

Colonial Helpmeets, Carnival Queens and Beauty Contestants

MULTIPLE FEMININITIES IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY NEW ZEALAND



IN LATE 1947, as Christian Dior's 'new look' brought glamour and controversy to the catwalks of Paris, a writer for the *Auckland Star* suggested that what New Zealand needed was a little more homespun. 'Cyrano' thought it was time to hold a Mrs New Zealand contest, a quest that would allow the country to honour 'a representative of the army of women who have been running a home and bringing up a family amid all the trials of the last few years — the personal anxieties of the war, the queues and shortages, the cuts and carryings, and the host of regulations framed and administered almost entirely by men'. The key quality such a woman required: 'staying power'.¹

The woman Cyrano wanted to celebrate was a direct descendant of the colonial helpmeet, that paragon of domesticity, virtue and stability brought to life by Raewyn Dalziel in her classic article of that name.² In 'Helpmeet', Dalziel provided an explanation for why, having acquired the vote, New Zealand women did not go on to achieve other 'feminist firsts'. Her central thesis was that New Zealand women did not campaign for suffrage so that they could go out and change the world, but rather so that they could preserve the home and their status within it. Nineteenth-century migrants, she argued, brought a Victorian conception of true womanhood with them to New Zealand, which, 'combined with the special circumstances of colonial New Zealand ... led to an intense emphasis ... on women's role within the home and family'.³ These special circumstances included the gender imbalance, which 'put a premium on women as wives';⁴ the servant shortage, which meant that migrants of all classes 'had to be prepared to clean and cook and wash clothes' in arduous conditions;⁵ and the lack of help raising children, which expanded and elevated women's role as mothers.⁶ Colonial helpmeets were also 'guardians' of the country's 'moral health and welfare'.⁷ As Dalziel wrote, 'It was their job to restrain and refine the base instincts of men.'⁸ Given all of this, she came to the conclusion that the vote was an extension of women's role 'as wife, mother, homemaker and guardian'⁹ rather than being 'the herald of a new' public life where anything was possible.¹⁰

Cyrano's Mrs New Zealand, like the colonial helpmeet before her, was a wife and mother. Mrs New Zealand had coped with the privations and

anxieties of war, rather than the arduous conditions of the frontier, but like the helpmeet she was a stable force in turbulent times, and deserved recognition. Only this time, instead of the vote, he proposed a satin sash as her reward.

Since 'Helpmeet' was published a number of historians, including Dalziel herself, have written about the post-suffrage women's movement and pointed out that a number of women did take up some of the 'exciting and challenging new avenues ... open to them' that, back in 1977, Dalziel thought they had all but ignored.¹¹ But those more recent writings do not undermine the power and continued importance of her earlier argument. The colonial helpmeet still influences the ways we understand and write not just pre-suffrage history, but New Zealand history in general. Given this it seems appropriate to trace her legacy into the twentieth century and also consider some of the women who aspired to being more than a 'wife, mother, homemaker and guardian'.

A key reason for the success of 'Helpmeet' as a piece of historical writing was readers' confidence in Dalziel's ability as a historian. The article was meticulously researched; it was clear from the primary sources it cited that there were colonial helpmeets in nineteenth-century New Zealand. Women like Jane Maria Richmond took great satisfaction in the pounds of fresh butter lined up on their scrubbed pantry shelves.¹² In the years since 'Helpmeet' was published historians such as Charlotte Macdonald and Frances Porter have introduced us to the diaries and letters of other colonial women, further demonstrating that Jane Maria was not an anomaly.¹³ The helpmeet was not a historical construction.

But what of the other women who populated New Zealand's past, the women who did not conform to the helpmeet understanding of femininity? From police records we know that while Jane Maria and her ilk were happily baking bread, women like Jessie Finnie were out earning a crust as prostitutes. There was the episode in 1857, for example, when Jessie was arrested 'in "a beastly state of intoxication", with one solider under her bed and another lying on it'.¹⁴ In 1970s Australia historians would have labelled Jessie a 'damned whore' and Jane Maria a member of 'God's police'.¹⁵ But there was no counterpoint to the colonial helpmeet in New Zealand's historiography.¹⁶ Perhaps we should be grateful: stark dichotomies rarely capture the nuances of people's lives. But since the first publication of 'Helpmeet', and despite the books, articles and theses exploring the Jessie Finnies of New Zealand's past,¹⁷ those nuances continue to be under-explored. The corset is kept tightly laced even if women like Jessie Finnie insisted on loosening it.¹⁸

Jane Maria's tight lacing and upright posture say a lot about her and the world she lived in. She personifies the hard-working, pioneer spirit and puritanical ideals of colonial New Zealand. Dalziel rightly placed Jane Maria

firmly in the colonial era, and wrote that the ‘special circumstances of colonial New Zealand’ were a major reason for the existence of such a helpmeet. It is clear that those circumstances changed over time — as early as the 1880s the sex ratio was evening out in the larger centres of New Zealand — yet temporal and other changes do not seem to have shaken many historians’ faith in the utility of the helpmeet model.¹⁹ No longer labelled colonial, nor even necessarily ‘helpmeets’, the underlying ideology that Dalziel wrote about seems to have colonized our understanding of twentieth-century femininity, or at least many of our historical writings about twentieth-century women. The Plunket mothers, the women who joined civic organizations and sat on school boards, members of the Country Women’s Institute, all fit the helpmeet model. Deborah Montgomerie’s idea of the limitation of change for New Zealand women in World War II and its immediate aftermath also seems in keeping with the colonial ideology Dalziel wrote about, and the women who Cyrano wanted to honour in 1947.²⁰

Mrs New Zealand, and the women who entered queen carnival contests, might well be viewed as direct descendants of the colonial helpmeet ideal. These were women who relished their roles as wives, mothers and upstanding members of their communities. But they were also women who could enjoy themselves. Readers of New Zealand history could be forgiven for thinking that no one in the past had a bit of a laugh. Yet those participating in and attending queen contests knew how to have a good time. So did the young women who entered beauty contests. More interested in make up than making do, they preferred to go to the movies rather than a meeting of the women’s institute, and aspired to personal fame and fortune, rather than community support and respect. Considering more than just the direct descendants of the colonial helpmeet seems like a fitting recognition of the critical contribution Raewyn Dalziel continues to make to New Zealand’s historiography. Although the colonial helpmeet would have looked askance at the beauty contestant, and the young women who entered pageants would have considered the helpmeets old-fashioned and dull, it is by recognizing that there were multiple, competing femininities in our past that we can both have our corset and loosen it too.

