

The Everyday Lives of White South African Housewives: 1918-1945

by
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*Dissertation presented for the degree of Master of Arts (History) in the
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at
Stellenbosch University*



Supervisor: Prof Albert Mauritz Grundlingh

December 2017

Acknowledgements

Completing an endeavour such as this is impossible without the generous support of many people, a few of whom I would like to thank here. First and foremost, I am overwhelmed by the patience and wisdom of my supervisor, Prof Albert Grundlingh. Thank you for your plentiful encouragement, subtle criticisms and generous insights. I am incredibly thankful for your attentive support and willingness to share your wealth of knowledge.

I am greatly indebted to Anneke Schaafsma, Marina Brink, Lynne Fourie and Melanie Ismael at the Africana and Special Collections sections of the Stellenbosch University Library for introducing me to, and helping me navigate a treasure trove of cookbooks. At the National Library I was helpfully assisted by Nadjwa Hendriks and all of the staff at the Reading Room.

The staff of the History department at Stellenbosch University have presented me with much inspiration and encouragement. Thank you Dr. Schalk van der Merwe for sharing your foodie advice, Prof Wessel Visser for keeping me from over-diversification, Prof Sandra Swart for entrusting me with her wisdom and books, Prof Nasson for being the life of the party, Leschelle Morkel for keeping me in the admin loop and Melvyn Daniels for his endless forbearance with my technical and administrative needs. Monique and Ashrick, thank you both for always being keen for commiserating and good food! A big thank you to Dr Anton Ehlers for his tireless work holding everyone and everything afloat, and Dr Chet Fransch for his constancy, constructive criticism, eagerness and energy regarding anything I set my mind to.

Prof Stella Viljoen, thank you for your pertinent advice, the wonderful trips to the national library, and for sharing much chocolate and tea with me.

Thank you Mom and Dad for being interested enough to read through my whole thesis. I am also very thankful to the Philip and Rommelspacher families for asking me the right questions, and supporting my decision to pursue the study of history.

To my husband Karl- thank you for your kindness, patience, prayers and pep-talks. I very much appreciate the sacrifices you have made for me and for your reminders of the bigger picture and God's grace in all things.

Abstract

This study seeks to obtain an impression of the “interior” lives of English and Afrikaans housewives, as portrayed by two woman’s magazines - one English and one Afrikaans - which were in print in South Africa between 1918 and 1945. The quotidian activities of white South African housewives: their attempts to look after their families, their diets and beliefs surrounding nutrition, their concerns about society, what they wore and why they wore it, their routines inside the home and expectations of domestic life, their leisure time, hobbies and the ideologies supporting their actions are its chief concerns. *Die Huisvrou* and *Mrs. Slade’s Good South African Housekeeping* are the magazines used as primary sources to inform this work. They were chosen because both are specifically addressed to housewives and have not previously been utilised. The study of these magazines therefore provides a unique opportunity to compare womanhood and the spheres of ordinary life in these two cultures in a novel manner. Despite historical attention being paid to Afrikaans women as *volksmoeders* and participants in public and political spheres, the domestic realm of housewives in *both* cultural groups has remained largely untouched. Examining the details of the everyday lives of housewives in a specific historical context creates an opportunity to explore various aspects of women’s lives as well as the impact of the private sphere on constructing a history of South Africa.

It is revealed that while the histories of Afrikaners and Anglophones are commonly considered to have emerged in opposition to each other, especially in the wake of the South African War (1899-1902), comparisons between the lives of housewives provide an opportunity to establish that most of these women’s daily activities were very similar and transferable between the two cultures. Both English and Afrikaans housewives were expected to care for their spouses, rear children, feed their families, be knowledgeable about food preparation and nutrition, clean and look after their physical appearances. Both also had access to cheap labour in the home to make their practical duties easier. More intriguingly, the pressures produced by events such as the World Wars, social changes and rapid industrialisation in South Africa affected, and in some cases, were perceived to be threatening, home life. External events and disturbances in society clearly resulted in reactionary responses within the magazines. A modification of divorce laws in the 1930s, for instance, created an atmosphere of panic in *Die Huisvrou* as women feared the demise of family life. As a result, pressures were put onto unmarried women to spend their time preparing for marriage and home life as opposed to joining the workforce for economic reasons.

This investigation reveals the details of the lives of white South African housewives, and recognises the impacts that women's activities within the domestic sphere had on society outside of the home and vice versa. Through comparing Afrikaans and English housewives, it is also established that women in both cultures held similar beliefs about family and society which were at the centre of their lives. Both were motivated by the philosophy that the success of a society primarily relied on the strength and success of each individual family's home life within that society.

Opsomming

Hierdie studie poog om ’n beeld van die “innerlike” lewe van Engelse en Afrikaanse huisvroue te skets, soos uitgebeeld in twee vrouetydskrifte – een Engels en een Afrikaans – wat in Suid-Afrika tussen 1918 en 1945 uitgegee is. Die alledaagse aktiwiteite van wit Suid-Afrikaanse huisvroue – hulle pogings om na hulle gesinne om te sien, hulle dieët en oortuigings aangaande voeding, hulle besorgdhede oor die samelewing, watter klere hulle gedra het en hoekom hulle dit gedra het, hulle roetines binne die huis en verwagtinge van die tuislewe, hulle vrye tyd, stokperdjies en die ideologieë wat hulle aktiwiteite ondersteun het – is die hoofonderwerpe. *Die Huisvrou* en *Mrs. Slade’s Good South African Housekeeping* is die tydskrifte wat as primêre bronne gebruik is om hierdie werk in te lig. Hulle is gekies omdat beide spesifiek aan huisvroue gerig is en nie voorheen gebruik is nie. Die studie van hierdie tydskrifte verskaf dus ’n unieke geleentheid om vroue en die sferes van die alledaagse lewe in hierdie twee kulture op ’n nuwe manier te vergelyk. Ten spyte van die geskiedkundige aandag wat aan Afrikaanse vroue as “volksmoeders” en deelnemers aan die openbare en politieke sfeer gegee word, het die huishoudelike sferes van huisvroue in *albei* kulturele groepe grootliks onaangeraak gebly. Die ondersoek van die besonderhede van die alledaagse lewe van huisvroue in ’n spesifieke historiese konteks skep die geleentheid om verskeie aspekte van vroue se lewens, sowel as die impak van die private sfeer op die konstruksie van die geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika te verken.

Dit blyk dat, ofskoon die geskiedenis van Afrikaners en Engelstaliges algemeen beskou word as ontluikend in teenstand tot mekaar, veral in die nadraai van die Suid-Afrikaanse Oorlog (1899-1902), vergelykings tussen die lewens van huisvroue die geleentheid verskaf om te bepaal dat die meeste van hierdie vroue se daaglikse aktiwiteite baie eenders en oorplaasbaar tussen die twee kulture was. Dit is van beide Engelse en Afrikaanse huisvroue verwag dat hulle vir hulle gades moet sorg, kinders grootmaak, hulle gesinne voed, kennis dra van voedselbereiding en voeding, skoonmaak en kyk na hulle fisieke voorkoms. Albei het ook toegang tot goedkoop arbeid in die huis gehad om hulle praktiese pligte te vergemaklik. Meer insiggewend: die druk veroorsaak deur gebeure soos die Wêreldoorloë, sosiale veranderinge en vinnige industrialisasie in Suid-Afrika het die tuislewe geaffekteer en in sommige gevalle is dit as bedreigings daarvoor gesien. Eksterne gebeure en opwellings in die samelewing het duidelik tot reaksies in die tydskrifte gelei. ’n Verandering in egskeidingswette in die 1930s het byvoorbeeld ’n atmosfeer van paniek in *Die Huisvrou* geskep, want vroue het die ondergang van die gesinslewe gevrees. Gevolglik is druk op ongetroude vroue geplaas om hulle tyd deur

te bring deur hulle vir die huwelik en die lewe tuis voor te berei, in teenstelling daarmee dat hulle die arbeidsmag vir ekonomiese redes betree.

Hierdie ondersoek ontbloot die besonderhede van die lewens van wit Suid-Afrikaanse huisvroue en herken die impak wat vroue se aktiwiteite binne die huislike sfeer op die samelewing buite die huis gehad het en omgekeerd. Deur Afrikaanse en Engelse huisvroue te vergelyk, word dit ook bepaal dat vroue in albei kulture eenderse oortuigings oor gesin en samelewing gehandhaaf het, wat na aan die kern van hulle lewens was. Albei is gemotiveer deur die filosofiese benadering dat die sukses van 'n samelewing primêr steun op die krag en sukses van elke afsonderlike gesin se tuislewe binne daardie samelewing.

Declaration

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December 2017

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General Introduction

Introduction

This work started as a fascination with South African cookbooks published in the first half of the 20th Century. Unlike today, these books contained more than recipes- which were intriguing enough in themselves - they also included tips concerning the running of a home and indications of the situations women found themselves in. Books such as *South African Cookery Made Easy* (1912), *Tafel-Vreugde* (1918) and *The Practical Cookery Book for South Africa* (1945) all had sections providing advice for activities such as: the use of poultices, sterilisation of food, soap-making, bee-keeping, killing baboons (in self-defence), getting rid of prickly pear bushes and various other undertakings in and around the home beyond cooking, cleaning and bearing children.¹ Soon after the Second World War, these sections disappeared from South African cookbooks indicating a transformation in social and cultural expectations of women which should be taken into consideration. It also soon became apparent that the women behind the recipes and household ideas were considered impressive, educated and celebrated figures in their society. Mrs. H.M. Slade, also known by her maiden name, Jeanette C. van Duyn, appears as the author of numerous books and received endorsements from other impressive figures she interacted within a sphere of studious homemaking. Something which is apparent from these cookbooks is that housewifery, or the undertaking of being a housewife, was something taken very seriously by white South African women, both English and Afrikaans, in the period being considered. Women expressed a desire to approach cooking in a scientific way, and nutrition emerged as an element of food preparation which some women were obsessed with.²

Although much has been written about Afrikaans women as *Volksmoeders*, or as the mothers of the nation, very little time has been spent on exploring the inner lives of Afrikaans and English women, or the implications that changes outside of the home might have had on quotidian activities. This study therefore seeks to determine what the interior lives of English and Afrikaans housewives were, as portrayed by two woman's magazines, one English and one Afrikaans- which were in print in South Africa between 1918 and 1945. The study of these magazines provides a unique opportunity to compare womanhood and the spheres of ordinary life in these two cultures in a novel manner. This is not a theoretical analysis of white

¹ Mrs P.W. De Klerk: *South African Cookery Made easy*, p.239; D.F. Malherbe: *Tafel-Vreugde*, p.xi-xii; S. Van H. Tulleken: *The Practical Cookery Book for South Africa*, 1945.

² J. C. van Duyn: *The Household Science Cookery Book*, 1914, foreword.

womanhood in South Africa, instead, attempts are made to present an impression of, and comparison between, Afrikaans and English housewives as is evident from the sources, without manipulating their lives to conform to contemporary concerns.

The figure of the housewife has been defined and appropriated by influential western feminists such as Simone de Beauvoir and Betty Friedan, as a woman kept from self-actualisation by rigid division of labour in capitalist society.³ Feminist sociologist Ann Oakley's extensive work concerning the housewife has been necessary in moving towards a definition to frame this study. Oakley considered the manifestation of the housewife to be inseparable from the process of industrialisation:

The characteristic features of the housewife role in modern industrialised society are (1) its *exclusive allocation to women*, rather than to adults of both sexes; (2) its association with *economic dependence*, i.e. with the dependent role of the woman in modern marriage; (3) its *status as non-work* – or its opposition to 'real', i.e. economically productive work...⁴

The western concept of housewifery is, in some senses, useful as a point of departure in understanding white South African housewives. However, essential elements of western housewifery were far less prevalent amongst the white housewives of the Union than in the lives of their counterparts in other countries, namely: the drudgery, monotony and loneliness of housework. Access to cheap and plentiful labour (not restricted by the labour laws which were coming to change the face of domestic service in western countries), which could work as domestic workers in the home, meant that white South African housewives could be involved in social, economic and leisure activities. They nonetheless identified as housewives, and compared themselves to housewives in countries such as North America, England, Australia and Canada. However, outside of, and including the South African context, existing studies concerning the housewife fail to provide the details of their everyday lives in specific historical contexts. Instead, most emphasis has been placed on generalising experiences of housewifery to inform feminist critiques of gender roles. An exception to this lacuna is the work of historian Christina Hole, *The English Housewife in the 17th Century*, through which she sought to depict the "ordinary domestic round of the English housewife".⁵

³ L. Johnson & J. Lloyd: *Sentenced to Everyday Life: Feminism and the Housewife*, pp.7-8.

⁴ A. Oakley: *House Wife*, p.1.

⁵ C. Hole: *The English Housewife in the 17th Century*, p.1.

Christina Hole's work provides an interesting dual perspective in approaching the subject at hand. Firstly, it provides methodological insights and, secondly, it can be approached as a primary source, as it was first published in 1953 and her affirmative views of housewifery, before the spread of feminist texts, are clearly echoed in the South African women's magazines studied. Methodologically, her work informs this study as a scaffolding for considering the inner lives of women by presenting compartments, such as marriage relationships, cooking, fashion and household management, which have come to be accepted as typical points of departure in the housewife's sphere of interests. As this study seeks to explore the everyday lives of housewives, the history of everyday life or *Alltagsgeschichte* is a field which provides further guidance in this pursuit. Historian Alf Lütke writes that *Alltagsgeschichte* seeks descriptions of "housing, and homelessness, clothing and nakedness, eating habits and hunger, people's loves and hates, their quarrels and cooperation, memories, anxieties, hopes for the future."⁶ *Alltagsgeschichte* attempts to move into the sphere of commonplace experiences without ignoring the public life, which still certainly affects the private space. Historian Dorothee Wierling has exposed the difficulties of studying the everyday history of women in explaining that the activities of women are easily generalised as everyday or natural, which therefore reduces their lives to the realm of the "ahistorical and universal".⁷ This study, however, attempts to acknowledge the significance of quotidian undertakings in the construction of the history of South African women, as well as the importance housewives themselves placed on the everyday. Inevitably, this study also seeks to ascertain the self-constructed definition of housewifery amongst white South African women in the first half of the 20th century and determine whether there were distinct differences between the two language groups in their definitions. Therefore, the history of ideas also plays a role in reaching an understanding of these women's lives. This study is not merely a discussion of what women were doing in and around the home, but what they believed about themselves and the world around them.

As far as South African historiography is concerned, historian Neil Roos wrote in 2016 that "[h]istorians know remarkably little about the lives of white people in the twentieth-century South Africa".⁸ In the same work, he argues that scant attention has been paid to the "everyday

⁶ A. Lütke: "What is the history of Everyday Life and Who are its Practitioners?" in *The History of Everyday Life*, A. Lütke (editor), p.3.

⁷ D. Wierling: "The History of Everyday Life and Gender Relations on Historical and Historiographical Relationships", in *The History of Everyday Life*, A. Lütke (editor), pp.150;154-155.

⁸ N. Roos: "South African History and Subaltern Historiography: Ideas for a Radical History of White Folk,"

histories of whites”.⁹ Historian Penelope Hetherington viewed South African historiography as having developed out of a neo-Marxist approach which was established in the 1970s. While liberal historians of that period have been critiqued for qualifying apartheid “as the natural outcome of race difference”, neo-Marxists were condemned for ignoring certain nuances of South Africa society in their predisposition to reduce historical manifestations to economic terms. Hetherington contends that women’s history was not really pursued in South Africa until the late 1970s. When work concerning women in South Africa did emerge, it concentrated on “black women's material and psychological oppression in South Africa and their resistance to that oppression”.¹⁰ Academic Robert Morrell argues that Southern African historiography only became gender sensitive in the 1990s.¹¹

Historical overview

The demographics of white women in South African are important to consider in approaching the lives of housewives, and various censuses completed before, and during, the period being surveyed, provide indications of: population size, living standards and the position of women in society. By the time of the *Census of the European or White Races of the Union of South Africa* of 1918, there were 692 915 white females living in the Union as opposed to 757 178 white males. 307 513 of those women lived in the Cape, 59 186 in Natal, 238 507 in the Transvaal and 87 709 in the Orange Free State.¹² The large majority of white women, 315 875 of the 447 452 females over the age of 15 who specified themselves as “engaged in industries”, classified themselves as housewives in 1918.¹³ The specification of engagement in economic productivity elucidates the view that being a housewife was considered a form of productive participation in, or industrious contribution to the economy.

The census of 1918 did not differentiate between English and Afrikaans speakers. It did however specify whether people lived in urban or rural areas, indicating the impact of the phenomenon of urbanisation on the *zeitgeist* around the time of the First World War.¹⁴ Because

Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, (61), 2016, p.117.

⁹ *Ibid.* p.117.

¹⁰ P. Hetherington: “Women in South Africa: The Historiography in English,” *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, (26), (2), 1993, pp.241;244;269.

¹¹ R. Morrell: “Of Boys and Men: Masculinity and Gender in Southern African,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (24), (4), December 1998, p.605.

¹² *Census of the European or White Races of the Union of South Africa* of 1918, Part I: Population, p.2

¹³ *Census of the European or White Races of the Union of South Africa* of 1918, Cape Town, Part V: Occupations, pp.4-5.

¹⁴ *Census of the European or White Races of the Union of South Africa* of 1918, Part I: Population, p.26.

of the interference to trade routes caused by the First World War, South Africa underwent a time of great development in the manufacturing sector, which, along with impoverishment of *bywoners*, drew Afrikaners to urban areas. The number of white people living on the Rand nearly doubled between 1921 and 1936.¹⁵ A comparison provided by the 1936 census report showed that in 1921, 423 272 females were living in urban areas and 314 181 were rurally situated. By 1936, 659 987 women were living in cities, indicating a dramatic influx of urban dwellers, while only 325 826 lived in rural areas, revealing dwindling rural populations.¹⁶ By 1936, there were 985 813 white women living in the Union and less of a numerical disparity between males and females with a male population of 1 017 699.¹⁷ Of the almost a million females living in the Union in 1936, 519 844 had never been married, 397 191 were married, 62 256 were widowed and 5 976 were divorced. The census' show that divorce was on the rise amongst white South Africans as the number of divorced females increased drastically from the census of 1911, when there were only 648 female divorcees, which represented 0.18% of the female population, compared to 2 458, representing 0.53% of the population in 1921, and almost 6 000 by 1936, which represented 0.88% of the female population.¹⁸ The figures become more revealing when examining the increase of divorce amongst females in specific age groups. The instance of divorce increased by 400% amongst women between the ages of 20-24 from 1911 to 1936 and by 600% amongst women between the ages of 40-44.¹⁹

As far as occupations were concerned, in 1918, the occupations most filled by white woman were teaching (13 357), domestic service (7 867) and the medical professions (4 225), where women filled positions such as nurses, midwives, medical electricians and masseurs with the majority working as the first two. A total of 4 864 women were also listed as being shop assistants, travellers and salespeople in the dealing, drapery and textile industries. A further 3 801 women worked in clothing manufacturing and as clothing merchants, costumiers and dressmakers.²⁰ Other occupations which engaged 1000 or more white women by 1918 included boarding- or housekeepers, hotel cooks, shorthand-writers and typists in the commerce sector,

¹⁵ E. Brink: ““Maar n klomp “factory” meide’: Afrikaner Family and Community on the Witwatersrand during the 1920s,” in *Class, Community and Conflict: South African Perspectives*, B. Bozzoli (editor), p.178.

¹⁶ *Union of South Africa Census of Population, 5th May, 1936, Preliminary report*, p.3

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p.i.

¹⁸ *Union of South Africa Census of Population, 5th May, 1936, Preliminary report*, Volume III, Marital Condition of the Europeans, Coloured and Asiatic Population, pp.1;i;vii.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* pp.i;vii;x.

