example of this: "Splendid Health Has Won Him 13 Prizes").

The full-page Weetbix advertisement, appearing regularly during the decade, incorporated nearly all the major themes emerging in advertisements directed at children's needs: picturing two young children smiling running up a hill and entitled "HAPPY-BECAUSE THEY ARE HEALTHY," the advertisement declared:

An overwhelming majority of food authorities, doctors and scientist agree Weetbix is the most nourishing of all cereals: it provides....

(19) Constipation and fatigue were the two most common concerns: while not all products were specifically for these ailments, many were advertised as being beneficial to them.
Minerals, Proteins, Carbohydrates, Vitamins to build sound, strong, healthy bodies. The Bran means regular bowels.... So light, so different from porridge.... You owe it to your youngsters to give them Weetbix. (20)

Advertisements of this time, like the articles on childcare, emphasized the great responsibility of parents to their children and the importance of the "right" treatment. The advertisements directly expressed the latter with frequent references to various "experts" as both examples above show, (21) and the dependence on "experts" was not confined to advertisements. One of the trends emerging from all material related to children's needs was the importance of authoritative figures providing guidance to mothers on all aspects of childcare.

"Mothercraft does not come by instinct, but has to be learnt," announced Hygeia in the early days of 1933 (22) - specifically taught, in fact, by the Plunket Society. Both subsequent childcare columns were written by figures invested with a degree of authority

(20) Woman's Weekly August 15, 1935 page 22. Also see advertisement over page, which similarly incorporates the major preoccupations of the time.

(21) Although the use of "expert advice" in advertisements seemed to decline after about 1940.

(22) Woman's Weekly, January 19, 1933 page 43.
JOAN IS SO CONSTIPATED AND NOTHING I HAVE TRIED SEEMS TO SUIT HER. NURSE, WHAT DO YOU RECOMMEND?

"I know, Mrs. Wills, every mother has the same trouble with children sooner or later. I've had a lot of experience and my advice is—give 'California Syrup of Figs'—'Califig.' There's nothing like it for keeping the stomach and bowels in good order. It's so natural yet so sure. It acts on the bowels like fruit and does not create a habit.

So many doctors recommend it and give it to their own children that I am sure it's the best, and you need to be sure when it is a question of the children's medicine.

Mrs. Wills, I do know mothers who experiment with cheap and drastic preparations. They don't realise that they're courting danger.

Send for a bottle of 'California Syrup of Figs' from the chemist now and give Joan a dose at bedtime. She'll be as bright as a lark in the morning. Give it to her regularly once a week and she'll have no more trouble with constipation."

'California Syrup of Figs' is sold by all chemists and stores. Be sure to say 'California' and look for 'Califig' on the package.

How Cuticura Heals

Gently massage Cuticura Ointment into the scalp with the finger-tips. After an hour or so thoroughly shampoo the head with Cuticura Soap and rinse well to remove the soap. This daily treatment relieves itching and allays inflammation at once. The soothing, healing, antiseptic Cuticura penetrates to the depth of the eruption. It destroys the lurking germs which keep the disease active, and establishes a healthy condition of the scalp.

Sold by all chemists and stores.

SCALP ERUPTIONS QUICKLY HEALED

To eradicate chronic Eczema, Ring-worm, Dandruff and disfiguring, hair-destroying eruptions of the scalp there is nothing to equal Cuticura. The soothing action of Cuticura instantly relieves irritation and itching, its antiseptic and healing powers clear the disease from the scalp.

Rash Scattered over Scalp

"A rash appeared scattered over my scalp, irritated me considerably. The irritation gave me a tendency to scratch and the scratching caused eruptions which eventually festered and the rash spread down my neck.

"I used various chemical preparations and ointments without avail until after I had suffered for five or six weeks I used Cuticura Soap and Ointment and the itching ceased, and I was completely healed within one month." (Signed) H. J. Milliken, Molong St., Condobolin, N.S.W.

California Syrup of Figs

NATURE'S OWN LAXATIVE

A real Sunshine Breakfast Food

CREAMOATA

CREAM O' THE OAT

A PRODUCT OF THE CREAMOATA MILLS - PREPARED BY FLEMING & CO. LTD., GORE.
on the subject by virtue of their training ("Teacher" of "Teacher's Diary", "Our Children's Child Guidance Expert, B.A. Dip Ed"). The tone of both these columns was an instructive one. Doctors, Psychologists, "scientists" and sometimes nurses were all invoked by the regular columnists and feature articles to support their claims. Mothers were presented with authoritative experts to guide and instruct them on the "correct" way to raise and care for their children.

Despite the methods of child-rearing presented differing considerably, there were some attitudes to motherhood and the raising of children which were held in common. As noted above, "experts" were frequently cited as the ultimate back-up authorities by advertisements, nearly all features on child-rearing and regular columnists, (with the exception of the Plunket columns, which appeared to consider the Plunket Society itself to be the ultimate authority.) This and the lesser theme of motherhood as an important profession both stressed the enormous responsibility of mothers to ensure that their children were given the "right" treatment and turned out successfully. "There is nothing more terrible to contemplate than the vastness and completeness of mother-influence" declared Dorothy Dix, (23) and others echoed not only the practical responsibility but also the enormous power in the hands of mothers, power which

(23) Woman's Weekly, February 18, 1937 page 39
could have disastrous consequences if not put in the right use.
CHAPTER III

THE AGONY AUNTIES

The agony columns of women's magazines are often the subject of humour or faint contempt. While some of the concerns and perhaps emotional excesses of such columns in the 1930's may seem laughable to a modern reader they provide the intimate details of female existence which serve to illuminate larger concerns and themes of the day. Most problem pages of this time dealt with women and their relationships to other people, particularly men. On a superficial level they give an indication of the preoccupations of the time and a framework for accepted social norms in personal relationships, or the "right" behaviour in any given situation. On a deeper level they provide a degree of insight into male/female relationships of the time and women's role and experience in those relationships.

The problems dealt with in the agony columns from 1932/42 remained fairly constant, being mainly to do with the writers' relationship to husband or boyfriend, (1)

(1) Although there was a steady trickle of male writers to the columns. Male writers on the whole seemed to be fairly young, and likewise nearly all wrote seeking advice on relationships with wives or girlfriends.
with a smattering of questions on beauty and etiquette. As noted in Chapter II, the theme of parental discipline and children's duty to their parents was also recurrent, frequently being raised by the columnist herself.

Before giving any more detailed consideration to the themes expressed in the agony columns, a brief sketch of the chronological development of the columns would be useful. The magazine's first problem page was launched in January of 1933: "Strictly in Confidence," "conducted by a lady with the highest integrity, with a wide experience of worldly affairs", Winifred Wise. (2)

She covered a broad range of questions in a sensible, matter-of-fact manner, dealing with general knowledge (such as one readers' query on what a nutmeg was) and household hints as well as personal problems, and answering as many as ten or twelve questions on each page.

In 1934, Winifred was replaced by "Dorothy Dix's Letterbox", introducing a more sensationalist element with more personal, particularly marital problems. Dorothy Dix began by answering four or five.

Most of their letters appeared in the late 1930s, coinciding with a fashion in overseas magazines of the time to have male advice columnists. Robin Kent discusses this and other trends in British agony columns in Robin Kent, Aunt Agony Advises: Problem Pages through the Ages.

(2) Woman's Weekly, January 5, 1933 page 41
questions each week, changing in 1937 to selecting a single topic herself for more detailed discussion with sometimes a question to follow.

Dorothy disappeared in 1939 to be replaced by "Ask Lou Lockheart" and, a few weeks later, "Heart to Heart," by Kathleen Norris. Lou Lockheart gave brief, sometimes flippant replies to letters each week, the tone of the column being frequently a little light-hearted. "Heart to Heart" meanwhile dealt with more weighty and intimate problems in detailed manner, either replying to a single letter or selecting a topic for consideration.

The popularity and function of the agony columns was obviously recognised by the Woman's Weekly. The magazine allocated them over three times more space by the end of the decade, (3) and divided the columns presumably to cover more adequately the two functions they had developed: answering specific questions (and possibly catering to the vicarious interest of readers) and providing a more indepth counselling service.

Lou Lockheart and Winifred Wise

(3) Winifred Wise was given just under a page in 1933; by 1942 Lou Lockheart and "Heart to Heart" covered four pages between them.
shared a similar layout and approach, although Lou Lockheart introduced an element of flippancy absent in Winifred's page. Dorothy Dix and "Heart to Heart" also shared a similar approach, both attempting to meet their readers' needs beyond the level of immediate practical advice, and extending their replies to cover problems in that area generally. The latter two are the source for most of the material in this chapter: all columnists presented the same or very similar questions, and differences of opinion among the four were not significant, but Dorothy Dix and "heart to Heart" gave more detailed answers and attempted to generalise their replies to apply to women's role in personal relationships. All four columnists, especially Miss Dix and "Heart to Heart", were firm supporters of the status quo. This was particularly apparent since much of the correspondence was from women who were unhappy in some way with their role or relationships and wished for advice. These letters provided the agony aunties (4) with an opportunity to speak generally about the correct behaviour or course of action. The aunties themselves stressed the writers' role specifically as women, and where the writer was married or a mother, the advice was unapologetically directed to the kind of behaviour appropriate to a wife, or to a mother. The course of action advised them was nearly always consciously "sex-

(4) I have used Robin Kent's very apt description for the agony columnists.
appropriate'.

The majority of the problem pages centred on the subject of marriage, as Dorothy Dix's titles over the years show:-

"DIVORCE SHOULD BE THE LAST RESORT"
"WHERE DO MEN LOOK FOR WIVES?"
"HOW GIRLS SPOIL THEIR MARRIAGE CHANCES"
"HOW TO CATCH A HUSBAND"

These titles indicate the subjects covered and also the manner in which they are dealt with. It is difficult to make statements as to the kind of specific behaviour advised since none of the columnists were entirely consistent, (5) but certain themes emerge strongly from their answers.

Dorothy Dix and "Heart to Heart" were very realistic about marriage and its attendant problems. The picture they painted of marriage for women was a gloomy one: indeed so dreary and joyless it was surprising they devoted such energy to persuading women to marry, and keeping them married. Both aunties frequently took time out to ask themselves rhetorically whether marriage was good for women, going on to outline

(5) Each column may even have been written by several different people.
its disadvantages for the female partner. While the drawbacks were many and varied, the strongest factors emerging against marriage were the woman's economic dependence, and the "enslavement" of housework. (6)

Despite bemoaning the position of wives in marriage (they considered the above factors to be inherent in the institution), a very large part of the advice columns was given over to advice on how to find a husband. The aunties' approach here was very business-like in both senses of the word. Both had a firm belief in selecting a partner with prospects, and the allegory of the "marketplace" was often used. Marriage was presented as, for the woman, very much an economic partnership also necessary to achieve social acceptance (the fate of spinsters as social outcasts was often pointed out). Romantic interest was considered by the aunties to be a bonus: they frequently suggested selecting a compatible partner (stable, with a good job, and of the same background and religion) and learning to love him by dwelling on his good points. Passionate attachment in itself was strongly advised against as a basis for marriage by all the advice columns. Dorothy Dix, writing in the mid and late 1930's, particularly issued dire warnings against the dangers of physical attraction, which would lead women into ill-advised matches.

