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New Women and Not-So-New Men

DISCUSSIONS ABOUT MARRIAGE IN NEW ZEALAND, 1890—1914

IN 1908 EXAMINATIONS OF MARRIAGE were, at least according to the Woman's World column in the *Nelson Evening Mail*, so commonplace they had become 'tiresome'. Men and women 'are always being told why they do not marry, why their marriage is a failure, how they ought to manage their husbands or their wives, at what age they should succumb to the germ of love, how they should train their daughters for the "marriage market," and so on'.[1] The forums for these discussions were many. Public lectures were organized on the theme. Essays, books and conversations speculated about the matrimonial prospects of modern men and women. More often than not, the changed expectations of women were held responsible for the uncertainty over marriage's future. 'Advanced women', Fabian Bell archly observed in the *Otago Witness*, were in danger of condemning the average man to a lifetime of celibacy, so contemptuous were they of him and the married state: '"Superior women don't marry" has been the cry'.[2]

The debate about marriage lasted a long time. In the years either side of the Great War, as films replaced novels as the most popular forum for dramatizing social issues, movie-goers were promised plots that hinged on the ups and downs of the modern marriage. *The Price She Paid* was advertised as a 'startling society drama' dealing with women's relative powerlessness in marriage; Frances Nelson starred in *The Power of Decision*, 'a wonderplay of a wife's dilemma'; while Montagu Love and Alice Brady featured in a story about a 'pretty typiste' who married her rich boss: 'slowly she learns that his view of marriage is a dreadful thing. He looks upon her as his chattel, a beautiful toy without rights.'[3]

Citing the 'latest work on modern marriage, which is from a feminine pen', the *Nelson Evening Mail*'s columnist claimed that the blessed state was withering under the glare of too much scrutiny: 'We are horribly matter-of-fact. Things that were once sacred are now discussed like the weather or motor-cars.' And it was women's fault: 'man regards woman much as the child does the wrecked toy'.[4] But what to do? Woman's World advised reinvigorating the romantic imagination. *New Zealand Truth*, going against the sensationalist grain of its usual breathless, tabloid-style reporting of

divorces, sex scandals and jiltings, urged a dose of realism. Romantic imaginings needed level-headed counterweights. ‘This setting up of marriage as an ideal state of bliss’, it suggested, ‘is a mockery and a sickening sham. It is a confidence trick played upon people too young to know better’.[5] Women’s rights advocates also waded into the debate on the side of clear-eyed assessments of suitors’ potential to become decent spouses. Young men and women, advised Amey Daldy, a leading feminist, needed to carefully consider their sweethearts’ character and temperament: ‘To be the king of a household, a man needs something more than a fine appearance’, and to be a good wife a woman needed more than frills and furbelows. ‘[If] a girl’s chief sources of conversation are gossip, fashion, amusements or self-indulgence [a man] must not expect the marriage ceremony to transform her into a contented, unselfish, sat-at-home capable housewife.’[6]

As Raewyn Dalziel pointed out in her path-breaking article, ‘The Colonial Helpmeet: Women’s Role and the Vote in Nineteenth Century New Zealand’, New Zealand was founded in a flurry of pro-marriage sentiment. Men needed women’s labour to make a go of a settler’s life, and colonial women found satisfaction in their practical contributions to the founding of a new society.[7] Mid-nineteenth-century emigration advocate Charles Hursthouse assured aspiring settlers that a good wife was ‘infinitely the most valuable part of [their] outfit’.[8] Yet, as Dalziel cogently demonstrated in her research and teaching, nineteenth-century New Zealand was not just pro-marriage, it also was often pro-women’s rights, at least as far as those rights could be reconciled with liberal democracy and domestic harmony.

The colony was the setting for a number of famous ‘firsts’: in 1877 Kate Edger became the first woman in the British Empire to graduate as Bachelor of Arts; Emily Seideberg entered Otago Medical School in 1891; and Ethel Benjamin, New Zealand’s first female barrister, was admitted to the bar in 1897. In the most famous of New Zealand’s feminine firsts, women achieved the right to vote in 1893.[9] On 29 November 1893, one day after women cast their ballots in the general election, Elizabeth Yates — a married woman — won a spirited contest for the Onehunga mayoralty to become the British Empire’s first mayoress. In January 1894 she capped this with an appointment as the first ‘lady’ Justice of the Peace. Although she only held office for a year, Yates was an object of international interest, with notes about her appearing in English, American and European newspapers.[10] Every visitor to Auckland, ‘“except those who think woman’s work is to stay at home and darn stockings,” made a pilgrimage to her residence overlooking the Manukau’.[11] Some of these breakthroughs can be attributed to New Zealand’s small size and relatively flat political structure, but the value accorded New

Zealand women's work as wives and mothers was also instrumental in their political success.[12]

Another equally important set of changes was transforming the colonial helpmeet's domain in the 1880s and 1890s. Families were getting smaller. Māori fertility was a matter of popular and official note throughout the colonial period. The 1896 census showed that the Māori population had reached a low point of 39,800, 5% of the total population.[13] Reactions varied from alarm to learned conceits about 'racial destiny' and the 'inevitable' passing of a noble race, but whatever their position on the decline observers agreed it was not a new phenomenon. Commentators were joining a debate that dated back to at least the 1860s.[14]

The shifts in European family size took people more by surprise. Settler New Zealand, as historians have long recognized, underwent a swift and thorough-going demographic transition in the decades immediately preceding 1900. In the early colonial period women migrants married young and had large families.[15] During the latter decades of the nineteenth century women were marrying later and having fewer children. Ian Pool, Arunachalam Dharmalingam and Janet Sceats have described this as a 'virtual revolution in family structures … because of a radical increase over this time in the proportion of women who remained unwed in their twenties'.[16] Some of the decline in Pākehā fertility, particularly in the last decade of the nineteenth century, may be attributed to the use of birth control, but 'nuptiality' — delayed marriage or extended singledom — was the primary 'valve' non-Māori women used to check their fertility.[17] Between them, the women who deferred marriage and those who chose lifelong spinsterhood brought the birth rate down from 221 births per thousand women aged 15–44 in 1878 to 112 per thousand in 1901.[18] Pākehā women in the 1880 marriage cohort averaged 6.5 live births each; by 1891 the figure had dropped to 4.7, and by 1915 to 3.1.[19]

Thus, thanks to the work done by demographers and historians of women's rights, we know a lot about some of the major shifts in late-nineteenth-century women's lives: later age of first marriage, fewer children per family, increased proportions of never-married and slow-to-marry women among the adult female population, combined with a greater presence of women in public life, and small but significant opportunities for women in new areas of paid work. These were remarkable and unsettling changes, particularly for the great majority of New Zealanders who believed heterosexual marriage and female domesticity were part of the bedrock of a stable settler society. What would happen to the colonial wife and her daughters in the era of small families, votes for women and lady typistes? Would the compromises

embodied in the colonial helpmeet's domestic feminism satisfy the newly enfranchised 'new women' of the early twentieth century? Could marriage and motherhood be reworked by a society willing to concede women some public roles but still committed to female domesticity?

Marriage survived the encounter with 'first wave' feminism and the new woman. The never-married 'spinster' and the late-to-marry woman were an important feature of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century New Zealand, but increasingly rare birds by mid-century. The percentage of non-Māori New Zealand women aged 20–24 who had never been married peaked at 75% in 1896 and stayed in the low seventies until the late 1930s, when it went into steep decline and continued to decline until it bottomed out at less than 40% in 1971, after which it began to rise again.[20] In the mid-1980s, when Raewyn Dalziel supervised my Masters research on women's paid work during World War Two, and in the 1990s when we taught women's history together at the University of Auckland, we were lecturing to young women who had been brought up to think heterosexual marriage was the norm.[21] A narrative about marriage also ran through the course. Describing women's changing public and private roles was perforce a story about ongoing debates about the nature and gendering of intimate relationships, both at the practical level — in that women's domestic responsibilities had shaped their ability to participate in paid employment and public life — but also in the area of ideology, self-image and aspiration. The form of the compromise between women's domestic aspirations and their other ambitions changed over time, but being a marriage market 'catch', and good wife thereafter, remained an important component of womanliness throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Prompting our students to think about the continuing appeal of marriage, domesticity and motherhood was as important to our teaching as charting the shifting currents of political feminism.

The debate about the social utility and flexibility of marriage was a persistent buzz in the background of twentieth-century women's history. It never seemed fully resolved. The women war workers with whom I did oral histories repeatedly remarked that 'girls like me' (women, that is, who had grown up in the 1970s in the midst of renewed challenges to the gender inequities in marriage and in the workforce) did not understand older women's choices because we did not understand what marriage meant to them or why they did not question it more. 'The female of the species', Rae Kyle crisply informed me, 'was the homemaker, the mother, and it was her job to do that'.[22] 'It is different for you girls today', several interviewees pronounced, some with obvious glances to the bare ring finger on my left hand (though whether the glance was to note the simple fact I was unmarried,

or to imply I would learn the real story once I managed to get a ring on my finger, I am not sure).

Marriage also survived its encounter with the feminism of the 1970s and 1980s. The age of first marriage increased, cohabitation before marriage became more common, as did remarriage after divorce, and same-sex partnership has shaded into demands for marriage equality. But marriage has remained an important social glue binding the gender order together.[23] Marriage was not trounced by feminism; instead, it was transformed — in fits and starts — into a more companionate and equal relationship between men and women, and then, more recently, into a relationship which accommodates gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender partners.

Changes in gender relations, as I have argued elsewhere in relation to the mid-twentieth century, tend to be evolutionary, not revolutionary.[24] In each era new ways had to be found to reconcile the competing pressures of changing social relations — practical matters such as who voted, who did the shopping and who paid the bills — with the discursive structures which attributed meaning to actions such as voting, shopping and bank account balancing. The colonial helpmeet was one such discursive structure, offering a view of marriage that incorporated women's suffrage and recognized women's household contributions to settler society without upsetting the domestic apple cart; subsequent generations, unwilling to abandon marriage as the cornerstone of the gender order, had to each find their own ways of keeping that apple cart balanced. Those tiresome early-twentieth-century discussions about the 'new' woman, marriage and the 'modern' man were part of a series of such attempts to find an equilibrium.