Cyrano was ahead of his time when he suggested that a Mrs New Zealand contest should be held in 1947. Although there had already been a Mrs contest in the USA — 24-year-old mother of three Janie Pollock was crowned Mrs America in 1946 in a contest sponsored by a dressmaking company²¹ — the first Mrs New Zealand contest was not staged until 1960.

Those who switched on their wirelesses for ‘Women’s Hour’ on 16 May 1960 learned all about the inaugural Mrs New Zealand contest. Reassured

that this would ‘not be in the usually accepted sense a beauty contest’, they were informed that the aim was to find ‘a person of charm, poise and pleasing personality who has also a reasonable knowledge of general affairs and the world outside her home. It can be taken for granted that she will also have a deep knowledge of the world *inside* her home.’ The contestants had to be aged 25–50 and be married, and were required to write 200 words on ‘the necessary qualifications of an ideal wife and mother’, in the hope that they would be chosen as their district’s semi-finalist.²² Fifteen hundred aspiring Mrs Northlands to Mrs Southlands filled in the entry form. Those chosen as semi-finalists then participated in a ‘quiz broadcast’, where they were asked questions designed to test their general knowledge and home-management skills. They also had to discuss their child-rearing techniques and their abilities in the kitchen. And all the while the women were also judged on their ‘appearance, voice, personality, charm and poise’.²³

The 15 regional winners headed to Wellington in early August for the grand finale. Over four days they were appraised by a Senior Home Science Tutor from the Regional Council of Adult Education, a well-known businessman — who was there to judge ‘from the point of view of male, husband and father’ — and by a fashion compere and model. Mrs New Zealand might not be a traditional beauty queen, but it was expected that she would be well turned out.²⁴

From the answers and actions of the finalists it seems that the glitz and glamour associated with beauty pageants was in short supply during the Mrs New Zealand finals. While beauty contestants stereotypically declared that they wanted to save the planet, Mrs Taranaki, a mother of four, wanted only to save herself, announcing that she had entered the contest ‘to prove that I wasn’t a spent force’. Mrs Waikato used her free time on the Friday evening to indulge in a little late-night shopping, for a hot water bottle. Journalists declared that the finalists ‘were made to feel “like film stars”’, but the contestants knew the correct answer to the question ‘would you have servants if you could?’ Mrs New Zealand, like the colonial helpmeet before her, understood that no one was going to pick up after her.²⁵

Jill Sicely, a 27-year-old mother of five and the wife of a sheep farmer, won the title Mrs New Zealand 1960. All the finalists received a raincoat, a dressing gown and a £5 grocery order, but Mrs Sicely also won a trip for two to Melbourne, via Sydney, £100 cash and the choice of either a washing machine or a dryer. Being a good farmer’s wife, she delayed taking the Australian holiday until lambing was over.²⁶

Two years later a photograph of Sicely, now with six children, was used to announce the launch of the Mrs New Zealand 1962 quest. This time

contestants had to write an essay on ‘what qualifications make “the ideal husband and father”’, and women aged up to 55 were eligible to enter, but in most respects the contest followed the template laid down in 1960.²⁷ Over 1000 women entered the competition, and from their essays it appeared that ‘the fundamental qualities that a woman hopes to find in her husband are a keen sense of humour, gentleness, kindness, honesty, sincerity and security. Most entrants felt that help in household matters was appreciated but that it would be dull to have a man who automatically did the chores when the unexpected cup of coffee or the helping hand at the appropriate moment show his thoughtfulness.’ Reports do not indicate whether Dr Coates, husband of Joan Coates, the overall winner, gave her a regular hand with their four children or just an occasional coffee.²⁸

There were other Mrs New Zealand contests, including one in 1968 that Martha Taiaroa entered. The only Māori entrant in the Mrs Taumarunui contest (organized by Plunket), she won the title and went on to the Mrs Waikato section of the national contest, where she was placed third.²⁹ Martha Taiaroa might not have made the Mrs New Zealand final, but like Joan Coates and Jill Sicely she was part of the colonial helpmeet legacy. At a time when women in America were said to be burning their bras,³⁰ and young mothers in New Zealand were being encouraged to read feminist-leaning magazines like *Thursday*, rather than that staple of domesticity, the *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*,³¹ Mrs New Zealand contests reassured society that ‘traditional’ feminine values and female roles had not been forgotten.

Mrs New Zealand contests of the sort won by Jill Sicely and Joan Coates were a short-lived phenomenon. But in many respects they were part of a much longer tradition. Mrs New Zealand contests were the natural successor of the queen carnival contests that New Zealand women had entered during the previous half-century. Even in the 1960s queen carnival competitions were held; Martha Taiaroa had won such a contest before she gained the title Mrs Taumarunui.³²

Just before the outbreak of the Great War, New Zealand enjoyed its first queen carnival contests. Community events, the queen contests offered women a chance to participate in civic life without becoming embroiled in politics and other manly pursuits. By allowing herself to be put forward as a queen candidate a woman could take the values of her home and family beyond the picket fence, and so reassure her community that the ideals they looked for in women — morality, virtue, selflessness — could still be found.

The idea behind the queen carnivals was simple. In order to raise funds for a worthy cause, organizations and groups persuaded a woman to represent

them. They then ran her campaign, putting on sports days and entertainments in her name. The entrance fee to these events became a 'vote' for the candidate. Once the votes were tallied and the money collected the most popular candidate (the one who raised the most money) was crowned queen.