²⁰ *Census of the European or White Races of the Union of South Africa of 1918, Part V: Occupations*, , pp.8-9;25;28.

clerks in the banking sector, administration positions in the postal services and as general dealers.²¹

By 1936, 44.5% of urban dwellings, inhabited by white people, were owned by their occupiers, the average number of white South Africans to a room in urban areas ranged between 0.9 and 1.3, and the number of occupants in a home ranged between 4.7 and 5.3.²² In 1936, 60% of houses occupied by white people had between 3-5 rooms “excluding the kitchen, pantry, bathroom, and outside rooms occupied by or intended for servants.”²³ Birth rates decreased among the white population from 28.44 per 1000 (of the estimated mean population) in 1921 to 24.21 per 1000 in 1936, though marriage rates increased from 8.49 per 1000 in 1921 to 11.1 in 1936.²⁴ The census of 1936 also recognised a growth in bilingualism amongst the white population. In 1918, 42% of the white population was considered bilingual, and by 1936, that figure had risen to approximately 65%, which is perhaps perhaps indicative of more interaction between English and Afrikaans communities. In 1936 only 16% of white people in South Africa considered themselves “Afrikaans Only” and 19% “English Only”.²⁵ In 1918, 41.33% of English females considered themselves bilingual in comparison with 62.1% in 1936, showing a dramatic increase in bilingualism, especially amongst women.²⁶ 52.61% of the white urban population spoke English and 40.96% spoke Afrikaans in 1936, while 84.03% of the white rural population was Afrikaans and only 13.67% English.²⁷

Education is also an important element of ascertaining the position of women in society. In her Master’s Thesis, Historian Sarah Duff explored the role of Huguenot Seminary, an educational institution for girls in Wellington, started in 1874, in constructing Afrikaner femininity. She elucidates that though white girls, Afrikaans and English, were exposed to a rigorous education at the establishment, it nonetheless attempted to reconcile domesticity and education. Ultimately the education that the girls received did not oppose the idea that the domestic sphere was the place of the female. The last half of the 19th century was a time of great developments

²¹ *Census of the European or White Races of the Union of South Africa of 1918, Part V: Occupations*, pp.10-29

²² *Union of South Africa Census of Population, 5th May, 1936, Preliminary report*, Volume VIII, Dwellings: All Races of the Population, pp.xi; xvii.

²³ *Union of South Africa Census of Population, 5th May, 1936, Preliminary report*, Volume VIII, Dwellings: All Races of the Population, pp.xvi; ix.

²⁴ *Union of South Africa Census of Population, 5th May, 1936, Preliminary report*, Volume II, Ages of the European, Asiatic and Coloured Population, p.x.

²⁵ *Union of South Africa Census of Population, 5th May, 1936, Preliminary report*, Volume IV, Languages, p.x.

²⁶ *Ibid.* pp.viii; ix.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p.x.

in girls' education in the Cape with private schools such Rhenish, St. Cyprians, Springfield and the Paarl Ladies' Seminary being opened in quick succession. In 1898 the Huguenot Seminary added a College section as it began to offer University degrees to young women.²⁸ After the First World War, it became compulsory for all white children to attend school until Standard VIII (which is grade 10 in South African today). Schools in urban areas were perceived as being better than those in the *platteland*, which led to children attending boarding schools in big towns and cities.²⁹ In 1933, 170 847 girls and 180 317 boys were attending public schools in the Union. Though these numbers are quite similar, there was a significant difference in the numbers of each gender in Standard 10, known as Matric, or Grade 12 today, with 3 821 boys finishing school that year and only 2 586 girls.³⁰ In 1917, there were 1 616 students at Universities in the Union and only 412 of them were female.³¹

Tracing Anglo-Afrikaner relations before these censuses, during, and in the wake of the South African War, Afrikaans women were celebrated for their bravery and tenacity inside and outside of the home at the mercy of British cruelty, especially in the form the scorched-earth policy and the concentration camps.³² In the Cape, during the South African War some English-speaking women organised themselves into a group called "The Guild of Loyal Women", which expressed a desire to reconcile divisions resulting from the South African War.³³ Elizabeth van Heyningen argues that the Guild not only: "enabled women to give expression to their own version of imperialism but gave women their first experience in public political participation."³⁴ After the South African War (1899-1902), however, tensions between English and Afrikaans communities living in South Africa were understandably high. Afrikaner communities emerged from the conflict with a greater sense of unity, but British victory, and Lord Alfred Milner's attempts to create a united South Africa through a process of Anglicization, worsened the relationships between the two cultural groups.³⁵ Anglophone

²⁸ S. Duff: "HEAD, HEART, AND HAND The Huguenot Seminary and College and the Construction of Middle Class Afrikaner Femininity, 1873-1910," (Masters of Arts, University of Stellenbosch, April 2006), pp.76-77, 8; 6.

²⁹ M.J.M. Prinsloo: *Blanke vroue-arbeid in die Unie van Suid-Afrika*, pp.102-103.

³⁰ *Union Statistics for Fifty Years: Jubilee Issue, 1910-196*, p.E-13.

³¹ M.J.M. Prinsloo: *Blanke vroue-arbeid in die Unie van Suid-Afrika*, p.104.

³² H. Bradford: "The Defiance of the Bittereinder Woman," in *The War at Home: Women and families in the Anglo-boer War*, B. Nasson & A. Grundlingh (Editors), pp.47-48.

³³ E. Van Heyningen & P. Merrett: "'The Healing Touch': The Guild of Loyal Women of South Africa 1900-1912," *South African Historical Journal*, (47), (1), 2002, p.35.

³⁴ E. Van Heyningen: "The Voices of Women in the South African War," *South African Historical Journal*, (41), (1), p.26.

³⁵ J. Butler: "Afrikaner Women and the Creation of Ethnicity" in *The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa*, L. Vail (editor), p.57.

women were also involved in promoting a “South African Consciousness” and ideas of a unified white South Africa after the War, with some recognising themselves first as South African, and then as British.³⁶ Differing concepts of South Africanism emerged at the time. Milner imagined a South African identity defined by Britishness while the Boer general, Louis Botha, envisioned a South Africanism characterised by equality between English and Afrikaans speakers. By the 1920s, British South Africans saw little to no conflict between being British and being South African, while Afrikaner groups began to rally against membership to the Empire.³⁷

The onset of the First World War brought a new round of challenges as some politicians saw it as an opportunity for gaining independence for the Boers from the British, while others resigned in protest to the Union’s War policy, especially with regards to South West Africa (now Namibia).³⁸ As a result of the War, between 1915 and 1920 the Union’s economy appeared to thrive, but by 1922 there was a large decline in demand for South African products and as the world economy descended into a period of depression, the Union followed suit.³⁹ The Great Depression, which affected the Union between 1929-1934, translated to economic hardships for all South Africans, though farmers, most of whom were Afrikaans, were particularly hard hit, which led to government-initiated committees being formed to protect the agriculture of dairy, wheat and meat.⁴⁰

The problem of poor whiteism was also exacerbated by the depression, which culminated in the Carnegie Commission Report of 1932, and the subject became a special priority in Afrikaner communities. The problem of poor whites was intensified by factors such as Afrikaners being forced off the land during the South African War and the fast pace of industrialisation. Along with these, the population size was increasing concurrent to decreasing access to land which could be used for subsistence farming.⁴¹ Historian Susanne Klausen has

³⁶ E. Van Heyningen: “The Voices of Women in the South African War,” *South African Historical Journal*, (41), (1), p.27.

³⁷ J. Lambert: “South African British? Or Dominion South Africans? The Evolution of an Identity in the 1910 and 1920s,” *South African Historical Journal*, (43), (1), 2000, pp.199;221.

³⁸ S.B. Spies: “South Africa and the First World War”, in *South Africa in the 20th Century*, B.J. Liebenberg and S.B. Spies (editors), p.101.

³⁹ J.B. Brits: “The last years of South African Party rule”, in *South Africa in the 20th Century*, B.J. Liebenberg and S.B. Spies (editors), pp.145-147.

⁴⁰ J.B. Brits: “Political developments and the depression of 1929-1934”, in *South Africa in the 20th Century*, B.J. Liebenberg and S.B. Spies (editors), pp.241-243.

⁴¹ E. Brink: ““Maar n klomp “factory” meide”: Afrikaner Family and Community on the Witwatersrand during the 1920s,” in *Class, Community and Conflict: South African Perspectives*, B. Bozzoli (editor), p.183.

argued that the small size of the population of whites in the Union was of concern to both the English and Afrikaans speakers, but fears of whites existing in a state of delinquency and impoverishment caused even greater distress. As a result, birth control was recommended by social reformers in the early 1930s as a remedy for the alleged countrywide deterioration of the white community. Klausen further argues that “[b]y the 1930s, Anglophones and moderate Afrikaners were united in trying to forge a bi-cultural nation based on black subordination.”⁴² In 1939, however, division in parliament over Union involvement in the Second World war led to further pressures between Afrikaans and English whites.⁴³ Historian John Lambert explains that Anglophone South Africans were eager to participate in the War effort and while men volunteered, women also joined specific organisations to play their part, with 24 975 white women enlisting to the auxiliary corps and services.⁴⁴

As these events unfolded, the nation-building rhetoric of the *Volksmoeder* (which can be directly translated as the mother of the nation) ideal, emerged around Afrikaner women and has garnered most of the attention around white women in 20th-century South Africa. It is a concept defined by an emphasis on domesticity and motherhood in the construction of Afrikaner women’s identities, but historiographical focus has been placed on examining women’s roles and efforts outside of the home through the lens of the *Volksmoeder*. Lou-Marie Kruger presented a seminal work on the *Volksmoeder* discourse in the form of an important examination of early Afrikaans woman’s magazines in her master’s thesis: “Gender, Community and Identity: Women and Afrikaner Nationalism in the Volksmoeder Discourse of *Die Boerevrou* 1919-1931”.⁴⁵ Kruger points out that the early 20th century was a time of urbanisation and industrialisation in South Africa, which led to many changes in the lives of women, and growing fears around their identity as they were experiencing exclusion from the process of production in combination with many of their tasks in the home growing superfluous. Kruger argues that manufacturing the *Volksmoeder* ideal arose in direct response to these difficulties surrounding gender as a result of changes in society.⁴⁶ Ria van der Merwe

⁴² S. M. Klausen: *Race, Maternity, and the Politics of Birth Control in South Africa, 1910-39*, pp.6;38.

⁴³ A. Grundlingh: “Afrikaner Nationalism and white politics”, in *South Africa in the 20th Century*, Chapter by, B.J. Liebenberg and S.B. Spies (editors), pp.278-9.

⁴⁴ J. Lambert: ““Their Finest Hour?” English-speaking South Africans and World War II”, *South African Historical Journal*, (60), (1), 2008, pp. 60;67.

⁴⁵ L. Kruger: “Gender, Community and Identity: Women and Afrikaner Nationalism in the Volksmoeder Discourse of *Die Boerevrou* 1919-1931,” (Masters of Social Science, University of Cape Town, March 1991).

⁴⁶ L. Kruger: “Gender, Community and Identity: Women and Afrikaner Nationalism in the Volksmoeder Discourse of *Die Boerevrou* 1919-1931,” (Masters of Social Science, University of Cape Town, March 1991), p.313.

further this idea that contextual factors influenced the phenomenon in saying that:

The *volksmoeder* concept played an important role at a time of tremendous change in Afrikaner society. In the aftermath of the South African War, the social, political and economic structures were in a state of flux and the *volksmoeder* ideal served as a stabilising and an inspirational force.⁴⁷

Marijke du Toit in her work on the Afrikaans Christelike Vroue Vereniging (ACVV) argues that while Afrikaans women have been portrayed as submissive in the construction of Afrikaner nationalism, they were in fact producers of these ideas of idealised motherhood in order to expand their influence. The activities of the ACVV from the 1920s indicate women moving from the domestic sphere into leadership roles in administrative, political, humanitarian and cultural organisations.⁴⁸

The political sphere has been a particularly popular field of examining the Afrikaner woman's use of the ideal to negotiate her position outside of the home. Louise Vincent suggests that English women were not the only force behind the suffragette movement in South Africa and emphasises that Afrikaans women were also actively involved in the process which resulted in white women gaining the right to vote in 1930. In their striving for the vote, she maintains that they also sought to expand the *Volksmoeder* ideal.⁴⁹ Deborah Gaitskell notices that though the suffrage movement was dominated by English women who expressed pro-British views, there were Afrikaans women involved, though the imperial elements of the South African suffragettes needed to be downplayed to include them.⁵⁰ Cherryl Walker's history of the suffrage movement in South Africa also indicates that one of the ways in which suffragettes provided incentive for their enfranchisement was by convincing opposition in society that increasing white women's influence would further their capacity to care for, and uplift their communities as a broader kind of mothering. Therefore, by 1930, when white women gained the vote in South Africa, women were not expected to restrict themselves to the home in their capacity as mothers.⁵¹

⁴⁷ R. van der Merwe: "Moulding *volksmoeders* or *volks* enemies? Female students at the University of Pretoria, 1920-1970," *Historia*, (56), (1), May, 2011, pp. 77-100, p.98.

⁴⁸ M. du Toit: "The Domesticity of Afrikaner Nationalism: *Volksmoeders* and the ACVV, 1904-1929," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (29), (1), March, 2003, pp. 155-176.

⁴⁹ L. Vincent: "A Cake of Soap: The *Volksmoeder* Ideology and Afrikaner Women's Campaign for the Vote," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, (32), (1), 1999, pp. 1-17.

⁵⁰ D. Gaitskell: "The Imperial Tie: Obstacle or Asset for South Africa's Women Suffragists before 1930?," *South African Historical Journal*, (47), November 2002, pp. 1-23.

⁵¹ C. Walker (ed.): *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*, pp.316;342

Vincent, in her article on working-class women, explored the role that working Afrikaner women played in promoting their identity as *Volkmoeders* as a political device, which led to the extension of a socially acceptable sphere of women's work beyond the home and some home-related charity work.⁵² Other works, such as "Mothering the 'nation': The public life of Isie 'Ouma' Smuts, 1899-1945" by Suryakanthie Chetty, also focus on the way in which women's domestic roles were accepted and utilised outside of the home as political devices and suitable involvement in public life.⁵³ Lindi Korf explores the life of D.F. Malan by acknowledging and examining the strongminded women that he surrounded himself with, extrapolating that they played a pivotal role in nurturing him and influencing him in ways which made his political career possible.⁵⁴ Elsabé Brink has presented the lives of the female garment workers employed on the Rand in a class-conscious description of their economic and social experiences.⁵⁵

An important work which explores the history of white English South African women is sociologist Cherryl Walker's study of the suffragette movement in South Africa.⁵⁶ Walker explains that British women that came to live in South Africa brought with them British ideals of womanhood which viewed the home as the dominion of the woman, a place which was separated from the sphere of politics and economic work, which belonged to men. Even outside of the home, she explains that this idea of womanhood meant that women were usually found in stereotypically feminine occupations such as teaching, cooking and making clothes.⁵⁷ Literature concerning English women in South Africa is, however, scarce. Other than an article by historian Kirsten McKenzie concerning the life of Eliza Fairbairn and ideas of domesticity in Cape Town in the 1800s, information concerning their home lives is also insufficient.⁵⁸ This study, however, shifts the focus to the interior lives of Afrikaans and English women, and seeks to explore the everyday in a space which has been characterised by attempts to emphasise

⁵² L. Vincent: "Bread and Honour: White Working Class Women and Afrikaner Nationalism in the 1930s," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (26), (1), March, 2000, pp. 61-78.

⁵³ S. Chetty: "Mothering the 'nation': The public life of isie 'Ouma' Smuts, 1899-1945," *African Historical Review*, (47), (2), 2015, pp.37-57.

⁵⁴ L. Korf: "Behind Every Man: D.F. Malan and the Women in his Life, 1874-1959," *South African Historical Journal*, (60), (3), 2008, pp.397-421.

⁵⁵ E. Brink: "'Maar n klomp 'factory' meide': Afrikaner Family and Community on the Witwatersrand during the 1920s," in *Class, Community and Conflict: South African Perspectives*, B. Bozzoli (editor), pp.177-208.

⁵⁶ C. Walker: "The women's suffrage movement", in *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*, C. Walker (editor).

⁵⁷ C. Walker: "The women's suffrage movement", in *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*, C. Walker (editor), pp. .318-319.

⁵⁸ K. McKenzie: "'My Own Mind Dying within Me': Eliza Fairbairn and the Reinvention of Colonial Middle-Class Domesticity in Cape Town," *South African Historical Journal*, (36), (1), pp.3-23.

political prowess alongside embarrassed avoidance or censure of domesticity. An understanding of home life is pursued through the evaluation of two largely untouched sources.

Sources

Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping and *Die Huisvrou* function as the two chief sources for this work. Both are magazines specifically addressed to housewives. Both were in print in the period being studied and neither have been utilised before. Although the English magazine based in Johannesburg (published by the Central News Agency) only started in 1935, it is used in conjunction with other sources such as cookbooks and the *South African Woman's Who's Who* to provide an impression of English-speaking white South African housewives. It is a source that stood apart from other English publications as one initiated by Mrs. Jeanette C. Slade with the specific goal of equipping South African women in the home. The *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa* recognises Mrs. Slade for being a “pioneer in domestic science”, an accolade which will be further discussed in a short biography of her life contained in the first chapter of this study.⁵⁹ The intentions of the magazine were stated in its first edition by Miss M. Higham, Head of Department Training College and School of Domestic Science, Witwatersrand Technical College and are worth quoting at length:

South African Good Housekeeping is a Magazine intended to supply, with respect to the South African home, a definite and long felt need, namely, a collection of lessons, hints and practical suggestions for the home, arranged in a comprehensive and easily readable manner. Demonstrations given for many years past by Government Home Economic experts and others have awakened in women a keen interest in domestic science. Other journals and magazines have also been in the habit of devoting a few pages to the subject, yet up to now, no journal has been entirely devoted to the South African Housewife, and it is with the object of helping to educate and lighten the burden of the South African women in her home, that this magazine is being launched on the sea of journalism.⁶⁰

By 1941, *Good Housekeeping*, as Mrs. Slade's magazine was commonly known, was advertised as the “official organ” of the Housewives League of South Africa,⁶¹ after the League's magazine was combined with the former magazine. The Housewives' League

⁵⁹D.J. Potgieter (Editor in Chief), P.C. du Plessis & J.J. Spies (Editors): *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, Volume 9 POP-SLA, Nasou Limited, 1973, Cape Town, p.656.

⁶⁰ Mrs. Slade: “Among ourselves,” *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (I), (1), April 1935, p.9.

⁶¹ The league started in 1933 and stated its intentions as a “Consumers' Vigilance Society” and a type of union that would protect housewives in the same way that trade unions protected men.

[Author Unknown]: “Calling All Housewives: Important Announcement”, *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (VII), (5), August 1941, pp.148-149.

justified this move by explaining that “[t]his excellent women’s magazine, which has a very large circulation, will now be used as a medium for opinion of the ordinary woman on matters dealing with food and other items closely touching the welfare of the home.”⁶² The large circulation being referred to by the quote can be supported by the extent to which the magazine was read in different parts of Africa and the world. One issue contained letters from readers in Wales, London, Natal, the Cape and the Transvaal.⁶³ The magazine had a section where women could write in and ask any questions they wished or give ideas with the best idea each week standing a chance to win a financial prize.⁶⁴ It often published ten or more letters in these sections and women would either specify their names or give a pseudonym, but usually they provided the town or area they came from. It is clear that Afrikaans women also read the magazine, as letters were often written to the magazine in Afrikaans and sometimes answered in the language too.⁶⁵ In 1941, a series of articles about nutrition even appeared in *Good Housekeeping* in Afrikaans.⁶⁶ Women wrote in to the magazine from small rural towns or villages such as Bredasdorp, Graskop, Morreesburg, Zebediela and Laingsburg, dominated by Afrikaans speakers, as well as cities such Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban. Some were also clearly writing from farms and just referenced the closest town or provided the area in which they were living.⁶⁷ Mrs. Slade herself grew up in the rural Cape with an English mother and Dutch father, before she moved to Johannesburg and later married an English man.⁶⁸ Socially impressive women also often contributed to the magazine by sending in recipes or writing of their travels, indicating the affluence of the contributors and readers as well as their aspirations. The magazine was in existence until 1948 by which time it seems to have been under the editorship of a man as the announcement at the end of the magazine read “The Editor and *his* staff...thank all readers” [emphasis added].⁶⁹

⁶² [Author Unknown]: “Calling All Housewives: Important Announcement”, *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (VII), (5), August 1941, p.148.

⁶³ [Various Contributors]: “Our postbag,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (VII), (3), June 1941, p.109

⁶⁴ [Various Contributors]: “Money for ideas,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (IV), (6), September 1938, pp.270;272.

⁶⁵ [Various Contributors]: “Questions and answers,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African good housekeeping*, (VI), (12), March 1941, p.398; 400; 401.

⁶⁶ Dr. Otto Schild: “Gesondheid is die Grootste Skat,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (VII), (9), December 1941, pp.316-7.

⁶⁷ “Money for ideas,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (IV), (6), September 1938, pp.270;272.; [Various Contributors]: “Questions and Answers,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, April 1944, (X), (1), p.12.

⁶⁸ *The Life of My Mother*, Jeanette C. van Duyn (Mrs H.M. Slade), date unknown, 40, 73410, Stellenbosch University Archives, p.4.