The early-twentieth-century commotion about modern marriage concentrated on Pākehā women and their marital prospects. Māori women were, for the most part, exempt from accusations of making themselves unfit for marriage by 'newness' and advanced ideas; theirs was a different struggle for acceptance and respectability against ideas of racial inferiority, fecklessness and lingering primitivism. The notion that new womanhood had created a crisis in modern marriage came initially from the United States and Britain but its reach was international. Sarah Grand, the British author of the controversial novel *The Heavenly Twins* (1893), and a popular speaker on the US and British lecture circuit, is credited with coining the term,[25] but the opponents of 'progressive' womanhood who picked up the phrase as a convenient descriptor of an abhorrent kind of female did more to bring it into common usage than the women it purported to describe.[26]

In many ways the new woman was the antithesis of the colonial helpmeet. Where the helpmeet was content with the eternal verities of home, hearth

and family, the new woman questioned whether domesticity, marriage and motherhood could provide women with happiness. She asked questions about women's exclusion from politics and university education, their property rights and lower incomes, their constricting garments and impractical hair styles, and, most pertinently for this essay, their rights within marriage. Yet getting a fix on the 'new woman' is complicated by the fact that she is a shifting target. Some authors use the term to describe the period before 1894; others take the notion right through into the 1920s.[27] Contemporaries' use of the term changed over time, too; as the years passed the political content of the new womanhood, and the 'old' womanhood in which it was in explicit contrast, diminished.[28] The late Victorian emphasis on woman's place in the home sketched a version of womanhood which was confined, contented and anodyne; the political dimensions of the domestic feminism that grew from it forgotten along with the new woman's political rebellion against it.[29] As the first decades of the twentieth century unfolded the new woman was increasingly painted as a personal rather political quest to move away from time-honoured ways of womanhood. She was as likely to express her rebellion by smoking, drinking alcohol, or having sex before marriage — sometimes almost simultaneously — as by petitioning Parliament or getting a university education.[30]

The new woman began as a shorthand description of a serious social phenomena and a caricature; in time she became a commercial and consumer trope.[31] As Ann Heilmann and Margaret Beetham have remarked, the new woman 'was — and still is — the subject of both history and fantasy'.[32] Gillian Sutherland's study of middle-class women and work in Britain 1870–1914 has described her as a 'bogeyman'. Sutherland questioned whether many late-nineteenth-century British women had the economic wherewithal to challenge gendered restrictions on women's opportunities to work, take political action and exercise autonomy in love and marriage, pointing out the persistent dividing lines of class, status and gender within the discourse of new womanhood.[33]

Fantasies about female freedom could easily tip over into nightmare scenarios of Amazonian proportions.[34] A key issue in the debate about the legitimacy of the new woman's aspirations was how far she could go down the road of gender equality and retain her womanliness. The path to equality might, in fact, be a slippery slope to androgyny. Max O'Rell, a harsh critic of new womanhood who had toured New Zealand in 1893, alleged that femininity was under threat from aspirations to equality: 'The Anglo-Saxon New Woman is the most ridiculous production of modern times, and destined to be

the most ghastly failure of the century…. She will fail to become a man, but she may succeed in ceasing to be a woman.'[35]

New Zealanders followed the debate about modernity and feminism's impact on women. Developments such as the establishment of the Pioneer Club, a London club for women interested in social, political and educational advancement and a haunt of well-known new women like Lady Henry Somerset, Olive Schreiner, Lady Florence Dixie, Sarah Grand and Lady Harberton, were assiduously reported by New Zealand media.[36] 'The best speakers and the cleverest women in London congregate at the Pioneer', noted the Christchurch *Star*.[37] The *Wanganui Chronicle* described women's clubs as 'a direct and pleasant outcome of the so-called emancipation of women movement'; the 'hausfrau' had not needed them, nor had the 'social butterfly'.[38] And even the most prominent clubs had New Zealand connections. Maud Pember Reeves, the Christchurch suffragist, former lady editor of the *Canterbury Time* and wife of the New Zealand Agent-General, joined the Pioneer shortly after arriving in London.[39]

Editors of New Zealand newspapers and periodicals relied heavily on selections from British and American publications to fill empty column inches. Articles about new women in prestigious overseas magazines such as the *North American Review*, *Nineteenth Century*, *Woman*, the *Westminster Review*, the *Review of Reviews* and *Lady's Realm* were read by their New Zealand subscribers and library patrons, but they also reached a much wider audience through metropolitan and provincial newspapers. Sometimes the articles were reproduced with local comment; other times readers were left to draw their own conclusions about the material. Thus in 1888 New Zealanders were alerted to the English novelist Mona Caird's claim (in the *Westminster Review*) that marriage was a failure; in 1897 they read about Marie Corelli's 'curiously distorted views' of marriage (originally published in *Lady's Realm*); and in 1909 considered Carolyn Shipman's ideas about 'The Anomalous Position of the Unmarried Woman' (cribbed from the *North American Review*).[40] New womanism was a fertile topic; 'a boon and a blessing to newspaper paragraphists and comic writers for the press'.[41]

The prevalence and longevity of editors' penchant for clipping articles about the 'woman question' and the related 'marriage question' suggest not just a desire to fill space, but a belief that local readers found overseas opinions on these topics interesting and relevant. The debate about the 'new woman' provides us with a graphic example of the extent to which New Zealand newspapers connected their audience with international debates about the era's hot topics. Grand put the phrase into print in March 1894. Ouida, one of her critics, picked it up as epitomizing what was going wrong

with women in May 1894. By December the term was being bandied about in the colonial press.[42]

Newspapers and periodicals were an important conduit feeding ideas about the new woman to New Zealanders, but so were novels. Late Victorian novels were meant to inform and edify, not simply entertain. Novel reading, frequently condemned in the 1880s, was by the 1890s becoming respectable.[43] As Reverend Waddell told the St Andrew's Literary Institute in 1898, the novel was 'the most fascinating form of reading, the most influential, and the most widely spread'. 'This is an age of novel reading', Dunedinites were notified.[44] Though few so-called 'new woman' novels have continued to attract a wide readership, in the 1890s the genre was a well-established and widely remarked upon literary phenomenon.[45] When Olive Schreiner, the South African author of *The Story of An African Farm*, one of the prototypical 'new woman' novels, started a Cape Town woman's suffrage society in 1907, New Zealand newspapers could report the fact without needing to provide her with a lengthy introduction.[46] The lady novelists were also cross-over writers; as the periodical press reproduced in the colony's newspapers demonstrated, the themes which drove the plots of their novels made fine material for speeches, articles and interviews.

New Zealand had its own 'new woman' novelists. Edith Searle Grossman's 1893 novel, *In Revolt*, followed the suffering of Hermione Howard. Forced into marriage to a drunken brute who attempted to dominate her then murdered their son, Hermione's troubles graphically illustrated the legal, economic and social disparity between husband and wife. Its sequel, *A Knight of the Holy Ghost* (1907), picked up Hermione's tale as she tried to establish a refuge for battered women, only to be foiled by her husband who denied her a divorce and took her property. Hermione then killed herself.[47] English-born Louisa Baker immigrated to New Zealand in 1863 at the age of seven. In 1894, unable to find a local publisher for her first novel, she returned to Britain where her manuscript, which also centred on an unhappily married woman, was published as *The Daughter of the King*. In it and her subsequent 16 novels she explored issues of love, marriage and morality.[48]

Like most of the didactic women's fiction of the 1890s, Grossman's and Baker's books have slipped into obscurity. Their disappearance can be partially attributed to the novels' literary weaknesses, but their vanishing also relates to a tendency in historical treatments of this period to concentrate on suffrage and suffragists at the expense of other aspects of women's activity.[49] The new woman in these novels was not necessarily a political activist; she tended to be a more generalized figure of revolt against the straitjacket of domestic expectations. It is that wider context which has been

lost. New Zealand novel-readers of the 1890s, like their British and American counterparts, knew George Egerton from George Gissing, Sarah Grand's *Beth-book* from Grant Allen's *The Woman Who Did*, and Mona Caird's three-volume doorstopper critiquing marriage, *The Wings of Azrael* (in which a wife who is raped by her husband murders him in self-defence), from Mrs Humphrey Ward's theology-heavy *Robert Elsmere* (in which a wife's vision of Christ heals a marital rift).[50] Grant Allen's central character is a case in point. Herminia Barton, the 'woman who did', was a Cambridge-educated clergyman's daughter who moved to London to become a teacher. She falls in love and, wary of being trapped by convention, suggests to her lover that they live together without getting married. He is hesitant, but agrees, then is struck down by typhoid. She is left pregnant and raises a daughter on her own, endeavouring to live a life which demonstrates to younger women that there are respectable options outside marriage. After realizing her daughter is ashamed of her unmarried mother, she kills herself. The politics are overt, but they are expressed as a generalized search for a different way for men and women to live together, not a campaign for specific legal or political changes.

The reviews of these fictional treatments of the dilemmas facing turn-of-the-century womanhood were decidedly mixed. 'Miss Colonia' reported from London that there had been a 'slashing attack' on the 'sex novel' in *Blackwood's Magazine*.[51] Caird's *The Wings of Azrael* was accused of being 'prolix, prosy and didactic', 'the very baldest of all the bald things ever written on marriage', 'profoundly unwholesome' and 'dangerous reading for sensitive young girls'.[52] An *Otago Witness* columnist denounced Sarah Grand's 'ultra-fashionable' novel *The Heavenly Twins*. Grand was 'one of the shrieking sisterhood who think to effect the regeneration of mankind by Act of Parliament', and a harsh critic of the 'wickedness of the male sex'. The article classified Grand as a specimen of the extreme 'advanced woman', and advised her to try harder to be 'interesting without being nasty'.[53]

Many outspoken women's rights advocates were wary of the potential for the central characters in the new woman novels to be taken as role models. The novels' tendency to make their heroines' transgressions sexual rather than purely political was a major concern. Millicent Fawcett, a prominent British suffragist, cautioned the 'unsuspecting Young Person' from taking her cue from fictional characters such as Herminia Barton.[54] As Miss Colonia reported from London, the book was the talk of the town. Barton's story seemed a cautionary tale of intellectual disdain for marriage gone too far: 'Miss Hermione [sic] Barton is a tall, beautiful, refined, sensitive and hyper-cultured young woman, who, according to her own account, my dear, had been reading all sorts of horrid books about marriage and whatnot ever since

she was sweet sixteen. She went to Girton hoping to find freedom, but her notions were too go-ahead'.[55] Much better to temper intellectual fervour with practicality and not find oneself unmarried, alone and bereft.