(6) An example of one such column can be found in the Woman's Weekly, April 5, 1934, page 27
The approach to marriage as a business proposition began with the preparation for it. Dorothy Dix regularly set out her guidelines and rules for catching a husband, as in "Catching a Husband", which began,

"When you go angling for a husband, pick out a place where the fishing is good. Business offices are best,"

and went on to instruct on how to appear desirable as a wife. (7)

The pages dealing with preparation for marriage and catching a husband were specific and detailed. To begin with the woman should "dress the merchandise as best she can" being physically attractive and well-dressed, avoiding appearing dominant, and attempting also to convey the impression of having wifely qualities, such as being capable, hardworking, a good cook,(particularly) being able to balance the budget, and disinclined to frivolity or extravagance.

Both aunties frequently lamented the fact that one set of attractions was required to gain a man's attention ("frivolity and empty-headedness", in their

(7) Woman's Weekly, March 24, 1937 page 47. This page is reproduced in the appendix as an example of the frequent instruction sheets on catching a husband and the kind of image the agony aunties advised a woman to present.
view) and another to be a good wife, (8) pointing out the difficulties in attempting to appear simultaneously frivolous and frugal. This was raised recurrently throughout the period, with all aunties declaring at some stage the qualities essential to a woman's success as a wife and mother to be incompatible with most men's ideal outside marriage.

The aunties were free with advice on the tactics to employ if a woman was handicapped or falling behind in her search for a mate. A 27 year old woman who had not yet found a husband, for example, was advised that, while her case was "tragic", she should put her energies into her job for the time being, wait until her early thirties and then start looking for widowers. (9)

Although women's every effort was meant to be directed towards finding a husband, for a few years in 1936-37 the agony auntie often advised women to delay marriage until they were financially sound: this was probably related to the economic situation. (10) Likewise Lou Lockheart in 1941-42 advised against hasty marriages, which may have been related to the onset of World War II.

(8) "it takes ... an entirely different line to hold him. And that is what makes marriage such a contradictory business that it is no wonder so many women make a failure of it." - Woman's Weekly October 15 1936 p36.
(9) Woman's Weekly, October 18, 1934 - p26
(10) Women during the Depression years did in fact marry later.
The husband's role as a provider was of primary importance in the selection of a mate, and the advice aunties often pointed out that the occupation of the potential husband was of direct importance to a woman, not only from an economic point of view but also because she was going to have to live with his job. Some space in Dorothy Dix's advice column was regularly devoted to considering various occupations and their desirability. This auntie predictably made financial stability the main criterion for selection, advising strongly against "actors, crooners and singers" (11) and usually ending in favour of plain businessmen.

With the great importance attached to the male role as economic provider, all advice aunties gave strong support to the domestic role for wives, and were highly critical of women who they considered had failed to fulfil adequately "their side of the bargain."

In 1936-37 Dorothy Dix often acknowledged a certain amount of controversy over women's role in the home but always averred that attempts to change it would bring only misery to the woman and her family.

Nature of course, intended men to bring home the bacon and the woman to fry it, and when these roles are reversed and the wife has to support the family it seldom brings

(11) Woman's Weekly July 1 1937 - page 38
happiness to either party

she replied to a male invalid who was wondering if he should marry since he could not support a wife (he was advised against it). (12) All advice aunties then strongly supported the traditional roles of men and women within marriage, and as the example above shows, allowed very little deviation from these roles.

Within this framework, much of the agony columns were devoted to the question of how to keep the marriage relationship together. The two recurring suggestions forwarded for this were, in the case of men, that they develop more interest in their children and for women, that they could learn to hold their husbands with just a little "spoiling."

The advice columns generally dealt with more specific problems within the marriage relationship however, and the most common of these was the partners' infidelity. It is interesting at this point to note that Dorothy Dix and "Heart to Heart" dealt almost exclusively with the husbands' unfaithfulness, while Winifred Wise, writing in the early 1930's, quite often had letters from unfaithful wives, as did Lou Lockheart in the early 1940's. Whether this reflected an actual state of affairs related to the time of writing

(12) Woman's Weekly June 25, 1936 - Page
or was a result of the aunties' differing selection methods, it is not possible to say.

Replies to the dilemma of unfaithful wives were surprisingly sympathetic, although always summing up in favour of duty to husband and children. The response to the problem of an unfaithful husband, however, nearly always assumed a wrong on the part of the wife which had driven the husband from the house. According to the aunties, the question was one of tactics. While the replies sympathised with her plight, they centred on what the woman should do to bring back the erring mate, the implication generally being that had she successfully fulfilled her role as wife, her husband would not have strayed.

"Heart to Heart" in 1940 dealt with the case of one Arlene Baker, and the aunties reply is worth quoting fairly fully because it sums up the typical response to a husband's infidelity. Arlene Baker had been married for twenty years and during that time, she said, had scrimped and saved and sacrificed, devoting herself entirely to her husband who she now finds is being unfaithful to her. "I do not want a divorce," she writes, "I want to be a loved, respected wife, safe in my own home with my own husband." "Heart to Heart" replies:
She has saved and scrimped, and depended (for company) on her radio and her mother's society, and worn old clothes too long ... after twenty years those are not the devices that hold or win back a man's affection.

"Her only chance lies in making of herself a charming serene, sweet and happy woman... She must ... above all, act when she is with Harry like a mysteriously contented person whose mind is full of pleasurable plans."

"Soon Harry will note the change. He will come home, not to a moping sour suspicious woman, but to a person with well brushed silky hair in a becoming cotton frock, who has suddenly decided that on this hot evening they will have dinner on the verandah. She will have gleaned from the morning papers several small items of interest, and will listen to his opinion of them. She will be absorbed in the antics of the new puppy, and the fact that this is French lesson night, and that she is giving the class iced coffee and lettuce sandwiches.

If Arlene follows this advice, Harry will soon be back, the auntie reassures. The above is an example of the kind of advice given to most women in this predicament: the solution was looked for in the wife herself, she was told to disguise, if possible, any ill-will she may feel, to attempt to make herself more attractive and absorb herself in making her home a pleasant haven. Regardless of the advice asked for, the aunties indicated that the most important thing was to retain the husband's affection order to uphold the marriage as it should be. The threat could be successfully staved off by the wife if she employed the right tactics.

(13) Woman's Weekly March 21 1940 - page 35
The right tactics are also suggested to deal with husbands' erring ways in the home. The two most frequent problems raised other than infidelity were the husbands' unwillingness to help in the home and particularly with young children, and refusing to give their wives enough housekeeping money. On the first the aunties stressed the need for patience and tolerance, suggesting a little "spoiling" as a reward for small tasks, but tending not to hold out much hope for husbands disinclined to help in the home. On the subject of money, however, most replies were strongly and unequivocally in favour of a weekly allowance which they claimed as a woman's right.

While the aunties supported a wife's right to a portion of the weekly wage, they placed women firmly in the domestic sphere and reacted very critically to women they perceived as not fulfilling adequately their role as wife and mother. Throughout the decade, and particularly in the first half, the aunties spoke out strongly against women who neglected their housewifely duties. A good portion of the letters from men appearing in Dorothy Dix's column were on this subject, complaining that their wives neglected their duties and obligingly asking Miss Dix's opinion of this. Replies to these letters were often harsh, always condemnatory of the wife regardless of circumstances. The cause was simple sloven-
liness and sheer laziness, with no excuse other than "extreme illness."

The unequivocal message that wives should fulfil their responsibilities in the home extended also to an, albeit slightly milder, criticism of women who were not happy in their home. This was most clearly expressed by the response to the steady flow of letters from women claiming to have good homes, good husbands and suffering no material want, who declared themselves unhappy and wanted advice. "The trouble with you is that you are afflicted with about the worst case of self-pity I have ever encountered... snap out of your depression.... Be a little ray of sunshine instead of a wet blanket," was a typical reply to "Unhappy," who knew "I should be happy, but I am not." (14) Generally these women were advised to stop feeling sorry for themselves, to occupy their minds with their husbands' needs or to take up an outside interest (Though this was intended metaphorically: crochet and embroidery were often suggested). The childless were told to have children.

Consistently then all the agony aunties worked on the assumption that woman's primary role at this time was in the home, incorporating her responsibilities as a wife and mother, and that this role was one which would be personally fulfilling and lead to a happy marriage if satisfactorily carried out. Conversely,

(14) Woman's Weekly, February 11, 1932, page 36
if the woman or the marriage was not happy, it must be because the wife was not adequately carrying out her function. Needless to say the aunties were strongly opposed to divorce, although they seldom mentioned it except to advise against it in passing. The two major reasons given against divorce were the ill effects on the children ("innocent victims.... none comes out of it without being maimed or crippled in soul and character for life" (15)) and that the woman herself would be better off married, particularly from an economic point of view.

What did not appear in the columns was of course also significant. While a catalogue of subjects untouched would not be very helpful possibly the most important to be noted was sex. Winifred Wise and Lou Lockheart (in the early '30's and early 40's respectively) were a little more explicit here: while their counterparts limited themselves to "marital infidelity," Winifred and Lou occasionally referred to "drives"and "temptations" which would bring shame if acted upon. In 1933 Winifred Wise twice offered to send information on "the more intimate aspect of marriage" on receipt of a self addressed envelope.

The problem pages assumed that women would do anything to avoid spinsterhood, and once

(15) Woman's Weekly, August 20, 1937 - page 27
married would, and should, exert every effort to stay married. They recognised and stressed the single woman's social and economic disadvantage, unapologetically declaring marriage an economic necessity for women.

Coming through in the agony aunties' replies concerning women's relationships with others, particularly men, is the theme that conflicts and problems can, and should, be resolved by the correct use of tactics or certain techniques on the part of the woman. Phrases such as "the right handling" and "bring him into it gradually", abounding in the aunties advice for achieving a certain end, indicate that the right techniques and various manipulative skills are an important, essential in fact, element in getting the woman's needs or demands met. If a woman is unhappy within the marital relationship for whatever reason, it must be because she is failing to use the right tactics.

This introduces two main points related to the agony aunties. Firstly, while the majority of letters were from women who were unhappy in their relationship with a man, the replies and columns were directed to keeping or making the husbands and boyfriends happy in those relationships. Women unhappy in their marriages or personal relationships were in the main given advice aimed at improving themselves and making their husbands
themajorconcernsofthepro-
cessorfailureofrelationships,maritalandotherwise,
Bec-
cause it was directed at an almost exclusively female
audience, discussion of personal relationships focussed
on the female role in those relationships and therefore
exaggerated somewhat the female role and responsibility.
From the Woman's Weekly alone the impression is conveyed
throughout the advice columns and elsewhere that the suc-
cess or failure of relationships, marital and otherwise,
is largely dependent on the female partner.

The major concerns of the pro-
blem pages must be put in perspective. It would be very
rash to rely on the problem pages as a foundation for
generalisations about New Zealand women at this time.
To begin with, the letters by their nature dealt with
problems and conflicts and therefore gave a distorted
impression. Certain questions spring to mind as to the
selection process and the degree of editorial censorship
(17). The aunties presumably had control over which
letters to present, and as noted at the beginning of this
chapter, Dorothy Dix and "Heart to Heart" both used their

(17) The suspicion may even arise that some of them were
made up by the aunties themselves. This is another
point where access to the Woman's Weekly files would
have been of help.
pages as a platform for social comment on behaviour appropriate to women generally.