One of the first queen contests held in New Zealand took place in early 1914 in Wanganui. The aim was to raise funds for the town's beautifying society. Twelve women agreed to stand as candidates, and raised £1530 between them. But there could be only one queen. During an elaborate ceremony, in which the other queen candidates acted as her maids of honour, and at which Sir James Carroll, the MP for Gisborne, officiated, Mrs Pura McGregor was crowned queen.³³

Within a few months of Mrs McGregor's success, New Zealand was at war. Carnival queen contests became a mainstay of wartime's social calendar, 'a little timely fun' that opened community wallets and purses to support 'our boys' at home and abroad.³⁴ In March 1915 Timaru's contest raised £6000 for the Belgian fund;³⁵ by May Gisborne's competition had raised over £22,000.³⁶ Wellington's carnival queen contest ran through May and June 1915 and contributed almost £64,000 to the wounded soldiers' fund.³⁷ Dunedin topped that in August; in three months of fundraising the queens of the south collected over £126,000.³⁸ But then Auckland entered the fray. Twelve women vied for the crown, raising well over £250,000 from September through to December.³⁹

Before the carnival queen contest, the loyal citizens of Auckland had voluntarily subscribed about £80,000 to the patriotic and war relief fund.⁴⁰ The sum was embarrassingly low, according to George Elliot, the chairman of the Auckland Provincial Patriotic and War Relief Association.⁴¹ Elliot understood what sociologist and educationist H.C.D. Somerset later observed in the community of Littledene (his name for the township of Oxford, on the Canterbury Plains). People preferred to take part in fundraising events rather than simply donate cash, even if it cost them more in time and money.⁴² This desire to participate in the community was evident during queen carnival contests. Taking part, coming together and having fun were at the core of the queen competitions.

The fun of Auckland's queen carnival seems to have involved most of the province's population. With Owen Cardston at the helm — he organized many of the country's major queen carnivals during the war — Auckland was set for a fundraising extravaganza. Sideshows lined the city's main shopping street, concert platforms were erected at street corners and the crowds were entertained at waxwork shows. Queen Street turned into 'one great fair', was lit up at night with coloured lanterns and became the site of vaudeville

entertainments, pierrot troupes, coconut shies and refreshment stalls. There were masked balls and roulette tables, and the totalisator did a roaring trade as people placed bets on mechanical horse races.⁴³

Downtown Auckland was abuzz with the excitement of the carnival, but to be successful every sector of the province needed to be involved in the fundraising. The decision to have queen candidates representing soldiers, sports organizations and licensed victuallers took care of many interest groups, but by having queens of the North, South, East and Waitemata, the region was covered. Queen of the East was Mrs E.W. Porritt, wife of Colonel Porritt, the officer commanding the 6th (Hauraki) Regiment. Khaki and red, the regiment's colours, became her campaign colours.⁴⁴ Those living in the No. 2 military district could not escape queen fever, given that assistants from Paeroa, Ōhinemuri, Te Aroha, Waihi, Waikino and Coromandel, and sub-committees were looking after donations, stock and produce, art unions, sports, the military gymkhana, entertainments and 'natives',⁴⁵ Several local schools held their own carnival queen contests, there was a district queen carnival contest and a local Queen of Maoris contest, all to raise funds for the Queen of the East.⁴⁶ Thames movie theatres donated their takings to the queen's campaign, babies were 'auctioned' at a monster gala, Katikati farmers donated the proceeds from one day's cream and a 'hard up' social was held.⁴⁷ A Mock Court raised over £500 by fining locals for various 'misdemeanours': Mr Cassrels had to pay £2 for 'Being an advocate of No-License'; Chinese market gardener Ah Hing was fined £2 for 'Providing beds for onions instead of Wounded Soldiers'; and 'Exceeding the waist limit' cost Haora Taranui £5.⁴⁸ Despite the valiant efforts of the people from her area, the Queen of the East came third. The Queen of the South, Mrs R.F. Bollard, wife of the MP for Raglan, raised the most money and was crowned 'Queen of the Kingdom of Giving'.⁴⁹

Coronation ceremonies were another reason why carnival queen contests were so popular. These were major productions, 'modeled on the coronation of a British sovereign'. In Auckland 250 people were part of the official procession: the unsuccessful queens became Mrs Bollard's maids of honour; Ministers of State took to the stage; and there were 'representatives of the oversea [sic] Dominions, pages, flower girls, trumpeters and courtiers'.⁵⁰ This was a repeat of scenes witnessed in the other main centres earlier in 1915. Owen Cardston organized 'inspiring and memorable' coronations, notable for their lavish costumes, pomp and ceremony.⁵¹ Wellington's Carnival Queen, Miss Kitty Doughty, was resplendent in 'silver brocaded satin, edged and finished with thick silver cord. The long court train was of Royal red velvet, lined with white satin, and finished with knots of gold. A broad ermine

cape was worn, and a band of the same fur bordered the train with excellent effect. She wore a diamond necklace, and the crown was made of velvet and ermine, to match her gown, on a gold and jewelled frame.⁵² As Queen Kitty was crowned the ‘Lord High Chamberlain’ (Mr W.J. Meredith) reminded her subjects that ‘At a time when the State was embroiled in war with an utterly merciless and malicious foe all hearts turned with thankfulness to woman — the pitiful and tender... Home and childhood will be ever brighter under the rign [sic] of our good Queen’s favour.’⁵³ Jane Maria Richmond would have been proud.

War’s end did not signal the demise of carnival queen competitions. The focus shifted, and the sums raised were smaller, but the community sentiment was the same. There were queens of the carnival in the Auckland suburb of New Lynn, to raise money for improvements to the local school’s grounds (£500);⁵⁴ in Wairoa, to fund the school’s band (£1108);⁵⁵ and in Ohaupo, simply to fund the school (£273).⁵⁶ Napier’s Mardi Gras, an annual summer extravaganza, was not complete until the carnival queen was crowned.⁵⁷ Although the queen candidates often raised funds for local clubs and organizations, the proceeds of the 1933 Napier Mardi Gras queen carnival contest went to rebuilding the city, which had been devastated during an earthquake in 1931. Appropriately, Miss Sheila Williams, the Builders’ candidate, was crowned queen that year.⁵⁸