Few women's rights activists embraced the term 'new woman', recognizing it as a part of an effort to demean, mock and trivialize their concerns. Margaret Sievright told the 1896 meeting of the New Zealand National Council of Women that all journalists had succeeded in doing was getting a few cheap laughs: 'the epithet "new woman" is dragged into everything. Who is this new woman and whence is she? Our comic papers have exhausted their ingenuity of pen and pencil to make reply… they have succeeded in teaching us at least what she is not.'[56] The attack on Grand's novel and the kind of socially aware, politically active womanhood she represented was parried in a piece by Jessie Mackay. An aspiring poet and a suffragist, in 1894 Mackay was teaching in South Canterbury.[57] Calling Grand one of the 'shrieking sisterhood' was, 'to convey to the initiated ear quite as much praise as blame …. If to preach fiercely, incessantly, the primal right of woman — the right to wed at least her moral equal … if to live and breathe for the emancipation of weak women — if all this be to "shriek," this woman is a "shrieking sister"; and would to heaven we had a million of her instead of one.'[58]

Only a minority of New Zealanders were as passionate as Sievright and Mackay in their defence of women's social activism. But many were interested in the idea of new womanhood, both as a social phenomenon and as a caricature. The idea that intellectually engaged and politically active women were a new breed of women was attractive partly because of the way it encapsulated a sense of changing times. It also had the merit of refuting uglier alternative explanations of the ways womanhood was being reconfigured. In 1891 Mrs Lynn Linton, a conservative British novelist, had used a biological analogy to argue that lady politicians were not truly female: 'Like certain "sports" which develop hybrid characteristics, these insurgent wild women are in a sense unnatural. They have not "bred true" — not according to the general lines on which the normal woman is constructed.'[59] As the *Hawke's Bay Herald* noted, Linton's comments were of particular interest in New Zealand, 'now that we seem to be about to have female franchise in this colony'.[60] In 1896 Sievright was still outraged by Linton's description of New Zealand as hagridden.[61]

The new woman's critics treated the caricature as real, or real enough to be worth attack, and used it to focus their commentary about what was wrong with women in the immediate post-suffrage years. 'It must not be supposed that the new woman is a mere creation of the comic press', urged the *Observer*:

'She is a flesh and blood reality.'[62] In 1894 Fabian Bell described the modern Eve as 'emphatically Eve after the fall', though he admired her athleticism and understood how older women might envy her comparative intellectual and physical freedom. Bell drew a series of unflattering contrasts between the misguided heroines of the 'new woman' novels such as *The Heavenly Twins*, *Dodo* and *The Yellow Aster* who, he alleged, desired absolute equality between the sexes, and politically active New Zealand women who desired a better world for all:

> 'It is a queer world my masters', but not so bad as the modern novelist 'with a mission' has seen fit to paint it. And 'The Yellow Aster' is not, thank heaven! a type of what 'our girls' are coming to. Better bring them up as lady mayors — could not Mrs Yates start a technical school in One-hunga? — or send them to the House of Representatives, and place one of them on the woolsack, rather that they should develop this fin-du-siècle pessimism.[63]

Gender relations provided a rich seam of humour for late-nineteenth-century comedians, and the new woman gags were, as a columnist the *Observer* admitted, a refreshing change from jokes that focused on mothers-in-law, hen-pecked husbands and comic courtships.[64] 'The new woman orator waxed eloquent', began one tale. '"And what," she demanded, as she came to the climax, "is to be the result of our emancipation?" … [T]his was too much for the little man who was waiting for his wife in a far corner of the hall. "I know," he shouted…. "Cold dinners and ragged children," roared the little man.'[65] Mary, a 'suffragetting wife' in one of the most widely circulated new woman jokes, regaled her husband with the events of her day. She had started it by attending a talk about Martian architecture, followed by a lecture about microscopic insects in Africa. After a Women's Rights Association meeting, she trotted off to the Society for the Reformation of Murderers, then went on to a women's theatre club. Coming home, she told her husband, she had seen a lovely child playing in front of their house. 'Such a dear little boy! I quite wanted to kiss him. I wonder whose child he is?' 'Did he have yellow hair?', her husband asked. 'Yes.' 'And blue eyes?' 'Yes.' 'And a dirty pinny?' 'Yes.' 'Then I know whose child he is. He's ours.'[66]

Marital relations were a perennial source of new woman jokes. A prisoner was asked by an earnest clerical visitor, 'What brought you here my poor fellow?' 'I married a new woman, sir.' 'Aha! And was she so domineering and extravagant that it drove you to desperate courses, eh?' 'No', the prisoner sheepishly explained. He was a bigamist and the old woman turned up.[67] Maria, another comic wife, asked her husband if he thought she should try a medicine that promised to make her feel like a new woman. He said no: 'I am not going to have you made into one of these here new women gaddin' about

the city and savin' the country that don't need savin'. You just mix up some sulphur and treacle, and you will feel better, but don't let me hear any more of this new woman nonsense.'[68]

The tall stories about the new woman's antics were, like the articles discussing her, mostly cut from overseas sources. A set of cartoons about her were, however, generated locally, showing the way that ideas drawn from British and North American debates about gender relations could quickly filter into New Zealand popular culture. William Blomfield, a New Zealand satirist, published a series of caricatures of the new woman in the *Observer*, beginning in 1895. Blomfield had already drawn cartoons depicting shrewish suffragists and pursed-lipped temperance advocates, and he adapted the old jokes to depict the new woman in action.[69] She was shown beating her husband with the cat, trying to stop an old gent smoking, waving a scroll titled woman's rights and purging the electoral rolls.[70] Domestic violence against men was in the news because Benjamin Cohen was in the Auckland courts seeking a separation order from his rage-prone wife Fanny. Rather than seeing her as an individual with serious problems the *Observer* preferred to style her outbursts as a logical outgrowth of new womanhood: 'The new woman is gradually asserting herself. We have known her as the shrieking female intent upon the franchise and reform. We have seen her in her bloomers astride of the speedy bicycle. And now we make her acquaintance in a new *role* altogether, viz., that of husband beater. Fanny Cohen is a representative of the latest type of advanced womanhood.'[71]

Other reports of aberrant behaviour took a more serious tone. Canon Carmichael delivered a lecture in Dublin castigating the new woman: 'the most original and unlooked-for feature of the age was not the electric telegraph, the microbes, or the Waverley pen … it was the New Woman…. those who went about reviling and vilifying men, and acting as if there was no good man in the world, and no bad women, except those whom man had made bad.'[72] Under the heading, 'The New Woman. Questionable Conduct', the *Marlborough Express* reported that two thousand Viennese women had marched through the streets threatening and insulting Jews.[73] In New York, the *Colonist* stated, 'an enormous procession' of elderly mothers and fathers had protested against progressive womanhood. The rally was followed by sermons preached on the theme of motherhood.[74] Women's 'invasion of the working world', another writer warned, would have disastrous consequences. Over centuries 'the chivalry of men gradually released women' from all but household duties, '[b]ut with the spread of education there came still more extensive emancipation, commercial conditions and methods vastly changed, and women swarmed into and swamped spheres of livelihood previously only

available to men'.[75] Wives and mothers were working while their husbands and brothers lay idle, and the institution of marriage was being undermined.

Very little of the debate about the new woman was nuanced by discussion of ethnicity or class. While New Zealand editors happily republished material taken from overseas on topics as diverse as the Chinese new woman, French feminism and 'primitive man', they did not as a rule commission writers to explore the particularities of feminism in their own country. Generally Māori women were treated as irrelevant to the debate over progressive and new womanhood.[76] Rāpata Wahawaha, one of two Māori members of the New Zealand Parliament's upper chamber in 1893, described women's suffrage supporters as fanatics, and attempted to distance Māori women from the measure.[77] In the lower house Epararima Kapa, the member for Northern Maori, supported women's suffrage but his colleagues Tame Parata and Hoani Taipua did not.[78] As Patricia Grimshaw observed, Māori women, while routinely dismissed as uninterested in woman's rights, had property and legal concerns which brought them into the public arena. Māori women owned land in their own right, had conducted cases before the Native Land Court, and if widowed or left without competent male relatives might find themselves managing whānau and hapū land interests.[79] In 1893, when Meri Te Tai Mangakāhia addressed the Kotahitanga parliament on women's suffrage, Māori women's work on land issues was at the heart of her arguments for the vote.[80] Māori women signed the massive suffrage petitions presented to Parliament in 1893 and later that year voted in respectable numbers.[81] The *Auckland Weekly News* remarked on the good turn-out of Māori women voters at the Native Land Court office in Customs Street for the first post-women's-suffrage election: 25 of the 59 votes recorded at the office were cast by women.[82] In 1896, after a deputation of Māori women met with Premier Seddon to discuss land issues, 'The Fretful Porcupine', one of the *Observer*'s satirists, complained that '[t]he New Woman is spreading her empire even amongst the Maori *wahines*'.[83] But most of the discussion about the new woman proceeded with scant recognition of Māori women.[84] Like the Porcupine's barbed aside, Bob Hawbridge's illustration of a Māori woman, mere raised above her head in defence of her unfortunate, drunken spouse, was an exception in the way it connected Māori women's political activity in pursuit of family and community interests with the figure of the new woman.