Advertisements and features on women's role conveyed a similar message to the agony aunties. Frequently feature articles appearing were in a "personal relation" style similar to the problem pages and raising the same themes. They were preoccupied with finding a husband, (how to go about it and the qualities to look for), and keeping a husband "What I want to know about the Man I Marry" was one such article written by A Girl of Today, who felt that because she would find her greatest happiness in marriage, she should draw up a comprehensive plan for finding the right mate. Like the agony aunties she puts earning power at the top of the list of essential qualities in a husband, and warns sternly against marrying for glamour or romance. (18) This and other features followed the patterns of the advice columns instructing women on how to best present themselves, how to deal with erring husbands, how to keep a marriage happy and stable.

One theme running throughout the Woman's Weekly during this time, and emerging most strongly in the advice columns and related feature articles, is that of retribution. This usually took the form of advising against particular behaviour by presenting the consequences
of it. The most obvious and logical examples of this are related to child-rearing and the attendant threats of what happens to the children of neglectful mothers. The advice and feature columns however, took this trend one step further. Their frequent habit was to advise against a particular course of action, going on to give frightful examples of persons who have followed that course and what subsequently befell them, by implication as a direct consequence of their behaviour. The idea of punishment for wrongdoing is a common one: the significance of this theme in the Woman's Weekly lies in its recurrence in an extreme form. The consequences of wrongdoing or immoral behaviour were expanded from simple unhappiness to include physical ailments or even death. Threats of retribution were most often directed at women marrying the wrong person, and while this in some cases can be understood as a form of social control (women stealing their sisters' boyfriends, or marrying too far out of the social class, for example), the most extreme and violent threats were reserved, somewhat curiously, for women marrying for glamour or physical attraction. (19)

Dorothy Dix frequently provided examples of what happened to women who got carried away and married handsome men for love alone: they invariably

(19) This theme also emerges strongly in the fiction of the period, which will be covered in Chapter V. The fiction also provides more insight into the kind of person undesirable as a husband.
ended up living lives of misery and poverty, and (nearly always) deserted by their husbands. The other pattern emerging was the birth to such women of maimed or deformed children, again as a direct consequence of marrying the wrong kind of man. While Dorothy Dix usually confined herself to hinting at dire consequences ("...... and he was dead before he was thirty;"

Within a week of the wedding her mother was struck by an incurable illness ... "), many of the feature articles were not so reticent. After warning against marrying for glamour and physical attraction one article continues:

I saw some of my friends marry for this starry glamour as a basis for the marriage... One girl I know who married an attractive man-about-town had a blind baby. Another is the mother of a little girl who has epileptic fits. Another, passionately wanting children, is childless. (20)

While it is easy to dismiss such remarks as the "lunatic fringe" of the Woman's Weekly, the recurrence of these sentiments in various extreme forms throughout the fiction, feature articles and particularly advice columns, make the theme of retribution an important one.

How accurate an indication the agony

(20) Woman's Weekly, January 12 1933 page 21
aunties gave of women's actual experience of the time is difficult to say, since they concentrated on defining that experience not so much as it was, but as it should be. The aunties were instructive and never hesitated to pass judgements and point out the only acceptable course of action. The columns do however, provide a measure of insight into the readers' concerns, and an indication of women's role in her personal relationships and, in a broader sense, society at large. Marriage was the central preoccupation of the advice columns. A woman's fate was presented as being dependent on the marriage she made: her economic well-being, social status and personal happiness were all dependent on her husband. Within this framework it was essential that a woman should remain married, and to this end she should employ various tactics to resolve conflicts in the home and make the marriage a successful one. (21)

(21) The advertisements of course reinforced this theme, indicating that certain products or techniques held the key to happiness. "How to Learn Dressmaking at Home and find Happiness," for example, was a fullpage advertisement appearing regularly (Woman's Weekly, August 20, 1936 page 20) The Stablond Shampoo advertisement was another example : "Loses Husband When Fair Hair turns Brown - Near Tragedy - Ends Happily" - when she used stablond shampoo (Woman's Weekly, March 4, 1937 - page 46)
Nearly a fifth of all women in New Zealand in 1936 were working outside the home. The great majority of these were young unmarried women, with less than 4% of all married women holding paid jobs. (1) While most readers of the Woman's Weekly then were primarily occupied with making a home and raising children, it is nevertheless important to look at whether and if so to what extent, the Woman's Weekly acknowledged women's concerns outside the home, and specifically in the work force. Following on from this, the question arises of how the magazine presented the world outside the home to its readers. This chapter will look first at the presentation of careers and working women, then at the relationship of women in the home to the outside world.

WOMEN IN THE WORK FORCE:

There were until 1936 regular pages in the Woman's Weekly looking at various kinds of jobs, the training required and rates of pay. The first of these pages appeared in January 1933 - "What To Do With Your Children When They Leave School" a "series of articles

(1) Census of New Zealand, 1936
upon suitable careers for women" (2) - and continued until the end of that year. It was directed to the young female school leaver, and covered a wide variety of jobs available. Nursing, predictably, was one of the most popular choices of the column (appearing at least four times), followed by book-keeping and clerical work. The "suitable careers" also covered such options as journalism, architecture and Home Science. In addition the column sometimes suggested setting up a small business, such as Tearooms or Poultry-keeping.

Most of these jobs were recommended either as being particularly suited to women because of their requirements ("Because thoroughness and attention to detail is necessary for book-keeping, this is one of the ideal professions for a woman" (3)). Others were presented as attractive because of the opportunities they offered women for advancement: work in shops, for example, was especially recommended as "one of the few professions where being a woman is not a handicap but an advantage." (4)

By the end of 1933 the job column had disappeared, possibly because of the increasingly stringent economic situation. In December of that year a column called "Careers for Women and Girls" appeared,

(2) Woman's Weekly, January 12, 1933 page 43
(3) Woman's Weekly, January 12, 1933 page 43
(4) Woman's Weekly, February 2, 1933 page 41
suggested possible openings for "the Homeloving Girl". The choice of domestic work turned out to be related to the scarcity of any other available jobs. The column pointed out that economic stress dictated the need for self-supporting positions, of which there were none other than nursing or domestic work. (5) A few weeks later "Careers" appeared again, this time suggesting that women without jobs should apply to the Government Assistance relief scheme, which would provide them with work as domestics.

Economic stress was no doubt the governing factor behind the sporadic appearance of the careers column over the next few years. After 1933 the page (under the title "Careers for Girls," presumably this time limiting itself to unmarried women) emerged every few months until late 1936, recommending nursing and domestic work.

In November 1936, "Work for Women" was launched, covering the inevitable nursing and domestic work but extending itself to include clerical work (again), shop work and a few others.

Columns on careers for women and girls ceased altogether by 1940. It is clear even from

(5) Woman's Weekly, December 7, 1933 - page 16
the brief outline above that in all such columns, and par-

particularly from 1934-37, a limited selection of jobs was

presented to women. In 1933 a relatively wide choice

seemed to be available, and considered appropriate for

women. This declined during the '30's and the war years

carried no careers page, although there were a number of

features in 1942 on women who had taken over men's jobs

in farming or industry.

As would be expected the careers

page of the Woman's Weekly was closely geared to the eco-
nomic climate. The magazine presented its readers with
realistic advice and information on jobs available to
women in the 1930's. Most of the jobs or careers
covered were possibly even more desirable than most trad-
itionally female jobs, generally requiring a certain
amount of training, and providing reasonable rates of pay
and opportunities for individual advancement. The concen-
tration on careers for young unmarried women (possibly also
influenced to some degree by the economic depression) refl-
ected and further reinforced the role of the married woman
exclusively within the home.

In addition to the pages dealing

specifically with women's careers, there were also a number
of features related to the subject of working women. Through-
out the period articles appeared on various "career women",
though generally these were women who had made a name for
themselves: actresses, singers or artists for example. Women working in broadcasting and the fashion or film industries were also prominent. The work that most of these women did was nearly always peripheral to the substance of the article, which was concerned more with their personal lives, their tastes and lifestyles. The fact of giving up a career for home life was the central feature of many of them. (6) Features on well-known women who had careers then emphasized their personal lives and specifically their husbands, as being of primary importance to them.

Feature articles on working women generally reinforced this trend. Most articles on this subject acknowledged a degree of controversy surrounding it and conveyed a somewhat ambivalent message. They nearly always began by stressing the large number of job opportunities now open to women and the advantages of working for women (mainly economic). The two major points stressed in most articles however, were the opportunities a job provided to meet young men, and the valuable experience a woman would gain by working which would help equip her for the task of raising a family.

The magazine's first article

(6) For example, "Tennis Champ Glad to Settle Down as Doctor's Wife," "Piano Player gives up Job for Husband and Babies".
on working women indicated the trend which continued for this entire period. It began by pointing out how much better off women were than they had been previously with regard to work opportunities, then pointed out the major advantage of this trend:

"(the modern working woman's) opportunities of meeting decent hard-working men are innumerable.... Since the natural desire of every woman is marriage, a home and children, her work is done joyously and well because she has ambition to prove her worth to her future partner... If one is busy, one is cheerful and optimistic and there is nothing like laughter to attract a man." (7)

Work in these articles then was presented primarily as a good opportunity to meet men and prepare oneself for marriage. They did not deal with married women working except to advise against it. There were however, one or two articles during the late 1930's of a purely informative nature, providing tips on how a wife could successfully fit in housework and a job. These declared it was possible for a wife to combine the two if she had sufficient determination and mastered the right techniques.

The advice columns also had

(7) Woman's Weekly, January 26, 1933 - page 45
something to say about working women. Most of the questions directly related to this topic fell into two categories: young women about to be married wondering if they should give up their jobs, and married women asking if they should go out to work in order to supplement the family budget. The unequivocal advice to unmarried women was always to give up their jobs while married women were given a slightly more qualified answer.

The advice columnist generally acknowledge the economic factors present but pointed out that married working women would effectively be doing two jobs, and "making a home is a two-handed job that is big enough for any women." (8) The husband's attitude was seen as being the other major factor to consider, and generally he was assumed to be opposed to the idea.

The amount of space devoted to the question of married women working (in feature articles and the advice columns) was considerable in view of the very small number of married women who were working. This would seem to indicate that the subject was of concern to readers and the larger society.

While the Woman's Weekly did provide information on jobs outside the home for young

(8)Woman's Weekly, June 3 1937 - page 32
unmarried women, the magazine as a whole had a mainly negative slightly ambivalent attitude towards women working, particularly married women working. Feature articles and to a lesser extent the advice columns assumed that women working outside the home was a step forward, that it was fulfilling for women and a mark of emancipation in that it provided a measure of economic independence. All hailed increased work opportunities for women as a mark of progress. (9)

All, however, advised against married women working, and the reasons they gave were two-fold. Firstly, from the woman's point of view she would be merely taking on an extra burden. Secondly, wives working would be "undermining the whole structure of home life", (10) although the only point specifically mentioned in connection with this was the possibly adverse effect of work on the husband. (11)

Work for women as presented by the Woman's Weekly was consistent with the actual state of

(9) There were also, a little incongruously, three articles in the mid-'30's exhorting women to be more involved in Trade Unions. This may have been related more to the editorials which will be looked at later.