⁶⁹ Italization added. [Various Contributors]: *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (XIII), (12), March 1948, p.321

Die Huisvrou was one of the earliest Afrikaans magazines solely aimed at Afrikaans women, preceded only by *Die Boerevrou*, which started three years before, though it claimed to be the earliest.⁷⁰ *Die Boerevrou* was in existence from 1919 to 1931 and had a monthly circulation of 1000 at its peak.⁷¹ *Die Huisvrou*, known colloquially as “Die Pienkboekie” [The Pink Book] because of its pink cover, was published in Cape Town by Samuel Griffiths & Co. Ltd., and considered a conservative magazine for Christian mothers and their daughters.⁷² Minnie Donavan (nee de Smidt), is credited with being *Die Huisvrou*’s first editor.⁷³ She was married to the editor and founder of the English satirical weekly journal, *The Cape*, Irish-born Alfred Daniel Donavan. The journal was recognised as “fostering among English-speaking Cape Colonists the idea of a single loyalty to a South African nation.”⁷⁴ Minnie is also credited with writing articles in *The Cape* under the pseudonym “M”.⁷⁵ These indicate that though Minnie herself was Afrikaans, her marriage and allegiance with *The Cape* she held ideas of uniting English and Afrikaans communities in South Africa. According to the *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, she edited *Die Huisvrou* from 1922-1927 before it was taken over by a male editor known as M. Brisley who stayed at the helm until 1943.⁷⁶ A photo appeared in the December issue of the magazine in 1928 of a middle-aged woman with a pen in her hand with the caption “The Editress” and a Christmas message, which could indicate that the fact that the editor was in fact a male was kept from the readers, or that the information in the Encyclopaedia is incorrect.⁷⁷ Audrey Blignault, who was to become a well-known Afrikaans writer and poet, succeeded him and kept the position of editor until 1954. The *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa* explains that numerous early articles in *Die Huisvrou* were penned by famous

⁷⁰ [Author Unknown]: “Nog n jaar,” *Die Huisvrou*, 10 Mei 1932, (XI), (524), pp.1-2,

⁷¹ J. Van Rensburg & F. Pretorius: “Die ontstaan, bestuur en ontvangs van *Die Boerevrou*, die eerste Afrikaanse vrouetydskrif,” *S.A. Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis*, (26), (2), November 2012, p.171.

⁷² L. Kruger: “Gender, Community and Identity: Women and Afrikaner Nationalism in the Volksmoeder Discourse of *Die Boerevrou* 1919-1931,” (Masters of Social Science, University of Cape Town, March 1991), p.2.; D.J. Potgieter (Editor in Chief), P.C. du Plessis (Editor): *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, Volume 5 FOR-HUN, Nasou Limited, 1972, Cape Town, p.654.; [Author Unknown]: ““Die Huisvrou” se neende verjaardag,” *Die Huisvrou*, (X), (472), 12 Mei 1931, pp.1-2.

⁷³ D.W. Kruger (Hoofredakteur tot 1972), C.J. Beyers (sedert 1973), *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordboek*, Deel III, Tafelberg-Uitgewers BPK., 1977, p.242

⁷⁴ D.J. Potgieter (Editor in Chief), P.C. du Plessis (Editor): *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, Volume 4 DEV-FOR, Nasou Limited, 1971, Cape Town, p.67

⁷⁵ D.W. Kruger (Hoofredakteur tot 1972), C.J. Beyers (sedert 1973), *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordboek*, Deel III, Tafelberg-Uitgewers BPK., 1977, p.242

⁷⁶ D.J. Potgieter (Editor in Chief), P.C. du Plessis (Editor): *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, Volume 5 FOR-HUN, Nasou Limited, 1972, Cape Town, p.654.

⁷⁷ [A photo of the editor with a Christmas message]: *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (347), 18 December 1928, p.1.

Afrikaans authors under pseudonyms.⁷⁸ The first edition of the Afrikaans magazine provides an indication of the editorship's intentions for it, as well as sketching an impression of the time in which it was published.

[With the appearance of this first edition of a South African home magazine especially meant for Afrikaans women, it is desirable that we give a short overview of its purposes, its ideals and its special features.

Die Huisvrou will be, in the true sense of the words, a Home magazine. Politics and other contentious issues will not be touched in it. Because today there rests on women in South African, and in other countries, a great responsibility. Despite the fact that women's circles of interests and functions have widened, despite her greater freedom, and her new and various opportunities to act usefully, the greatest need today is for women as *housemothers*. The world is still restless after the abnormal war years. The aversion to domestic life and the consequences of the fatal World War appear no more sad than a changed view of women towards life, and morals and on the domestic virtues.

South Africa has suffered less than other countries. But here in our country it is apparent that the younger generation of women do not look on the quiet domestic life with a favourable eye - a life that provided their mothers with so much satisfaction. Also in South Africa, parents find it a difficult task to convince their daughters that the honourable profession of being a housewife and mother is the best and most useful one. The War provided the woman work outside the home: and when the War was over, woman was left there, restless, dissatisfied, without ground under her feet and with a fiery longing for pleasure, senseless enjoyment and unhealthy diversion, which many women learnt to enjoy outside their homes during the War.]⁷⁹

⁷⁸ D.J. Potgieter (Editor in Chief), P.C. du Plessis (Editor): *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, Volume 5 FOR-HUN, Nasou Limited, 1972, Cape Town, p.654.

⁷⁹ Unless otherwise specified, all translations are my own. The original text for this quote reads:

“Met die verskyning van hierdie eerste nommer van ’n Suidafrikaanse huisblad spesiaal bedoel vir Afrikaanse vrouens, is dit wenslik dat ons ’n kort uiteensetting gee van sy doel, sy ideale en sy spesiale kenmerke.

Die Huisvrou sal in die werklike sin van die woord ’n huisblad wees. Die politiek en ander betwisbare sake sal nie daarin aangeroe word nie. Want op die vrouens van Suid-Afrika, en ook ander lande, rus daar vandag ’n baie groot verantwoordelikheid. Ten spyte van die feit dat die vrou se kring van belange en werksaamhede wyer geword het, ten spyte van haar groter vryheid, en haar nuwe en verskillende geleenthede om nuttig op te tree, is die grootste behoefte vandag tog aan vrouens as *huismoeders*. Die wêreld is nog rusteloos na die verskriklikheid van die abnormale oorlogsjare. Die afkeer aan die huislike lewe en die gevolge van die noodlottige wêreldoorlog blyk miskien uit niks meer treurig, as uit die veranderde uitkyk van die vrou op die lewe, op die sedes en op die huislike deugde nie.

Suid-Afrika het weliswaar minder gelyk as ander lande. Maar ook hier in ons land is dit duidelik dat die jonger geslag van vrouens met geen gunstige oog neersien op die stil huislike lewe nie- ’n lewe wat hulle moeders soveel voldoening verskaf het. Ook in Suid-Afrika vind ouers dit ’n moeilike taak om hulle dogters te oortuig dat die eervolle beroep van huisvrou en moeder die beste en nuttigste is. Die oorlog het werk aan die vrou buitekant haar huis verskaf: en toe die oorlog oor was, is die vroulike geslag daar gelaat, rusteloos, ontevrede, sonder grond

Although *Die Huisvrou* promised in its first issue to avoid contentious topics, many were raised and debated. In 1926, Mrs. A.P. Fourie, the wife of the Administrator of the Cape, published a message in the magazine promoting it as a platform for South African women to express their opinion and concerns, especially those to do with the welfare of the *volk*. She also thanked the magazine for their work in uncertain times when young women were facing an uncertain future.⁸⁰

The readership of the magazines has not been available in any statistical data, but letters written to them provide information concerning their influence. *Die Huisvrou*'s lifespan of over 50 years is one indication of its popularity, another is that by the second year of its existence, when it invited readers to write into the magazine to inform the editorship of content references, women wrote in from various parts of the Union, including Mooiplaats, Paulpietersburg and Burgersdorp, to express their thoughts. One reader sent her suggestion from Maramba, Zambia.⁸¹ In 1931, a poem written in celebration of the magazine mentioned the receipt of hundreds of letters and every issue of the magazine had a page or more of photographs sent in by readers covering a range of different subjects including family, weddings, events, holidays and long hair.⁸² This was an element of the magazine that continued throughout the period studied, demonstrating a large number of readers taking the trouble to and desiring to contribute to the content.

In the study of these two magazines, something became apparent. Neither magazine made derogatory reference to the other language group. In fact, there was little to no reference in either to the other dominant white language group. The following quote found in *Die Huisvrou* instead indicates a comradery between the language groups:

Die heilige plig van elke Suid-Afrikaanse vrou is om n groot wit ras op te kweek, om huislike lewe te koester, om op die pragtige tradisies van die twee suster rasse, Hollands en Engels, te bou en,

onder haar voete en met n vurige verlange na plesier, sinlike genot en ongesonde afleidinge, wat baie vrouens gedurende die oorlog buitekant hulle huise leer geniet het.” [Author Unknown]: “Voorwoord: Die Huisvrou: n Blad vir Moeders,” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (1), 2 Mei 1922, pp.1-2.

⁸⁰ [Author given as Mev. A.P. Fouries, eggenote van die Administrateur van die Kaapprovinsie]: “n Boodskap van Mev. A.P. Fourie,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (242), 14 Desember 1926, p.6.

⁸¹ [Various Contributors]: “Onderlinge hulp en vrindskap bond: “Wat ek graag in “die Huisvrou” wil sien, en waarom?””, *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (100), 25 Maart 1924, p.21-22; [Various Contributors]: “Onderlinge Hulp en Vrindskap: “Wat ek graag in “Die Huisvrou” wil sien”, *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (101), 1 April 1924, pp.20-21.

⁸² C.E. Swanepoel: “Gedagtes Omtrent “Die Huisvrou””, *Die Huisvrou*, (X), (472), 12 Mei 1931, p.13.

as haar talente en geleenthede toelaat, haar belange uit te brei verder as haar eie huis, en die algemene kondisies help bevorder van die plek waar sy woon.⁸³

[The holy duty of every South African woman is to nurture a big white race, to foster domestic life, to build the beautiful traditions of the two sister races, Dutch and English, as her talents allow, to extend her concerns beyond her own house, and to advance the general conditions of the place where she lives.]

Die Huisvrou also advertised Mrs. Slade's cookbooks, demonstrating further links between them.⁸⁴

The political spheres of the magazines provide further insights into their readers as well as their interaction with the climate of the time. Compared with the *South African Lady's Pictorial and Home Journal*, an earlier English woman's magazine, Mrs. Slade's magazine was not as openly loyal to Britain and its monarchy. Before the Second World War few indications were given of allegiance to a specific political entity. During the war however, differences between the *Die Huisvrou* and *Good Housekeeping* became more pronounced as the English magazine turned much attention to the War effort, featuring articles from soldiers and encouraging involvement on the home front.⁸⁵ *Die Huisvrou* on the other hand, only contained references to the War almost incidentally, in the form of government-funded advertisements and mentions of food shortages, though it also featured an article celebrating Princess Elizabeth during that period.⁸⁶ The personal lives of the first editors of the two magazines also provide a nuanced political perspective. Both founding editors married men culturally different to themselves showing that integration between middle- to upper class English and Afrikaans was not unusual. Neither magazine clearly chastised or condescended the other white cultural group or claimed specific political affiliations, though *Die Huisvrou* obviously endorsed the Afrikaans language and cultural activities intended for Afrikaners only. Instead, both advocated a life based on seeking the good of the nation, with an ideology of allegiance to the South African

⁸³ [Author Unknown]: "Die Werk van Vrouens," *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (86), 18 Desember 1923, pp.27-29.

⁸⁴ [Author Unknown]: "Kookkuns: Die Huisvrou se Leeskamer," *Die Huisvrou*, 29 April 1930, (VIII), (418), p.28.

⁸⁵ [Author given as "Carrie Welcomes"]: "Home from the North," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (VII), (9), December 1941, p.337; H.S. Sergeant Steve Houthakker: "We owe our lives to the Red Cross," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (X), (3), June 1944, p.100.

⁸⁶ Marcha Schoeman: "Uitstaande Vroue in die Hedendaagse Wêreld: Koningin Bess die Tweede", *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1170), 3 Oktober 1944, p.1.

nation before any other underlying their content.⁸⁷ In the 1938 election, the United Party, which was characterised by attempts to unite white citizens, won the outright majority of seats in Parliament. The Second World War is therefore an important indicator of the political positions of the magazines as it was a time of division in United Party politics as prime minister J.B.M. Hertzog and deputy J.C. Smuts had opposing views on whether the Union should join the War. Hertzog took the stance that joining would indicate a problematic show of allegiance to Britain over South Africa, but ultimately Smuts defied his prime minister and called for the Union to enter the War, a motion which won by 13 votes in Parliament, indicating divisions within government along English and Afrikaans lines.⁸⁸ Ultimately these two magazines are used with cookbooks and other sources to collect information to create “constructions of what they [in this case South African Housewives] and their compatriots [were] up to”.⁸⁹

Conclusion

Two magazines will be utilised to provide an impression of the lives of the women that read them, the social expectations of and prescriptions for housewives and glimpses of their private lives- what they: cooked, ate, wore, celebrated and complained about, how they: relaxed, found a spouse, did housework, built a home and raised their children. For the large part, the English woman in South Africa in the first half of the 20th century has received very little attention, and comparisons between English and Afrikaans women inside the domestic sphere less still. The attention that white women have received has been centred around women’s activities outside of the home with much attention given to the idea of the *Volksmoeder*. This study therefore seeks to explore the domestic sphere of Afrikaans and English housewives from after the First World War to the end of the Second by *Die Huisvrou* and *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping* as primary sources.

⁸⁷ B.J. Liebenberg and S.B. Spies (editors): *South Africa in the 20th Century*, Chapter by A. Grundlingh: Afrikaner Nationalism and white politics, p.277.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* pp.278-9.

⁸⁹ Reworded from a quote from C. Geertz: *The Interpretation of Cultures*, p.28 in D. Wierling: “The History of Everyday Life and Gender Relations on Historical and Historiographical Relationships”, in *The History of Everyday Life*, Alf Lütke (editor), p.158.

Chapter 1

The Housewife Cooks

Introduction

Why did South African housewives cook? Who did they cook for? What did they cook? This chapter uses cooking, the preparation of food for consumption, as a lens to explore its role in the identity of English and Afrikaans housewives in South Africa in the period between the two World Wars. It is argued that cooking was not viewed as a necessary evil, but instead provided social agency and, for some, financial mobility. Concurrently, it was not contested that food was the realm of the housewife, instead, women employed the categorisation for their own progress. Other than *Gender, Modernity and Indian Delights: The Women's Cultural Group of Durban, 1954-2010* (2010), a book by historians Goolam Vahed and Thembisa Waetjen, which seeks to understand the interactions between food, cultural organisations, community and gender in Indian communities in South Africa, very little research exists to explore the relationships between food and women's identities.¹ Food was and is, however, such an integral part of the lives and identities of women in South Africa, across all spectrums of society. For the first 23 years of the existence of *Die Huisvrou*, few elements of the magazine remained constant. One of those that did was articles to do with food - its preparation, nutritional value and consumption. The magazines also approached food preparation as an increasingly serious endeavour as they, and South African cookbooks produced in and around the World Wars, came to emphasise the importance of scientific method in cookery. Firstly, a brief biography of Jeanette Corbet Van Duyn, later Mrs H.M. Slade, provides a glimpse into the role that food preparation played in the lives of housewives. She was the founder and editor of *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, and called herself an "Instructor in Household Science".² The chapter will then discuss cooking as a means of providing social connections and a career as well as scientific, educational and competitive opportunities in the representations in the magazines. At the centre of all this is the question of what it meant to be a housewife to these women and how food and its preparation, consumption and provision contributed to details of their daily lives.

¹ G. Vahed & T. Waetjen: *Gender, Modernity and Indian Delights: The Women's Cultural Group of Durban, 1954-2010*, HSRC Press, Cape Town, 2010.

² J.C. Van Duyn: *The Household Science Cookery Book*, 1916, introduction.

Jeanette C. Van Duyn

Van Duyn's life offers a rich narrative of the changes that were taking place in society which resulted in a heightened prominence of food preparation in the lives of women. A letter from Jeanette van Duyn's daughter addressed to the Domestic Sciences Department at Stellenbosch University illuminates the life of an independent and industrious woman which was dominated by her involvement with food. Jeanette C. van Duyn was born in 1885 in Porterville, a rural agricultural village in the Cape, as the child of a Dutch father and Cape-born English, mother. Her mother worked as a teacher to provide the sole income for the family of eight children. After the death of her parents, the remaining Van Duyn family members found themselves in Pretoria without an income. Jeanette, the eldest of her siblings, had to find a job in order to care for the younger children. Her daughter wrote: "my mother was one of the first girls in the country to get a full-time office job..."³ It is worth quoting the account of the start of Jeanette's career at length, which took place while she was working as the assistant to the editor of the *Transvaal Agricultural Journal*, a position which she held from 1903⁴:

General Louis Botha took an interest in her and it was his idea that my mother should be sent to Canada to study Domestic Science...General Botha was disturbed by the fact that so few women were scientifically educated and had little knowledge of the importance of diet and nutrition. He decided that my mother should be sent overseas to study so that she could come back to the Union of South Africa and teach other women what she had learnt [...]

Before this could be agreed on, however, General Botha had to have the approval of Parliament and my mother enjoyed telling the story of the rather heated debate that took place on the subject. One irate member said indignantly, "Why do we have to spend so much money on this girl? Can't her mother teach her how to cook?" However, General Botha got his way and some time, about 1911 I think it was, Jeanette van Duyn was sent to MacDonald College in the Province of Quebec, Canada. There she obtained her Diploma in Home Economics.⁵

The *Dictionary of South African Biography* explains that Miss van Duyn was first noticed by General Botha, the Minister of Agriculture at the time and later the first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, after he read her column written for women living in rural parts of the

³ Life of My Mother, Jeanette C. van Duyn (Mrs H.M. Slade), date unknown, 40, 73410, Stellenbosch University Archives, p.1.

⁴ Institute for Historical Research: *Dictionary of South African Biography Vol.V.*, (Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, 1987), p.713.

⁵ The Life of My Mother, Jeanette C. van Duyn (Mrs H.M. Slade), date unknown, 40, 73410, Stellenbosch University Archives, pp.1-2.

country. Although the quote refers to Jeanette's education being discussed in parliament, evidence of this could not be found and the incident is not referred to in the dictionary. It gives the date of her studies in Canada as 1909-1911 with her appointment by the Department of Agriculture taking place in 1911. One of her cookbooks, *Canning, Preserving, Pickling and Fruit Desserts*, introduced her as "Former Government Lecturer and Instructor in Household Science" in 1921, and also mentioned her having a diploma for MacDonald College in Quebec.⁶ Her job description in the *Dictionary of South African Biography* conveys the astounding extent of her contributions. It relayed her involvement in: lecturing and demonstration tours, performing the role of judge at the domestic science section of agricultural shows (and pains are taken to note that she initiated a system of scoring cards to give marks) and paving the way as the first, and for a long time only, domestic scientist in the department of agriculture. They saw her as a vigorous force in improving the lot of women- "[s]he also advocated the establishment of women's organisations, and made it her objective to improve conditions in the home, to rouse more interest in home activities and to motivate women to show goodwill and to exhibit a greater sense of solidarity (especially among those on isolated farms)."⁷ While working for the Department of Agriculture after her return from Canada, she travelled around South Africa in a train, provided by the government, which was specially designed for demonstrations. It had a fully equipped kitchen in one carriage and the one side of the carriage would fold down to educate and entertain enthralled crowds of women in towns all over the Union. Women arrived in their hundreds dressed in their finest, and watching the demonstrations appears to have been considered a highlight on their social calendar.⁸

These demonstrations were not just a means of teaching women about the importance of nutritious food and correct food preparation techniques, they were also used by the government to promote the use of certain foods that were in excess at any given time. Jeanette's daughter writes that: "During times when there were surpluses of different commodities it was my mother's function to promote these foodstuffs. For instance, I can remember when there was a big egg surplus, my mother travelled hundreds of miles on behalf of the Government showing women how to prepare eggs in different, appetising ways. In connection with this promotion

⁶ J. C. Van Duyn: *Canning, Preserving, Pickling and Fruit Desserts*, The Commercial Printing Co., Durban, 1921. (Title Page)

⁷ Institute for Historical Research: *Dictionary of South African Biography Vol.V.*, (Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, 1987), p.714.