Māori women's political activity, because it was largely confined to the Māori world, was not seen as threatening the cultural and gender norms of mainstream colonial society. Indeed as the *Graphic* commented in 1894, those new women might learn a thing or two about political decorum

from their Māori sisters.[85] For Māori women with doubts about the impact of colonization and modernization on Māori society, the new woman's association with individualism, liberalism and modernity may have meant the trope was of limited use in furthering their personal and community politics.[86]

Women who worked for wages out of necessity, as opposed to women who allegedly took paid work as an expression of their desire for equality with men, were seldom mentioned in the local press either. Within the iconographic straitjacket that was the caricature of the new woman, wage-earning was a political statement, not a sign of straitened personal circumstance. Progressive women were aware of the hardships suffered by women wage-earners. Their temperance activism was, in part, driven by a desire to see the wives and children of drunkards better fed, housed and clothed. The suffrage campaign had taken place against the background of another high-profile public debate: the debate about 'sweated' labour. A Royal Commission sat from January 1890 investigating allegations that New Zealand factory workers, many of them female, were subjected to over-crowding, long hours and pay rates so low they amounted to starvation wages. The Dunedin Tailoresses' Union, founded in 1889, had participated in the campaign for women's suffrage, and after women won the vote many activist women believed that the female vote would, amongst other things, be a force for social reform of the conditions of working people.[87]

Ostensibly middle-class women were not, of course, immune from financial hardship. Many of the women drawn to the women's rights movement had direct experience of earning their own living. Edith Grossman was separated from her husband for many years, supporting herself and her son through her writing. After her father went bankrupt in 1898, Jessie Mackay struggled to earn a living sufficient to support herself and her younger sister. Wilhelmina Bain, a Southland teacher in charge of a class of 89 Standard Three pupils, protested at earning less than half the salary of her school's less-qualified male second assistant.[88] Other feminist women in this period attended to the economics of working-women's lives without first-hand experience of adversity. Margaret Sievright and her husband had a financially stable and successful marriage, but Sievright was still cognizant of the vulnerability of married women, the need to fight for equal pay, and the links between prostitution and women's unequal employment opportunities. Anna Stout, Kate Sheppard and Amey Daldy, and other prominent suffragists who could rely on their husbands to pay their bills, were equally conscious that not all women were so fortunate.[89] But, as far as the creators of the image of the new woman were concerned, her place was firmly in the middle and upper class. Her origins as a stereotype used to trivialize and discredit

feminist women, combined with the demonstrably middle- and upper-class background of a significant proportion of the women labelled ‘new women’, worked to separate discussions of the new woman from discussion of the working-woman’s plight. Paid work, in the eyes of her critics, was part of the new woman’s folly, not a facet of her economic reality.

Economic issues did cross over into discussions of the new woman’s rights and wrongs in the protracted and contentious debate about women’s financial rights within marriage. Woman’s suffrage had always been seen as a means to an end. One of the ends to which its supporters turned was the economic independence of married women. A spate of articles in the *White Ribbon*, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union’s monthly newspaper, addressed the topic. Lucy Smith took issues raised in the English paper the *New Age* as the starting point for a claim that women of the ‘middle rank’ were often the worst off, having to ask their husbands for every sixpence. Sheppard argued that women who ran households and brought up children deprived themselves of the opportunity of earning a living, and in return should be recompensed with a ‘just share’ of their husbands’ earnings. Daldy risked the wrath of those who claimed progressive women were poisoning women against marriage by urging esteem for ‘old maidism’.[90] Talk about economic justice within marriage was like a red rag to new womanhood’s bullish critics. A suggestion that wives might have equal access to the family chequebook at the Women’s Convention in Christchurch in 1897 met with a scathing reply in the *Observer*. Surely these women realized that not everyone had the luxury of a bank account: ‘[i]t is all very well for women of affluence and wealth … to talk cheap claptrap about the marriage tie, and the rights of women to sign cheques, and other similar nonsense. They live in a different world to the ordinary working people of New Zealand.’[91]

But would any man worth his salt want to marry such a creature? In a playful list of definitions of the new woman, one wit dubbed her, ‘Man’s newest and best reason for remaining single’.[92] Another joke at the new woman’s expense ran that in times past girls used to be sold by their parents, some of them even bringing high prices, but now woman had asserted herself fathers had to wreck their bank accounts to get their daughters off their hands.[93] The new woman was a misfit and an oddity; her unmarriageability was symptomatic of her wrongness. Max O’Rell was of the opinion that feminism drew its support from the unwanted, the unattractive and the unloved: ‘kindly seek the New Woman among what is left — ugly women, old maids and disappointed wives’.[94] But not all opponents of new womanism were so harsh. In 1899 New Zealand newspapers summarized a lively debate between Sarah Grand and Lady Mary Jeune, a society hostess and magazine

writer. 'Mother Nature' would straighten out the new woman, wrote Jeune: 'She may sport the culotte, she may smoke, she may protest as loud as she can at the injustice of her position and the hardship of her womanhood. But … Motherhood will save the New Woman from her impossible and ridiculous position.'[95]

The 'new woman', when she did not shy away from marriage altogether, was widely regarded as insisting on a marriage on very different terms from her more conventional sisters. Periodically papers would note that emancipation was threatening to lead women into dangerous matrimonial waters. A young Christchurch woman had buttonholed her dilatory beau and 'as good as proposed' marriage: 'It is sincerely to be hoped that there are not many of the gentler sex who will interpret their rights in this fashion.'[96] 'The new woman advances', Wanganui newspaper readers were told: the evidence, a 21-year-old woman under arrest for marrying a 17-year-old youth without his father's consent.[97] A headline in the *Ashburton Guardian* in February 1908 announced that America had reached a state of 'matrimonial chaos'. 'Is it the "new woman's" fault?' asked the paper. Yes, 'in this respect at least, she has no flattery for "the tyrant man." She turns right round, and places all blame for the marital unrest on his shoulders.'[98] 'We object', an anonymous new woman was quoted as saying, 'to being called undutiful helpmeets because we are not "submissive" to our husbands' misconception and misunderstanding of us.'[99] What new women were asking for was not an end to marriage but an end to marriage as the be-all and end-all of women's lives: 'while [man] considers marriage as only one stage in his own mental and spiritual development, he insists that we shall consider it the only excuse for our existence'.[100]

When women's rights advocates wrote about marriage they were often idealistic and positive. They were not, as their opponents tried to suggest, against marriage. The discussion about the nature of marriage had been underway before the 'new woman' was written into popular culture. Bad marriages, restrictive social attitudes and selfish spouses were the problem, not marriage itself. In 1888 Caird's controversial article 'Free Marriage' had advocated contractual unions which either spouse could annul at will. Marriage would become a 'union of two who remain one because they are one'.[101] The new woman controversy gave impetus to the debate because the new woman was defined by her activities outside marriage, but those activities were meant to contribute to better marriages, not render marriage redundant.[102] The perfectability of marriage was a central theme running through the writing about the progressive woman's prospects. Having lifted herself out of domestic tedium she needed to become a soulmate, not a helpmeet.

Grand's view was that compatibility, courtesy and consideration were the cornerstones of happy marriages. Marriage, she argued, was the 'finishing school of life'.[103] Marie Corelli compared the London debutante season to 'the Turkish slave market and its stripped victims', but praised 'true marriages' founded on great love and faith in God.[104] In New Zealand Kate Sheppard, Lucy Smith, Amey Daldy and other activists called for justice within marriage, but they did not advocate an end to marriage. Margaret Sievright predicted that though the race to find a husband would no longer be girls' chief sport, 'Women will yet marry, new women too, but they will demand cleaner, purer, saner surroundings than the past has yielded them.'[105]

The new woman was not the only new entrant in the matrimonial stakes. By the late 1910s and early 1920s another figure, the modern girl, was being corralled into the starting blocks. The modern girl was sassy and strong-willed, less docile and domesticated than the old woman, but less political than the new woman. She achieved a different relationship with her suitors through high-spiritedness and force of personality, not by attending meetings or lobbying for legislative reform. Like the new woman she existed as an uneasy combination of rhetoric and reality. The *Colonist* reported tongue-in-cheek on one of the latest batch of British woman novelist's portrayal of the modern girl, 'with all her amazing mental and physical developments' who unkind conservatives might compare to an insect which eats its partner after mating: 'we may indubitably count on her never laying a hand upon a man save in kindness'.[106] In real life the modern girl might not kill her fiancé but she could discard him. Huia Sargood, *Truth* told its readers, had defied convention, superstition and 'Mother Grundy' in pursuit of wedded happiness. Huia had become engaged while in London. The church was booked and a marriage licence obtained, but unbeknownst to her erstwhile groom Huia also took out a special licence to marry another man, Lt. Ian Mackillop. The respectable elements of her Dunedin home town (who saw to it that news of the Sargood/Mackillop wedding was withheld from the local newspapers) were scandalized, but *Truth* applauded the Maoriland maid: 'she had given "a lead to modern girls"'.[107] The modern girl, at least according to popular stereotype, was dispensing with political feminism but enlarging her personal freedoms.

Was there a 'new' man to pair with the new woman or the modern girl in modern marriage?[108] In general, no. In most cases the old man, or a not-so-new man, would do. It was satisfying to know, Fabian Bell wisecracked, that after enduring his slating from the advanced woman the average man could still aspire to asking for her hand in marriage.[109] Discussions about

the modern man paid some attention to feminist calls for men to abandon the sexual double standard and live honourable lives. The city offered numerous temptations, temptations to which unmarried men might be especially vulnerable. Young men, 'especially those who have been born and bred in large towns, look upon marriage as hopeless'; 'if celibacy be decided on, it must be virtuous celibacy'.[110] Married men of dubious ethics would not be able to be good husbands.[111] However, while the likes of Frances Willard, the US suffragist and temperance activist, might search for men with better ethical standards, the call for higher standards of morality and behaviour for new men did not capture the public imagination in the same way as the notion of new womanhood.[112] The image of a new man was more likely to be evoked by the manufacturers of proprietary medicines than serious social commentators. Manhood was normative, politically and socially privileged; any stresses and strains apparent in gender relations were more naturally laid at women's feet.