While Hawke’s Bay coped with the aftermath of its earthquake, the rest of the country wrestled with the effects of the Great Depression. And who better to raise spirits while also raising funds ‘for the relief of distress’ than local queens? There were some queen carnivals in 1932 — over £1000 was collected that year in Greymouth for the relief of the unemployed — but 1933 was a regal year.⁵⁹ Ashburton’s queen was crowned in June; in September Billie Mitchell, the Civic candidate, was crowned in Dunedin; in November Palmerston North’s queen carnival raised just under the target of £2000.⁶⁰ Peggy Richards of Nelson agreed to stand for her city’s queen carnival as the Retailers’ candidate. Alongside Nancy Lee (the Transport Queen) and Leah Fitz-Gerald (the Clerical Queen), Peggy devoted herself to raising money for the Mayor’s Unemployment Relief fund. Even Peggy’s selection as Retailers’ Queen was a fundraiser: nine local businesses put forward a candidate and for 3d. per vote, anyone ‘connected with or employed in Retail Trade’ was entitled to vote for the woman they wanted as their queen.⁶¹ Unlike many of the queen contestants, the three women from Nelson were all young and single and, according to the press of the day, ‘attractive’.⁶² But this was not a beauty competition. Peggy needed to raise as much money as possible for the mayor’s fund. With Reg Winter’s orchestra providing the music, and her

female helpers whipping up 'an excellent supper', the Merrymakers' Dances in Nelson and Stoke contributed to her campaign. Mr Hurst, owner of a local linen shop ('Hurstgrade is Firstgrade'), donated a chest of linens. Raffles required a license, but supporters of Peggy's campaign could donate 1/- and receive a 'voucher' for the linen chest; the holder of one of the numbered vouchers was then 'presented' with the chest of linens. A donation of 2/6 resulted in a voucher for an Austin 7 Saloon car, while 6d. could see the donor presented with a radio set or a child's bicycle. Thanks in no small part to the retailers of Nelson, Peggy raised £716.12.9 and won the crown.

After the election of the first Labour government, carnival queen contests moved away from 'the relief of distress' and back to raising funds for schools and local amenities. Myra Steedman, the Country candidate in Taihape's 1937 queen carnival, for example, helped raise funds for a women's rest room. The contest was organized by the Plunket Society and the Women's Division of the Farmers' Union, two bodies that had campaigned for years to provide public facilities for women.⁶³

With the outbreak of World War II carnival queens again became the focus for patriotic fundraising. So many queens were crowned that *Truth* declared New Zealand to be 'in the throes of an epidemic. But it is quite a pleasant form of contagion and the after-effects are wholly beneficial. It can be diagnosed as a Queen Carnival infection, and over the past months, nearly all the Dominion centres have been caught in the fever.'⁶⁴ The fever abated in the post-war period, but even in the late 1960s women like Martha Taiaroa were prepared to enter queen carnival contests, in her case to aid the Red Cross society.⁶⁵

Martha Taiaroa entered the Mrs New Zealand contest in 1968, a year synonymous with change. The competition she entered was all about stability and 'traditional' values. That was appealing to those who felt that society was changing too fast, and that the changes taking place were heading in the wrong direction. The same was true for those who supported the queen carnival contests. The success of the carnivals as patriotic fundraisers during the Great War helped ensure their longevity, but even without the war the time was ripe for carnival queens. The early twentieth century was a period of unprecedented change, including in the lives of young women. The first carnival queens were crowned at the same time as the 'new woman' was making her mark on the world. Better educated than her mother, the new woman worked outside the home (or aspired to), and wanted to embrace the new leisure opportunities, technologies and freedoms that the twentieth century had ushered in. She dreamed of personal fame and fortune. Warren Susman referred to this ideology as the culture of personality. He argued that

it was a defining characteristic of the twentieth century, and contrasted it to the nineteenth-century culture of character. Whereas the culture of character stressed civic duty, honour, reputation and morality, the culture of personality was all about standing out from the crowd.⁶⁶

Susman's notion of the culture of character can be usefully employed to describe both the nineteenth-century colonial helpmeet and her twentieth-century counterpart, the carnival queen. Queen candidates carried the nineteenth-century helpmeet tradition into the twentieth. There was, though, something of the culture of personality about the queen contests. Each queen candidate had her own court, men and women who organized her campaign and tried to get their queen as much attention as possible. She was the centre of attention at the coronation, and was dressed to impress. Even so, the queen was understood as a representative figure rather than as an individual character. She was first and foremost the Retailers' candidate or the Queen of the East, rather than Peggy Richards or Mrs Porritt. Photographs of carnival queens tended to be full-body shots. The focus was not on their faces but on their robes and what they signified. As symbolic representations of a particular understanding of femininity, queens were rarely photographed alone. Photographs of beauty contestants, on the other hand, were often close-ups, where the face 'bigger than life and abstracted from it' became 'a brilliant expression of self, of an individual'.⁶⁷

Beauty contestants sometimes raised funds for local causes, or agreed to enter a competition as a standard bearer for a particular group or cause. The entrants in the Miss New Zealand 1947 contest, for example, had to raise at least £250 as their entry fee; all the money went to the Royal Society of St George's 'Food-for-Britain' fund.⁶⁸ But the Miss New Zealand competition was different from Cyrano's proposed Mrs New Zealand contest, and from the queen carnivals of the post-war era. Miss New Zealand 1947 had to be single; she was not reified for being a wife and mother. She was asked questions about the implications of the atomic bomb and the tourist attractions of New Zealand rather than about her childrearing techniques. When one of the candidates in the competition was asked a domestic question — "Your husband is bringing a friend home to dinner unexpectedly.... All you have in the house is some cold mutton, a few carrots and some macaroni. What are you going to do?" — she replied "Take them to a restaurant down the road".⁶⁹ Miss New Zealand might have raised money for food parcels, but that did not mean that she could, or would, cook.

Mary Wootton, a 21-year-old receptionist with a keen interest in amateur dramatics, took the Miss New Zealand crown in 1947. Her culinary skills

were not noted, but it was reported that she had ‘honey-coloured hair, hazel eyes, and a pink and white complexion’.⁷⁰ P. Stein was not happy with the tone of the contest. He had hoped that the quest would be ‘a belated parallel, for women, of the Rhodes Scholarship’, and was disappointed to hear the pageant’s chairman joke at the final that the contestants offered married men a ‘feast for [their] eyes’. Stein was even more distressed by the comments of a prominent MP, who also spoke at the final: ‘I looked her up and I looked her down, fore and aft, and I came to the conclusion that she had got so much of everything’.⁷¹ The honorable member might have got an eyeful, but Mary Wootton walked away with a return airfare to London, a film screen test at one of J. Arthur Rank’s studios, a tailor-made evening gown, a day costume from Princess Elizabeth’s favourite dress designer, Norman Hartnell, and a trip through Canada on her way home.⁷² While in London she enjoyed herself at Les Ambassadeurs Club, was photographed with rising film star Patrick Holt, socialized with actors and actresses, had her hair restyled and started to wear the ‘new look’.⁷³ There was nothing homespun about Miss New Zealand 1947.