⁸ *Life of My Mother*, Jeanette C. van Duyn (Mrs H.M. Slade), date unknown, 40, 73410, Stellenbosch University Archives, p.3.

of products she published a booklet in 1929 entitled *100 Novel Ways of Cooking Eggs and Young Table Birds*.⁹ Another booklet she wrote which supports this phenomenon is called *100 Potato Recipes*. Women were encouraged to preserve fruits and vegetables that would otherwise go to waste. An excerpt from her book *Home Fruit Canning and Preserving* reads: “there is no country in the world where a greater variety of fruit is grown than in South Africa, not better flavoured, and therefore it is to be deplored that such large quantities of fruit are allowed to go to waste every fruit season.”¹⁰ The rigours and importance of preserving foods and dealing with surpluses in the lives of South African housewives will be discussed later on in this chapter and in the next, but here it is noted that women like Jeanette were employed to perform a type of food propaganda role, initiating relationships between the government and the diet of the Union’s citizens.

In 1914 Miss Jeanette C. Van Duyn became Mrs H.M. Slade when she married Herbet Mabin Slade, an English attorney that is said to have supported his wife’s prolific career. His sister, May Slade, cared for their children and ran their household as Jeanette was often away on business.¹¹ Marriage and the birth of two daughters (in 1920 and 1922) does not seem to have slowed Jeanette down. According to her daughter, Jeanette travelled to England to run an orangeade stall at the British Empire Exhibition at the Wembley Stadium in London to promote South African oranges in 1924-5. The South African pavilion was extremely well-attended, with over 20 000 people visiting a day, and played a role in promoting South Africa as a tourist destination.¹² The *Dictionary of South African Biography* acknowledges that Mrs Slade represented South Africa at the exhibition, and that Queen Mary’s tasting “Koesisters”¹³ for the first time had something to do with her, but only makes mention of oranges in saying that

⁹ The Life of My Mother, Jeanette C. van Duyn (Mrs H.M. Slade), date unknown, 40, 73410, Stellenbosch University Archives, p.3.

¹⁰ Jeanette C. van Duyn (Mrs. H.M.): “Home” Fruit canning and preserving, Issued by the Union glass Ltd., Talana, Natal, p.4.

¹¹ The Life of My Mother, Jeanette C. van Duyn (Mrs H.M. Slade), date unknown, 40, 73410, Stellenbosch University Archives, p.4.

¹² G.H. Pirie: “Elite Exoticism: Sea-rail Cruise Tourism to South Africa, 1926-1939,” *African Historical Review*, (43), (1), 2011, p.76.

¹³ “Koesusters” are considered a traditional South African treat, today known as “koeksusters”, and made from a bread-type dough which is plaited, fried and then soaked in a sticky syrup. It appears that in the first quarter of the 20th century, their recipe was still being formalized. Mrs. Tulleken’s recipe from the 1920’s reads as follows: “5 cups flour, 5 eggs, 1 cup butter, 1 teaspoon baking powder. Rub butter into the flour, add well-beaten eggs; mix the baking powder with the flour, roll out, cut into squares, and bake in a deep pot of fat.” S. Van H. Tulleken: *The Practical Cookery Book for South Africa, approximately 1923*, p.66.

Hester Claassens furthers the discussion around the confusion in the emergence of the Koeksuster in her PhD. H. W. Claassens: “Die Geskiedenis van Boerekos 1652-1806,” (Doctorate of Philosophy in Cultural History, University of Pretoria, 2003), p.355.

she organised and managed the “Citrus Pavilion” at the Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg in 1936.¹⁴ However, before the Second World War, 70% of all citrus produced in the Union was exported, primarily to the United Kingdom.¹⁵

In 1935, Jeanette started *Mrs Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping* and managed it as editor. It contained a mixture of articles about food, recipes, tips for making clothing, hospitality, homemaking, curing ailments and a trade directory. According to *The South African Woman’s Who’s Who*, Jeanette hoped that the magazine would benefit women that lived in rural areas and could therefore not easily attend her various and numerous demonstrations.¹⁶ Her live demonstrations made it onto the silver screen in the 1930s and in 1938, an advertisement for the screening of her filmed demonstrations appeared in the November edition of her magazine (see figure 1.1).¹⁷ Her magazine also featured demonstration-styled cake-making lessons which included photographs of the different stages of the baking process (see figure 1.2). She also spent her time lecturing at Women’s Institutes, as the organising secretary of the Union Household Science Congress, being a member of the Pretoria Women’s Co-operative Home Industries and of the Pretoria Country club as well as using her spare time to dabble in music, tennis and carpentry.¹⁸ Mrs Slade spent much time close to those in the upmost echelons of South African society revealing a position of distinction gained through her achievements and not the social class she was born into. She founded the Transvaal Home Industries Movement with Lady Buxton, the wife of the second Governor-General of the Union of South Africa,¹⁹ and this movement was affiliated with the

¹⁴ Institute for Historical Research: *Dictionary of South African Biography Vol.V.*, (Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, 1987), p.714.

¹⁵ J.M. Tinley: *South African Food and Agriculture in World War II*, p.39.

¹⁶ *The South African Woman’s Who’s Who*, p.349.

¹⁷ Unfortunately, these filmed demonstrations have not been found, not for lack of trying especially through contact with the National Film Archives.

¹⁸ T.H. Lewis: *Women of South Africa: A historical, educational & industrial encyclopaedia & social directory of the women of the subcontinent*, p.273.

¹⁹ Little information has been found concerning the life of Lady Buxton or her relationship with Mrs. Slade other than a reference to her husband’s life and a brief mention of her in the *Dictionary of South African Biography*, where her full name is given as Mildred Anne Smith, as well as a section in the introduction to *The Household Science Cookery Book* dedicated to her. In her introduction, Jeanette wrote: “Lastly I have to thank her Excellency Viscountess Buxton for her kindness in contributing to the Preface to my book. Ever since her arrival in South Africa, Lady Buxton has taken a practical and sympathetic interest in the welfare of the women of the Union as well as in the promotion of Household Science, and has greatly encouraged me in my work.” Lord Buxton was also known to be close friends with General Louis Botha and wrote the first Botha biography.

Lady Buxton was also featured in the “Share your recipes” section of *Good Housekeeping*, the biographical section emphasized the fact that she founded the Transvaal Home Industries and that the success of all she did was attested to her “personal magnetism, unflagging interest and unbounded faith in the womanhood of the country.”

Women's Institute in Europe and America.²⁰ The first branch of the Women's Institute started in Canada in 1897 and *Die Huisvrou* magazine saw it as a means of, especially rural, women sharing their skills in making butter, bread, preserves, clothes and keeping livestock, poultry and honey and other daily tasks in order to make the demands of everyday life simpler for themselves.²¹

Mrs Slade contributed to the war effort during the Second World War by fulfilling the role of Captain/Acting Major and supervising the training the chefs of the South African Defence Force.²² At the age of 62, in 1947, she was asked to draw up the menu for a typically South African dinner to feed the Royal Family at the Government house in Pretoria on their visit to South Africa. Dishes such as *Koeksusters*, *Babotee* and *Watermelon Konfyt* were a taste of the local fare being served.²³ According to Grundlingh and Sapire, the Royal Tour to South Africa in 1947 was used to promote unity amongst whites in the Union by infusing it with the idea of "South Africanism". "South Africanism" called for a national white identity underpinned by an appreciation of bilingualism and the efforts of both the English and Afrikaners to the formation of the South African Nation.²⁴ Slade's involvement in the tour by her contributions of typical South African dishes to the dinner could be seen to indicate support of this unified cause and the government behind its orchestration. At the end of a busy and fruitful life, Jeanette C. Slade died in 1959. Her last book, *Cakes and Puddings*, was published in 1951. In the introduction to *Cakes and Puddings* she conveys the significance that she attested to food and its preparation to the lives of women:

In presenting this book to the women of South Africa, I do so with a great deal of love and the sincere wish that it will prove a real help and constant friend.

It embraces the results of years of experiments and research work. [...] Wishing you every success with this fascinating and all-absorbing work in which every housewife should excel.

Lady Buxton: "Share your recipes", *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (i), (9), December 1935, p.386; J.C. Van Duyn: *The Household Science Cookery Book*, 1916, introduction., Editor-in-Chief (W.J. de Kock (until 1970) and D.W. Kruger (since 1971), *Dictionary of South African Biography Vol. II.*, published for the Human Sciences Research Council, Tafelberg-Uitgewers LTD. 1968-1981, pp.113-114.

²⁰ *The South African Woman's Who's Who*, p.349.

²¹ [Author Unknown]: "Wat vrouens doen vir vrouens in andere lande," *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (185), 10 November 1927, p.7.

²² Institute for Historical Research: *Dictionary of South African Biography Vol.V.*, p.714.

²³ *The Life of My Mother*, Jeanette C. van Duyn (Mrs H.M. Slade), date unknown, 40, 73410, Stellenbosch University Archives, p.4.

²⁴ A. Grundlingh & H. Sapire: "Rebuffing the royals? Afrikaners and the Royal Visit to South Africa in 1947", forthcoming in the *Journal of Commonwealth and Imperial History*, 2017, pp.5-6.

Mrs Slade's productive career spanned across the two World Wars and provides much to discuss. Food enabled the creation of social and economic significance to a woman that grew up as the eldest of eight on her mother's meagre teaching salary. Her life shows that food and the domestic sphere were not restrictive or curbing, but rather enabling components in her life and potentially the lives of other women she interacted with. In rural and urban areas women moved out of their homes and interacted as a community to attend her demonstrations, while she travelled, gained an education and wrote numerous books. Synchronously, it is evident that food preparation was limited to women in the domestic realm despite Mrs Slade using it as an empowering factor in her life. The abovementioned quote also indicates the pressure placed on women to "excel" in the realm of cookery and the emphasis that was placed on food preparation as a valid occupation.

Cooking as Social Connectedness

A section of Mrs Slade's Magazine, called "Share your recipes" further illuminates the social importance of food in the South African housewife's life, especially during the 1930s. English speaking women, in particular, seemed to have viewed cooking and hospitality as a means of gaining and maintaining social connections. "Share Your Recipes" appeared in early editions of Mrs Slade's magazine and it provided a platform for women, usually those with an impressive curriculum vitae concerning their involvement in society, to share their tried and tested recipes with readers. The sharing of recipes through *Good Housekeeping* appears to have been a way of demonstrating social standing as each article contained a few recipes but was chiefly focussed on a brief biography of one prominent woman (or the wife of a prominent man through which she had gained prominence). Each of these biographies had a few common themes that were highlighted, namely: the position of each women's husband in society and/or their own familial history, their involvement in "women's work", reference to the importance of the home and often the nature and extent of their famed hospitality. It is worth quoting a few examples at length to provide a taste of the strange convergence of recipes, essentially the cooking prowess of the women being spoken of, and her social standing. In January 1939, the recipes of Mrs. Sydney Hodgkiss appeared in the magazine. The following biography appeared under her photo:

Mrs. Sidney Hodgkiss, formerly Miss Elizabeth Ann McKenzie, hails from the Highlands of Scotland, her forbears belonging to one of the old Scottish families. Mrs. Hodgkiss came to this country with her parents only a few years ago and until her marriage, last year, she resided in the Cape Peninsula. Her

husband is a member of one of the old Cape families. Mrs Hodgkiss takes a very keen interest in all matters pertaining to the Home, and the various branches of women's work. She is a member of the National Council of Women and the Homecraft's Association; she is also an enthusiast in upholding and forwarding the rights of her fellow women.²⁵

Her recipes, or their names, do not appear to be especially inspiring. "Powsowdie (Sheeps' Head Broth)" and "Cock-A-Leekie", a fowl stew with lots of prunes and leeks, appear alongside the seemingly simple "Caledonian Cream" - egg whites, various berry jams and sugar beaten together. The claimed purpose of the section was to "invite readers to send in their favourite and most-prized recipes..." and that through the sharing of recipes they could "collect and disseminate and so also help to preserve many [...] national dishes, for which our ancestors have been renowned".²⁶ Food was therefore utilised by the magazine to attempt to construct a type of culinary unity and nationalism, albeit one that emphasised European heritage. All readers were invited to write in to contribute, but it seems that either all readers that felt an urge to contribute had remarkable histories or the magazine only chose to feature those from "old" families or those involved in politics in some way or another. Being involved in associations, contributing to the forwarding of women's rights and cooking and hosting were clearly celebrated as part of being impressive as an English woman. But the biographies also repeatedly emphasise women's social position alongside their "wonderful creative ability as far as cookery is concerned" and "hospitality [...] well known in the surrounding district."²⁷ Each month a new and impressive woman appeared in this section which used ostentatious language to express their perceived accomplishments. The next two are particularly flowery while also providing a clear glimpse into the social ambitions and protocols of women at the time:

The wife of our famous horse breeder, Mrs. Nourse has always taken a keen and lively interest in everything pertaining to woman's work, and was one of the pioneer judges of the homecraft section at the Witwatersrand agricultural show. She is justly renowned for her canned fruits, preserves, chrystallised fruits, etc. In fact, she is a born genius in cookery and evolves the most artistic and dainty dishes suitable for any occasion from the merest snacks. She is noted for her keen wit and sense of humour

²⁵ S. Hodgkiss: "Share Your Recipes," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, January 1939, (iv), (10), p.396.

²⁶ P.J. Van Duyn: "Share Your Recipes," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, August 1938, (iv), (5), p.194.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p.196.

and is considered one of the most successful hostesses on the Rand.²⁸

Mrs. F.J. Moller, M.B.E. Well known in Johannesburg, was the first chairwoman of the Women's Sections of the Witwatersrand Agricultural Society under the Presidency of Lady Phillips. She has been a staunch advocate of cookery being taught at schools since 1889, and was responsible for starting the cookery demonstrations in the Roof Garden, City Hall, Johannesburg, in 1918, when she founded the Johannesburg branch of the "Transvaal Home Industries," now known as the Women's Institute of Home-Crafts. She also officiated as Judge at Agricultural Shows all over the Union for many years.²⁹

Other biographies included a Mrs. Mackie who was involved in organising the Empire Exhibition in 1936 in Milner Park, Johannesburg and noted for being well-travelled, especially in South American countries, which apparently equipped her to be an expert in comparing cultures of the southern hemisphere.³⁰ Mrs. Edith O'Conner was hailed as being appointed to the Egg Levy Advisory Board by the Minister of Agriculture and celebrated for her successful farming practices involving a dairy and growing cattle, sheep and mealies.³¹ The wife of the famous South African artist, J.H. Pierneef, also appeared in the magazine and she was credited for being an excellent hostess to a broad and varied set of cosmopolitan people with her expertise in Dutch cooking.³² Women were celebrated for being good, or "genius", cooks, as cooking and hosting were clearly notable accomplishments in and of themselves. But cookery also provided a socially acceptable springboard which offered space for acknowledging and commending women's artistry, innovation, education, industry, expertise, travelling, high-flying jobs and involvement in agriculture. An article in *Good Housekeeping* called "Are you a good hostess?" started with the words: "[i]t is probably one of the dearest desires of every woman to be known as a good hostess, and yet, how few are really worthy of that title".³³ The quote shows the extent to which hosting was seen as an important and competitive activity that

²⁸ H. Nourse: "Share Your Recipes," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (i), (3), June 1935, p.99.

²⁹ F.J. Moller: "Share Your Recipes," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (i), (6), September 1935, p.290.

³⁰ A. C. Mackie: "Share your recipes," *Mrs Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (i), (10), January 1936, p.434.

³¹ E. O'Connor: "Share Your Recipes," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (ii), (2), May 1936, p.50.

³² J.H. Pierneef: "Share Your Recipes," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (i), (7), October 1935, p.242.

³³ B. Callaghan: "Are you a Good Hostess?," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (v), (10), 1940, p.338.

required a certain level of skill and proficiency which women were supposed to be eager to attain. Both magazines also show that providing food in social settings was something which women without social standing could use to gain connections they aspired to.

Die Huisvrou shows, though not as blatantly, that hosting was also an essential part of being an Afrikaans housewife. In the 1930s, the magazine began to feature articles about entertaining, especially around special times of the year. Picnicking seems to have been a particularly favoured means of celebrating any occasion. The magazine featured photographs of cheerful-looking family picnics sent in by readers as well as articles with ideas of what to put into the picnic basket.³⁴ Suggestions for the contents of the basket included: sosaties (which were pre-marinated and then “braaied” at the picnic site), fruit salad, homemade rolls with butter, homemade pineapple syrup and for a specific Easter picnic- hot cross buns, something which directly translates to fruit cake pudding (“vrugtekoekpoeding”) and Easter sandwich cake (“Paaskoek Toebroodjie”).³⁵ Hosting was viewed as a means of being creative as can be seen by particular effort that was put into organising parties and other entertainment for children. One article explains, in detail, the specifics of organising a Christmas party for children by listing: what the invitations should look like, ideas for games, different types of decorations for the home, what time the party should take place and most importantly, the food that should be eaten. It was explicitly stipulated that the tea served should not be overly rich, in which case castor oil would need to be administered the following day. Instead foods such as jelly in halved and hollowed oranges, weak tea, lemon syrup, milk, scones with cream and jam and slices of bread spread with butter and sprinkled with hundreds and thousands (colourful, usually spherical, mini-sugar sprinkles) were recommended.³⁶ Various articles appeared with suggestions of menus for different types of occasions and often started with an introduction that elucidated the nuances of hosting to the magazine’s readers.

Wanneer vakansiedae aanbreek en gaste begin arriveer soek elke huisvrou na resepte vir heerlike, oorspronklike geregte ten einde hul gaste en huisgenote te verras met heerlike geregte wat hul nog nooit tevore geproe het nie.³⁷

³⁴ [Author unknown]: “Onderlinge hulp en Vriendskap Bond,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XII), (592), 22 Augustus 1933, p.18

³⁵ Mirle: “Kookkuns: Vir die Paas Piekniekmandjie,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (724), 10 Maart 1936, p.26; Author unknown: “Kookkuns: Ons gaan hou Piekniek,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (674), 2 April 1935, p.27.

³⁶ [Author Unknown]: “’n Krismis party vir die kinders en hoe om dit te reël,” *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (86), 18 Desember 1923, pp.37-38

³⁷ Lucelle: “Lekkernye vir die Paas Vakansie,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XXI), (1094), 20 April 1943, p.18.

[When holidays start and guests begin arriving, each housewife seeks recipes for delicious, original dishes in order to surprise their guests and household with tasty dishes that they have never tasted before.]

Housewives were not merely trying to ensure that their household and guests were fed, but rather they desired to provide novel experiences and impress guests with the splendours of what had been prepared for them. Despite being published during a time of food shortages caused by the Second World War, this article indicates the extent to which hospitality played a role in a housewife's measure of her own success.

Cooking as a career

Through *Die Huisvrou* it is found that housewives were also using food to provide an income for themselves. Jams and other types of preserves were particularly popular products in this economy. The government played some part in this as they encouraged the preservation of fresh fruit and vegetables at home to prevent food wastage, especially of citrus fruits and yellow peaches. The home industries movement in South Africa furthered the process with the forming of co-operatives to provide platforms for women to sell their products.³⁸ It seems that South African preserved fruit and “konfyt” became world famous by the 1920s and at the Wembley Exhibition (the same one that Mrs Slade attended) there was a great demand for “mebos”,³⁹ “appelliefies” preserve and other South African products.⁴⁰ Dried foods and those preserved by cooking with sugar were easy to transport, maintained their flavour and lasted for months in a time before vacuum packing and cold chains (refrigerators in homes only seem to have

³⁸ The government began publishing various bulletins about different aspects of food preparation. One called “Preserving of Fruits and Vegetables” was brought out in 1934/5 by the Department of Agriculture and Forestry, (Compiled by the Home Economics Section of the Division of Agricultural Education and Extension), The Government Printer, Pretoria, 1935. G.P.-S.9657-8/12/34-3,000. Bulletin No.92. (Mrs Slade's daughter believes that her mother is the author – nothing on the document confirms this except for the note printed in bold on the contents page “All measurements must be taken level”- notable as she was famously fastidious about levelling all measuring.

³⁹ Mebos is a South African salty, sweet and sour treat made from a method which included the drying and processing of Apricots. Today Mebos is made from minced fruit compressed into a roll which is quite different to the following recipes found in S. Van H. Tulleken's *The Practical Cookery Book for South Africa*. “**Mebos**-Lay very ripe apricots in strong brine overnight, strong enough to float a potato. Next morning rub off the skins and put them in the sun to dry. After a day in the sun the stones must be pressed out, and 2 apricots pressed against each other, shaping them nicely with the hands. Leave them to dry- 4 or 5 days in the sun should be sufficient. Never leave them out in the rain or at night.

To chrySTALLISE them.- Lay them in limewater for about 5 minutes. Remove them and wipe them dry with a cloth; now roll them in sugar and pack them away with thick layers of sugar in between. They can be packed in jars or boxes.”