Manhood was, moreover, much more compatible with modernity. The notion of modern man, like that of new woman, was *au courant* in the first decade of the twentieth century. It did not, however, occupy such a fraught cultural niche. While the rise of white-collar masculinity and male consumerism and a decline in church-going amongst men might trouble some social observers, the general opinion was that modern manhood was a fine specimen, not a contradiction in terms. The impact of urbanization, commercialization and secularization — the triple '-izations' most closely associated with modernity — on men was compatible with the essentials of masculinity: rationality, engagement with the world outside the home and competition. Changes such as the extension of the male franchise, the increasing number of men in professional and clerical occupations, and men's use of their leisure time and disposable income for recreation could be easily squared with male rationality, self-control and social dominance. Modern man was testimony to the virtues of evolutionary change. Indeed, at a talk on man's descent from apes, Dr Harry Campbell optimistically declared, 'moral evolution was proceeding by the survival of superior moral types and man would tend to become better, if not cleverer'.[113] His antithesis was not traditional man, but primitive man, a figure unlike the traditional, or 'old' woman against whom the new woman was judged.[114]

The modern man did have some faults. He was widely believed to bolt his food, was frequently troubled by constipation and had execrable taste in poetry. He did not attend church very regularly, and was not very romantic, though he might flirt a bit.[115] He was also a little marriage-shy, though opinions differed about whether this was due to selfishness, a dislike of the conventions surrounding marriage or a shortage of suitable brides. In 'The Sorrows and Solaces of a Single Man', a bachelor confessed 'like Werther and Satan, two

of my class, I have my sorrows', but loneliness and accusations of selfishness were preferable to the trappings of modern marriage. Falling in love was only natural but 'everything else, from the cake (which rhymes with ache, to the cards, and later to the cradle .... Everything else in connection to the ceremony has determined me to live on the bleak shores of celibacy — alone!'[116]

Men who supported their wives' political aspirations or turned a sympathetic ear to discussion of marriage reform opened themselves up to ridicule. An article reproduced from the *San Francisco Bulletin* claimed that the effeminate man was the new woman's natural counterpart: 'As a life partner, she almost always selects some weakling. How could it be otherwise?'[117] While the vituperation this item directed at the new woman's male partner was unusually cruel, plenty of mud was thrown at men who partnered women who tested gender boundaries. Hen-pecked husband jokes were reworked as jokes about men married to activist women. The neglected husband sat at home all day with his father, while his wife was out at her club; he knitted and cried about how unkindly his emancipated wife treated him.[118] A letter to the editor of the *Taranaki Herald* wryly suggested that the 'new man' only supported the education of women so that he could laze around while his lady friends read aloud to him from the best books and newspapers.[119] That was a better outcome than that envisaged by the editor of the *Manawatu Herald*. New Zealand, he speculated, could end up with a matriarchal family system in which 'the husband leaves his family and goes to live with his wife. The ladies propose, and the descent passes in the female line. In some cases the bridegroom has to sew clothes and moccasins for his bride, and combs her hair on the terrace in the sun.'[120]

The area where men were given most responsibility for the looming marriage crisis was economic. The financial demands of setting up a household had long been an impediment to marriage. If only there were as many rich uncles in real life as in literature, dying at the exact point when impoverished couples had declared their love and decided to marry, one contributor wished.[121] The fact that men were meant to provide the bulk of the money towards housekeeping had been one of the reasons that men's age at first marriage was higher than women's throughout the nineteenth century. The economic depression of the 1880s and 1890s had only made the situation more difficult. Men needed to be financially prudent. Reverend Haweis told a Wellington audience that man was like the moa, too easily captured, and, if he was not more careful he too might become extinct. The financially unfit, like the genetically unfit, were advised not to marry: 'There were some classes who should not marry — those who marry on nothing a year, and that uncertain, and those who have some hereditary taint or tendency'.[122]

The ongoing and, for some, tiresome, debate about womanhood and marriage was not principally about behaviour, it was about ideas. Modernity was gendered, and the kerfuffle about the extent to which women and marriage would be reshaped by it and its feminist midwives was an important forum for the working out of its gendered dimensions. There were serious issues at stake behind the jokes. Marriages were financial as well as emotional and domestic units, and reform of women's drastic financial inequality within marriage was one of the key issues in the notion that marriage could and should be modernized. Modern marriage, the term most often evoked by contemporaries to explain how domestic relations could, should, or should not be reshaped was a discursive construction as much as a behavioural descriptor. These marriages could be called modern only if the older kinds of marriage, those that had nurtured the colonial helpmeet and her pioneering spouse, could be depicted as old-fashioned and unmodern.

As Caroline Daley has pointed out, for young women growing up in Taradale at the turn of the century 'modernisation was a state of mind', a vision that sustained a desire for change even as they led lives 'more similar than dissimilar' to their mothers.[123] For all its superficiality the discourse about modern marriage and the modern girl offered individuals a way to legitimize the exercise of more personal freedom within marriage without taking on the opprobrium associated with the new woman label. While many New Zealand women were comfortable exercising their newly won political rights, or quietly deferring marriage and childbearing until they were in their twenties, or even their thirties, few embraced the label 'new woman', wore reformed dress or advocated radical notions of women's absolute equality with men. The tension between the cultural expectation that women would define themselves within a prevailing ideology of domesticity and women's desire for independence — both outside marriage as single women and within marriage as wives — was not easily resolved. Over time, while only a minority of New Zealand women would come to describe themselves or their marriages as feminist, a substantial proportion of women in ostensibly traditional marriages would come to judge their lives in ways more consistent with the assertive values of the 'new woman' than the self-sacrificing spouse. 'Why should one person have all the say [in a marriage] — why should one person dictate?', asked a 1950s farm wife.[124] That recurring question may, in fact, be the most significant and enduring legacy of New Zealand's more than century-long heritage of feminist politics.

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NOTES

1 *Nelson Evening Mail* (NEM), 19 August 1908, p.4. For other discussions of the marriage crisis in this period see, for example, 'Divorce', *New Zealand Tablet*, 8 August 1907, p.21; 'Why Don't the Men Propose?', NEM, 15 January 1908, p.2; 'Single Blessedness', *Evening Post* (EP), 31 December 1909, p.11; 'Is Marriage a Failure and Why?', *Otago Witness* (OW), 24 November 1909, p.73.

2 OW, 3 January 1895, p.45.

3 *Grey River Argus* (GRA), 13 February 1918, p.1; *Poverty Bay Herald* (PBH), 17 April 1918, p.5.

4 NEM, 19 August 1908, p.4.

5 'The Marriage Muddle', *NZ Truth*, 19 December 1908, p.4. Despite *Truth*'s penchant for sensationalist reporting of divorces, bigamy cases and love affairs gone wrong, a substantial portion of its reporting of matrimonial matters, such as this article, offered sober, measured and thoughtful discussions of the 'marriage problem'.

6 Amey Daldy, 'Marriage, Economic Independence of Women and Divorce, Paper Presented to the 1898 National Council of Women Meeting', in Margaret Lovell-Smith, ed., *The Woman Question: Writings By the Women Who Won the Vote*, New Women's Press, Auckland, 1992, p.162.

7 Raewyn Dalziel, 'The Colonial Helpmeet. Women's Role and the Vote in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History* (NZJH), 11, 2 (1977), pp.112–23.

8 Charles Hursthouse, *New Zealand, the Emigration Field of 1851: An Account of New Plymouth; or Guide to the Garden of New Zealand*, D. Chalmers, Aberdeen, 1851, p.18.

9 There is a substantial literature on the woman's rights movement in nineteenth-century New Zealand. Patricia Grimshaw's *Women's Suffrage in New Zealand*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1972 is the classic work on the fight for the vote, but see also Roberta Nicholls, *The Women's Parliament: The National Council of the Women of New Zealand, 1896–1920*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1996 and Dorothy Page, *The National Council of Women: A Centennial History*, Auckland University Press with Bridget Williams Books, Auckland, 1996 on the post-suffrage decades.

10 Judith Devaliant, *Elizabeth Yates: The First Lady Mayor in the British Empire*, Exisle Publishing, Auckland, 1996.

11 Mercutio, 'Local Gossip', *New Zealand Herald* (NZH), 14 September 1918, Supplement, p.1. The term mayoress, used during the press reports of her campaign, fell into disuse after Yates took office, though, according to Mercutio, it was aired again at the time of her death, with the *Herald*'s editors eventually settling on mayor for the obituary.

12 As Grimshaw has pointed out, New Zealand's early suffrage victory needs to be situated not just in the history of the international women's rights movement but also in the history of evangelical Protestantism, temperance activism and the formation of a distinct New Zealand colonial identity and political culture. Patricia Grimshaw, 'Women's Suffrage in New Zealand Revisited: Writing from the Margins', in Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan, eds, *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives,* Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1994, pp.25–41.

13 As Ian Pool and others have noted, the Maori population bottomed out around 1891 but it took some time for the changed trend to register in the census counts or in general discussion. Ian Pool, *Te Iwi Maori: A New Zealand Population. Past, Present & Projected*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1991, p.75.

14 *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* (AJHR), 1896, H-13A, p.3; H-13B, p.12. For predictions of the passing of the Māori see William Colenso, 'On the Maori Races of New Zealand', *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*

(TPNZI), 1 (1868), section viii; Rev. J.F.H. Wohlers, 'On the Conversion and Civilization of the Maoris in the South of New Zealand', TPNZI, 14 (1881), pp.123–34; Archdeacon Walsh, 'The Passing of the Maori: An Inquiry into the Principal Causes of the Decay of the Race', TPNZI, 40 (1907), pp.154–75. Te Rangi Hiroa's 'The Passing of the Maori', TPNZI, 55 (1924), pp.362–75, is the classic rejoinder.