(11) For example, "If she humiliates him by taking a job, it will develop an inferiority complex in him that will wreck him" - Woman's Weekly, November 5 1936 - page 28. Surprisingly the question of neglect of the children was not touched on.
affairs at the time, with very few married women working and most single women taking on jobs until they were married. The concentration on careers for young unmarried women was both a reflection and reinforcement of the role of married women exclusively within the home. Work outside the home was presented by the Woman's Weekly as being for unmarried women, a space before marriage, and for married women, an ill-advised venture because of the strain of coping with two jobs, and the (unstated) implications for "family life," particularly the husband.

II WOMEN AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The Woman's Weekly placed women firmly inside the home and directed their primary concern to caring for husband and children. The question arises from this as to how the magazine presented the world outside the home to its readers and, by implication, what the relationship of women should be to the "outside world", and what place they had in it. During this decade only the editorials dealt regularly with the "outside world", or attempted to consciously place women and their concerns in the larger world. The editorials are important from this perspective, although they clearly are a very small part of the magazine as a whole.

Editorials began with the first issue and continued until 1934. In 1936 they returned
under a new editor. A clear distinction can be made between those prior to 1936 and those after. The editorials of the first few years tended to be lacking in a clear line of policy and consisted in the main of short homilies on the need for virtues such as hard work, and sacrifice. These bore no relation to actual events or preoccupations except in a very general sense, although they sometimes branched out to look at economic matters pertinent to the time.

Editorials beginning in 1936 marked a clear break with the previous ones. They dealt with current preoccupations in the world outside the home and particularly with the approach of World War Two with events overseas, in a consistent and fairly detailed manner, sometimes running to several pages. Economic issues and the rise of Fascism were the two major concerns from 1936 on, and from 1940-42 the war of course was the major (although not only) preoccupation. The editorials then come to deal increasingly with specific outside issues, and in a more detailed and knowledgeable way.

This may in part have been due to a change in the function of the editorial. Possibly it was seen as coming to incorporate the kind of concerns which had previously been the subject of separate feature
articles; in the early '30's for example, there were a number of articles looking at the condition and role of women in other countries. There were few of these later on in the decade, but the editorials often themselves covered the subject even including photographs.

While it is difficult to make generalisations about the editorials given the differing nature and function of the two "phases", it is possible to give some indication of the major preoccupations.

Economic issues figured largely, particularly in the first few years of the decade. It was clear that editorials were guided in this sphere by what they considered to be the national interest: that is, they instructed their readers (12) on a certain course of action according to what they believed would bring the best results for the economy. "Is Saving A Virtue?" asked the very first Woman's Weekly editorial in 1932, (13) going on to accuse its readers of saving money for purely selfish reasons. Saving in this case was certainly not a virtue and was in fact, according to the editor, a prime factor behind the faltering economy. People should start spending as much as possible. This can be contrasted with (12) This was particularly true of the 1933-34 editorials which did not hesitate to instruct their audience.

(13) Woman's Weekly, December 15, 1932 - page 7
a 1937 editorial which declared saving to be in the national interest. (14)

Discussion of the economic situation by earlier editorials was short, simple and instructive. They spoke in very general terms with frequent reassurances that the country was suffering a temporary setback and all would soon be well. These editorials did not touch on politics or current events. This was in contrast to editorials after 1936, which were longer, related to specific events in New Zealand and elsewhere, and consciously concerned with particularly those events affecting women. A number of editorials during 1937, for example, were devoted to the domestic servant shortage, which the editor placed in the context of the economic situation generally.

These editorials also covered events on the political scene, particularly those affecting women (such as the Labour Party Easter Conference of 1937, for example, where a number of women's issues were dealt with. (15))

From 1936 on a major concern of the editorials was the rise of Fascism. They saw Fascism as a great world danger and stressed that it was

(14) Woman's Weekly, March 4 1937 - page
(15) Woman's Weekly, March 18, 1937 - page 28. Editorials appeared to favour the Labour Party. Although they could have been lending their support to the government in power.
of direct concern to women, that under a Fascist regime women would be deprived of the rights of citizenship and relegated to producing common fodder. This concern was expanded with information on the deteriorating condition of women in Germany (16). As World War II approached, the editorials urged their readers to support Britain in her battle against the forces of evil and prepare for the war effort.

Editorials from 1936 on had a more informational than instructive slant, and a good portion of them were concerned with "outside events" not featured in the rest of the magazine. The presentation of such events implied that women should be concerned about them even if not directly involved, and use the avenues open to them to exert themselves in the national interest.

Editorials during this decade also devoted themselves to the subject of women's role generally, and issue directly related to women. Again a distinction can be made here between editorials before and after 1936: in keeping with their handling of other concerns, the earlier editorials discussed women and their role in very general terms with again a strong instructive element.

(Women Should Be more Tactful", for example" (17)), while (16)"Women under the Nazi regime have been deprived of all privileges and rights as citizens, and compelled to work without wages for the benefit of the State - Woman's Weekly - October 15, 1936 page 14 (17)
the later ones tended to deal with specific issues or events.

Most earlier editorials began by declaring that women were now liberated and should consolidate their gains by getting out of the home and doing more. At the same time, these and others acknowledged a certain dissatisfaction with the role of wife and mother, and usually recommended taking up charitable work or being more involved in the husband's ambitions to counteract this. Like the question of women working, then, there was a degree of confusion about the right path for women to take.

The later editorials were more militant in tone. They too, acknowledged some dissatisfaction with woman's lot. The significant difference between them and earlier editorials in this regard was that while the earlier ones looked for solutions in the individual women (improving herself, or taking an interest in her husband's job), the later editorials sought specific, concrete changes (such as legislation) coming from outside.

The large masses of women work approximately 80 hours as week in solid and monotonous drudgery without even being paid for their efforts,
declared one editorial before going on to raise the question of payment for housewives. (18) The demands for motherhood endowment and improved childbirth facilities were raised regularly in 1936-39, and the issues of contraception and abortion also made an appearance.

Contraception was supported strongly by the editorials, which argued for the spacing of children to benefit both mother and children. (the magazine also ran several features on the Sydney Birth Control Clinic). Their attitude to abortion could be described as guardedly sympathetic. (19) Generally editorials on these subjects were increasingly frank and took a firmer and more positive stance on questions such as contraception and childbirth facilities by the outbreak of war, than they had previously.

Because of primary focus of the Woman's Weekly in the domestic sphere, only editorials, supplemented by a few feature articles, dealt regularly with events outside the home or attempted to relate women's concerns to the broader society. Many feature articles were clearly related to the editorials, the most notable examples of this being articles on birth control clinics,

(18) Woman's Weekly November 5, 1936 - page 1
(19) While avoiding an outright commitment either way, editorials nearly always placed this subject in the context of birth control and went on to list the reasons why women sought abortions. The most detailed editorial on this subject was in Woman's Weekly. November 19, 1936 page 18.
and two or three part features on the role and condition of women in other countries, such as Nazi Germany or the USSR. The USSR was a particular favourite with editorials which frequently pointed out the great benefits women in that country enjoyed, and this was reinforced by highly favourable feature articles (usually in the same issue) on Russian Women.

The changing tone and approach of editorials during this decade has already been noted. The earlier editorials reinforced certain strongly held values (courage, thrift, diligence) and conveyed a slightly ambivalent message to women about their place in the world: while they considered that the expansion of women's role into the outside world was a mark of emancipation, they sought to direct dissatisfaction with the traditional female role into effecting individual improvements within the home.

After 1936 editorials dealt with specific events and their implications for women: the political and economic situation, events overseas and the war (21). The range of subjects covered was much broader. These editorials isolated and pressed for cer-

(21) The war also seemed to precipitate a sudden religious turn in the editorials and magazine as a whole: editorials featured various clergymen and their views, emphasized the need for prayer and gave several guest editorials to the Women's Christian Temperance Union.
tain specific goals for women (such as the motherhood endowment) in the outside world: they too recognised some dissatisfaction in the condition of women as it was, but attempted to look for solutions in concrete, legislative forms rather than the individual woman.

The editorials alone then would increasingly appear to present the world outside the home as being relevant to women's lives and of some importance to women whether they were directly involved or not. There is a paradox here however, because the remainder of the magazine did not follow this trend. Feature articles on women's role generally (22) and the condition of women in other countries, appearing frequently in the early '30's, had declined by the time of the War.

Subjects dealt with in the editorials frequently underwent a "trivialising" process when they appeared elsewhere. Examples of this would be a three part serial on "Mussolini's Lost Lovers" (23) in 1937, or a series on bachelors featuring "Adolf Hitler - One of the World's Most Famous Bachelors". (24)

(22) Questions as to whether women should work, and whether women were truly emancipated, and Woman's true nature, were raised, for example.
(23) Woman's Weekly, August 26, 1937 - page 14
(24) Woman's Weekly, March 21, 1940 - page
This was of course a broader theme of the entire magazine particularly apparent in the advertisements:

Wherever women meet, the discussion turns to the new Rinso two-minute boil, "Have You Tried It?" they ask each other "Isn't it Wonderful?" (25)

While the editorials increasingly broadened the scope of women's concerns to include events and trends outside the home, the content of the Woman's Weekly focussed on the home, presenting women as being almost entirely preoccupied with the detail of home and family life, and presenting outside events or people, primarily in terms of their personal relationships.

The magazine as a whole then presented differing views of the "outside world" and women's place in it. The extent to which the editorials reflected an actual change in women's attitudes and experience cannot be satisfactorily answered here.

The early editorials of the Woman's Weekly were limited in scope and confined themselves to short, general homilies. While the remainder of the magazine remained focussed almost exclusively on the dom-

esthetic and personal sphere, by the onset of world War II editorials were relating world events to the role of women and pressing for specific changes in the area of women's concerns.
Many of the *Woman's Weekly* feature articles on marriage and the role of women, as well as the advice columns, took the subject out of the more intimate context of personal relationships and related it to women's superficial role in the broader society. This chapter looks at the external definitions of the social models and ideals held up to women. Models of the desirable were "distanced" from the reader in various ways, and lacked the personal, subjective tone of say, the advice columns. Advertisements presented a world of glamour and perpetual happiness and fulfilment. Society and fashion pages showed a world of gaiety and excitement unfettered by the more mundane cares of everyday life. Hollywood stars and Royalty both appeared as ideals quite removed from ordinary people and almost transcending mortal limitations. Finally the fiction of the magazine clearly identified a "cluster of desirables" for New Zealand men and women.

Advertisements are of course,
an important indicator of the desirable behaviour and external appearance of women, and what their major preoccupations should be. The advertisements with no significant change during this decade conveyed the message that it was an important, if not the most important activity for women to win and please a man, to look attractive all the time, and to run a good home. While the majority of the advertisements were for household products (this was especially true of the later period) presented in a fairly straightforward way, a sizeable proportion were concerned with the superficial image of women. A certain percentage were aimed at changing the external appearance of women in order for them to appear more desirable and thus increase their chances of marriage or keeping their man. Often the message was put in its crudest form: "Fat and unwanted, Slim and desirable". (1)

Advertisements then stressed primarily the importance of physical attractiveness in women's presentation of themselves to the outside world. This was reinforced by the beauty pages of the magazine showing how to care for various parts of the face and body (these appeared sporadically, mainly from 1935-1938).