S. Van H. Tulleken: *The Practical Cookery Book for South Africa*, 1945, pp.318-319.

⁴⁰ [Author Unknown]: “Werkers tuis en hoe hulle self kan help,” *Die Huisvrou*, (V), (203), 16 Maart 1926, pp.1-2.

become common in the late 1930s in South Africa).⁴¹ Success in the South African sugar industry and a greater understanding of the properties of sugar as a preservative meant that sugar was readily and relatively cheaply available.⁴² The deciduous fruit industry in the Union experienced very difficult times during the Second World War because it relied heavily on exports to Europe, especially the United Kingdom. Before the war, the British government had commissioned growers and agents for deciduous fruits, but during the War, it was classed as a luxury which resulted in plummeting exports. The British did, however, express an eagerness to import sizeable amounts of jam and dried, canned and pulped fruit. Fruit taken to be dried increased from 774 short tons in 1940/41 to 9 677 short tons in 1941/2 and, pertinently, fruit put into local markets increased from 3 756 short tons in 1940/1 to 19 921 short tons in 1944/5. The export of fruit preserves increased drastically during the Second World War from less than 1 000 tons before, to 19 223 tons per year from 1940-42 and 45 291 tons per year from 1943-45.⁴³ All of this meant that jams and preserving food in other ways was seen as a valid and accessible means of making money for women and the job description, of making preserves for a living, even appeared in articles about choosing careers for one's daughters.⁴⁴

In December 1926, “Die Suidafrikaanse Vroue Konfyt en Inmaak Vereniging” (SVKIV- own acronym) [The South African Women's preserve and preserving association] placed an article/advertisement in *Die Huisvrou*. Discussions over nomenclature provide a hint of the fastidiousness which was becoming conventional among housewives with regards to matters relating to food, although the use of the word “preserve” sounds strange to South African ears,

⁴¹ An article from 1930 explained that owning a refrigerator was considered the best way of storing foods and keeping them fresh, but that very few people could afford them and one in 1932 gave tips on how to make a cooling cupboard to keep foods fresh which furthers the idea that very few people owned one. But by 1943 recipes are calling for foods to be cooled in the refrigerator and an illustration of a woman getting something out of a fridge appears in an article in *Die Huisvrou*. A section in *Foods and Cookery* about making ice-cream first appeared in the early 1930s and was still a part of the 1939 edition of the book. The method used to make ice-cream required the use of salt and ice which were crushed together. The crushed mixture was then put into what was called “a freezer” and the bowl of unfrozen ice-cream would be placed into the freezer until it set. [Author unknown]: “Die sorg vir Voedsel,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (243), 29 Julie 1930, p.14.; [Author Unknown]: “Wenke vir die Huisvrou,” *Die Huisvrou*, (X), (507), 12 Januarie 1932, p.24.; H. Van W.: “Die Hoogtepunt van die Maaltyd,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1119), 12 Oktober 1943, p.18.; Miss S. Naudé: “Die aanvulling an Vleis in die Dieët,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1100) 1 Junie 1943, p.18.; Union of South Africa Department of Agriculture and Forestry: *Foods and Cookery*, Compiled by the Home Economics Officers of the division of Agricultural Education and Extension, Government Printer, Pretoria, Union of South Africa, 1937, G.P.S.10645-1937-1,000, p.117.

⁴² P. Richardson: “The Natal Sugar Industry, 1849-1905: An Interpretative Essay,” *The Journal of African History*, (23), (4), 1982, pp. 515-527; S. W. Mintz: *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History*, pp.123; 187.

⁴³ J.M. Tinley: *South African Food and Agriculture in World War II*, pp.26;37;39.

⁴⁴ [Author unknown]: “Loopbane vir Meisies,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (198), 9 Februarie 1926, pp.1-2.

translating the Afrikaans word “Konfyt” to the English word “Jam” is not wholly appropriate as the piece itself explains:

Konfyt: Baie mense neem geelperskes dan snipper hulle dit op en kook dit, dis heerlik, maar dis nie konfyt nie en ook nie “jam” nie. Konfyt is vrugte wat heel of half in ’n taai dik stroop lê, en “jam” is heeltemal fyn. Sommige vrugte moet gerasp of gemaal word vir die doel.⁴⁵

[Preserves: Many people take yellow peaches and snip them up and cook them, it is delicious, but that is not a preserve nor is it a “jam”. A preserve is whole or halved fruit that is preserved in a thick and sticky syrup and jam is completely fine. Some fruits must be grated or minced for the purpose.]

A cookbook, *The Practical Cookery book for South Africa* by S. Van H. Tulleken, in its 18th edition in 1945, contains a “konfyt” section, and no mention is made of preserves, which is indicative of the differing nomenclature and the untranslatable nature of some Afrikaans words. The section contains a staggering 37 “konfyt” recipes as well as 27 jam recipes and 16 marmalade recipes.⁴⁶ Making preserves was clearly considered a valuable activity and advertisements appearing during the Second World War asking women to refrain from wasting their energy on jam making, encouraging them to spend it on the war effort instead, alludes to the time that was consumed by preserving.⁴⁷

The article submitted by the SVKIV explained the process of making preserves as well as introducing women to the opportunity to make money from home by making jam and thereby also reduce the wastage of fruit in South Africa. It is presented as something that not only the well-educated and wealthy women could do, but instead was accessible to all women, married or unmarried. This is noteworthy as women were expected to stop working when they married. The finished products would be exported to England, the rest of Europe and to America where, the secretary of the association explained, there existed a great demand for homemade products of that kind. The association encouraged women to start branches of 25-30 members and if there were enough branches, the association would ask the government for a year’s worth of working capital. Then they would start a central agency in Pretoria that would send the correct bottles, sugar (provided at a lower price by Sir Hulett (the sugar magnate) himself)

⁴⁵ Mev. J. Bosman: “Die Suidafrikaanse Vroue Konfyt en Inmaak Vereniging,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (243), 21 Desember 1926, p.6.

⁴⁶ S. Van H. Tulleken: *The Practical Cookery Book for South Africa*, 1945, pp.xxxiv-xxxvi.

⁴⁷ [Advertisement for Hugo’s Canned Products]: *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (x), (4), July 1944, p.145.

and rubber seals to the branches where women would be able to obtain them at cost price. The responsibility of the branch was to then buy back the finished products if they were up to the association's standards. The SVKIV provided a booklet with specifications, such as the description of the difference between jam and "konfyt" quoted above, detailing how each product was to be made.⁴⁸

The fixation with preserving permeated the lives of English and Afrikaans housewives. *Die Huisvrou* provided numerous recipes for jam and preserves and when Jeanette van Duyn's 5th edition of the *Household Science Cookery Book* was reviewed in the magazine, special attention was drawn to her chapter on preserving fruit and making jam.⁴⁹ Mrs Slade also started a school in Arcadia, Pretoria, in 1927, which offered courses in preserving fruit, which was called the "Inmaak Skool" [Preserving School] by *Die Huisvrou*. The school attracted female students of all ages from all over South Africa as well as from Namibia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe (then South West Africa, Portuguese Mozambique and Rhodesia). Men also seem to have attended on behalf of their wives on some occasions. The ins and outs of preserving was dealt with systematically as topics such as: how each type of fruit should be treated, testing the density of syrup and methods of avoiding mould were covered.⁵⁰ The magazine itself presented recipes as well as detailed methodology for "konfyt" making and other ideas concerning ways in which homemade food could generate an income for the women wanting to make money from the home.⁵¹

In 1923 *Die Huisvrou* advertised the "Industriële Unie Zuid-Afrikaanse Vrouen" as an initiative which helped women to sell the things they produced in the home. By 1923, the union had already existed for 16 years and stated its purpose as the encouragement of women's industry, which was seen to include making art and other handwork at home. The art and handwork incorporated making wallpaper, weaving, lace-making, spinning and making clothes, but also included making *blatjang*, jam, candles and soap and farming chickens, bees, bulbs and fruit. The organisation facilitated the sale of the items and then returned the profits to the

⁴⁸ Mev. J. Bosman: "Die Suidafrikaanse Vroue Konfyt en Inmaak Vereniging," *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (243), 21 Desember 1926, p.6.

⁴⁹ [Author unknown]: "Kookkuns: Die Huisvrou se Leeskamer," *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (418), 29 April 1930, p.28,

⁵⁰ [Author unknown]: "Ons Eie Industrieë vir Meisies," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (300), 24 Januarie 1928, p.14.

⁵¹ A. Du Toit, E. Hofmeyr: "Kookkuns: Konfyt", *Die Huisvrou*, (XII), (614), 30 Januarie 1934, p.27.

housewives.⁵² In one of the many articles that appeared in *Die Huisvrou* concerned with finding a career for one's daughter, an interesting suggestion was made to start a "koffiekamer" [coffee room], in whichever space in and around the house that was available. The author started off by explaining that because more and more people owned cars and went for drives in them in the mid-1920s, many would require refreshment on their drives. The article therefore seems to recommend starting an early form of a farmstall. She suggested that women should set up a table or two under a tree, or in their sitting room or on their "stoep" [veranda/porch] where food could be served to travellers. Her recommendation was to serve proper South African traditional food,⁵³ because, she explained, many of the travellers were from Europe and this would be an opportunity to advertise South African products. The proposed menu included:

Boerbrood en vars botter, en die beroemde ou Hollandse suikerbrood sal baie meer in die smaak val as tert en roomkoekies⁵⁴ wat in die stedelike koffiehuisie aangebied word... Toebroodjies met eier en blatjang, soetkoekies en konfyt (inplaas van die stedelike "jams")... en dat u ook mosbolletjies, konfyte en koekies te koop aanbied en vars eiers en botter as u n plaas besit... Ek is seker van dat n goeie wins te behaal is met die maak van konfyt en ander Afrikaanse lekkernye. Stedelinge verlang baiemaal daarna.⁵⁵

[Farm style bread and fresh butter and the famous old Dutch sugar bread will be much preferred to the taste of tart and cream biscuits that are served in the urban coffee houses... Sandwiches with egg and chutney, "soetkoekies" and preserves (instead of the urban "jams")... then you can also sell "mosbolletjies"⁵⁶, preserves and cookies as well as fresh eggs and butter if you own a farm... I am sure that a good profit is attainable with making preserves and other Afrikaans treats. Townspeople often long for them.]

⁵² [Author Unknown]: "Industriële Unie van Zuid-Afrikaanse Vrouwen," *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (36), 2 January 1923, pp.7-9.

⁵³ The subject of "traditional" Afrikaans food has been explored in the Doctoral Thesis of Hester Wilhelmina Claassens called *Die Geskiedenis van Boerekos 1652-1806*, but there is a shortage of research and debate surrounding the history of food in South Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries. H. W. Claassens: "Die Geskiedenis van Boerekos 1652-1806," (Doctorate of Philosophy in Cultural History, University of Pretoria, 2003).

⁵⁴ "Roomkoekies" seem to have been simple butter biscuits made with flour, icing sugar, salt, butter, eggs, lemon essence and salt which were sandwiched together with butter cream. J.C. Slade: *Mev. Slade se Afrikaanse Kookboek (Eerste Edisie)*, 1939, Central News Agency LTD., South Africa, pp.338-339.

⁵⁵ [Author Unknown]: "Loopbane vir Meisies," *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (187), 24 November 1925, pp.8-9.

⁵⁶ "Mosbolletjies" and "Soetkoekies" are and were both considered firm South African favourites, and an important part of the country's food heritage. "Mosbolletjies" are a type of sweet bread flavoured with aniseed and brushed with a sticky glaze. "Soetkoekies" are heavily spiced butter biscuits that were traditionally made with ground cinnamon and ginger as well as dark red wine.

Typical South African Recipes, Compiled by the Home Economics Section, Division of Agricultural Education and Extension, Department of Agriculture and Forestry, G.P. -S.6425-1936-4,000.

Another article explained how two young women started their own fruit and vegetable stall on their parents' *stoep*. They sold the produce they grew in their gardens, including flowers, but soon the demand became so great that they moved into a *waenhuis*, or barn, nearby, and expanded the produce they offered to include eggs, milk and other items from farmers in the area. They worked with cash only and opened every weekday morning. This undertaking was, however, communicated as a hobby for unmarried women, though, conversely, the fact that they provided themselves with a substantial income is mentioned repeatedly and the article seems to allude to this being a socially acceptable way of providing an income. This becomes apparent in that the one young woman's parents are described as old-fashioned, not wanting their daughter to work as a clerk, but on the other hand they are presented as being in need of an income to sustain their family.⁵⁷ By 1936 a fair number of women were involved in obviously food-related occupations. 117 Worked as caterers, 657 as cooks/chefs and 2 273 as waitresses.⁵⁸

At a time when women occupied a precarious position in the economy it is remarkable that housewives actively generated socially acceptable economic independence through the preparation and sale of food. After the First World War, it was becoming more conventional for unmarried women in South Africa to work outside of the home to earn an income, but it was frowned upon for married women to do so, though necessity left little choice for many married women. The spectrum of paid work considered appropriate for young unmarried women included nursing, teaching and secretarial work, but it began to expand in the 1920s to include the fields of medicine and home economics as well as work for municipal councils. The post Second World War western definition of "housewife" is tied to financial dependence and partaking in unpaid work. Sociologist Ann Oakley stated that "the housewife does not herself produce commodities of direct value to the economy. Her primary economic function is vicarious: by servicing others, she enables them to engage in productive economic activity."⁵⁹

Psychologist Lou-Marie Kruger explained that while certain women were cut off from means of production through urbanisation, others remained in areas where they could access land

⁵⁷ [Author Unknown]: "ñ Waar storie: "Hoe twee meisies ñ vrugte en groente-besigheid gedrywe het"," *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (27), 31 Oktober 1922, p.19.

⁵⁸ *Union of South Africa Census of Population, 5th May, 1936, Preliminary report*, Volume VII, Occupations and Industries, Union of South Africa, p.xxv.

⁵⁹ A. Oakley, *Housewife*, 1976, p.3.

and still participate in production and as a whole, South African women experienced a crisis in identity because of industrialisation and urbanisation in the first part of the 20th century.⁶⁰ Kruger does however see home production decreasing in the 1920s, an idea which is opposed in the research done here.⁶¹ Women did not necessarily require access to land to engage in making preserves or other food items, especially in times of surplus as fruits, vegetables and grains were made available at low prices. Various articles in *Die Huisvrou* were concerned with providing ideas for women working from home.⁶² The South African climate and the prevalence of access to land for white women, though not necessarily a whole farm, also allowed for other occupations associated with food production in some way or another. Keeping bees, poultry, dairy and fruit farming were all considered favourable employment for women- married or not.⁶³ In 1924 a Miss A. Kock wrote into *Die Huisvrou* to request that the magazine provide more information about the keeping of bees because many young women kept them and wanted further information on doing it properly.⁶⁴ *Die Huisvrou* spent much ink and paper in the 1920s on debating whether work was suitable for women at all, but ultimately, the views conveyed were fraught with incongruities. While the much discussed *Volksmoeder* discourse underlies many of the views expressed on work, they appear alongside articles encouraging entrepreneurship amongst women.⁶⁵

In one article women were told: “Daar is eintlik maar een redelike lewensdoel wat ’n vrou moet besiel, en dit is om die moeder te word van gesonde en fatsoenlike kinders.” [There is actually just one reasonable life’s goal that a woman should possess, and that is to become the mother of healthy and respectable children.]⁶⁶ In the same article the author concedes that if girls need to earn money, they should try to find an occupation that is not men’s work. Just working for the sake of making money that was not needed was frowned upon and young women were instead encouraged to involve themselves in charity work to help poor children.⁶⁷ A

⁶⁰ L. Kruger: “Gender, Community and Identity: Women and Afrikaner Nationalism in the Volksmoeder Discourse of Die Boerevrou 1919-1931,” (Masters of Social Science, University of Cape Town, March 1991), pp.122; 313.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² [Author unknown]: “Die Werk van Vrouens,” *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (86), 18 Desember 1923, pp.27-29

⁶³ [Author Unknown]: “Wat sal ons maak met ons meisies: ’n pleidooi vir die Onderwys-Professie vir Meisies,” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (10), 4 Julie 1922, pp.1-2

⁶⁴ [Letter from Mej. A. Kock]: “Wat ek graag in “die Huisvrou” wil sien, en waarom?,” *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (100), 25 Maart 1924, pp.21-22.

⁶⁵ [Author Unknown]: “’n Waar storie: Hoe twee meisies ’n vrugte en groente-besigheid gedrywe het,” *Die Huisvrou*, (1), (27), 31 Oktober 1922, p.19.; Editor, “Die meisie die tuis bly, en die meisie die uitgaan om te verdien,” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (21), 19 September 1922, pp.1-3.

⁶⁶ [Author unknown]: “Professies vir ons dogters,” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (32), 5 Desember 1922, p.2.

⁶⁷ [Author unknown]: “Werk vir meisies:” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (42), 13 Februarie 1923, p.9.

predominant view of *Die Huisvrou* in the 1920s was that women could make their own money, start their own businesses and have a career, but that suitable work was to augment and not undermine femininity. What exactly this meant was not always clear and could be the subject of another study. It is, however, evident that there were many ambiguities in the process of justifying what work was socially acceptable and thus Afrikaans women were involved in diverse economic activities inside and outside of the home and mothering. Contributors to *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping* did not get emotional about very much, and the topic of work was no exception. Despite generally eschewing controversy, the following quote appeared in an article about choosing a career for one's daughter, and it illuminates that numerous questions were arising with regards to what work women could do, as well as alluding to economic factors forcing women into the workplace for longer periods of time by the late 1930s:

Why should there be this difference made between boys and girls where the choice of career is concerned? It is commonly assumed that, whereas the male must be a wage-earner for the greater part of his life, the female may find an early escape in marriage. But a little thought will show that this attitude may react very unfavourably on a girl, even if she does eventually marry. With the higher cost of living, few couples can afford to marry very young and may women are forced to support themselves for several years before marriage. To be tied to an uncongenial occupation for some years may warp a woman's nature and wreck her chances of happiness in married life.⁶⁸

Cooking as competitive, educational and scientific

Making money was, however, not the only thing that “konfyt” was good for. Housewives spent much time preparing for and competing in agricultural shows with their jams and other products. Many articles about how those competitions were judged, who judged them and who won what and when appeared in *Die Huisvrou* as well as *Mrs Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*. Participating in these in some way or another was something which was clearly desired and admired, and they were considered unmissable events. Louis Botha encouraged these shows as the Minister of Agriculture in order to foster relationships and understanding between farmers and those living in towns and cities. The government also funded prizes and

⁶⁸ M.E. McKerron: “A career for your daughter”, (III), (11), 1938, p.496.

played a role in training judges.⁶⁹ The shows therefore became meeting grounds between those of different languages and classes. Possible categories of the events to compete in included everything from *konfyt*, chutney, pickles, dried fruit and sauces to honey, cold drinks, butter, soap, slaughtered poultry (the birds were judged on how well they were slaughtered as well as the general health of the bird- for which purpose the head and legs were required to be kept on) and homemade “boerewors” [farmer’s/Afrikaner’s sausage].⁷⁰ An example of the type of description that informed their submissions for the competition reads:

Biltong- Die stukke moet n mooi vorm hê. Dit moet n aangename reuk hê, dog geen teken van mufheid aan die oppervlakte nie. Dit moet aangenaam smaak, nie te sout of te vars nie. Die Vleis moet vas wees, nie hard of droog nie, en nogtans nie te nat nie.⁷¹

[**Biltong-** The pieces must have a nice form. It must have a pleasant smell, with no sign of mould on the surface. It must have a pleasant taste, not too salty or too fresh. The meat must be firm, not hard or dry, and not too wet either.]

The popularity of interest in these competitions can also be seen in noting their use by advertisers. Royal Baking Powder ran an advertising campaign in 1936 in which it displayed women with their trophies (see figure 1.3) explaining how “Royal” had given them what they needed to win the competitions they were part of.⁷² While there is certainly opportunity for further research into the social meaning and manifestation of these Agricultural show as well as women’s involvement in agriculture at the time, both magazines studied show that public competitions concerned with food preparation garnered increasing and significant attention from Afrikaans and English women in the time period being considered.

The Afrikaans word for cookery also contributes to the idea that preparing foods provided meaning and came to be viewed as a valuable outlet for the expression of creativity. The word “Kookkuns” directly translated into English is cooking art. Jeanette Van Duyn wrote: “Cooking

⁶⁹ *The Transvaal Legislative Assembly 1908, Third Session of the First Parliament*, The Leader Printing and Publishing Works, Johannesburg, 1908, pp.304;308; *The Transvaal Legislative Assembly 1908, Second Session of the First Parliament*, The Leader Printing and Publishing Works, Johannesburg, 1908, p. 1046.