15 Erik Olssen provides a good description of colonial family patterns: 'Towards a History of the European Family in New Zealand', in Peggy G. Koopman-Boyden, ed., *Families in New Zealand Society*, Methuen, Wellington, 1978, pp.1–26 and Olssen, 'Families and the Gendering of New Zealand Society in the Colonial Period', in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, eds, *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2000, pp.37–62. David Thomson disputes the extent to which there was a 'frontier effect' on New Zealand family size, arguing that there was no single British marriage pattern, but rather a collection of divergent regional 'marriage cultures', with the New Zealand figures falling 'unobtrusively' within the British range at mid-century. While nuancing our understanding of New Zealand's demographic history in relation to Britain's, and giving more weight to occupational differences across time and between places, his calculations still suggest that mid-nineteenth-century families were relatively large compared to those of the early twentieth century, with 8.1 live births per woman to those married in the 1850s and 7.6 for the 1860s cohort; David Thomson, 'Marriage and Family on the Colonial Frontier', in Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney, eds, *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand's Pasts*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2006, pp.119–42, 135. Thomson's analysis does not include figures for couples marrying in the early twentieth century. Ian Pool, Arunachalam Dharmalingam and Janet Sceats use a different basis for their calculations, but their figures of 3.3 births per married woman aged 35–39 in 1911, 3.1 in 1916 and 3.0 in 1921 allow a rough comparison. Ian Pool, Arunachalam Dharmalingam and Janet Sceats, *The New Zealand Family From 1840: A Demographic History*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2007, p.102.

16 Pool, Dharmalingam and Sceats, *The New Zealand Family*, pp.18–19.

17 Pool, Dharmalingam and Sceats, *The New Zealand Family*, p.97; see also Miriam Gilson Vosburgh, *The New Zealand Family and Social Change: A Trend Analysis*, Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, 1978.

18 Pool, Dharmalingam and Sceats, *The New Zealand Family*, p.95.

19 Vosburgh, *The New Zealand Family and Social Change,* p.55a. The average number of births per married Pākehā woman continued to fall until the mid-1920s.

20 Pool, Dharmalingam and Sceats, *The New Zealand Family*, Figure 2.2, p.20.

21 Raewyn established the University's first women's history course, Women in New Societies, in the mid-1970s and taught it as a Stage III seminar course until the mid-1980s, when it became a Stage I lecture course. I taught the course with her from 1994 until she became Deputy Vice-Chancellor (Academic) in 1999, then on my own until 2005.

22 Interview with Rae Kyle, Auckland, 31 July 1986, in author's possession.

23 In 2012, 20,521 marriages were registered to New Zealand residents. There were 14,214 first marriages and 6307 remarriages. The general marriage rate was 11.8 marriages per 1000 'not-married' individuals in the population aged 16 years and over. http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/marriages-civil-unions-and-divorces/MarriagesCivilUnionsandDivorces_HOTPYeDec12.aspx, accessed 1 July 2013.

24 See, for example, my argument in the special women's history issue of the *New Zealand Journal of History* edited by Raewyn Dalziel: 'World War II fits into a process of long-term, incremental change in public attitudes towards women's work in New Zealand'. Deborah Montgomerie, 'The Limitations of War-Time Change: Women War Workers in New Zealand', NZJH, 23, 1 (1989), p.85.

25 Grand's novel was widely distributed in New Zealand, with advertisements for it appearing in metropolitan and provincial newspapers through the late 1890s and well into the

first decade of the twentieth century. Her opinions, lifestyle, income, lectures and subsequent writings were widely reported in the literary notes and ladies' columns of New Zealand newspapers. See, for example, 'A Book of the Day. Inspired by Ibsen?', OW, 12 July 1894, p.41; 'Sarah Grand', *Thames Star*, 15 October 1895, p.4; 'Mere Man Dissected: Mme Sarah Grand Thinks He has a Future', EP, 20 July 1901, p.2; 'How to be Happy though Married', GRA, 21 May 1904, p.4. Ann Heilmann and Margaret Beetham, 'Introduction', in Ann Heilmann and Margaret Beetham, eds, *New Woman Hybridities: Femininity, Feminism and International Consumer Culture, 1880–1930*, Routledge, New York, 2004, p.1.

26 Grand used the phrase in a March 1894 essay titled, 'The New Aspect of the Woman Question', *North American Review*, 158, 1894, pp.271–6. It was then picked up by 'Ouida', a columnist who saw new women as 'unmitigated bores', *North American Review*, 158, 1894, p.610. These and other articles defining the new woman are reproduced in Martha H. Patterson, ed., *The American New Woman Revisited: A Reader, 1894–1930*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 2008. Ann Ardis provides a good discussion of the origin of the phrase in *New Women, New Novels: Feminism and Early Modernism*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1990, pp.10–28, as does David Rubenstein in *Before the Suffragettes: Women's Emancipation in the 1890s*, Harvester, Brighton, 1986, pp.16–23. For the role periodicals played in the spread of the term see Michelle Elizabeth Tusan, 'Inventing the New Woman: Print Culture and Identity Politics during the Fin-de-Siecle', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 31, 2 (1998), pp.169–82.

27 In *Women's Suffrage* Grimshaw uses it to title her chapter on the changes in women's lives prior to 1893; Estelle B. Freedman applies it to the 1920s in 'The New Woman: Changing Views of Women in the 1920s', *Journal of American History*, 61, 2 (1974), pp.372–93.

28 One reason the political content of the trope persisted internationally as long as it did was that the new woman was closely linked to the suffrage struggle. As Martha Patterson notes, 'If you were to ask most Americans before 1919 what the New Woman stood for, chances are they would have said "woman's suffrage".' Patterson, 'Introduction', p.6.

29 See, for example, the contrasts the novelist Ellen Glasgow sets up between the fecund and housebound 'true women' of the late nineteenth century and the striving, childless new women of the early twentieth; Ellen Glasgow, *Virginia*, Doubleday, New York, 1913; *Life and Gabriella*, Doubleday, New York, 1916.

30 On drinking and sexual experimentation as 'flags of the new freedom' see Andrew Sinclair, *Prohibition: The Era of Excess*, Little, Brown, New York, 1962, p.33, and Paula Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920's*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1979, p.319. For an example of a lecture to young women about the dangers of being a 'sport' and taking a drink see Dr A.B. O'Brien's address to the Young Women's Efficiency League, *Press*, 6 December 1919, p.7.

31 Carolyn Kitch charts its commercialization in *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2001.

32 Heilmann and Beetham, 'Introduction', p.1. A similar point as made by Audrey Oldfield in respect of Australian uses of the term, *Woman Suffrage in Australia: A Gift or a Struggle?*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992, pp.191–2. There is a growing historiography about the international new woman, including a substantial literature on the idea's reach outside the Anglo-American world. See Insook Kwon, '"The New Women's Movement" in 1920s Korea: Rethinking the Relationship Between Imperialism and Women', *Gender & History*, 10, 3 (1998), pp.381–405; Sarah E. Stevens, 'Figuring Modernity: The New Woman and the Modern Girl in Republican China', *NWSA Journal*, 15, 3 (2003), pp.82–103; Mona Russell, *Creating the New Egyptian Woman: Consumerism, Education and National Identity, 1863–1922*, Palgrave, New York, 2004; Iveta Jusova, *The New Woman and the Empire*, The Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 2005.

33 Gillian Sutherland, *In Search of the New Woman: Middle-Class Women and Work in Britain, 1870–1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2015. Sutherland's is part of a group of recent works which have sought to enrich debates about feminism and new womanhood by interpolating ethnicity, class and nationalist myth-making. On Ireland see Tina O'Toole, *The Irish New Woman*, Palgrave, Houndmills, 2013, which looks at feminism, famine, 'Mother Ireland' and the land wars, and on the US Charlotte J. Rich's *Transcending the New Woman: Multiethnic Narratives in the Progressive Era*, University of Missouri Press, Columbia, 2009, which examines notions of new womanhood against Native American, African American, Hispanic, Asian and Jewish women's counter-narratives.

34 For example, Barbara Brookes's discussion of the new woman in *A History of New Zealand Women*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2016, pp.145–6, which begins with the admonition 'You are not a New Woman surely? You do not want to do what men do?', taken from Anna Stout's, 'The New Woman', *Citizen*, 1 (December 1895), pp.153–9.

35 Max O'Rell, 'Petticoat Government', *North American Review*, 163, 476 (1896), pp.101–109, quote p.102, was a response to Grand's earlier essay on the woman question in the *North American Review*; see also p.101 in which he claimed women's suffrage in New Zealand was repealed after six months: 'The government had taken such a tyrannical form' that the country was on the eve of revolution. His criticisms of new women, though not always his inaccurate claim about suffrage repeal, were reported widely in the New Zealand press. See, for example, EP, 19 September 1896, p.2; PBH, 21 September 1896, p.4; *North Otago Times* (NOT), 1 October 1896, p.1; *Inangahua Times*, 24 October 1896, p.2. O'Rell was the pen name of the French journalist and public lecturer Leon Blouet. His books, *John Bull and his Island*, Avenue Press Ltd, London, 1883 and *John Bull's Womankind (Les Filles de John Bull),* Field & Tuer, London, 1884, made him a household name. His appearances in Australia and New Zealand in 1892–1893 attracted large audiences, OW, 12 January 1893, p.35.

36 *Graphic*, 17 February 1894, p.146; *Star*, 22 August 1896, p.3; EP, 9 May 1903, p.2. In 1909 a Wellington Pioneer Club was formed with 165 members; *Dominion*, 5 July 1909, p.3. Susan Upton, 'Women in the Club: Women's Clubs in the Wellington Region, 1895–1945', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1993, traces its history.

37 *Star*, 21 May 1898, p.3; 'Women's Clubs', *Star*, 1 April 1899, p.3.

38 *Wanganui Chronicle* (WC), 12 June 1899, p.3.

39 *Canterbury Times*, 8 January 1898, p.23; Ruth Fry, *Maud and Amber: A New Zealand Mother and Daughter and the Women's Cause, 1865 to 1981*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 1992, p.31.