(1) See appendix B for examples of full page advertisements illustrating this theme.
Fashion columns followed a similar trend. They pointed out the importance of dress and the physical appearance of women, but also functioned to provide a social model. (2) The fashion pages indicated a certain kind of garment and general appearance as being desirable. The clothes were presented in the extravagant, slightly gushing style of the society reporter: they were wearable but clearly beyond the pocket of the "average housewife", and neither would they be appropriate to her needs. The fashion pages were geared to an upper-middle class lifestyle and frequently centred around certain events: races, balls, "weekend wardrobes" for those going to England. A typical fashion page purporting to list a basic weekend wardrobe for a "working girl," for example, gave three hats, a sports costume (for tennis or golf), a Sunday morning silk frock (ideal for "Church or a leisurely walk"), a "weekend ensemble" (dress and coat) and an evening gown and jacket, all the minimum required. (3)

This kind of article possibly functioned as a direct model for the wealthy or "upwardly mobile," and another level provided an outside social

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(2) A distinction at this point should be made between clothing (in the form of patterns and dress making hints) fashion.

image for those unlikely to attain such a level of consumption.

The Woman's Weekly, on a superficial level was consciously classless, presenting the world of women as uniformly middle-class. However, indications that a certain kind of person was held up as an, if not attainable, desirable social model. The fashion pages give us one clue to this model. Pages devoted to the "social scene" were another obvious example. These pages regularly took up between four and eight pages of every issue, reporting the weddings, social functions and arrivals and departures of a certain social circle. By implication, this circle was made up of people who mattered, or people who were important.

The social pages began in 1933 with a page on happenings in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch, adding Otago/Southland in 1934.\(^4\) Christchurch and Otago/Southland were occasionally removed when the magazine reduced to 49 pages, but the format of all these pages remained the same and they continued to make up a substantial contribution to the magazine throughout the decade. They were sometimes supplemented by photographic spreads of those who regularly appeared in the social columns.

\(^{4}\) For example "Wellington Whirl of Gaiety".
Like the fashion pages, the "social scene" pages probably served two functions. They were ostensibly aimed at other members of an elite social group, or "people in the know," and this was reinforced by sometimes referring to participants by their first names or nicknames. The social pages conveyed the impression of a small group of wealthy individuals, mostly women, who, untouched by economic stringencies, found their main occupation in arranging social events. For these people and again the "upwardly mobile," the social pages provided a link and reinforcement of their social role.

For the average reader of the Woman's Weekly, however, these columns probably served a different function, since they were unlikely to appear in the pages themselves. As well as providing an element of vicarious gratification, the social pages for the average reader presented an upper-middle class model for her to aspire to.

In the same vein as the social pages were the "Beautiful Homes" features which appeared regularly (although not weekly) during the period. While there were regular articles on interior decorating and do-

(5) One column in February 1933 for example suggested a Depression party" for fun, where all guests should wear their oldest clothes and have a picnic meal of rabbit.
it-yourself home designing, "Beautiful Homes" functioned more as a showpiece for the homes of the wealthy and well-known: the owners of the home also featured largely. These pages (usually a double page with photos) provided a chance for readers to see the inside of wealthy homes, while presenting at another level, a model of the desirable.

The fashion pages, social columns and "Beautiful Homes" all helped define the external characteristics of a desirable social model. These pages of the Woman's Weekly indicate that certain characteristics on certain external images were held to be desirable and to be aspired to. The women presented here were physically attractive, dressed well (and expensively) and were from wealthy well-established families. (6) They found their main role in facilitating social intercourse, and could be described as comprising upper-middle-class social models.

Both Hollywood stars and Royalty were a step removed from the more immediate social models presented to Woman's Weekly readers. Both were kept very much at a distance, and this was particularly true of members of the Royal Family.

(6) Generally women were placed either in terms of their husbands or their fathers' social standing sometimes both.
Far more space was devoted to film stars than to Royalty. The magazine ran weekly columns throughout the period as well as regular features on Hollywood (such as an eight-week series on Hollywood homes). Interest in films and film stars increased during the period, and columns on stars were often combined with practical hints, such as the weekly "Dress Your Personality", featuring stars such as Carole Lombard, Joan Crawford and Jean Harlow and their dress hints. Film stars were usually pictured in dramatic or evening dress, and described in glowing and extravagant detail. Their personal lives were touched on very little and then in wholly complimentary terms. Hollywood stars were presented as almost unreal, always flawless in appearance always beautifully dressed, always gracious, and hovering in the background a (talented and attractive) husband and adoring children.

Film stars in the Woman's Weekly incorporated, in a slightly exaggerated form, all the characteristics of the more attainable images in the world of fashion and Beautiful Homes. They were beautiful, glamorous and conspicuously wealthy, with unobtrusive husbands and children, and presented to the magazine's readers in a positive admiring light. While it clearly may not have been appropriate (or for that matter, intended) for Woman's Weekly readers to aspire to, let alone attain, film star status, stars and their trappings were held out
as representing the ultimate.

Hollywood stars appeared frequently in the magazine and were always portrayed in a positive way. They emerged then as one ideal or conception of the desirable, far removed from the realities of most readers' everyday lives. Royalty emerged in a similar way to this, although members of the Royal Family did not appear as frequently in the pages of the magazine, and were treated with veneration rather than admiration when they did.

The first half of our decade saw the abdication of Edward VIII and the Coronation of George VI, so there was considerable interest in Royalty at least until the end of 1937, when they disappeared from view. Despite these major events (death, abdication, Coronation), little attention was paid to Royalty compared with today's magazines. Generally there was very little direct information about members of the Royal family, and most features were related to details of the Coronation (May 6, 1937 was a Coronation issue for example) and the various trappings and ceremonies connected with Royalty. Members of the Royal Family were usually only mentioned in the editorials, and here the tone was respectful, verging on reverence, and always making a strong connection between the Royal Family and patriotism. (8)

(8) In this context New Zealanders were referred to as owing allegiance to Britain, or even as being British.
Generally the editorials confined themselves to relating one or two anecdotes to illustrate the excellent qualities of the Monarch or his relatives.

"This week is marked on the calendar by a great event - the first birthday of King Edward VIII during his reign, which all true Britons hope will be a long one," announced a typical editorial on this subject in 1936, going on to reminisce about the King's progress through life and describing an incident:

which endeared him to millions in (the Indian) part of the British Empire. As he was crossing India in state, the millions of outcasts were longing for a sight of the son of the Emperor.... Standing up, the Prince took his topee from his head and smilingly bowed to the crowd of untouchables, who stood at a respectful distance in silence, not even daring to cheer. The News flashed through India. The son of the White Rai had noticed them, and had bared his head! No longer did they feel despised! (9)

This typifies the Woman's Weekly presentation of Royalty: wonder and awe surrounded their every action, and a great distance was maintained between the readers and the Royal Family which served to enhance and idealise the ruling monarch.

The subject of the abdication of Edward VIII was scarcely touched upon, although the relative

(9) Woman's Weekly June 25, 1936 page 1
disappearance of Royalty from the pages of the Woman's Weekly after George VI's Coronation was possibly related to the abdication crisis. A 1937 editorial for example, was devoted to bewailing the practice of the press publishing personal details concerning Royalty, and the magazine's policy in this regard was unapologetically declared: Royalty was "a symbol which inspires strength and loyalty", important to all New Zealanders, and revelations of indiscreet or too intimate Royalty affairs would remove the distance necessary to retain the glamour and awe surrounding them. (10) The "indiscreet" behaviour of Edward was clearly not in keeping with the magazine's image of Royalty as an ideal model.

Royalty then in the 1930s was not the focus of the kind of interest it came to attract later. A conscious distance was kept between the public and members of the Royal family so that the Royals were associated with godlike rather than human qualities. While they were almost one step removed from mortal criteria for an ideal and clearly not supposed to be like "ordinary people:; the Royal Family can still be seen as a supreme exemplar.

The Royal Family and to a lesser extent film stars were both distanced from readers of the

(10) Woman's Weekly, January 28, 1937 page 1
Woman's Weekly, partly by virtue of the manner in which they were presented, and partly by virtue of their being unattainable. The more tangible social models held out to readers of the magazine as desirable shared certain limited external characteristics centering around conspicuous wealth, the upper social classes and (for women) physical attractiveness. As stated at the beginning of this chapter however, the fiction of this magazine also provides us with some important clues as to social values and ideals, again illustrating more tangible models or ideals since it dealt with more everyday people.

Short stories were a very important part of the Woman's Weekly. There were an average of three short stories or serial parts in each issue of the magazine throughout the period, making an average of eight to ten pages per issue. Unlike most regular features, the short stories were retained in full when the magazine's pages were reduced, sometimes making up nearly a quarter of the magazine. Obviously fiction was seen as one of the backbones of the magazine which was guaranteed success regardless of economic circumstances.

Short stories were offered and accepted purely as entertainment. For the reader of the Woman's Weekly the fiction provided merely a respite from daily routines and cares. Many communications however, have effects and implications other than the immediately
intended one, and an analysis of the fiction gives a useful indication of dominant values and ideals of the time as expressed by this magazine. (11)

Many values are implicit in the short stories. The reader finds a story satisfying through identification with the central character, therefore the heroine becomes one important vehicle of social values since she will presumably incorporate those qualities valued by society at large. For us to get an indication of the values emerging from short stories in the Woman's Weekly, and more specifically of what characteristics are positively associated with the female role, we should look at such things as the characteristics of the heroine, what qualities were rewarded and the major plots emerging.

The short length of stories in the magazine make the plots simple and straightforward, with only a few basic storylines. A cluster of stories around certain themes becomes apparent very quickly, which would suggest that these themes express reasonably well

(11) This subject could be considered at some length: for reasons of space only the general trends will be noted. Several more in-depth studies have been carried out into the fiction of overseas magazines and the main ones of these have been listed in the bibliography. Particularly useful to this section was: P. Jons-Heine and H. H. Gerthe, "Values in Mass Periodical Fiction 1921-1940" in Public Opinion Quarterly, 1949, although it dealt in more general terms with American trends.
the traditions and values supported by the majority. The actual settings of the stories are unimportant \(^{(12)}\) since the trends emerging in all of them were the same, the basic theme of all short stories in the Woman's Weekly was romantic, and love was presented as the major reward, the best and most worthy thing in life. There are a number of themes within this however, which tell us about the characteristics valued (consciously or not) by society at large, and particularly about the female prototype.

The classic success story was not a theme in these stories: the ultimate denouement rather was marriage, to "Mr Right". Nearly all stories centred on the events leading up to finding the right man, and seldom carried the plot beyond the alter. \(^{(13)}\) The settings and characters were cardboard, their purpose being merely to provide a backdrop to the main action of the piece, which centred on the heroine's developing relationship with the right man, and their "discovery" of each other.

Three basic plots appeared frequently in the magazine during this period, centering around

\(^{(12)}\) Most tended to be set either in exotic Eastern Countries with adventure and intrigue, or set in a very realistic base: small towns somewhere in New Zealand.