In 1947 the grand finale of Miss New Zealand did not include a swimsuit parade, and Miss Wootton’s vital statistics were not bandied about, although it was noted that she was 5 feet 6 inches in height and weighed 9 stone 4 lbs.⁷⁴ Still, it would be a mistake to think that there were no bathing beauties in mid-twentieth-century New Zealand, or that all young New Zealand women only aspired to marry the boy next door and raise a family. Beauty contests offered young women individual prizes and possibilities. If they raised some money for charity along the way that was all well and good, but their aim was self-promotion. The culture of personality, rather than the culture of character, was to the fore.

New Zealand’s history of beauty contests is almost as long as its history of helpmeets. New Zealand’s first beauty contest was held in 1865 as part of Kaiapoi’s celebration of Queen Victoria’s birthday. A ‘beauty stakes’ was run in conjunction with the community’s sports day. Gentlemen attending the sports grounds were invited to pay a shilling fee, which entitled them to register a vote for the most handsome lady present. The lucky beauty, a Miss Dudley, received a piece of jewellery and the honour of being a pioneer beauty contest winner.⁷⁵ During the next few years there was frequent coverage in the local press of beauty contests held overseas,⁷⁶ and an occasional attempt to stage a competition in New Zealand. The United Ancient Order of Druids thought a ‘Beauty Show’ would enliven their New Year’s Day excursion to Lowry Bay. But ‘none of the damsels congregating in the Bay could be induced to enter’.⁷⁷ That was January 1890; within a

decade beauty competitions were being held throughout the country, staged as part of vaudeville shows. Rowley's Waxworks, for example, ran beauty contests as part of their entertainments in 1902. Rose Bull from Invercargill entered one of Rowley's competitions. Dressed in her best frock, she stood before the crowd of 2000 and hoped that they would vote for her. They did. Rose received a gold watch and chain, and was photographed by the press.⁷⁸

Rose Bull's full-body shot was in keeping with the images of women who won queen carnival contests, except that she was photographed alone. But when the movies came to town they brought with them a new focus on the close-up, and a new type of beauty contest. 'Lady competitors' were asked to send a photograph to their local movie house, which was converted into a limelight picture and then projected onto the screen. Each image was numbered and the audience was asked to vote for the prettiest girl.⁷⁹ Newspapers and magazines also began running photographic beauty contests. In 1907 an Australian monthly, the *Lone Hand*, set out to find the most beautiful girl in Australasia, as part of an international challenge. Young women (entrants had to be at least 16 years old) had to send in their photographs and their vital statistics: height, weight, bust and waist measurement, glove and shoe size, hair colour, and a description of their complexion. After several months of competition Baby Mowat of Blenheim triumphed over Gisborne's Edna Hayes to take out the New Zealand title, and Alice Buckridge of Victoria was declared the Australasian winner and received an all-expenses paid trip to America as her prize.⁸⁰

The photographic contests in the first decade of the twentieth century offered static, close-up images of the beauty contestants, but these were moving times. So when picture theatres announced that they would film local beauties, and screen the 'Living, Breathing, True-to-life Moving Picture' of the contestants as part of the night's entertainment, there was a huge amount of interest, from would-be competitors and audiences alike.⁸¹ Winners of movie beauty competitions like Ivy Schilling and Lizette Parkes were paid to endorse everything from Rexona to Dr Sheldon's coughs and colds remedy.⁸² Some even became movie stars. Winning an All-England Beauty Competition was crucial to Ivy Close landing the starring role in the film *The Lure of London*.⁸³ Advertisements for the products they endorsed, and the movies they starred in, all made mention of the young women's success in beauty contests. The carnival queen's royal robes might have won her community respect, but a beauty's satin sash could lead to fame and fortune.

By the early 1920s movie theatres around New Zealand were both filming beauty contestants and offering the competitors the possibility of 'an engagement in an American studio', as well as a cash prize. The women

of Christchurch were said to be 'agog with excitement' when Everybody's Theatre ran such a competition in 1922.⁸⁴ A similar contest in Auckland that year resulted in 'Plump Girls, Slender Girls, Flapper Girls, and Tender Girls, All Sorts Dainty Girls, Smiling on the Screen'.⁸⁵ The 'Mary Pickfords, Gloria Swansons, and Flora Finches' of Auckland entered in their droves, and each night capacity crowds voted to decide who was the city's most beautiful girl.⁸⁶

Although *Truth* published many photographs of women who won beauty contests, the newspaper's commentary on such competitions tended to be scathing. In 1923 it announced that there were 'Four ways to break to [sic] the movies: Look scrumptious in a bathing costume. Win a world's heavyweight championship. Win a beauty contest. Commit murder and be acquitted. But under no circumstances try to act your way in. That is the hardest and least successful manner of becoming a star.'⁸⁷ Fortunately for local aspiring movie starlets, the cameras were rolling. Bathing beauty contests, captured on film, had come to the beaches of New Zealand.⁸⁸ Entrants in the 'Grand Beauty Bathing Competition' in Auckland each had a minute in front of the camera 'to show off her particular charms in face and figure'. Filmed at local beaches, 'Auckland's Mermaids' were said to be the 'merriest, most shapely, and alluring of all Auckland's beach nymphs'. They had been 'plucked from every beach and garbed in multi-coloured raiment', and each night they appeared on screen at the Grand movie theatre.⁸⁹

For those who preferred their bathing beauties in the flesh, rather than on screen, a National Bathing Beauty Contest was held as part of the Lyall Bay Beach Gala during the Christmas and New Year holidays of 1925–1926.⁹⁰ The Lyall Bay event was sometimes referred to as a Miss New Zealand contest, but it was hardly national in scope. Later in 1926, though, a national beauty contest, complete with swimsuit parade, was held. The article announcing the Miss New Zealand 1926 competition made it clear that such a contest could take women 'From Obscurity to Fame': 'It will be realised that many of the girls who enter for beauty competitions do so because they know that, if they are successful, a career is, in all probability, awaiting them.'⁹¹

By 1990 Miss New Zealand herself acknowledged that she was 'Miss Anonymous'.⁹² Just a few years before, though, she was a household name. Lorraine Downes's success in the Miss Universe 1983 pageant is credited with boosting local interest in beauty contests,⁹³ although it should be noted that in 1981 the televised final of the Miss New Zealand contest had more viewers than the wedding of the Prince of Wales and Lady Diana Spencer.⁹⁴ Beauty competitions — whether local bathing beauty quests like the annual Miss Mount Maunganui contest, or national televised events — were a

mainstay of twentieth-century New Zealand.⁹⁵ The contests, and the women who entered them, should be far more prominent in our understanding of this period than they have been to date.