40 'Ladies Column', EP, 20 October 1888, p.1; 'Free Marriage', *New Zealand Observer and Free Lance, An Illustrated Journal of Interesting and Amusing Literature* [hereafter *Observer*], 3 November 1888, p.3; *Auckland Star* (AS), 22 May 1897, p.3; 'Current Topics', AS, 20 September 1898, p.3. 'Ladies Column', EP, 31 December 1909, p.11.

41 *Observer*, 12 January 1895, p.2.

42 See, for example, 'Things the Observer Would Like to Know', *Observer*, 15 December 1894, p.8: 'is [it] really true that Ma Yates is going over to the other side in January to lecture on "The New Woman"?'

43 Fiction, most commentators were forced to admit, was an established part of the reading diet, but there was a flurry of debate in the 1880s about whether all novels were a waste of time or just light-weight and 'sensational' fictions. See Henry Lapham, 'Spare Half Hours', OW, 21 February 1880, p.25, which defended Walter Scott's Waverley novels but disparaged books with too much melodrama and tragic endings; Fabian Bell, 'Their Use and Abuse', OW, 12 August 1880, p.25, which praised George Elliot and conceded the better class of novels were suitable reading for young people with unformed tastes and older people needing distractions from the worries of life; and an unnamed author who in reply to Lapham and Bell blamed

the readers of sensationalist fiction for driving the market rather than its producers, OW, 18 September 1880, p.25. The Masterton Debating Society debated whether novel-reading was profitable, *Wairarapa Times*, 20 August 1881, p.2. The *Auckland Star* reported the approval of small doses of *Ivanhoe* to inoculate British school children against 'piratical penny novelettes', AS, 13 January 1883, p.6. The *Tablet* denounced 'pernicious' fiction altogether, but it was minority voice, *New Zealand Tablet*, 31 October 1883, p.6. As Archdeacon Farrar addressing a conference of the Sunday School Union wryly noted, some people might be 'a little shocked to hear that novels occupied such a prominent position in the reading of the lady teachers, but he would not have them too much distressed or shocked for, in the first place, the very same thing was found in every library under the sun and, in the second, where fiction was pure and strong, it might be a very valuable teacher'; AS, 6 January 1887, p.4.

44 OW, 16 June 1898, p.28 and 2 August 1894, p.51. Waddell was instrumental in the campaign against sweated labour, and claimed his interest in social justice had been whetted by reading George Elliot's *Adam Bede*. By the 1890s literary and debating societies had also taken up the question of novel-reading's value: *Timaru Herald*, 6 June 1889, p.4; WC, 31 July 1893, p.2; *Taranaki Herald*, 12 July 1900, p.3; AS, 22 August 1903, p.5.

45 'New woman' novels were not necessarily written by women, new or old. Rather they were categorized as such because they dramatized the dilemmas of fictional 'new women', thereby interrogating the gendered status quo. Ardis, *New Women, New Novels*, pp.10–28.

46 See, for example, *Wanganui Herald*, 17 April 1907, p.5; *West Coast Times*, 17 April 1907, p.3; *Manawatu Times*, 17 April 1907, p.5.

47 Both novels were set in Australia. Grossman also worked as a freelance journalist for New Zealand and British magazines and journals, including the *Otago Witness*, *The Contemporary* and *Nineteenth Century*; Kirstine Moffat, 'Edith Searle Grossmann, 1863–1931', *Kōtare: New Zealand Notes & Queries*, 7, 1 (2007), http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Whi071Kota-t1-g1-t4.html, accessed 1 July 2013.

48 Kirstine Moffat, 'Louisa Alice Baker, 1856–1926', *Kōtare: New Zealand Notes & Queries*, 7, 1 (2007), http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Whi071Kota-t1-g1-t3.html, accessed 1 July 2013.

49 Rubenstein, *Before the Suffragettes*, p.3; Sheila Jeffreys, *The Spinster and Her Enemies: Feminism and Sexuality, 1880–1930*, Pandora Press, London, 1989, p.2.

50 'A Notable Book', *Timaru Herald*, 12 June 1888, p.4; 'New Books and New Editions', *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 15 September 1888, p.3; 'Among the Books. The Moan of the Tied', OW, 7 November 1889, p.34; Edith Searle Grossmann, 'Four Novels of George Gissing's', OW, 28 April 1892, p.44; 'Women who call themselves "George" and Others', *Star*, 20 April 1895, p.3.

51 *Star*, 22 February 1896, p.3.

52 *Star*, 24 June 1889, p.3; OW, 7 November 1889, p.34.

53 Cigarette, 'Fashionable Novels', OW, 2 August 1894, p.51. Cigarette was female, OW, 6 February 1901, p.48. She cited E.F. Benson's *Dodo*, Kathleen Hunt Caffyn's *The Yellow Aster* and Emma Brooke's *A Superfluous Woman* as other currently fashionable novels. All were published in 1893 and were what later came to be called 'new woman' novels. They were well-known enough in Dunedin in 1894 that she felt no need to specify the author's names.

54 Millicent Garrett Fawcett, 'The Woman Who Did', *Contemporary Review*, 67, 1895, pp.625–31.

55 'Miss Colonia in London', *Star*, 13 April 1895, p.2.

56 *Lyttelton Times*, 30 April 1896, p.2.

57 In the late 1890s Mackay left teaching and endeavoured to support herself as a journalist. She wrote for the *Otago Witness* from 1898. In 1906 she became the *Canterbury Times*'s 'lady editor'. She also contributed to the *White Ribbon* and to British feminist periodicals including *Jus Suffragii*, *Votes for Women*, *Common Cause* and *Time & Tide*; Heather Roberts, 'Mackay,

Jessie', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012. http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2m15/mackay-jessie.

58 '"Cigarette" Versus "The Heavenly Twins"', OW, 6 September 1894, p.47.

59 E. Lynn Linton, 'The Wild Women as Politicians', *Nineteenth Century*, 30, 173 (1891), pp.79–88. Linton had written against the 'Girl of the Period' in 1868 and coined the phrase the 'Shrieking Sisterhood' in 1871 in the *Saturday Review*. Her denunciation of the 'wild women' of the 1890s anticipated much of the critical commentary about the 'new woman' that would follow Grand coining the term in 1894. Although she became one of the most vocal British opponents of women's rights she began her career as an emancipated woman, leaving her clergyman father's home in 1845 to go to London to make an independent living as a journalist. George Elliot believed a combination of professional rejections and lost love soured Linton on feminism. Nancy Fix Anderson, 'Eliza Lynn Linton, Dickens, and the Woman Question', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 22, 4 (1989), pp.134–5.

60 'Women as Politicians', *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 31 August 1891, p.2.

61 *Lyttelton Times*, 30 April 1896, p.2.

62 *Observer*, 12 January 1895, p.2.

63 'Fin-du-Siècle Fads', OW, 6 September 1894, p.47. The article was part of a fortnightly series on turn-of-the-century fashions which Bell published in the *Witness* between June 1894 and January 1895. Among other things he singled out for lampooning were dress reform, educational reform, a desire for 'feverish unhealthy excitement' in literature, spiritualism, land reform and holidays. New Zealand, he suggested, was a country of fads.

64 *Observer*, 12 January 1895, p.2.

65 *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 3 April 1897, p.6.

66 'Ours', OW, 26 September 1906, p.77; the same joke also appeared as 'The Modern Woman and Child', *New Zealand Tablet*, 24 September 1897, p.29 and
NOT, 1 October 1897, p.4; 'That Beautiful Child', EP, 16 October 1897, p.2 and *Mataura Ensign*, 28 October 1897, p.4; 'Such a Busy Day!' OW, 4 November 1897, p.60; and 'He Knew the Little Chap', OW, 21 November 1900, p.70.

67 *Observer*, 28 October 1908, p.17.

68 *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 12 July 1906, p.2.

69 See, for example, 'Smiles and Frowns. Women's Franchise Leaguers at Work', *Observer*, 16 September 1893, p.17; 'The Big Franchise Woman and the Little Mouse', *Observer*, 17 February 1894, p.12.

70 *Observer*, 22 June 1895, p.1; 8 December 1896, p.1; 3 April 1897, p.17; 1 December 1906, p.16.

71 *Observer*, 3 April 1897, p.2. Emphasis in original.

72 *Bruce Herald*, 2 November 1897, p.4. The Waverley pen had a special nib which lifted the sharp point off the paper and made writing smoother.

73 *Marlborough Express*, 5 December 1895, p.2.

74 *Colonist*, 12 May 1909, p.3.

75 'Women, Work and Wages', *NZ Truth*, 29 January 1910, p.1. The article described marriage as the female sex's 'impregnable fortress'; women and girls should leave the paid workforce so relations between the sexes could be happily readjusted.

76 AS, 12 August 1891, supplement, p.2 provides an example of a throwaway comment from a journalist that Māori women were not interested in the vote.

77 EP, 25 August 1893, p.4; Grimshaw, *Women's Suffrage*, pp.69, 89.

78 Tania Rei, *Maori Women and the Vote*, Huia, Wellington, 1993, pp.29–32.

79 Grimshaw, *Women's Suffrage*, p.90.

80 Meri Te Tai Mangakahia, 'So that Women May Receive the Vote', in Charlotte Macdonald, ed., *The Vote, the Pill and the Demon Drink: A History of Feminist Writing in New*

Zealand, 1869–1993, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, pp.42–43; Rei, pp.15–21; *Observe*r, 8 August 1896, p.7.

81 *Prohibitionist*, 21 May 1892, p.8.

82 *Auckland Weekly News*, 23 December 1893, p.9. Māori voted on a different day than Pākehā and did not have the secret ballot; instead a Māori elector told the returning officer who he or she wished to vote for and initialled the ballot after the returning officer filled it in.