\(^{(13)}\) The stories in fact usually stopped short of the alter, leaving the wedding to the imagination.
three basic themes. First, the flighty frivolous or ambitious heroine who has been seduced either by bright lights and excitement or by the attraction of an (unsuitable) man-about-town; she finally realises the error of her ways when she meets, or decides to marry, the right man. A typical story summary illustrates this theme:

Ethne wanted more from life than just making ends meet. She was young and alive, and she realised that the life Gerry offered her was not life at all, but an existence. She dreamed of luxury, of lovely clothes, of orchids, and then-

Along came Mr Right! (14)

Ethne discovers that the problem was that Gerry was not the Right Man for her. When she meets Adrian she stops dreaming of luxury and realises that she only needed the Right Man to fill her life. This theme also appears, less frequently, in stories where the heroine is ambitious in her job. She soon realises that her job was merely a substitute for the Right Man.

Another theme frequently appearing and related to the first is that of the strong, silent
man who is won over by the heroine. He is quiet and steady and the heroine comes to realise that he needs her, since she is the only one who can bring out his best qualities. Finally, a reversal of the first plot: the heroine, a woman who loves a (basically good) man who has been seduced by travel and bright lights or, more usually, a flighty and frivolous woman. He too comes to realise the error of his ways, returning to the heroine or finding out she is really the one for him (very often he has mistakenly married the flighty woman, in which case she dies at some stage.)

These three basic plots appear again and again in the pages of the Woman's Weekly fiction, and together make up the majority of the stories presented. In all these stories the absolute fate and happiness of the heroine rested on her finding (and getting) the Right Man. Heroines were defined largely by the man (or absence of man) in their lives, and the plot of nearly all centred on their achieving the "proper" status, that is, marriage. As far as the heroine is concerned then, the overwhelming important thing in her life is looking for, finding, then effecting a commitment in the form of marriage to the man she loves. Any man, however, is not enough: as these plots show, the central characters are frequently led astray and must be led back to the "right" person.
One of the themes coming through in all these plots is the importance of the Right Man, who is the only key to the heroine's happiness and fulfilment. The characteristics and qualities of the Right Man, like the heroine's, are important, as are the characteristics associated with the "wrong" sort of wife or husband.

The words "right" and "wrong" are used here advisedly. All short stories were presented in black-and-white terms and the characters appearing were stereotyped, so there is very little difficulty in establishing those persons or characteristics considered desirable, and there is likewise no doubt left in the mind of the reader as to the villains of the piece. The heroine and Right Man were good and their characteristics were, of course, positively presented, so the question then arises as to which personal qualities they possessed or which qualities were shown to be successful.

Heroines and their "Mr Right" were nearly always contrasted in these stories with unsavoury counterparts, whose primary role appeared to be to demonstrate unacceptable qualities and show up the heroines or heroes in a good light. These opposite counterparts, both male and female, were often the flighty women or men-about-town who featured in the plots as leading
the protogonsists astray. They often represented temptation which had to be resisted, and always functioned as a threat in some form to the heroine and her happiness, over which she eventually triumphs.

Both the heroines and "Mr Rights" of these stories emerged as prototypes, having the same (surprising specific) characteristics in each story, and being described in the same repetitive terms. It would therefore be reasonable to infer that the qualities they possessed were significant, both as a model held out to readers of the Woman's Weekly and as an indication of larger social ideals.

A brief sketch of the ideal prototype would be helpful at this point. Both heroines and "Mr Rights" were described most often as being either from the country or loving the country life, unpretentious, stoic and uncomplaining. "Mr Right" was frequently described as lacking in the social graces, and although not very well off financially, had a steady job and prospects.

The heroine likewise was most often referred to as being sensible, disliking social formalities and nearly always plain. She was able to take care of herself and shared with "Mr Right" a sense of responsibility and unselfishness. These were the words that
appeared most often in association with the prototypes although the short length of the stories (less than three pages each) did not give them much opportunity to demonstrate these qualities.

The villains of the stories were described in more detail and less vaguely, particularly the women, who were again and again given the same astonishingly specific characteristics. Few details were given as to the man's occupation or background and he was often a stranger to the town. He was nearly always attractive and often described as a "man-about-town" and womaniser. He enjoyed socialising, disliked regular work and frequently had travelled widely. Female villains tended to follow this pattern. They too were described as being strangers to the town and having travelled widely. They were nearly always beautiful and elegant, dressing expensively and being wealthy. Frequently too they were clever and educated. (15) These women often announced that they hated the country, and they were frequently pictured smoking cigarettes. Invariably the reader was informed that they were very attractive to men, although again this was seldom demonstrated in the short stories. (16) (In fact the

(15) Somewhat curiously the women in particular usually spoke a foreign language, most often French. This may have been related to the travelling experience and/or education.

(16) While there is no room here to give detailed illustrations of the main prototype a sample short story is reproduced in Appendix C.
opposite was the case, with "Mr Right" often leaving this kind of woman to marry the heroine."

The heroines and "Mr Rights" then, and their counterparts, can be identified with a specific cluster of characteristics in these stories. While the larger social ideals may be interesting and indirectly relevant, the more specific female model is more important in this context, as well as being described in more detail in the short stories. The search for "Mr Right" was in all these stories shown as being of central importance to the heroine, whether she was immediately aware of it or not. Romance and love were the ultimate rewards of the heroine, cemented by marriage. Not only marriage, however, but marriage to a certain kind of person was the message which came through from Woman's Weekly fiction. The ideal Mr Right had some of the characteristics emphasized as being desirable in the advice columns and elsewhere, most notably hardworking, having a steady job and prospects: for the woman, he should be a stable investment financially. He also incorporated the traditional wholesome virtues of unpretentiousness, frugality and simplicity. This was the sort of person recommended as a Mr Right in the short stories, by implication the sort of person New Zealand women should be looking for.

The characteristics of the heroine
of nearly all these stories, taken in conjunction with her negative counterpart, give us a clear indication of the Woman's Weekly ideal female prototype. In brief, stereotyped terms she was plain, sensible, modest, unpretentious and without great ambitions or any desire to move beyond her present circumstances. She was not particularly well educated, wealthy or clever, (14) and she especially disliked ceremony and socialising outside her quiet circle of friends.

The ideal which emerges from the short stories then is of an unassuming, unambitious people inclined to hard work and quiet living. This is interesting in one respect because it contrasts somewhat with the social models emerging earlier in the chapter, presented in the fashion, social scene and Beautiful Homes pages of the magazine. The people and characteristics given importance and value in those sections were associated with wealth, social ceremony and a degree of ostentation which would have been censured by our smalltown heroine. The question of wealth in particular seems to raise some conflict: while wealth is one of the most important elements in the social models presented by the society notes and Beautiful Homes page, it clearly emerges in the fiction

(14) This inference is taken partly from omission (she was not described as being any of these things) and partly from the negative prototype (who was all these things).
as being associated with various negative qualities, with the possession of large sums of money even being a negative quality in itself. Nearly all the "villians" of the short stories were either wealthy or shown to have luxurious tastes and free-spending habits. Certainly none of the heroines or their "Mr Rights" had any money to speak of, and they were frugal in their habits. Some short stories devoted themselves entirely to pointing out that being wealthy (and/or famous) did not bring happiness. (17) While wealth (and associated conspicuous consumption) was pointed to on the other hand as being highly desirable and the key to becoming a worthwhile and important person, it emerges in the fiction of the Woman's Weekly as incompatible with the characteristics of the ideal prototype, and in fact undesirable.

Likewise the social activities and obvious leisure of the "high society" models, including Hollywood stars, was at odds with the clearly defined habits of our heroine and "Mr Right", who repeatedly shunned the high life, indulged in (significantly) by their opposing characters.

The (mainly upper-class) characteristics of the social models presented in the former

(17) This was particularly true in the early 30s for example "Triumph - a short story in which fame and riches did not bring happiness" - Woman's Weekly December 15 1932
sections coincided rather with those of the prototype "villian" in the short stories: well-educated, conspicuously wealthy and socially adept. The social ideals presented to readers of the magazine through the fashion, social scene and Beautiful Homes pages, and taken a step further with Hollywood and finally, Royalty as the ultimate exemplar, conflicted then with the unpretentious, frugal and hardworking ideals emerging in the fiction.
CONCLUSION

The Woman's Weekly was united with other magazines of the 1930s in recommending the domestic role to women. Household management and child-care were presented as a demanding and responsible profession, requiring systematic instruction if the necessary competence were to be achieved. This was particularly true of child-rearing, which the magazine placed firmly in the hands of "experts", from the Plunket columns on. The methods of child-rearing communicated to readers by the experts' regular columns were conflicting however: they ranged from the iron-willed Plunket discipline aimed at producing obedience and self-control in the child, to the "Let's Understand Our Children" emphasis on individual spontainity and freedom of expression. The magazine as a whole expressed this conflict in its ambivalence towards methods of child-rearing; and this ambivalence was probably related to moves in the New Zealand education system and society at large towards the new values of individual freedom and autonomy for children.

The magazine however, was unanimous in upholding the tradition of children's duty to their parents, and this was particularly apparent in the advice columns, which provided guidance in personal relationships and a framework for the "right" behaviour.
Marriage was the central preoccupation of the advice columnists: how to find a (suitable) husband, how to keep him. The economic dependence of wives was frequently mentioned and was one of the major factors for consideration in the choice of a husband. Once married, the wife should make the best of things and endeavour to hold her husband through various tried-and-true tactics centering around self-improvement and making her home a pleasant haven.

The advice columns followed a pattern of approach over this decade not apparent in the pages on child-care: while all four agony aunties were conventional and somewhat simplistic in their answers, Winifred Wise in the early 30s and Lou Lockheart in the early 40s (and to a much lesser extent, "Heart to Heart", after 1940) shared a straightforward, more permissive approach to human relationships, and specifically women's role in those relationships. This was in contrast to the Dorothy Dix, writing in the mid and late 30s, who was rigid and relatively unbending in her advice, never hesitating to pass absolute judgement, and extending her advice to cover all women and their appropriate behaviour.

This trend is interesting in one respect because it coincides chronologically with a trend in the editorials. The editorial trend, however, appeared
to be in the opposite direction, moving from the simple, absolute instructions of the early 30s, to more permissive consideration of specific outside issues related to women in the late 30s. The early 40s saw a return to the more general, instructive tone of the early 30s although the influence of the intervening years could still be felt in the less simplistic approach to world problems. The Depression appeared to intensify the prevailing orthodoxy so far as women's role was concerned in the magazine other than the editorials. While the remainder of the magazine during the 30s by and large became increasingly "domesticated" and introverted with the removal of careers columns, the focus on practical household advice rather than debates on women's place and the movement of the advice columns to increasingly define women's role within the home and family, the editorials increasingly expanded women's concerns in the outside world and involvement in the outside world.

A large part of the Woman's Weekly was concerned, either directly or by implication, with providing guidelines indicating how to create an image which most closely resembled the ideal, both from the point of view of the "marriage market" and the larger social ideals. The magazine as a whole strongly indicated the importance of women as mothers, their importance in the
preservation of marriage and their responsibility for the area of personal relationships. The fiction of the magazine strongly reinforced these, particularly the latter two. Women were shown as being primarily pre-occupied with and responsible for marriage and its attendant personal relationships. The kind of heroine pictured in the fiction was suited to a life of frugal, uncomplaining domestication: she was hardworking and unpretentious. She did not however, measure up to the social ideals as presented in the remainder of the magazine, which were characterised by conspicuous leisure and consumption. While there is unfortunately no room here to look more closely at this apparent discrepancy it is one which could be the subject of a productive investigation.