Beauty contests were about fun and consumerism, two aspects of New Zealand's past that are downplayed in the country's historiography. Readers of New Zealand history could be forgiven for thinking that people in the past never enjoyed themselves; beauty contests remind us that the man and woman in the street enjoyed the glitz and glamour of the competitions. The first two Miss New Zealand contests, in 1926 and 1927, are a case in point. Hundreds of thousands of people all around the country cut out the voting coupon in the newspaper to cast a vote for their local representative;⁹⁶ well-wishers lined the railway tracks as the southern contestants headed north for the grand finale;⁹⁷ businesses closed down when the beauties passed through their towns since all their customers, and their workers, were eager to see the finalists;⁹⁸ mobs of young men gathered at the entrance to the hotel where the beauties were staying;⁹⁹ and audiences packed the auditorium not just for the final, but for the post-final live show, where the young women paraded again in their evening gowns and swim suits.¹⁰⁰ For those who could not attend the live show, a film of the final screened throughout the country.¹⁰¹ For the entrants, too, this was an event to enjoy. Fêted wherever they went, they were photographed and filmed, invited to dances and dinners, and generally treated like royalty. After the grand finale in 1926 the winners went to the Dixieland Cabaret to dance the night away. They arrived at the cabaret at 11pm; most of the finalists that year were aged 14–18.¹⁰²

Contests were always about the prizes, too. Local competitions tended to offer small cash prizes and a satin sash; before World War II even commercial contests, such as those run by shampoo and suntan lotion companies, rarely rewarded the winner with more than £50.¹⁰³ But the national competition offered the consumerist a smorgasbord of treats. The Miss New Zealands of the interwar era received cash, cameras and chocolates, handbags and hosiery, furs and footwear, swimwear and toiletries.¹⁰⁴ By the late 1960s Miss New Zealand also drove away in a new car, the boot of her compact motor packed with Wool Board clothing.¹⁰⁵ But the prize coveted by all the entrants was the possibility that she might star overseas. From the outset Miss New Zealand won the chance to become a film star. She may have been the nation's sweetheart, but Miss New Zealand hoped to get engaged to a Hollywood studio.

Thelma McMillan, the winner in 1926, never realized that dream, but 17-year-old Dale Austen, Miss New Zealand 1927, spent several months in Hollywood, where she attended film premieres, kissed a number of screen

idols, went to balls with the likes of Douglas Fairbanks and Harold Lloyd, and appeared in a number of MGM films, including *Detectives*, in which she wore a grey georgette negligee with rose ribbons.¹⁰⁶ On her return to New Zealand the magazine *New Zealand Picturegoer* reported that Dale brought back ‘two large American wardrobe trunks, filled with the newest frocks, frills and furbelows ... She is the picture of perfect health, and looks what she is — the loveliest and luckiest girl of all the Dominion’s screen aspirants. And what New Zealand girl is not a screen aspirant?’¹⁰⁷

Screen tests remained a prize for Miss New Zealands, be they in Hollywood or London. By the 1950s New Zealand’s most beautiful girl was also offered the opportunity to compete in international beauty competitions — Miss World in the UK; Miss Universe in the US. Modelling contracts were also the norm by the 1960s, when Joe Brown took on the franchise for the competition. The star of the show, Miss New Zealand epitomized the culture of personality; the close-up, rather than character, defined her.

By the late 1960s feminist protests at beauty contests had begun to make the news. By the early 1970s local feminists were protesting at the Miss New Zealand finals, waving placards that declared ‘You are a person, not a synthetic image’.¹⁰⁸ ‘Sexploitation’ was the theme of the 1972 protests,¹⁰⁹ and by 1980 the chant was ‘Two, four, six, eight, we have come to liberate.’¹¹⁰ By then, of course, Raewyn Dalziel’s ‘Helpmeet’ had been published. In an era when second-wave feminism was to the fore, and a number of new graduates were writing women’s history, it is not surprising that beauty contestants and beauty contests did not receive a favourable press. But many decades later surely New Zealand’s historiography is mature enough to allow the beauties a place at the historical table.

There would probably be some awkward silences if the colonial helpmeets, carnival queens and beauty contestants sat at the same table, but in time a productive conversation would most likely take place. The helpmeets would recognize the carnival queens as their direct descendants, the queens would remind the helpmeets that serving others can be about joy as well as duty, and the beauty contestants could point out that broadening our understanding of femininities in the past does not mean that we have to study prostitutes or female felons. Alongside the butter that Jane Maria churned, and the cash that Kitty Doughty raised, would sit the sparkly crowns and satin sashes worn by numerous beauty queens, a stark reminder that people in the past knew how to enjoy themselves. Glitz and glamour fades with time; most of the twentieth century’s beauties eventually became wives and mothers, and some of them no doubt came to take pride in their housewifery skills, just as Jane Maria

had once done. But even if they became a modern helpmeet, for a moment they had dreamed of another life. Those dreams should be the stuff of our history. And for those still worried about the presence of beauty queens at the historical table, they can take comfort from the fact that most contestants only speak when asked a question. Although sometimes the answers they give might surprise us.