⁷⁰ Miss G.M. Sedgwick: “Beoordeling van Tuisgemaakte Produkte,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (650), 9 Oktober, 1934, p.25; [Author unknown]: “Beoordeling van Tuisgemaakte Produkte,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (675), 9 April 1935, p.15; “Beoordeling van Tuisgemaakte Produkte,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (676), 16 April 1935, p.13; Author Unknown: “Beoordeling van Tuisgemaakte Produkte,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (677), 23 April 1935, p.14.

⁷¹ [Author Unknown]: “Beoordeling van Tuisgemaakte Produkte,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (677), 23 April 1935, p.14.

⁷² “Royal Baking Powder Advertisement,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (721), 18 Februarie 1936, p.16; “Royal Baking Powder Advertisement,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (717), 21 Januarie 1936, p.16; “Royal Baking Powder Advertisement,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (746), 18 Augustus 1936, p.26.

is an art that is now being studied by the most intellectual women. It is an art that cannot be learnt in a day, nor can it be acquired by simply reading a book, but must be combined with practice, and it offers limitless scope for the imaginative, inventive and artistic mind.”⁷³ Women seem to have contributed to these shows not because they had to, or because anyone was forcing them to, but because they themselves created a space for interaction and expression as well as education. Cooking transcended the mundane and was used by woman as an opportunity to be socially, financially and creatively mobile. Competing in these shows was a serious business with specific requirements for each category being held to, which indicates another way in which the importance of cooking to South African housewives was expressed in their lives.

The preparation of food was not only an opportunity to gain social standing or financial gain, it was also seen as an incredibly serious and scientific aspect of a housewife’s work. In the introduction to her book *The Practical Cookery Book for South Africa* (6th edition), S. Van H. Tulleken seems almost apologetic that her book is not scientific as she wrote: “I do not pretend that there is anything scientific about my cookery book, but all recipes will be found Practical”.⁷⁴ With the rise of Home Economics as a diploma or degree for women to complete at universities and colleges, as well as the government’s realisations that correctly prepared food impacted societal well-being, came a fastidious approach to preparing food correctly which is reflected in the articles, cookbooks and recipes of the time. Electric appliances such as ovens (with temperature regulation) and refrigerators enabled the process as cooking became a thorough business which was even reflected in the titles of cookbooks such as Jeanette C. van Duyn’s *The Household Science Cookery Book* (1914). The second edition of *The Household Science Cookery Book* (1916) was dedicated “[t]o the housekeepers and homemakers of South Africa - in the hope that it will be of help to them and stimulate an interest in the Science of Cooking”.⁷⁵ The book enjoyed great success and was in its ninth edition by 1938.⁷⁶ In it she writes that the kitchen: “should be looked upon as a laboratory of great importance, for upon the wholesomeness and palatability of the products which emanate therefrom depend in a large measure the health, welfare and happiness of the family”.⁷⁷ On the dedication page of her Afrikaans version of this book, called *Mev. Slade se Afrikaanse Kookboek* (1939), she dedicates it to “Huisvroue van Suid-Afrika- in die hoop, dat hulle tot

⁷³ J.C. Van Duyn: *The Household Science Cookery Book*, 1916, introduction.

⁷⁴ S. Van H. Tulleken: *The Practical Cookery Book for South Africa* (6th edition), [1923], introduction.

⁷⁵ J. C. Van Duyn: *The Household Science Cookery Book*, 1916, dedication page.

⁷⁶ *The South African Woman’s Who’s Who*, p.349.

⁷⁷ J.C. Van Duyn: *The Household Science Cookery Book*, 1914, p.1.

hulp sal wees end at dit n belangstelling sal opwek in die Wetenskap van Kokery” [Housewives of South Africa- in the hope that it will be helpful to them and raise interest in the Science of Cooking].⁷⁸

The Household Science Cookery Book (1916) contains a chapter dedicated to measuring- showing the extent to which the act was valued, but also that precision in cookery was not wholly familiar territory and that it needed some explanation and justification. The chapter launched by explaining that: “in order to have successful results in Cookery, it is essential to use accurate weights or measures, for the element of “luck” can only be eliminated by doing away with the old-fashioned system of a “little bit” of this and a “small pinch” of that”.⁷⁹ The chapter proceeds to go into great detail about the system used, with specific emphasis on using “level” measurements of any ingredient to ensure that standards were created and held to.⁸⁰ An article called ““Wetenskap” Tenoor “Geluk” in Kookkuns” [“Science” versus “Luck” in Cookery] appeared in *Die Huisvrou* in 1932. It also emphasised the importance of correct measuring in ensuring the best results in cooking and encouraged women to invest in accurate measuring equipment.⁸¹ In contrast, South African recipe books from earlier in the 1900s mostly used vague quantities or specifications with regards to methodology. A recipe for curry from *The South African Household Guide* instructs the reader to: “[c]ut the meat up very small, Fresh uncooked meat is necessarily the best. Dredge it with flour, and place the meat in the bottom of a saucepan which has some melted fat in it, add some sliced onions, pepper and salt, and as much dry curry powder as is like.”⁸² No specific measurements were given in the recipe for “Curry and Rice” and though other recipes in the book, such as baking recipes, gave measurements, the methodology contained sparse and vague instructions that left much to the readers discernment and prior knowledge. The complete recipe for “Edith’s Cake” reads: “[w]hisk the whites of 6 eggs to a froth, add to it 6 oz. fine white sugar and a little essence. Stir into it ¼ lb. of dry warm fine flour. Pour in tin containing an oiled paper. The tin must be half full only. Cool it slowly. It should be very light.”⁸³ It contained no cooking instructions and gives only the “cool it slowly” as a clue to the cake needing to be baked at all. A recipe for “Puff Cake” on the next page is even more sparse and just reads: “[t]hree cups of flour, 2 cups

⁷⁸ H.M. Slade: *Mev Slade se Afrikaanse Kookboek*, 1939, dedication page.

⁷⁹ J.C. Van Duyn: *The Household Science Cookery Book*, 1916, p.19.

⁸⁰ J.C. Van Duyn: *The Household Science Cookery Book*, 1916, p.20.

⁸¹ G. Sedgwick, “Wetenskap” tenoor “geluk” in Kookkuns,” *Die Huisvrou*, (X), (215), 23 Februarie 1932, p.22.

⁸² A.R. Barnes: *The South African Household Guide*, p.15.

⁸³ *Ibid.* p.102.

of sugar, 1 cup of butter, 3 eggs, 1 cup of milk, and 2 teaspoonfuls of Royal Baking Powder”.⁸⁴ Cooking became something measured and serious, not to be left to chance, but instead practiced and rigorous. It came to be viewed as a field in which women could be pioneering. An advertisement from 1930 for Royal Baking Powder in *Die Huisvrou* (see figure 1.4) showed a photograph of a Miss J.G. Rudd, introduced as the principal of the Domestic Science department of the Port Elizabeth Technical College, cooking with her cooking uniform on and she is quoted in large letters saying: “[w]ees besonder versigtig met die afmeet van die grondbestanddele” [Be exceptionally careful with the measurement of ingredients].⁸⁵

Van Duyn’s book takes the reader through the rigours of cooking in the early 1900s and covered the laying of the fire as well as getting it to the correct temperature.⁸⁶ The electric stove was not yet commonly used in South African homes during and after the First World War. From 1906 onwards accessible electricity was rolled out to all of the cities in South Africa and by the end of the Second World War, all but a few small villages and farmsteads would have had electricity in the home.⁸⁷ In 1939, a recipe book called *Foods and Cookery* suggested that each women in South Africa should have at least two thermometers that measure up to 500 °F to use in the kitchen- “an oven thermometer and one for sugar cooking, deep-fat frying and jelly-making”.⁸⁸ This shows that though women may have been using electric stoves, these did not necessarily have accurate thermometers. Preciseness in heat was thus hard to attain, although necessary especially in the baking of cakes. This did not keep women from trying to be as accurate as possible and the heat of the wood oven was measured as either a “slow oven”, “moderate oven”, “hot oven” or a “very hot oven”. Jeanette Van Duyn and Mrs. P.W. De Klerk (author of *South African Cookery Made Easy*), suggested using paper to test into which one of these four categories the temperature of the oven fell. The length of time it took the piece of paper, inserted into the oven, to turn golden brown, would reveal its temperature. If it took one minute, the oven was “very hot”, if it took seven minutes, the oven was “slow”.⁸⁹ It is not clear

⁸⁴ A.R. Barnes: *The South African Household Guide*, p.103.

⁸⁵ [Advertisement for Royal Baking Powder]: *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (239), 11 Maart 1930, p.

⁸⁶ J.C. Van Duyn: *The Household Science Cookery Book*, 1916.

⁸⁷ D.J. Potgieter (Editor in Chief), P.C. du Plessis(Editor): *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, Volume 4 DEV-FOR, Nasou Limited, 1971, Cape Town, p.275.

⁸⁸ Union of South Africa Department of Agriculture and Forestry: *Foods and Cookery (The Housewife’s Guide)(Revised and combined edition of the pamphlets “Foods and Cooker” and Preserving of Fruits and Vegetables)*, Compiled by the Home Economics Officers of the division of Agricultural Education and Extension, 5th revised Enlarged Edition, Government Printer, Pretoria, Union of South Africa, 1939, G.P.S.7622-1939-4,000. P.8.

⁸⁹ Mrs. P.W. De Klerk: *South African Cookery Made Easy*, 1912, p.1. (J.C. Juta & Co. Cape Town); J.C. Van Duyn: *The Household Science Cookery Book*, 1916, p.18.

when electric ovens became prevalent in the homes of South African housewives. An article in *Die Huisvrou* in 1938 refers to equipping a kitchen with an electrical stove, but another in 1942 states that while urban women had access to electricity and thus electric stoves women in rural areas made do with coal stoves.⁹⁰ It is however clear that by 1945, it was not common to have an electric oven with a thermostat and women were probably still using the paper method of testing heat.

A plethora of odd gadgets and kitchen tools are another manifestation of this focus on innovation and meticulousness in the kitchen. Contraptions such as a marmalade slicer, bean slicer, vegetable cutter, cake mixer and raisin “seeder” seem incredibly complicated in their design. They were introduced in *The Household Science Cookery Book* as being indispensable in a good kitchen, but time was spent introducing each piece of equipment and explaining how it is to be used, indicating their novelty and unfamiliarity. Detailed drawings appeared in the cookbook (see figures 1.5–1.7). Most of these implements included a clamping mechanism which allowed them to be attached to work surfaces. The cake mixer, probably the simplest to explain, was a large bowl which could be clamped to the table and consisted of a complex mixing system with a handle which needed turning at the top of the bowl. Turning the handle turned a cog which then moved mixing devices in the bowl. The “Raisin Seeder” promised to save time with the claim “will seed a pound in 1 minute”.⁹¹ It was not only the equipment in the kitchen that had to be perfect, the magazines both suggested that the kitchen be designed for efficiency. An article from 1926 in *Die Huisvrou* explained that the kitchen is one of the most important rooms in the house and suggested that in “the modern times” should be run more like a hospital than anything else. It explains that in a country where women must do most of the cooking, the kitchen should be designed in a way that minimises their effort.⁹² Various other articles in *Die Huisvrou* give illustrations concerning minimising effort in the kitchen such as providing layouts explaining where each piece of furniture and equipment should be placed in the room.⁹³ The desire to do things as timeously as possible hints that women did not necessarily want to spend time cooking and that the move towards science in the kitchen could have provided a means of escaping it. An excerpt from an article by Mrs

⁹⁰ [Author given as “Rosita”]: “Die Vroulike Agtergrond: Die Kombuis,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XVI), (869), 20 Desember 1938, p.27.; [Author given as “Spero”]: “Die Kombuis,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XXI), (1027), 6 Januarie 1942, p.29.

⁹¹ J.C. Van Duyn: *The Household Science Cookery Book*, 1916, pp.8-13.

⁹² [Author unknown]: “Die Hedendaagse Kombuis,” *Die Huisvrou*, (V), (208), 20 April 1926, p.14.

⁹³ [Author unknown]: “’n Werksparende huis,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (273), 19 Julie 1927, p.11.

Slade shows this interaction between the enjoyment and exploration of scientific of advancements as well as the use of those advancements to make life better for women:

We are living in an age of new discoveries; in every field chemists and scientists are unearthing new knowledge; inventors and manufacturers are turning out new products and appliances which astonish us by their ingenuity, and every housewife in the exercise of her art, should be provided with the necessary appointments, which will make her arduous duties more pleasant in every way... We cannot get away from three meals a day, nor can we eliminate housework, but there is a way in which everything may be simplified and made easier and more pleasing by taking advantage of scientific and up-to-date methods.⁹⁴

The move towards formalising cookery and ensuring that women were trained in the correct methods precipitated in schools and colleges providing education opportunities for women in that field. Other than Mrs Slade, who was sent to Canada to study Home Economics, Jess Davidtsh, Ivy van der Merwe and Ria Fouché also went overseas to study degrees relating to home economics during the First World War.⁹⁵ Jess Davidtsh became the first South African woman to be awarded a professorship and she was the head of the Home Economics Department at Pretoria University. She completed her M.Sc. at Columbia University and also wrote her own cookbook called *Jess Davidtsh se Kookboek* [Jess Davidtsh's Cookbook] (1955).⁹⁶ Ivy van der Merwe was the first Home Economics lecturer to be appointed at Stellenbosch University.⁹⁷ *Die Huisvrou* recorded in March of 1929 that Miss Anne Rabie was the first person in South Africa to obtain a South African degree in Domestic Science just after she graduated at Stellenbosch University.⁹⁸ Miss Mary Higham is introduced in her book *Household Cookery for South Africa* as the principal of the School for Domestic Science, Johannesburg, and a photograph of the "students' kitchen" was also included in the first few pages of her work.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ Mrs. H.M. Slade: "Among Ourselves," *Mrs Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (i), (1), April 1935 p.9.

⁹⁵ R. Otterman: "Die Geskiedenis van Huishoudkunde in Suid-Afrika," (Hons. B.Sc. in Huishoudkunde, Stellenbosch University, 1971), p.29.

⁹⁶ Miss M.J. Davidtsh: "Share your recipes," *Mrs Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (ii.), (9), December 1936, p.386.

⁹⁷ J.H. Neethling & J.C. Swart: *Die Ontstaan en ontwikkeling van landbou-onderwys op Stellenbosch*, p.41.

⁹⁸ [Author Unknown]: "Huishoukunde," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (359), 12 Maart 1929, p.28.

⁹⁹ M. Higham: *Household Cookery for South Africa*, preface.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the relationship between housewives and cooking was one which was used to provide social, economic and educational capital. Mrs Slade's life exemplifies the possibilities of creating a career around food, while other high-flying women utilised hospitality to negotiate and confirm social prowess. Without necessarily upsetting social standards, women produced positions of opportunity for themselves in the world of food. Making preserves was considered a means of generating an income and creating the opportunity to enter a world of home industries and achievement in agricultural shows. Women also gained access to educational advancement in the push to become knowledgeable about food and save time and effort for themselves. The drive for precision illuminates the move towards viewing cooking as a serious and invaluable way to spend time that explored the world of science. A quote from Mrs Slade, however, conveys that there were also broader concerns which encouraged women to pursue a scientific approach to food preparation, namely a desire to provide correct nutrition for their families and the wider society, which will be explored in the next chapter:

The advantage of having a scientific knowledge of foods and cookery are many, for instance, it teaches one how to obtain a maximum amount of nourishment at a minimum cost and how to economise without depriving the body of its requirements; how to use various substitutes; how to prepare the most common and inexpensive foods in the most palatable and digestible manner; and finally, it prevents heart-breaking and discouraging failures.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ J. C. Van Duyn: *The Household Science Cookery Book*, 1916, introduction.

Chapter 2

The Housewife as Health-obsessed: Nutrition, Nursing and Nurturing

Introduction

ń Fris en gesonde volk is nodig om onse volksideale te verwesenlik. Die spierkrag van n volk hang vir n groot deel af van die kookkuns wat die moeders besit...¹

[A strong/robust and healthy nation is needed to achieve our nation/people's ideals. The muscle power of a nation largely depends on the cookery skills that mothers possess.]

The Afrikaner woman as a *Volksmoeder* [Mother of the Nation] has received much attention from academics in the latter part of the 20th century and the early 21st century. Lou-Marie Kruger introduced the concept as a formalising of roles for Afrikaner women which occurred as an effect of the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism in the first part of the 20th Century.² As discussed in the introduction, historian Marijke Du Toit explained that the discourse was not simply impressed upon women, but rather that they actively participated in constructing and enacting these roles and responsibilities which have been collectively defined as the *Volksmoeder* ideal.³ The assimilation of the ideal manifested itself in various ways amongst women assuming their roles as mothers. It is found in this chapter that one of those manifestations of a desire or burden to mother healthy children and thereby build a nation, was a heightened awareness of the importance of good nutrition in the well-being of a society. As Lou-Marie Kruger has said:

In any nationalist project the leaders (usually the petty bourgeoisie or intellectuals) firstly have to ensure that they have a nation - they thus encourage reproduction. The people of the nation however, also have to be healthy and educated to be valuable assets for the nation. It is of no consequence if the

¹ The cookbook that was introduced by the quote opening this chapter was by the wife of the author and poet, D.F. Malherbe. Among other things, her husband was very involved in advocating for and establishing Afrikaans as an official language. Mynie Malherbe was well known as an avid gardener, imaginative cook and excellent hostess.

Mev. D.F. Malherbe, *Eet met lus*, Bloemfontein, 1926, Foreword (by M.T. Steyn).

B. Kok, E.V. Lategan, R. De Beer: *D.F. Malherbe in Beeld en Woord*, p.43.

² L. Kruger: "Gender, Community and Identity: Women and Afrikaner Nationalism in the *Volksmoeder* Discourse of Die Boerevrou 1919-1931," (Masters of Social Science, University of Cape Town, March 1991), p.iv.

³ M. Du Toit: "The Domesticity of Afrikaner Nationalism: *Volksmoeders* and the ACVV, 1904-1929," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (29), (1), March 2003, p.155.

population is numerous, but sick and illiterate and uneducated.⁴

The period between the World Wars was an important one in the realm of nutrition, public health and food safety. The number of hospitals for the white population of the Union more than doubled in a decade from 107 in 1925 to 227 in 1935.⁵ Fears of malnutrition were gripping white South Africans amidst droughts, the great depression, the threat of rickets and tuberculosis, food shortages during the wars and investigations into poor whites and malnutrition in school children.⁶ The combination of the effects of the great depression and severe droughts in the Cape in 1929 led to desperate attempts involving poor whites being hired to construct water schemes to support agriculture, though the effects of the drought were still being felt by farmers in 1933.⁷ The *Carnegie Commission*, published in 1932, contains a whole volume on the effects of bad health on what was called “the poor white problem”. The volume contains a whole chapter concerned with malnutrition outlining the causes and negative effects of too little food, especially in children.⁸ A chapter in the commission concerning women outlined “the duties and functions of the mother in a normal civilised home” as using “the supplies provided by the father, such as food, clothing, and money, and to manage the house according to the needs of the family”.⁹

Before the Second World War, South Africa farmed sufficient quantities of barley, oats, rye and maize for the country’s needs, though wheat, butter and dairy were imported to supplement production. South African production of dried citrus, sugar, meat and deciduous fruits had been abundant enough to export to European countries before the interruption of trade channels during the War, as seen in Chapter 1. Monitoring of food production was valued by the South African government to the extent that a number of control boards were created for specific food industries between 1937 and 1939, which included ones for wheat, maize, dairy, dried fruit, livestock and meat. However, by the 1940s, serious drought in some areas of the country and

⁴ L. Kruger: “Gender, Community and Identity: Women and Afrikaner Nationalism in the Volksmoeder Discourse of Die Boerevrou 1919-1931,” (Masters of Social Science, University of Cape Town, March 1991), p.91.

⁵ *Union Statistics for Fifty Years: Jubilee Issue, 1910-1960*, Union of South Africa, 1960, p.D-3.

⁶ [Author given only as “M.B.”]: “Correct Diet,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (6), September 1939, p.22.

⁷ L.D. Hobbs & R.F. Phélines (Editors): *Water 75*, p.35.

⁸ W.A. Murray: *The Poor White Problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission, Part IV. Health Report: Health Factors in the Poor White Problem*, Pro Ecclesia-Drukkery, Stellenbosch, 1932.