The question remains open as to how far these models and attitudes presented by the Woman's Weekly, influenced existing attitudes and norms, if at all, and whether the magazine's vintage formula of "fashion, fiction, furnishing and food" was a true reflection of the experience and aspirations of the female population. This question, while it cannot be answered here, is one which should be borne in mind in any study of this kind. Nevertheless, while the world of the Woman's Weekly may have been a conventional, simplistic one in many respects, it
gives us a small sense of texture of the life of women in the 1930s and provides a starting point for further investigation into their experience.
Obviously the issues of the Woman's Weekly throughout the decade 1932-1942 were the major source for this research. Others serve merely to provide background information on this decade in New Zealand history, or to indicate useful channels of approach. As noted in the Preface, the absence of any substantial research into this field make for a scarcity of material related even indirectly to the topic in the way it was dealt with.

Certain avenues can however, be followed in order to more fully understand this decade in terms of the Woman's Weekly. The fiction of the period for example is one which is relevant to a study of the Woman's Weekly (particularly with regard to the short stories), and although no romantic novels have been listed in the Bibliography they provide a useful literary source. Likewise other magazines and newspapers of the period are helpful in providing a reference point for many of the preoccupations making themselves felt.
PRIMARY SOURCE:

THE NEW ZEALAND WOMAN'S WEEKLY - DECEMBER 1932- DECEMBER 1942 - (Published New Zealand Newspapers Limited., Auckland).

SECONDARY SOURCES:

Books:


Cont... ...


SIMPSON, A : The Sugarbag Years (Alister Taylor, Auckland 1974)


Articles :

FLORA, CORNELIA  

HATCH, DAVID L. MARYA G.  

JOHNS-HEINE, P. & H. GERTH  
Dorothy Dix's Letterbox

CATCHING A HUSBAND.

When you go angling for a husband, pick out a place where the fishing is good. Business offices are best. Vary your call with a smile. Don’t try to catch a big fish and minnows on the same hook. Be a good-looking as the beauty shops can make you—it is a poor fish that won’t rise on a peach-and-cream complexion and red roses.

Dress well, and thank Heaven that a pink chiffon can do as much for a girl as a pink mosquito net can do for a basket of peaches, but beware of looking so expressive that you will attract a prudent young person figuring on your upkeep. Wear the smile that won’t come off. There is no other one quality that is as universally appealing to men as good nature. It is the jolly girls who never lack for dates.

Be yourself. Don’t copy one, and wear the other of the girls wearing the same costume. The only way you can cut off their head is by being different from Mary, Jane, and Sue. Don’t pore—there is a chance a man is so deeply affected as to be an artificial, affected woman. Many a girl as a new line and a new look, who would have been a good provider, by acting like a red head when she was a shopgirl, cut by ineptly remarking that the dress she made herself was a cheap little impertion that she got for £10.

Don’t think you make a hit with men by shouldn’tering at the mention of a kitchen, and boasting that you can’t look water without watching it, and calling children brats. What men marry for is a home and a family. Be clever, but not too clever. If you keep a high brow, comb your curls down over it. Never let a man find out that you know more than he does.

Be gay and vivacious, but don’t laugh too much. Men are suspicious that the girl he is always laughing is laughing at them, and for goodness’ sake don’t giggle don’t sneer, don’t tell funny stories. Men think they have a monopoly on being a life of the party, and they resent women sitting in.

Cultivate a slyly line of conversation to meet with a man who is too lazy to do much talking himself, but most men would rather have you lead them on than to give them your tongue. Never boast of your conquests, and tell how many millions you could have married—no a man go shuddering to think that you will be doubting his scalp among young women, and the chances are on the other hand, never let a man find out that he is your only hope.

Be appreciative of a man’s attentions, but don’t run after him, and don’t get attached, think of him as a winning favor instead of retaining one.

Vary your technique to suit the man. It makes some men up to follow them, and the less a girl seems to want them the more they want her. Other men only put a wedding ring on the hand that strikes the right way.

Shy men, middle-aged men, and widowers can be caught by any woman who will go after them with matrimony in view. Boys have to be shot on the wing, as it were. Virtually any woman can get a man if she will sit down and make for him.

These rules have been tried and approved by millions of swans, and are guaranteed to work.

DOROTHY DIX.

THE ONLY COURSE.

Dear Miss Dix,—A boy and I are very much in love, but he cannot afford to support me now. We want to belong to each other so much that we have discussed three possibilities. We could go ahead, get married, and struggle along; we could get married secretly; or we could live together without a marriage. Which one of these alternatives should we choose?

TROUBLED.

Take the first! That one leads to happiness and self-respect, and all that makes life worth living. The other two roads lead to misery, especially for the woman.

DOROTHY DIX.

MIDDLE-AGED LOVE.

Dear Dorothy Dix,

What is your idea of love between a man and woman who have reached middle life?

Mrs. Perturbed.

My idea of middle-aged love is an emotion that is strong and deep, calm, infinitely soothing and beautiful, something that is as useful as the sun on a clear and windless day. Young love is built on illusion—it was beauty and worth where there is none; it turns a common place and into a success, and makes a fairy prince out of an ordinary boy. It is full of thrills and palpitations, and is sure that the passion is deathless.

Matrimony is a thing of first love—it puts up pink chisels over the object of its affections, but sees the man and woman just as they are, and loves them still. It has no hectic skills and fizzes, but it has certainty.

Middle-aged love is what all love comes to be in happy marriages. When the passions of youth have died down from flame to steady heat, there comes a beautiful friendship that is built on understanding, experience, congeniality, and loyalty, and lasts as long as life. Many middle-aged people are afraid to trust middle-aged love, because they do not feel as they did when they were boys and girls. They need not be. It is the most enduring and the most satisfying of all love.

Dorothy Dix.

WHO SHOULD HAVE CHILDE?

Dear Miss Dix,—I married a widower who has a little girl two years old, whose mother died at her birth. The child has been with her grandmother ever since. I adore this baby, and am eager to have her. So is her father. But the grandmother does not want to give her up. I feel that I can do no more for her than the grandmother can. Do you think you should have the child?

E.T.

I think it would be much better for the child to be reared in her father’s house, where she would have his love and influence, and the care of a good, young stepmother, than for her to be brought up away from her father by her grandmother. Grandmothers are nearly always too strict or too indulgent to children.

Dorothy Dix.
PARDON ME!

A SYMPTOM OF INDIGESTION

ANTI-ACIDO

The Proved Remedy

NIVEA ALL PURPOSE CREME

Obtainable From Your Chemist

Darling...

IT fell from his lips there in the moonlight... that beautiful word that knit their lives together... The dream she had always dreamed was coming true... But it might never have come true had she been a less fastidious person...

Sensibly, she had long realised that to win and hold a man, a girl must be attractive in MANY ways... that above all, the breath must be pure and sweet... and that Listerine, the safe antiseptic and quick deodorant, is the thing to keep it that way. Listerine is sold in bottles by all chemists in three sizes, 1/6, 3/-, 5/6.

Free! Write today to Lambert Pharmaceutical Company (N.Z.) Ltd., 64 Ghuznee St., Wellington, for the booklet, "Personal Hygiene," descriptive of Listerine Antiseptic and its uses.
Ditched Again

she had been looking forward so happily to the week-end visit with Jim... and now here was his letter saying that he couldn't possibly make it... "an unexpected and important business meeting." Several times during the summer, others had left her in the same predicament... It was beginning to get rather annoying... She was too conceited ever to suspect the real cause... a little closer reading of the "ads" would have given her a needed hint.

(Even your best friends won't tell you).

Why be in doubt about the condition of your breath? Why risk social disfavour when by simply rinsing the mouth with Listerine you can instantly render the breath sweet and agreeable? Listerine halts fermentation, resists decay, checks infection - all causes of odours - then overcomes the odours themselves.

LISTERINE
Instantly Ends Halitosis
(Unpleasant Breath)
Sold in bottles by all Chemists... 1/6, 3/-, 5/-

FREE We wish you to try Listerine Antiseptic at our expense. Send today for trial size bottle free and post free to Lambert Pharmaceutical Co. (N.Z.) Ltd., 61a Ghuznee Street, Wellington, C.2.

Watch your complexion improve as mine did...
when you begin using these creams

Women who have tried many vanishing and foundation creams know from experience that no other cream can compare with Daggett & Ramsdell's Perfect Vanishing Cream. It protects the most delicate skin from exposure to the ravages of sun, wind, rain and dust. It is an ideal powder base because it lends a smooth finish to powder and make-up. It conceals skin imperfections and imparts a soft natural tone to the complexion. Start looking your best through the daily use of Daggett & Ramsdell's Perfect Vanishing Cream.

BE SMARTLY DRESSED!
- YOU can learn to make all your own frocks and suits easily in kit to imported models. Inquire NOW about our unique training methods - Penman at Correspondence.
- DRULIEGH N.Z. PREMIER TRAINING INSTITUTE, HANOVER HOUSE.
POOR RELATION

THE invitation came as usual. Gilly Clarke had been a little suspicious at the breakfast table, when she saw Mrs. Clarke, drab and drab, sitting by the bread and marmalade.

"Aunt Marie has asked me to spend Easter with them, Gilly," Mrs. Clarke brightened.

"That's splendid, dear. It will do you good to get away for a bit. You have been looking a little weary lately, Gilly, darling."

"All right. There's a note from her, too." Gilly read it through quickly. "Mrs. Lindo tells me to be sure to bring along a fancy dress for the Easter Monday dances and the church service."

Blue eyes met gray eyes questioningly. Thousands of feminine minds race the ever-present question of finance.

"I think we can manage it," Gilly ventured. ""Anyway, you are a lady!" Gilly jumped up and ran round the table to give her mother a hug. "If you think it's going to mean an awful row at the peace, why, I'll cut out the dance altogether.

"That's where you are wrong, Gilly!" Her mother spoke decisively. "I want you to have just as good--and I mean as good--as Linda."

Gilly bit her lip. She knew what her mother had intended to say. "Just as good clothes as Linda." Gilly snatched the note back. "I know a dressmaker a friend of mine has, to make anything you want."

"Yes, dear, and so I have."

On her homeward journey she made plans for her fancy dress--either a powdered sheikh-herbend or a full-skirted Columbia. Perhaps Everard would notice her in it, and they could play "Prince and Princess" on the Eucharisto.

"Not yet, darling--I've been too busy," Mrs. Clarke's voice sounded full of suppressed excitement. "Come in here, Gilly, and tell me what I have been doing."

Gilly paused on the threshold of the living-room and glanced at the disorder within. Usually the place was so tidy, but today it was littered with lengths of dull-gray material, paper patterns, packets of pins, and other signs of dress-making.

"I've had such a busy day, dear!" Mrs. Clarke looked up, smiling. "When I was out shopping this morning I saw some really cheap material. A real bargain! I bought the whole remnant, and look!" She held up a gray, shapeless garment with pride. "I got to work at once, and it's finished now except for the fastening."

"What is it, my dear?" asked Gilly, with a faint smile in her heart.

"Your future dress, daugh-

ter!" Mrs. Clarke beamed. "A Quaker maiden! With a little white apron and cap and Bible you will look just sweet."