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NOTES

- 1 Reported in the *Otago Daily Times* (ODT), 14 November 1947, p.2.
- 2 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. The article was anthologized in Barbara Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald and Margaret Tennant, eds, *Women in History: Essays on European Women in New Zealand*, Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, Wellington, 1986, pp.55–68 and Judith Binney, ed., *The Shaping of History: Essays From the New Zealand Journal of History*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2001, pp.184–95. All subsequent references to Dalziel refer to the 1977 essay.
- 3 Dalziel, 'Helpmeet', p.113.
- 4 Dalziel, 'Helpmeet', p.114.
- 5 Dalziel, 'Helpmeet', p.116.
- 6 Dalziel, 'Helpmeet', p.117.
- 7 Dalziel, 'Helpmeet', p.113.
- 8 Dalziel, 'Helpmeet', p.118.
- 9 Dalziel, 'Helpmeet', p.120.
- 10 Dalziel, 'Helpmeet', p.123.
- 11 Dalziel, 'Helpmeet', p.123. For Dalziel's reflection on 'Helpmeet' 25 years after its publication see her afterword in Binney, *The Shaping of History*, pp.194–5.
- 12 Dalziel, 'Helpmeet', p.117. For more on Jane Maria see Frances Porter, *Born to New Zealand: A Biography of Jane Maria Atkinson*, Allen & Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, Wellington, 1989.
- 13 See, for example, Frances Porter and Charlotte Macdonald, eds, 'My Hand Will Write What My Heart Dictates': *The Unsettled Lives of Women in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand as Revealed to Sisters, Family and Friends*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1996.
- 14 Julie Glamuzina, 'Finnie, 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/1f6/finnie-jessie>.
- 15 Anne Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police*, Ringwood, Victoria, 1975.
- 16 The closest New Zealand's historiography got was a 1984 article by Jan Robinson. While important, the idea of 'rowdy women' never had the cache that 'damned whores' did in the Australian context: Jan Robinson, 'Canterbury's Rowdy Women: Whores, Madonnas and Female Criminality', *Women's Studies Journal*, 1, 1 (1984), pp.6–25.
- 17 As Robinson pointed out, prostitutes who put on a public façade that was in keeping with the colonial helpmeet understanding of femininity were treated far more leniently by the courts than those who embraced the damned whores ethos in all aspects of their lives. See also, Robyn Anderson, 'The Hardened Frail Ones: Women and Crime in Auckland 1845–1870', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1981; Charlotte Macdonald, 'Crime and Punishment in New Zealand, 1840–1913: A Gendered History', NZJH, 23, 1 (1989), pp.5–21; Lynley Hood, *Minnie Dean: Her Life and Crimes*, Penguin, Auckland, 1994; Clementine Fraser, "'Incorrigible Rogues" and other Female Felons: Women and Crime in Auckland 1870–1885', MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1998; Joanne Michele Richdale, 'The Women's Home, 1884–1904: Reclaiming Fallen Women in Nineteenth-Century Auckland', MTheol thesis, University of Auckland, 2004.
- 18 For more on loosening corsets and taking off metaphorical black singlets, see Caroline Daley, 'Taking Off the Black Singlet', NZJH, 46, 2 (2012), pp.113–28.
- 19 Charlotte Macdonald, 'Too Many Men and Too Few Women: Gender's "Fatal Impact" in Nineteenth Century Colonies', in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie, eds, *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1999, p.20.

- 20 Deborah Montgomerie, *The Women's War: New Zealand Women 1939–45*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2001; 'The Limitation of Wartime Change: Women War Workers in New Zealand During World War Two', *NZJH*, 23, 1 (1988), pp.68–88.
- 21 *Time* (Pacific Overseas Edition), 25 November 1946, p.10.
- 22 *Listener*, 13 May 1960, p.9. Emphasis in original.
- 23 *Listener*, 8 July 1960, p.23.
- 24 *Listener*, 12 August 1960, p.7.
- 25 *Listener*, 12 August 1960, pp.6–7.
- 26 *Listener*, 13 May 1960, p.9; 12 August 1960, pp.6–7; 22 August 1998, p.15.
- 27 *Listener*, 11 May 1962, p.3.
- 28 *Listener*, 10 August 1962, p.3.
- 29 *Te Ao Hou*, 66, March 1969, p.39.
- 30 It is often claimed that feminists burned their bras as a form of protest at the 1968 Miss America contest, and thus ignited second-wave feminism. As many contemporaries and historians have noted, no bras were burned that day. See Bonnie J. Dow, 'Feminism, Miss America, and Media Mythology', *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, 6, 1 (2003), pp.127–60, especially pp.129–31.
- 31 See 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.143–5, 153–4.
- 32 *Te Ao Hou*, 66, March 1969, p.39.
- 33 *Evening Post* (EP), 21 February 1914, p.7; 11 March 1914, p.8; 12 March 1914, p.3; 13 March 1914, p.4; 21 March 1914, p.9; 28 April 1914, p.3.
- 34 A report on the coronation ceremony of Wellington's carnival queen referred to the pageantry of the occasion as 'a little timely fun'. EP, 29 June 1915, p.3.
- 35 EP, 12 March 1915, p.8.
- 36 EP, 1 June 1915, p.2.
- 37 EP, 28 June 1915, p.3.
- 38 EP, 26 August 1915, p.6.
- 39 *Ashburton Guardian* (AG), 30 November 1915, p.2.
- 40 EP, 17 September 1915, p.3.
- 41 *Wanganui Chronicle*, 18 September 1915, p.4; AG, 10 December 1915, p.4.
- 42 H.C.D. Somerset, *Littledene: Patterns of Change*, New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington, 1974, pp.57–59. Somerset's study was first published in 1938.
- 43 *Poverty Bay Herald* (PBH), 25 November 1915, p.6.
- 44 *Ohinemuri Gazette* (OG), 4 October 1915, p.3.
- 45 OG, 4 October 1915, p.3; 15 October 1915, p.2.
- 46 OG, 13 October 1915, p.2; 15 October 1915, p.2; *Thames Star* (TS), 18 October 1915, p.1.
- 47 TS, 18 October 1915, p.1; OG, 10 November 1915, p.2.
- 48 OG, 26 November 1915, p.2.
- 49 PBH, 29 November 1915, p.6; OG, 29 November 1915, p.2.
- 50 OG, 29 November 1915, p.2.
- 51 EP, 3 June 1915, p.10.
- 52 EP, 29 June 1915, p.9.
- 53 EP, 29 June 1915, p.3.
- 54 New Lynn Queen Carnival, 1921, Box 37, Item 21/217, Record Series 275, Town Clerk/Secretarial Department Classified Subject Files, Auckland City Council Archives, Auckland.