⁹ M.E. Rothmann: *The Poor White Problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission: Part V. Sociological Report: (b) The Mother and Daughter in the Poor Family*, Pro-Ecclesia-Drukkery, Stellenbosch, 1932, p.171.

floods in others led to grave shortages of wheat and maize.¹⁰ Wages rose as the Second World War progressed which led to increased spending power. This increased spending power resulted in further shortages, especially in dairy and meat products, as those that could previously not afford to eat much protein became able to. Although various institutions were started by the government in this time to address the shortages and the potential for crises, no formal rationing was instituted during the war, but propaganda was used to ensure public compliance and awareness. The Publicity Section of the Food Control Organisation, for instance, gave advice to housewives on food conservation, prevention of wastage, balanced diets, and purchasing practices.¹¹

Progress in the field of nutrition, such as Casimir Funk's "discovery" of the existence of vitamins, the lack of which was theorised to cause diseases such as scurvy and rickets, enlightened humans to the value of food in building operational societies.¹² These developments also introduced the belief that there could be foods that were better for human consumption than others, as well as certain methods of preparation more nutritious than others.¹³ They also provide a glimpse into the increasingly important role that cooking came to play in the determination of a good housewife. Providing meals for the sake of satisfying hunger was not the whole extent of the housewife's task. The Union Government began to take a keen interest in the public health of white South Africans, especially that of women and children because of high infant mortality and maternal death rates.¹⁴ The Gluckman Commission of Inquiry of 1942-1944 presented opportunities to reflect on the state of public health services and also indicates the growing involvement of the state in providing affordable access to health care.¹⁵ The commission also contained a chapter on food and nutrition in which food was viewed as an indispensable part of accomplishing public health.¹⁶ Klausen further highlights the concerns of the time explaining that "though the middle classes and ruling elite

¹⁰ Y. Albertyn: "Upsetting the Applecart: Government and Food Control in the Union of South Africa during World War II c.1939-1948," (Masters of Arts (History), Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Stellenbosch University, April, 2014), pp.4-5;7-9.

¹¹ J.M. Tinley: *South African Food and Agriculture in World War II*, pp.23;25.

¹² W. Gratzer: *Terrors of the table: The Curious History of Nutrition*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005, p.167.

¹³ E.V. McCollum: *A History of Nutrition: The Sequence of ideas in Nutrition Investigations*, p.217.

¹⁴ [Author Unknown]: "Publieke Gesondheid: Die aandeel daarin van die Huismoeder," *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (99), 18 Maart 1924, pp.1-3;

[Author Unknown]: "Wat doen die goewerment vir ons kinders?," *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (52), 24 April 1923, pp.1-3.

¹⁵ [Author Unknown]: "Gesondheidsdienstie in die Unie I: Die Opdrag van die Gluckman-Kommissie," *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1184), 9 Januarie 1945, pp.1;12.

¹⁶ *Die Nasionale Gesondheidskommissie*, Staatsdrukker, Unie van Suid-Afrika, 1944, p.30.

had long been uneasy about the future of South Africa, the Great Depression sparked fears that the country had begun to decline because of the rapidly deteriorating health of the population”.¹⁷ An article in *Die Huisvrou* which analysed the findings of the commission stated that “[d]ie besef het gegroei dat dit belangrik vir ’n volk is om gesond te wees en gesond te bly. Dit is belangrik en voordelig vir ’n land dat AL sy inwoners so gesond moontlik moet wees”.¹⁸ [The realisation has grown that it is important for a population to be and stay healthy. It is important and advantageous for a land that ALL its inhabitants are as healthy as possible.]

Because food was considered a vital part of building a good, strong society, women, the regulators of food preparation, were regarded as those that held the fate of the white population in their hands. It is also found that there were other elements of life that were viewed as necessary in providing a healthy lifestyle. An article published in 1935 explains that the six elements of good health were seen to be: 1. Good food and water, 2. Cleanliness, 3. Exercise, 4. Sleep and rest, 5. Fresh air, the outdoors and sunshine, 6. Good posture.¹⁹ While most of this chapter will focus on the way in which an obsession with health manifested itself in a concern for correct nutrition, as well as what was deemed as “correct nutrition”, it will also be seen that housewives were encouraged to act as nurses in the home and focus on their own, as well as their family’s, physical wellbeing. It is established that because of an elevated view of the role of food and diet in the security of the society, added pressure was put onto housewives to be informed about and provide the foundations for and be the source of good health.

¹⁷ Susanne Klausen explains that this focus on public health was also evident in thought processes surrounding birth control. She argues that: “[b]y the late 1930s, advocates had convinced Afrikaners, anxious about the health of the volk, and whites, nervous about the future of white civilisation, of the efficacy of birth control to uplift poor whites. These concerns also led to growing popular support for increased state intervention, including an expanded DPH [Department of Public Health], to redress serious social problems threatening white South Africa. The birth-control movement and the DPH worked hand in glove to capitalize on these shifts in perception. Government support for contraceptive clinics in 1938 indicates that the state was beginning to take seriously the need to promote a broader, proactive approach to public health. It also reflects the political importance of white poverty during the turbulent 1930s.”

S. Klausen: “‘Poor Whiteism’, White Maternal Mortality, and the Promotion of Public Health in South Africa: The Department of Public Health’s Endorsement of Contraceptive Services, 1930-1938,” *South African Historical Journal*, (45), November, 2001, p.78.; S. M. Klausen: *Race, Maternity, and the Politics of Birth Control in South Africa, 1910-39*, p.40.

¹⁸ [Author Unknown]: “Gesondheidsdienstie in die Unie 1: Die Opdrag van die Gluckman-Kommissie,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1184), 9 Januarie 1945, pp.1;12.

¹⁹ Mej. E.M. Ackerman: “Die Gesondheid van die Huisgesin,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (681), 14 Mei 1935, p.23.

Feeding the nation with “Proper Food”

Just before the First World War, in 1911, Louis Leipoldt’s book “Common Sense Dietetics” was published. The appearance of his book indicates the demand for information concerning food and diet at the time in South Africa. It provides details of what was known about diet as well as what people wanted to know. Among its chapters was one on “The General Principles of Dietetics” and another concerning “Diets, Fads and Fallacies”.²⁰ The book introduces the idea of calories and gives descriptions of the different types of foods, such as “proteids”,²¹ carbohydrates, fats, water and salt. One page presents a very detailed table of how many calories different types of people consume and what their diets consist of, such as “Chinese woman on fruit diet”, “Swedish Labourer” or “Yale University Athlete”.²² Another section relays the exact time it takes to digest different foods. On a scale, raw beaten egg was thought to be the fastest food to digest, taking only $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour, and fried banana one of the longest, which was believed to take $5\frac{1}{2}$ hours.²³ Leipoldt also recognised that with this obsession with health there was a move towards finding the ideal diet. This contributed to the existence of dieticians and degrees and courses to educate people in the science of nutrition. It also created a sphere of confusion and debate around what the best diet was. He seems to have been frustrated with some of the trends emerging.

The diet faddist is an annoying and irritating being to the student of dietetics... The one variety sedulously avoids carbohydrate food. The other speaks learnedly of “purin[e]-free basis,” and makes balderdash of the simplest menu by inverting the most ordinary principles of physiological chemistry. This one is a nutarian; that one a fruitarian; his brother on the other side boasts himself a vegetarian; this is a meat man’ this a sour-milk votary; and as an addendum we have a whole host of varieties, ranging from the grape-eating enthusiast to that incomprehensible being who abhors asparagus and can only exist happily if it never cooks food.²⁴

While some of these fad diets sound familiar to those followed today, others were utilised by those reading *Die Huisvrou*. One article in the magazine recommends only consuming orange juice for two days of every week or eating a diet of pineapples and lamb for a week, then other food for a few days before returning to the pineapple and lamb and repeating until results were achieved.²⁵ While the aforementioned diet was prescribed for weight loss, one of the women

²⁰ L. Leipoldt: *Common sense Dietetics*, Williams & Norgate, 1911, p.vii.

²¹ Proteid is an obsolete form of the word protein.

²² L. Leipoldt: *Common sense Dietetics*, Williams & Norgate, 1911, pp.14-15.

²³ *Ibid.* pp.32-33.

²⁴ L. Leipoldt: *Common sense Dietetics*, Williams & Norgate, 1911, pp.78-79.

²⁵ [Author Unknown]: “Om die teetafel: Om skraal te bly” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (295), 27 December 1927, p.14.

who shared their recipes in *Mrs Slade's South African Good Housekeeping* had published a vegetarian book. She advocated a vegetarian diet for the best health, indicating, along with other articles in the magazines, that time and effort was being taken over adhering to particular diets.²⁶

The developments in and ideas about nutrition apparent in Leipoldt's book began to be impressed on the public in and around the World Wars. Because of food shortages during the First World War, European countries carried out extensive research on malnutrition and its avoidance. Europeans discovered through the experiences of the World Wars that starvation does not provide favourable conditions for fostering nationalism. Starving, malnourished humans think of little other than where their next meal will come from.²⁷ The shortages experienced in South Africa, especially during the Second World War, are evident in various articles in both magazines and cookbooks of the time concerning the use of meat and egg replacements and cooking economically.²⁸ These and other factors precipitated in an administrative interest in what South Africans were eating which culminated in the formation of a national food council in 1940. The first report of the council explains that increasing interest in nutrition by the League of Nations from 1935 onwards resulted in its formation, and that its aim was to address malnutrition and other concerns surrounding diet and food. The first chairperson, who was also the minister of health at the time, acknowledged the effects of the Second World War on South African food supplies, as well as the purpose of the council when he said at the council's first meeting that "wars can come and go, but we must still ensure the building of South Africa - young South Africa".²⁹ Some of the suggestions of the council were that nutrition be offered as a scientific subject at schools and that an educational propaganda campaign be used to convey information about nutrition through books, diagrams, pamphlets, films, lectures and demonstrations. They also started trialling food clubs which were formed to improve the distribution of fruit and vegetables to families working for the South African

²⁶ Mrs. F.V. McClaren: "Share your recipes", *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (III), (8), November 1937, pp.338;340.

²⁷ W. Gratzler: *Terrors of the table: The Curious History of Nutrition*, pp.5; 112.

²⁸ [Author given as "Mirle"]: "Maak dit Sonder Eiers," *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1117), 28 September 1943, p.18; [Author given as "Lucelle"]: "Ekonomiese Lewergeregte," *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1121), 26 Oktober 1943, p.18; Mrs. J.C. Slade: "Economy in the kitchen," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (6), September 1939, p.230; [Author Unknown]: "The Housewife's Guide: How to Preserve the Health of your Family," *Mrs Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*,(V), (7), October 1939, p.243.

²⁹ Original text in Afrikaans read: "Oorloë kan kom en verbygaan, dog ons moet sorg vir die opbou van Suid-Afrika- jong Suid-Afrika."

Departement van Volksgesondheid: *Eerste Verslag Oor die Aktiwiteite van die Nasionale Voedingsraad vir die tydperk 27 Junie 1940 tot 31 Desember 1943*, Staatsdrukker, Die Unie Van Suid-Afrika, Pretoria, 10 Januarie 1944, p.1.

railway and harbours. In 1942, 4000 low income families were benefitting from the scheme.³⁰ Shortages were felt so keenly by the 1940s that the Union government created and funded a feeding scheme which provided subsidised milk, butter, eggs, citrus and deciduous fruits to schools.³¹

In the mid 1920s, *Die Huisvrou* began to feature frequent articles concerning the nutritional values of foods. Women's fascination with different kinds of foods and their properties was explained as a desire to learn how to provide the most nutritious food and that the best way to do this was by using scientific methods.³² The government was providing, and women were seeking, educational opportunities, as with the jam making in chapter one, in order to gain this knowledge. Housewives were also clearly celebrated for taking a serious interest in feeding the nation. "[S]y besef goed dat haar eerste plig die versorging van haar gesin is. Alleen wanneer 'n volk sterk en gesond is, kan hy sy ideale verwesenlik. Om hierdie rede het talle vrouens in die jongste tyd groot belangstelling in voedingsleer gestel"³³ [She realises well that her first duty is caring for her family. Only when a nation is strong and healthy can it reach its ideals. For this reason, many women at this time take great interest in dietetics]. The self-expressed purpose of articles in *Die Huisvrou* about food was educational, aimed to enable women to achieve good health for their families. An excerpt from the introduction to an article called "Voedsel en Gesondheid: Wat moet ons eet" in *Die Huisvrou* in 1926 reads:

Die enigste manier om die regte en gesonde kos te kry, wat al die nodige bestandele het om ons liggaam te voed en fris en sterk te maak, en siektes af te keer, is dus om kennis te hê van die voedingswaarde van die verskillende soorte kos wat nodig is om die liggaam gesond en sterk te hou. Daarom word huisvrouens so sterk en gedurig aangeraai om daardie kennis te kry.³⁴

[The only way to get the correct and wholesome food, which has all the necessary ingredients to feed the body, make it strong and healthy, and to avoid sickness, is therefore to have knowledge of the nutritional values of the different kinds of food that are needed

³⁰ Departement van Volksgesondheid: *Eerste Verslag Oor die Aktiwiteite van die Nasionale Voedingsraad vir die tydperk 27 Junie 1940 tot 31 Desember 1943*, Staatsdrukker, Die Unie Van Suid-Afrika, Pretoria, 10 Januarie 1944, p.10.

³¹ Y. Albertyn: "Upsetting the Applecart: Government and Food Control in the Union of South Africa during World War II c.1939-1948," (Masters of Arts (History), Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Stellenbosch University, April, 2014), p.21.

³² [Author Unknown]: "n Groot Nasionale Verantwoordelikheid vir Vrouens," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (304), 21 Februarie 1928, pp.1-2,

³³ Mej. S. Naude: "Voedselbeheer Organisasie: Uitsaaipraatjie," *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (304), 7 Julie 1942, p.15.

³⁴ [Author Unknown]: "Voedsel en gesondheid: die najaag van gesondheid en wat moet ons eet?," *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (228), 7 September 1926, p.13.

to keep the body healthy and strong. Therefore, housewives are strongly and often advised to gain that knowledge.]

The article also expressed a clearly introspective view of society's pursuit of health in the 1920s, by introducing the topic with the explanation that: "[d]ie najaag van gesondheid is iets wat elke mens besighou. Niemand kan dit verwaarloos nie" [The pursuit of health is something that keeps each person busy. No-one can neglect it].³⁵ It goes on to explain the ideal diet as one with an emphasis on balance which contained the correct proportions of all foods, while the wrong diet was regarded as one which had too much protein, or too many carbohydrates.³⁶ *Good Housekeeping* recommended that young girls be trained in the subject of "Mothercraft" at school. Health being essentially tied to mothering, and the subjects of concern between the wars, are evident in the following quote:

South Africa, with its glorious sunshine, its abundance of fresh, pure air, and its adequate supply of fresh fruit, vegetables and dairy products, has a wonderful background for robust health... There should be no pale, listless babies. No rickety children. And no malnutrition where one would not expect to find it. These things result from ignorance of the vital subject of correct child management. And the remedy lies in teaching our schoolgirls Mothercraft as a compulsory subject.³⁷

The responsibility of providing good food came to be felt so keenly in the 1920s that one article suggested that women protest if the quality of food that they received from their grocer was not up to proper standards of health and safety. In the case of any perceived threats to public health, women were called to boycott until the perpetrators realised the gravity of the situation and mended their ways.³⁸ English women were also encouraging each other to champion the cause of providing wholesome food and saw attaining knowledge about food and taking public action to be essential parts of this duty. *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping* became the mouthpiece for The Housewives' League of South Africa in 1941. The president of the league, Mrs Margaret Jenkins, was also a member of the Consumers' Advisory Council, the Education Committee, the National Nutrition Council, the National Anti-Waste Committee and the Dairy Industry Control Board, which shows the extent to which concern for nutrition, and

³⁵ [Author Unknown]: "Voedsel en gesondheid: die najaag van gesondheid en wat moet ons eet?," *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (228), 7 September 1926, p.13.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ E.M. Barnard: "Mothercraft as a school subject," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, April 1944, (X), (1), April, 1944, p.27.

³⁸ [Author Unknown]: "Publieke Gesondheid: Die aandeel daarin van die Huismoeder," *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (99), 18 Maart 1924, p.1.

the well-being of the community was an all-encompassing pastime. The stated purpose of the league was:

- a. To enquire into, protect, and improve interests of housewives in South Africa, in so far as they are affected by the cost of living.
- b. To direct the interest of the Government, and any person, company or body of persons engaged in the supply of foodstuffs, to reduce the cost thereof.
- c. To promote among members such knowledge of an adequate diet (derived from South African Sources) as will tend to develop a healthy nation.
- d. To enquire into conditions of workers in the food trade, and to take all legal steps to encourage employers to improve such conditions.
- e. To call public and other meetings and to arrange lectures and debates and to distribute literature and press propaganda and generally use all legitimate means to bring into effect the above objects.³⁹

In the early 1930s, the South African Department of Agriculture and Forestry began to produce pamphlets and bulletins about various aspects of cooking (including one called *Typical South African Recipes* and a series called *Preserving of Fruits and Vegetables*) which were sold for about a shilling. In 1937 the foreword to the *Foods and Cookery* bulletin explained that the fact that over 10 000 copies of their bulletins had been printed and distributed since 1934 showed that “South African Housewives are keen to acquire practical knowledge in regard to domestics, and to learn up-to-date and reliable methods of food preparation. They are awake to the fact that correct diet plays a very large part in the building up of a strong and virile race.”⁴⁰ By 1939 the popularity of these pamphlets increased enough to compile and publish them in book format. According to the preface of *Foods and Cookery: The Housewife’s Guide* (1939), the publications had become invaluable to South Africa housewives, especially those from the less fortunate echelons, while emphasising that women of all classes required education with regards to nutrition in saying that: “malnutrition should not be ascribed exclusively to poverty for there is sufficient proof that some of our more well-to-do families are to-day seriously menaced on account of the fact that they lack necessary knowledge of

³⁹ [Advertisement for The Housewives’ League of South Africa]: *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (vii), (5), August 1941, pp.148-149.

⁴⁰ Union of South Africa Department of Agriculture and Forestry: *Foods and Cookery*, Compiled by the Home Economics Officers of the division of Agricultural Education and Extension, Government Printer, Pretoria, Union of South Africa, 1937, G.P.S.10645-1937-1,000, p.4.

proper food.”⁴¹ The table of contents of the 1933 edition of a *Foods and Cookery* pamphlet establishes the level of fixation with nutrition as well as clearly outlining the concerns of the day and providing a framework for exploring their approach to food and cookery. It included chapters concerning ““Science” versus “Luck” in Cookery”, “Food and the Digestion”, “The Balanced Diet”, “Rules for Planning Meals”, “Health Rules for School Children, and Milk in their Diet” and “Diet for the Sick and Convalescent.” Other topics dealt with the cooking of vegetables, the value of liver in the diet, economical cuts and uses of meat and egg dishes.⁴²

Many of the sections listed above were found in most cookbooks of the time and similar topics were covered by the two magazines studied. The introductory section of *Foods and Cookery* demonstrates how the overarching theme of a scientific approach to food preparation, as referred to in the previous chapter, informed the rest of the book. Accuracy in following recipes, controlling temperatures, measuring ingredients, an understanding of the terminology used and testing whether something was ready for consumption were considered essential to being a proficient in the kitchen:

To become a good cook means gaining a knowledge of foods and how they behave, and skill in manipulating them; in other words, good cooking is both a science and an art.⁴³

But the table of contents of *Foods and Cookery* reveals that this fixation with cooking as a scientific process was underpinned by a desire to provide correct nutrition to ensure the health of the family. Eating the wrong thing was believed to be able to make people sick and ultimately, place the good of the nation in jeopardy.⁴⁴ The chapter “Health Rules for School Children, and Milk in their Diet” reiterates this sentiment as it opens with the idea that “[h]ealthy living means proper food, long hours of sleep and plenty of fresh air” which is followed by a list of rules for eating which is promised to ensure that children are “strong and well”.⁴⁵ These rules encompassed the avoidance of eating between meals, encouraging

⁴¹ Union of South Africa Department of Agriculture and Forestry: *Foods and Cookery (The Housewife’s Guide)(Revised and combined edition of the pamphlets “Foods and Cookery” and Preserving of Fruits and Vegetables)*, Compiled by the Home Economics Officers of the division of Agricultural Education and Extension, 5th revised Enlarged Edition, Government Printer, Pretoria, Union of South Africa, 1939, G.P.S.7622-1939-4,000, p.5.

⁴² Union of South Africa Department of Agriculture and Forestry: *Foods and Cookery (The Housewife’s Guide)(Revised and combined edition of the pamphlets “Foods and Cookery” and Preserving of Fruits and Vegetables)*, Compiled by the Home Economics Officers of the division of Agricultural Education and Extension, 5th revised Enlarged Edition, Government Printer, Pretoria, Union of South Africa, 1939, G.P.S.7622-1939-4,000, table of contents.