83 *Observer*, 8 August 1896, p.7. Emphasis in original. In addition to their work in Te Kotahitanga, Komiti Wahine and local organizing, other instances of Māori women's political activity in the 1890s include a petition from women living on the west coast of the North Island about restrictions being put on their land, 'Parliamentary Notes', EP, 4 August 1892, p.2; Ruatoki women physically opposing the occupation of their land by sheep and shepherds until title to it was settled in the Native Land Court, *Star*, 30 May 1893, p.1; and prominent support of Te Whiti and Tohu (see, for example, the description of the 'wahines' present at the Waitara goal at the time of the transportation of protestors to Mt Cook jail in Wellington, EP, 4 November 1897, p.2).

84 There has been considerable discussion of the racial blindness of 'first wave' and later feminists and their tendency to use the generic term 'women' to describe experiences particular to white women. Denise Riley's '*Am I That Name?': Feminism and the Category of 'Women' in History*, Macmillan Press, Basingstoke, 1988 is a classic example. Estelle Freeman's analysis of the tactical dimensions of feminist racial politics in this period is still useful, 'Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870–1930', *Feminist Studies*, 5, 3 (1979), pp.512–29. For the Australasian context see Patricia Grimshaw's 'Gender, Citizenship and Race in the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Australia, 1890 to the 1930s', *Australian Feminist Studies*, 13, 28 (1998), pp.199–214.

85 *Graphic*, 24 March 1894, p.278.

86 The literature on Korean feminism, imperialism and the 'new woman' is particularly insightful on this issue. For a summary of the two sides of the debate about the meaning of Western feminism and cultural nationalism in the new woman era see Kwon, '"The New Women's Movement" in 1920s Korea', pp.381–3.

87 Penelope A.E. Harper, 'The Dunedin Tailoresses' Union, 1889–1914', PGDA thesis, University of Otago, 1988; L.C. Duncan, 'A New "Song of the Shirt"?: A History of Women in the Clothing Industry in Auckland, 1890–1939', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1989.

88 Heather Roberts, 'Grossmann, Edith Searle', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012. http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2g22/grossmann-edith-searle; Heather Roberts, 'Mackay, Jessie', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30-Oct-2012. http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/2m15/mackay-jessie; Megan Hutching. 'Bain, Wilhelmina Sherriff', from the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 4-Jun-2013. http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/3b3/bain-wilhelmina-sherriff; Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold and Bridget Williams, eds, *The Book of New Zealand Women/Ko kui ma te kaupapa*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1991, pp.35–37.

89 Anna Stout née Logan married Robert Stout when she was 18. Stout was a barrister who went into politics and later became Premier then Chief Justice. Kate Sheppard née Wilson married Walter Sheppard when she was 23. Her husband was a successful businessman and city councillor. Amey Daldy née Hamerton supported herself as a teacher until 1880 when, at the age the age of 50, she married William Crush Daldy, a wealthy businessman. Macdonald, et al, *The Book of New Zealand Women*, pp.165, 603, 632–3.

90 Lucy Smith, 'The Economic Independence of Married Women', *White Ribbon*, July 1895, p.5; Kate Sheppard, 'The Economic Independence of Married Women', *White Ribbon*,

May 1896, pp.7–8; Amey Daldy, 'Marriage, Economic Independence of Women and Divorce', in Lovell-Smith, *The Woman Question*, pp.157–60. Sheppard also addressed the 1899 NCW conference on the same issue; her speech was edited and republished by Tessa Malcolm in the *Women's Studies Journal*, 4, 2 (1989), pp.3–24.

91 'The Oppressed Woman', *Observer*, 17 April 1897, p.2. Mrs Hendre, who had been cited as favouring joint cheque accounts, replied that she had been unjustly accused. She favoured legislative change to improve the lives of women wage earners but thought marriage the 'crown jewel in women's storehouse treasury', and that it was up to husbands and wives to adjust their economic relations 'alone through culture and education', *Observer*, 24 April 1897, p.2.

92 *Observer*, 5 January 1895, p.11. Other definitions included: 'Sex of one and half a dozen of the other', 'One who has ceased to be a lady and has not yet attained to be a gentleman [sic]', 'The unsexed section of the sex', 'Madam become Adam', 'Mannishness minus manliness', an 'old maid trying to be a young man', a 'creature of opinions decided – and skirts divided', and 'a fresh darn on the original "blue stocking"'. The quips originated in a competition in the English paper the *Gentlewoman* for epigrams defining the new woman and were widely circulated in New Zealand. See, for example, *Marlborough Express*, 11 February 1895, p.2; GRA, 27 November 1894, p.2; *Feilding Star*, 20 July 1896, p.2.

93 *Taranaki Herald*, 14 September 1895, p.2.

94 O'Rell's comments originally appeared in the *North American Review* but were quoted in a number of New Zealand papers. See, for example, 'Max O'Rell on the New Woman', PBH, 21 September 1896, p.4; 'Weekly Whispers', *Nelson Evening Mail*, 26 September 1896, p.2; NZH, 3 October 1896, p.2; 'Max O'Rell on the Anglo-Saxon New Woman', *Bay of Plenty Times*, 19 October 1896, p.3.

95 AS, 14 January 1899, p.3. *Lady's Realm* began publication in 1896 and carried a wider range of articles than was usual in ladies' magazines of the era, including stories about women's sports, famous women travellers and 'incomes for ladies'. It was available in New Zealand for an annual subscription of 25s.

96 *New Zealand Graphic*, 3 March 1894, p.194.

97 WC, 16 December 1895, p.2.

98 *Ashburton Guardian*, 3 February 1908, p.1.

99 *Ashburton Guardian*, 3 February 1908, p.1.

100 *Ashburton Guardian*, 3 February 1908, p.1.

101 *Wanganui Herald*, 5 November 1888, p.2.

102 Rubenstein, *Before the Suffragettes*, ch.4.

103 GRA, 21 May 1904, p.4. See also the interview with Grand published in the AS, 6 February 1895, p.2: 'I have always maintained that the perfect life is the married life, and have not the faintest sympathy for women advanced or otherwise who make light of wedded happiness.'

104 *Feilding Star*, 2 June 1897, p.2. Corelli's essay was republished in a volume titled *The Modern Marriage Market*, Hutchinson & Co., London, 1898, along with other articles by Flora Steel, Lady Susan Hamilton Ardagh and Lady Jeune. The volume was reviewed and advertised for sale in New Zealand. See, for example, EP, 1 May 1988, p.7 where it is advertised for sale at Baillie & Co in Cuba St for 2s.

105 Sievright, 'The New Woman', in Lovell-Smith, *The Woman Question*, p.121. See Lovell-Smith, *The Woman Question*, pp.151–60 for Sheppard, Smith and Daldy's writings.

106 *Colonist*, 28 January 1910, p.1.

107 'Defied convention: Huia Sargood gives a Lead to Modern Girls', *NZ Truth*, 10 January 1929, p.17.

108 The term 'advanced marriage' was also used on occasion but it referred to much more extreme behaviour and a much more radical formulation of women's rights within marriage

than ‘modern marriage’. See, for instance, a report of an advanced marriage at the Ruskin Co-operative Colony in Tennessee in which the couple committed to complete individuality of life and work and promised to stay together ‘so long, and only so long, as love shall bind their hearts’, *Star*, 26 July 1899, p.3. See also the discussion of Bernard Shaw’s play ‘Getting Married’, *Star*, 6 July 1908, p.4.

109 ‘The Average Man’, OW, 3 January 1895, p.45. Bell was responding to an article by Ella Dixon Hepworth in the *Idler* about marriage.

110 ‘Men and Marriage’, *Tuapeka Times*, 20 February 1892, Supplement, p.2.

111 EP, 20 May 1905, p.14.

112 ‘Journalists who did not dip their pens in beer along with ink, ministers who included women in all aspects of church work, scientists who did not rule out the existence of god, and politicians who really believed in the Ten Commandments’. Willard’s address on men as paraphrased in the *Bruce Herald*, 22 March 1898, p.3.

113 ‘The Modern Man’, PBH, 18 September 1913, p.3.

114 For examples of the antithetical pairing of modern man and primitive man see ‘The Missing Link’, *Wanganui Herald*, 10 February 1909, p.2; ‘Cave Men in England’, PBH, 28 December 1912, p.3; ‘The Nature Man’, *NZ Truth*, 3 June 1916, p.2.

115 ‘The Matrimonial Situation’, NOT, 5 May 1897, p.1; ‘Concerning Marriage’, OW, 11 January 1900, p.56; ‘Eclipse of the Honeymoon’, *Southland Times*, 5 January 1903, p.3; ‘Professions for Women’, EP, 29 August 1908, p.11. Chamberlain’s Tablets promised to cure a lack of energy, lack of appetite and irregularity: ‘They will make you feel like a new man and give you a healthy appetite’, *Feilding Star*, 12 November 1909, p.4. Impey’s May Apple offered the modern man relief from indigestion, sluggish liver and constipation, *Wanganui Herald*, 30 July 1909, p.5.

116 *Observer*, 27 June 1896, p.16. Werther is the central character in Goethe’s *The Sorrows of Young Werther*. He shoots himself at the end of the book, in despair because the love of his life is married to another man.

117 OW, 14 May 1902, p.62.

118 *Bruce Herald*, 24 June 1903, p.2.

119 ‘A Lover of the Good Old Days’, *Taranaki Herald*, 8 April 1896, p.2.

120 *Manawatu Herald*, 3 November 1896, p.2.

121 ‘Rich Uncles. From the *Saturday Review*’, *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 4 September 1866, p.3.

122 ‘Marriage: Is It a Failure?’, EP, 15 June 1895, p.2.

123 Caroline Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886–1930*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1999, p.162.

124 Jane Moodie, ‘Preparing the Waste Places for Future Prosperity? New Zealand’s Pioneering Myth and Gendered Memories of Place’, *Oral History*, 28, 2 (2000), pp.54–64. See also Rosemary Barrington and Alison Gray, *The Smith Women: 100 New Zealand Women Talk about their Lives*, Reed, Wellington, 1981; Helen May, *Minding Children, Managing Men: Conflict and Compromise in the Lives of Postwar Pakeha Women*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1992; Deborah Montgomerie, *The Women’s War: New Zealand Women, 1939–45*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2000, ch.6.