- 55 *Otago Witness* (OW), 8 January 1924, p.35.
- 56 *Pictorial News*, 15 November 1924, p.5.
- 57 Napier's Mardi Gras began in the summer of 1913–1914 and from the outset had a carnival queen competition. EP, 27 December 1913, p.3.
- 58 *Daily Telegraph* (Napier), 16 January 1933, p.8.
- 59 EP, 15 August 1932, p.3.
- 60 EP, 5 June 1933, p.4; ODT, 22 September 1933, p.8; EP, 17 November 1933, p.5.
- 61 'Retailers [sic] Queen Voting Paper', Peggy Richards' Queen Carnival Scrapbook, Private Collection. I am grateful to Angela Lassig for offering me access to this scrapbook.
- 62 *New Zealand Free Lance*, 24 May 1933, press clipping in Peggy Richards' Queen Carnival Scrapbook. All subsequent information on the Nelson queen carnival comes from the scrapbook.
- 63 *Weekly News*, 23 June 1937, p.46. See also Caroline Daley, 'Flushed with Pride? Women's Quest for Public Toilets in New Zealand', *Women's Studies Journal*, 16, 1 (2000), pp.95–113.
- 64 *Truth*, 14 March 1945, p.20.
- 65 *Te Ao Hou*, 66, March 1969, p.39.
- 66 Warren I. Susman, "'Personality' and the Making of Twentieth-Century Culture", in *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1984, especially pp.271–85.
- 67 Susman, "'Personality' and the Making of Twentieth-Century Culture', p.282.
- 68 *Truth*, 20 August 1947, p.11.
- 69 *Auckland Star*, 7 November 1947, p.4.
- 70 EP, 6 November 1947, p.6.
- 71 AS, 10 November 1947, p.2.
- 72 ODT, 14 October 1947, p.6; *New Zealand Woman's Weekly* (NZWW), 23 October 1947, p.42.
- 73 *Truth*, 28 April 1948, p.3; 5 May 1948, p.1; 26 May 1948, p.15; 2 June 1948, p.16; 16 June 1948, p.1.
- 74 EP, 6 November 1947, p.12.
- 75 D.N. Hawkins, *Beyond The Waimakariri: A Regional History*, Whitcombe and Tombs, Christchurch, 1957, p.400.
- 76 See, for example, the following items from the 1880s: *North Otago Times* (NOT), 7 March 1883, p.2 (report on a beauty show in New York); EP, 24 November 1882, p.2 (report on a beauty competition in Philadelphia); NOT, 5 January 1884, p.2 (report on a beauty competition 'in the old country'); *Te Aroha News* (TAN), 20 December 1884, p.5 (report on Paris beauty show); EP, 18 July 1885, p.2 (report on Paris beauty competition); TAN, 5 December 1888, p.4 and 12 December 1888, p.3 (report on beauty show at Spa in Belgium); EP, 6 April 1889, p.1 (report on international beauty competition held in Turin).
- 77 EP, 28 December 1889, p.2; 2 January 1890, p.2.
- 78 *Southland Times*, 11 March 1902, p.2; 17 March 1902, p.3; 18 March 1902, p.2; OW, 2 April 1902, p.27.
- 79 See, for example, *Press*, 24 April 1909, p.1; *New Zealand Herald* (NZH), 7 June 1909, p.3.
- 80 See *Lone Hand*, 1 November 1907–1 February 1909. Those who were not subscribers to the magazine could read about the contest in local newspapers: for example, *Hawera and Normanby Star*, 6 November 1907, p.4; EP, 9 November 1907, p.13.
- 81 EP, 22 March 1911, p.2; 25 March 1911, p.6; 11 April 1911, p.2; 28 November 1912, p.8.
- 82 *Lone Hand*, 1 May 1911, p.lxi; 1 July 1912, p.xxxiii.

- 83 EP, 25 July 1914, p.2.
- 84 *Press*, 11 October 1922, p.2; 26 October 1922, p.1; 26 October 1922, p.13; 27 October 1922, p.2; 11 November 1922, p.16; 27 December 1922, p.2.
- 85 AS, 13 November 1922, p.12.
- 86 AS, 10 November 1922, p.16. The contest ran from 10 November until 21 December 1922 and received extensive press coverage.
- 87 *Truth*, 8 December 1923, p.14.
- 88 See, for example, the film of a 1925 bathing beauty contest: Moving Image Collection, F5007, Ngā Taonga Sound & Vision, Wellington.
- 89 AS, 13 February 1925, p.14; 16 February 1925, p.14; 17 February 1925, p.16.
- 90 *Truth*, 7 November 1925, p.5; EP, 28 December 1925, p.8.
- 91 AS, 28 August 1926, p.10.
- 92 NZWW, 12 February 1990, p.8.
- 93 It was claimed that as a result of Downes's win, twice as many women entered the contest the following year: ODT, 12 April 1984, p.17.
- 94 NZWW, 23 August 1982, p.20.
- 95 In 1999 it was announced that 'Tauranga's premier glamour event', the Miss Mount Managanui Contest, was 'ending its 50-year run as a New Year's Day feature at the beach'. *Dominion*, 4 December 1999, p.2.
- 96 In 1926 Aucklanders alone cast over half a million votes to select the Miss Auckland candidate for the national contest: AS, 9 November 1926, p.8.
- 97 *Sun* (Auckland), 24 September 1927, p.14.
- 98 *Sun* (Auckland), 23 September 1927, p.13.
- 99 AS, 22 November 1926, p.9.
- 100 AS, 22 November 1926, p.9; 26 November 1926, p.18.
- 101 NZH, 13 December 1926, p.20.
- 102 AS, 12 November 1926, p.9.
- 103 In the 1920s Amami shampoo rewarded the winner of its contest with £50, a sum repeated by Q-Tol suntan lotion in the 1930s: AS, 5 February 1927, p.20; *Truth*, 21 November 1934, p.5.
- 104 AS, 18 October 1926, p.11; *Daily Telegraph* (Napier), 28 December 1937, p.9.
- 105 AS, 6 June 1967, p.20.
- 106 *New Zealand Picturegoer*, 23 March 1928, p.11; 6 April 1928, p.1; 4 May 1928, p.1; 11 May 1928, p.1.
- 107 *New Zealand Picturegoer*, 1 June 1928, p.1.
- 108 ODT, 8 June 1971, p.1.
- 109 AS, 6 June 1972, p.2.
- 110 AS, 14 February 1980, p.3.