Sweet! That was how Gilly always wanted her to look. Sweet--but not smart. Gilly gulped. "It's awfully need of you, mummy, to take so much trouble."

Linda sat on a high stool at the cocktail bar white.

"What do you think of it, darling?"

"Mrs. Clarke (God help to restrain the pride in his voice)"

"Mummy, I--I think it's just sweet."

MEN LIKE MODERN GIRLS.

William Green. Linda walking outside the station at the walk of a waistcoat, scarlet belt rakishly asking on her golden curls, world cigarette-holder between her scarlet lips. Aunt Marie welcoming her with a smile and a kiss. A raid to unlash her heavy little suitcase and hang up her well-trimmed assortment of clothes. Dinner by candlelight, with yellow wine glowing in tall-stemmed, tall-shaped glasses. Uncle Tom asking her to play to him in the lounge afterwards. Her fingers rippling over the notes, making fairy music. And then--Everard knocking in. Linda scowling for radio dancing.

"Gilly can't play but music. By the way, you remember my cousin Gilly, don't you, Everard?"

"Of course. He took her hand and seated down at her. "Nobody could forget Gilly."

By Doris Amy Hbotson

"Knew, dear. I want you to enjoy yourself down at Willows Green. You will never be young again, you know." Mrs. Clarke gave a little shilling. "And this has cost under five shillings."

A Quaker girl. She looked it--every inch. Gilly had a dress rehearsal the night before she went to Willows Green. She stood in front of the mirror and viewed herself critically. Demure, dull, ordinary. That was how she would appear to everybody at the Country Club. Who on earth would want to dance with a Quaker girl? Blue eyes were dim with tears.

"What do you think of it, darling?"

"Mrs. Clarke (God help to restrain the pride in his voice)"

"Mummy, I--I think it's just sweet."

By Doris Amy Hbotson
Gilly's mother wanted her to have as good chances as her rich cousin, Linda. Chances to meet men. Chances to attract a husband. But Gilly knew that, as well as being poor, she was minus that little something that Linda had... the power of drawing men to her.

The two stood, arm wrestling at Linda's quick tongue. Everard was in none of laughter most of the time. At the clubhouse afterwards it was Linda who sat on a high stool at the cocktail bar, keeping the room amused, while Gilly stood in a corner sipping a lemonade. Everard took her over to her seat, and gave down—uncomfortable look in his eyes.

"Funny to think you are Linda's cousin," he muttered. "I have never met two girls who were so entirely different." He looked puzzled.

Now was the time for a quick comeback—a sweep of Linda's flashing repartee. But Gilly was tongue-tied. No wonder Everard quickly opened Train and his girl round. He did not understand how difficult it is for a girl to be bright when she is among others who are smarter and better than herself. Clackety-Clack! And Gilly's clothes had been destined for a not so bright, not a frowning young Willows Green link.

Monthly evening came. Gilly slipped into the modest, demure, doubly Quaker smile, and looked at herself sublimely in the mirror.

"They'll take me for a waitress," she thought. "That is, if anybody notices me at all."

She went along to Linda's room to show herself off, but found her cousin lying on the action bidden in rug.

"Not one of my spiky friends coming in," confided Linda, her eyes bright, her cheeks flushed. "Mummy says I am not to go out tonight.

"Oh, your darling!" Gilly exclaimed.

"They'll be staying at home, too. She felt a little elated.

"If you won't, why don't you?" Linda prompted. "Everard will be calling for us in a few minutes. You've just got to go along—to keep him company. Come nearer the light. I want to see your costume. Oh!" She gave a horrid laugh. "It's a club dance, Gilly, not a prayer meeting."

"I know," Gilly's lips quivered. "This was monotonous. But I hate it."

"You can't make whoopee in a thing like that." Linda frowned and lay back among her cushions. "Darling, you just can't do it. I know!" She sat bolt upright and paused the toasted hair off her forehead. "Open that escapist, Gilly, and let down the blue thing. Yes—that's it! You shall wear your costumes tonight. I had it designed specially for me. It's meant to make Willows Green rise up. A little devil—well! A blue devil—well you're going to be tonight instead of a Quaker girl."

Gilly's heart pounded as she looked at the costume.

"Slip it on, girl, quickly. Everard will be here any minute now."

Gilly took off the Quaker gown with trembling fingers and put on Linda's costume. Then she plopped in front of the mirror and drew a deep breath.

It was effulgent, stringing, moonlight at midnight blue, with splendors flashing the light and holding it. Silk blue rights that made her look like a real boy in a pantomime. A gorgeous blue velvet cloak dropping from her shoulders. The tips of her hair cut to the waist, the look of planning, mooning, brilliance. A tight-fitting cap atop decorated with two wicked little horns. Simmering blue shoes, a blue velvet mask hiding the upper part of her face. And a little blue veil.

"Hummm!" Linda nodded. "You'll do! You look even better in it than I do because you're a child's dinner."

"That, Linda, I'll do wear this."

"Why not, your poorer. I want it to be seen."

"But—but it's not me!"

"Would you rather be a blue devil than a gypsy angel—for one night at least?"

Linda looked at her solemnly. "Don't, Gilly. You look deliciously Capcom and it will be the more original costume there. You can't wear the other one.

"All right," said Gilly, in a strained little voice.

"You can borrow some of my makeup. And Gilly, forget yourself and be a real little blue devil to-night!"

JUNE FOR TO-NIGHT!

Blue devil! She felt one of the times she had finished making up her face under Linda's last instruction, a dash of little devil—just for to-night. Well—why not! From behind the mark her eyes wore blue stars. Below her lips were worths. To-night she was going to show them all—especially Everard—that she could be as gay and snappy and modern as Linda. It would be easy—in this mood.

Aunt Marie was loading the hall as Gilly went slowly down the stairs. Aunt Marie looked up with a read little frown.

"Darling, this is too stupid of you. Half an hour ago you promised me you would go. But at once. I have sent for Dr. Clarke, and I know that he would forbid you to go out to-night. "Run back to bed, Linda, there's a good girl."

Gilly stood stock-still, staring at her aunt.

"It's not Linda. Aunt Marie. (No.)"

"Gilly!" It was Aunt Marie's turn to stare. "You promised how much, you two girls were. I could have sworn it was Linda coming down the stairs."

(To be continued on Page 8.)
"POOR RELATION."

(Continued from Page 1.)

"Ah, this is it," said the Hon.

"You're trying to be my mother," expostulated Gilly.

"Well, you'll be hand-making a lot of people bright.

At that moment came the knock of Everard's key. Gilly ran out on the porch and stood for a second motionless against the light of the hall.

Everard gave a low, low whistle.

Linda's heart skipped. She was there, just for him. What a moment it might be! Everybody thought she was Linda—just for him. What a time she might get away with it. It was to be such a lovely Linda—high-spirited, hard, modern, virile. She was thinking how she was slowly down the steps, as the music was heard.

To-night she would be a little more direct. To-night she was—I—Linda. She took her place in the square, leg high.

The door-clothes fell. Linda's state was alarming.

"We're having supper together. Understand?"

O'Hara made no promise, said Gilly briskly.

Suddenly she was grabbed out of her way by a young man in a dinner-su.

"Linda, you look lovely."

"I've seen better days before, but not such a charming one as you." Linda, her old pet Murtle who had been dying to meet her. Petie is this thin-legged, blue-eyed girl who has put Willy Shoes in town. She is Linda. Willy Shoes in town. "I'm waiting for her."

She met the hero, a stout, grim girl of a middle-school look, with her hand hanging in, was forced to take the seat behind him. It was not as much fun losing Linda along with her.

He would have been loyal if she could have had Everard with all the time. But it depended on that. There was no particularly friendly with Everard.

"You're the girl that Everard said you're 'young and muffled' indisputably.

"Oh, he's different," retorted Gilly, even more incontinent. "The way he talks and looks at you—"

"Linda, darling, do you mean what you said the other day?"

"You've been doing me so much good, Linda!"

"Linda, how can you do it?"

"I'm waiting for you."

"Tell me, Linda."

"Tell me Miss Gilly."

The door opened. Linda emerged, "Linda, darling, do you mean what you said the other day?"

"It's very nice, Miss Gilly."

"That's enough."

She was. "Let me s—" panted Gilly, suddenly and as she entered the room that was blue.

"Very well!" He hungered his shoulder and turned on his heel.

Everard gave her a queer look.

"Very well!" He shook his shoulders and turned on his heel.

EVAHILD with her beautiful horse stood well back from the road. It was a smile with light, more with dreamy and half and half. Grilley hand caged her round and turned at the front that was him with smile and charm like a bar.

She was an open door on her right leading to a little room that was quiet and cool. Fishing her appearance, slipped in.

(Continued on page 3.)

THE NEW WOMAN'S WEEKLY.

"That was over, you did a crossing woman by the door. Gilly turned, started, and saw Petie standing there. "Very pretty girl, my girl. I bet she'd say you are away—except me. And that's how they want it, too—oh?"

I don't understand girls," she answered softly.

He that the door behind him and turned the key.

"Open that door at once!" cried Gilly savagely.

"That's a good joke." He laughed loudly. "You're going to have a party especially for you."

He came forward and grabbed at her. She swung out of the work and slapped his face. "That's enough!" His mouth grew hard and ugly. "A plain a poke, my dear, but you are carrying it too far." He caught her in his extra arm.

"Let me go," panted Gilly, suddenly steady.

"Don't be an idiot." He muttered. "It can't go down with me. Think I'm a friend of Nellie Wynness's and haven't heard of Linda Everard. I think I don't know all about her. It's no use believing in a silly school child. Linda. I've got your number, and you know it."

The full import of his words came to Gilly as a shock. He had heard of Linda.

"Linda, my name is Everard. Linda's name is Linda. And the girl he loves isn't Linda herself. He loves a girl.

With one desperate, superhuman effort, Gilly pushed Petie away from her. She went staggering across the room, hardly able to keep her balance. Everard gave her time to stumble through the low window and drop lightly on to the floor. The next moment her voice was shrill.

Suddenly she gave a stifled sob as a howl.

"I'm all right!" Everard's cold voice answered her. "I've been standing here waiting for you."

"That's all right," Linda's sob wailed out of her, then faded away quietly.

"Have you good time last night?" asked Linda.

"Shocked!" Gilly's voice was toneless. "I'm re-awakening. Everard's re-awakening you all right. I rang him directly you got to the house, and told him you were yourself."

"You—I rang him?" Gilly asked her.

"I rang him up of course. Funny thing, he thought you were here at first, and told Everard to go out—urgently."

"Gilly!" Linda's hand shot up to catch her arm strongly. So Everard had been finding her all evening. A step at the door.

"If you phone now, Mr. Hunt wishes you to."

"Tell him I'm too ill," croaked Linda.

"You won't miss. Miss Gilly?"

"Oh—" Linda winked. "Run along, my child, and throw you both."

A moment later Gilly was leaning him, her eyes hard, her voice curt.

"You fooled me pretty well last night, Everard."

"You kind of feel me, too," he laughed down at her. "I saw a sorry that I should think, though."

"You!"

"I do not know how you would write a story. I should have never bothered to wait outside Wynness's. I know that."

"Don't you?"

"I don't know. You would get away directly you saw the kind of party it was. I waited for you, Gilly. As I shall always be. You needn't be—terribly long."

Her answer was smothered against his shoulder.

The End.