⁴³ *Foods and Cookery*, 1939, pp.7-9.

⁴⁴ [Author Unknown]: “Die gesondheid van ’n volk is die rykdom van ’n volk,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (193), 5 Januarie 1926, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁵ *Foods and Cookery*, 1939, p.17.

children to consume at least two cups of milk a day, serving children their biggest meal at midday, chewing food properly and eating slowly.⁴⁶ The book also provides understandings of the daily diet of a child. Breakfast could include six tablespoons of porridge, an egg, one glass of milk or cocoa, bread and butter or toast and/or raw or cooked fruit/soaked dried fruit. Dinner (which was the midday meal for children) would be a bowl of meat or vegetable soup, 2-3 tablespoons of vegetables, a portion of protein such as meat/fish/egg/cheese, a slice of bread and 2-3 tablespoons of dessert. Supper (the evening meal) could be soup or one egg (only if there had been no eggs served at breakfast or “dinner”), a glass of milk, two slices of bread with butter and three tablespoons of raw/cooked/dried fruit. Suggestions of “fruit” to serve for dinner included lightly cooked lettuce and spinach.⁴⁷ Milk was considered especially essential to the diet of children described as “the most perfect food that has been given to us”.⁴⁸

In the 1930s *Die Huisvrou* and *Mrs Slade's South African Good Housekeeping* both regularly featured articles concerning the health benefits of specific foods. The beginning of the article would focus on explaining the properties of the food and then several recipes would follow. Foods such as cheese, eggs, citrus, tomatoes, salad, *mieliemeel* [ground maize, a little courser than flour] and vegetables featured most regularly. One such article about cheese is called “Use More Cheese” and began by explaining that “it is surely hard to find a food that is more valuable for the constitution than cheese”.⁴⁹ Another advertisement appeared in 1935 stating “Eet meer botter en kaas” [Eat more butter and cheese] (see figure 2.1), which further indicates that there may have been a dairy surplus of some kind at the time. Foodstuffs were also advertised on nationalistic terms, such as one which read “For Sparkling Health Drink Delicious KWV South African Grape Juice” (see figure 2.2).⁵⁰ While the suggested recipes in the aforementioned article that contained cheese were quite simple, including a “recipe” for cheese on bread, a fascination with salads, and oranges, revered almost as superfoods are today, made for some unusually strange sounding dishes. A salad introduced as “Dadelslaai” [Date salad] was made from stuffing dates with cream cheese, raisins and almonds served on

⁴⁶ *Foods and Cookery*, 1939, p.17.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p.18.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p.19.

⁴⁹ The original text reads: “Daar is seker nie maklik ń voedsel te kry wat meer waardevol is vir die gestel as kaas nie.”

B. Jacobs: “Kookkuns: Gebruik meer Kaas,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (702), 8 Oktober, 1935, p.27.

⁵⁰ *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (IV), (8), November 1938, p.327.

a bed of lettuce with a French dressing.⁵¹ One which combined a passion for salads with a love of gelatine called for a jelly made with lemon juice, water and gelatine into which fresh salad ingredients such as cucumber and tomato were added. The salad would therefore be served as a slice of jelly filled with suspended vegetables and garnished with watercress.⁵²

Articles with titles like “Salads are indispensable” outlined the many benefits of eating salad and maintained that they should be eaten at least once a day, but the recipes provided often didn’t sound very appetising. The only three recipes to be included in the aforementioned article were all “jellied” salads. All three required the suspension of different salad ingredients in a jelly mixture which was then set. “Jellied Grapefruit Salad” called for a jelly made from ½ cup grapefruit juice, 1 ½ cups water, 2 T sugar, 1 tsp salt, a few grains of pepper and some green food colouring. When it was at the point of setting, it was filled with grapefruit pieces, sour apples, green peas and chopped pineapple and when set, served with a garnish of lettuce leaves.⁵³ An article in Mrs Slade’s magazine called “The Housewife’s Guide: How to Preserve the Health of your family” suggested that raw vegetables, such as lettuce, tomatoes, grated carrots or beetroots, turnips and cabbage, be served at least once a day because of their necessity to health. The same article viewed fruit as an essential part of the diet explaining that fruit is the perfect dessert to follow a heavy meal.⁵⁴

Oranges outshone other foods in the estimation of housewives, a fact that was especially apparent in *Mrs. Slade’s Good South African Housekeeping* magazine. Mrs Slade filled her writing with information concerning the health properties of citrus fruits, which we know from the previous chapter she was paid to endorse and she managed a stall promoting the use of the fruit in Johannesburg in 1936.⁵⁵ They were hailed for being packed with vitamins, thought to contain more “stored sunlight” than any other fruit and being a tonic or “protective food” because they contained vitamin C.⁵⁶ Curiously, the extent of the value of oranges was only

⁵¹ B. Jacobs: “Kookkuns: Slaai Geregte gee die Nodige Vitamiene,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (750), 22 September 1936, p.25.

⁵² [Author Unknown]: “Kookkuns: Soorte Slaai,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (187), 24 November 1925, p.30.

⁵³ [Author Unknown]: “Salads are Indispensable,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (VII), (7), October 1940, pp.236-237; 240.

⁵⁴ [Author Unknown]: “The Housewife’s Guide: How to Preserve the Health of your Family,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (VII), October 1939, p.243.

⁵⁵ Mrs H.M. Slade: “Citrus Fruits: Their Value and Uses,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (II), (2), May 1936, p.52.

⁵⁶ J.C. Slade: “Economical and Nutritious Dishes: Whole Meals in Vegetable Dishes,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (7), October 1939, pp.256-258.

recognised in the mid to late 1930s and early to mid 1940s, a time at which there was a great oversupply of the fruit in South Africa as large investments had been made to plant citrus orchards in 1930 and during the Second World War the export of citrus fruit to Europe declined dramatically.⁵⁷ In 1939, a Citrus Council was formed as the War would render exporting the fruit impossible, and a crisis of oversupply seemed unavoidable. Attempts were made to foster interest from the British market by displaying South African products, including oranges, in the exhibition hall at *South Africa House*, but ultimately exports dropped from 10 900 pockets weighing 30lbs each in 1939, to 2 305 pockets in 1944.⁵⁸ The Union government's food council was seriously concerned about wastage of the fruit and much effort was spent trying to figure out how best to distribute the oranges to as many people as possible, especially in war time. Plans were put into place to transport the fruit to "the native's urban locations and reserves" as well as to be subsidised and sold to white people of lower income groups to whom they would be nutritiously beneficial.⁵⁹ Various articles started appearing in Mrs Slade's magazine with ideas for uses of oranges and their benefits.

It is also seen that dessert was thought of as an important part of a balanced diet.⁶⁰ Many of the articles in *Die Huisvrou* about the health benefits of certain foods then provided recipes for desserts. Elements of desserts, such as fat, sugar and gluten, are viewed with suspicion today culminating in dessert being perceived as a form of decadence. There was, however, discrepancy in the way that these foods were regarded in the period at hand. In the 1935 an advert in *Mrs Slade's South African Good Housekeeping* appeared which read: "Pure white South African Sugar: Gives clean healthy food no other sugar does the same".⁶¹ Another more flagrant one read: "Sugar does not fatten *It Strengthens*, South African Sugar *Keeps you fit-eat more of it!*"⁶² Despite 1939 being a year of abundant sugar crops in South Africa, in 1940 an article appeared in *Die Huisvrou* to encourage women not to give their children sweets, though it wasn't really specified why not.⁶³ Another article from the same year suggested that

⁵⁷ J.M. Tinley: *South African Food and Agriculture in World War II*, p.40.

⁵⁸ Y. Albertyn: "Upsetting the Appletart: Government and Food Control in the Union of South Africa during World War II c.1939-1948," (Masters of Arts (History), Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Stellenbosch University, April, 2014), pp.24-25.; J.M. Tinley: *South African Food and Agriculture in World War II*, p.41.

⁵⁹ Departement van Volksgesondheid: *Eerste Verslag Oor die Aktiwiteite van die Nasionale Voedingsraad vir die tydperk 27 Junie 1940 tot 31 Desember 1943*, Staatsdrukker, Pretoria, Die Unie van Suid-Afrika, 10 Januarie 1944, p.11.

⁶⁰ [Author Unknown]: "Kookkuns: Gebalanseerde maaltyde," *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (400), 24 Desember 1929, p.25.

⁶¹ [Advertisement]: *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (I), (3), June 1935, p.127.

⁶² [Advertisement]: *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (II), (7), October 1936, p.321.

⁶³ [Author Unknown]: "Behoort Kinders Lekkers te Kry?," *Die Huisvrou*, (XX), (1016), 21 Oktober 1941, p.6.

those who wanted to lose weight cut out sweet things and bread.⁶⁴ However, statistics show that sugar sold to Union manufacturers of jams, canned fruits and confections increased from 44 000 tons in 1939/40, to 100 000 tons in 1944/5. South African consumers were also buying more sugar. In 1939/40 the domestic market bought 79 000 tons and by 1944/45 that had swelled to 156 000 tons.⁶⁵ Fat was viewed as a food which lubricated the digestive system as well as providing a valuable form of fuel and a doctor recommended in an article that children eat at least four tablespoons of fat a day in the form of butter or lard.⁶⁶ There do appear to have been inconsistencies about fat though, as some articles recommended eating only one egg a day or watering eggs down because of their high fat content and attest weight gain directly to quantities of fat being consumed.⁶⁷ Conversely the 1937 *Foods and Cookery* book sees ice cream as a health food. “Ice-cream must no longer be considered as a mere hot weather confection, but rather as an important and nutritious food. In feeding the sick, especially in the case of fevers, it is invaluable as a source of body-building, heat regulating and maintenance food.”⁶⁸

The addition of a food believed to be “healthy” to a recipe also appears to have given the entire dish beneficial properties. The introduction to an article about *Mieliemeel* explains that it is a healthy food that should be used often because of this quality.

Enige voedsel wat deur die gebruik van mieliemeel gemaak word is baie gesond en voedsaam, tog, behalwe vir die maak van pap, kan mieliemeel alleen nie suksesvol gebruik word sonder om een of meer ander bestanddele by te voeg nie.⁶⁹

[Any food that is made with maize meal is very wholesome and nutritious, though, except for making porridge, maize meal cannot be used successfully without combining one or more other ingredient to it.]

Talks about sugar being essential to the child’s diet. But says that it would be better for them to get that sugar from fruit. It also explains that any sweets between meals would be detrimental to health.; Y. Albertyn: “Upsetting the Applecart: Government and Food Control in the Union of South Africa during World War II c.1939-1948,” (Masters of Arts (History), Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Stellenbosch University, April, 2014), p.8.

⁶⁴ [Author Unknown]: “Is u bang om te eet?,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIX), (960), 17 September 1940, p.21.

⁶⁵ J.M. Tinley: *South African Food and Agriculture in World War II*, p.82.

⁶⁶ L.E. Hertslet: “A few fascinating facts about food,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (I), (10), January 1936, pp.438-443.

⁶⁷ [Author Unknown]: “Kookkuns: eiers en hul gebruik in die dieet,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (360), 19 Maart 1929, p.27.

“Oortollige gewig is nadelig vir gesondheid,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (633), 12 Junie 1934, p.14.

⁶⁸ Compiled by the Home Economics Officers of the Division of Agricultural Education and extension: *Foods and cookery*, Government Printer, Pretoria, 1937, G.P.-S.10645-1937-1000, p.116.

⁶⁹ [Author Unknown]: “Kookkuns: Mieliemeel,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (680), 7 Mei 1935, p.31.

Suggested uses for *Mieliemeel* included one for soup and another for fritters, but most of the recipes are for sweet dishes such as cakes and pudding - showing the belief that the addition of *mieliemeel* could also somehow transform dessert into a “wholesome and nutritious” dish. One baked pudding recipe’s batter consisted of two cups of milk, two eggs, half a spoon of soft fat or butter, preserves and syrup to taste and half a cup of *mieliemeel*. The milk and *mieliemeel* were made into a porridge over the fire and when the porridge was thick it was taken off the heat and the egg yellows, “enough syrup to make it sweet” and fat were to be beaten in. This mixture was poured into a buttered dish and baked for 20 minutes. When taken out of the oven it was spread with a preserve and then topped with the beaten egg whites sweetened to taste with sugar and then returned to a warm oven until the topping was a light brown.⁷⁰

More evidence of pudding being regarded as an important and potentially wholesome addition to the meal is a series of articles that appeared in *Die Huisvrou* with suggested menus for every day of the week included an idea for dessert with at least one meal a day.⁷¹ A meal seems to have been considered incomplete if dessert, or something sweet, was not served with it as those described as “whole meals” usually included a dessert of some kind.⁷² One article relays that women living on farms often did not have enough time to make dessert because they had many duties to fulfil outside of the home, in which case it was suggested that they serve something fast such as fresh or dried fruit with *melkpoeding* [milk pudding]. But even in times of busyness, pudding was not to be skipped.⁷³ A series of menus for meals also appeared in Mrs Slade’s magazine and each meal also included a dessert of some kind.⁷⁴

Eggs were another food considered a superfood and promoted as such by the magazines and cookbooks. The *Foods and Cookery* book dedicated a whole section to the use of eggs in food, and so did other cookbooks in the 1930s, while the magazines studied also featured articles

⁷⁰ [Author Unknown]: “Kookkuns: Mieliemeel”, *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (680), 7 Mei 1935, pp.31-32.

⁷¹ Mej. E.M. Hofmeyr: “Opstel van Maaltye: ’n voortdurende vraagstuk vir die Huisvrou,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (707), 12 November 1935, p.27.

⁷² J.C. Slade: “Economical and Nutritious Dishes: Whole Meals in Vegetable Dishes,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (7), October 1939, pp.256-258.

⁷³ [Author Unknown]: “Die toeberei en opdis van ’n tiepiese Suid-Afrikaanse Middagmaal,” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (8), 20 Junie 1922, pp.31-32.

Melkpoeding is known today as melkkos and is a porridge-like consistency made by heating milk, sugar and flour together. Sometimes sago is added to the mixture and the finished product is usually sprinkled with cinnamon before serving.

⁷⁴ J.C. Slade: “Economical and Nutritious Dishes: Whole Meals in Vegetable Dishes,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (7), October 1939, pp.256-258.

with them as the star ingredient. As mentioned in the previous chapter, women were encouraged to provide an income for themselves within the domestic sphere.⁷⁵ Keeping egg-laying chickens was a particularly popular means of achieving this. In 1925 *Die Huisvrou* published an article about running a profitable egg business and throughout the remaining years of the 1920s as well as the 1930s and 40s, many articles concerning farming with laying chickens appeared in the magazines. The article relays that one woman's 80 laying chickens produced 11 334 eggs in 1934 and that she sold the eggs that she did not use in the home through the co-op called *Die Kaapse Eiervereniging* [The Cape Egg Association]. The co-op gave her 95% of what the eggs sold for and the article specifies that it provided her with great spending power.⁷⁶ It was seen as a form of farming that women could do just as well as men and in the 1930s, the leading egg producing farms were noted as being run by women.⁷⁷

Chicken eggs were not the only eggs consumed. While it appears that their consumption became less common towards the Second World War, ostrich, goose, turkey and duck eggs were considered a viable part of a good diet. Eggs were hailed as being healthy and were viewed as a complete food because of the vitamins, minerals, protein and fat that they contain.⁷⁸ The first recipe using ostrich eggs to appear in *Die Huisvrou* was for a Dutch delicacy called *Suikerbrood*, published in 1922, and sent in by a reader.⁷⁹ In the 1930s, articles about using ostrich eggs continued to appear in *Die Huisvrou* and they were hailed as being an economical option to use in cooking. An average ostrich egg was equivalent to about 24 chicken eggs, so recipes using ostrich eggs usually specified the quantity of egg as opposed to specifying the number of eggs.⁸⁰

Om goed gevoed te wees, behoort 'n mens 'n goed
gebalanseerde dieet te volg. Volop vrugte en groente,
wat die bloed en been verryk sowel as opbou en die
liggaam reguleer en van ru stof voorsien is 'n vereiste.⁸¹

⁷⁵ [Author Unknown]: "Faktore was Eierproduksie Beïnvloed," *Die Huisvrou*, (XI), (538), 16 Augustus 1932, p.12; [Author given as "A. Own-John"]: "Hoe om Hoenderboerdery te Begin," *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (453), 30 Desember 1930, p.22.

⁷⁶ [Author Unknown]: "Hoe ek my hoenderboerdery laat betaal het," *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (192), 29 Desember 1925, p.17.

⁷⁷ A.M. Gericke: "Pluimveeboerdery vir jongmense," *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (809), 26 Oktober 1937, p.16.

⁷⁸ [Author Unknown]: "Kookkuns: eiers en hul gebruik in die dieet," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (360), 19 Maart 1929, p.27.

⁷⁹ [Author Unknown]: "Onderlinge hulp en Vrindskap," *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (20), 12 September 1922, p.22.

⁸⁰ [Author Unknown]: "Kookkuns: Volstruiseiers," *Die Huisvrou*, (XII), (626), 24 April 1934, p.25.

⁸¹ [Author Unknown]: "Kookkuns: Wat eet ons?," *Die Huisvrou*, (X), (484), 4 Augustus 1931, p.27.

[To be well nourished people should follow a balanced diet. Plenty of fruit and vegetables, which will enrich the blood and bones and regulate and build up the body regulation and supply it with raw materials is a necessity.]

Vegetables were also considered essential to a healthy diet and recipes books contained a wide variety of vegetable dishes. S. Van H. Tulleken's book *The Practical Cookery Book for South Africa* contained over 189 recipes for vegetable dishes where vegetables were the centre of the dish. Selected dishes used vegetables that are familiar to South Africans today in unusual ways, such as frying and stewing cucumber, or boiling lettuce, while others called for the use of vegetable which are foreign to the average South African today, or else are just starting to reappear on the table, such as marake and kohlrabi.⁸² Women were even advised to replace meat with vegetables and salads in the summer, since meat was seen as a heat producing food that was less necessary as temperatures rose with the change of season.⁸³ It was also discovered by the 1920s that the boiling of vegetables in water removed nutrients from them rendering them less wholesome, and steaming them was considered the only good way to eat them.⁸⁴ During the Second World war when shortages of meat and eggs were experienced and they became unaffordable for many in South Africa, articles appeared encouraging vegetarian meals. One article called "Economical and nutritious dishes: Whole meals in vegetable dishes" by Mrs Slade provided three menus for full meals made without any meat. The dishes she recommended for one menu included orange juice, lentil cutlets, stuffed tomatoes, riced carrots and creamy rice pudding.⁸⁵

Incorrect diet and processed foods were perceived as dangerous to health, therefore posing a threat to society, while other foods were treated as a form of medicine. Constipation and indigestion were considered two of the most prevalent conditions caused by eating incorrect foods, namely a diet which lacked vitamins and roughage.⁸⁶ An article from 1923 relays that doctors believed that 1/3 of ailments could be cured by eating properly.⁸⁷ In 1924, *Die Huisvrou* featured an article which attributed juvenile delinquency to poor nutrition. It drew

⁸² S. Van H. Tulleken: *The Practical Cookery Book for South Africa (6th edition)*, [1923], pp.xviii-xxiv.

⁸³ [Author Unknown]: "Die waarde van groente en 'n paar eksellente maniere om hulle te kook," (II), (74), 25 September 1923, p.32.

⁸⁴ [Author Unknown]: "Nuwe manier om groente te kook," *Die Huisvrou*, 10 Augustus 1926, (VI), (224), p.30.

⁸⁵ J.C. Slade: "Economical and Nutritious Dishes: Whole Meals in Vegetable Dishes," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (7), October 1939, pp.256-258.

⁸⁶ [Author Unknown]: "Die gesondheid van 'n volk is die rykdom van 'n volk II", *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (194), 12 Januarie 1926, pp.1-2.

⁸⁷ [Author Unknown]: "Ons Daaglikse ete," *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (48), 27 Maart 1923, p.10.

the conclusion that a good cook could have as much influence on a child as an educator. The author also railed against imported, tinned and mass produced food while praising food that was made fresh in the home by the mother.⁸⁸ Ensuring that food was vitamin rich was increasingly emphasised as the knowledge of rickets being caused by a lack of fruit and vegetables and a diet solely comprised of fine or refined foods such as cooked milk and white bread and rice spread.⁸⁹ The aforementioned article closes with the statement that discovering how foods affect people was considered to be the biggest progress that the field of medical science had ever made and that doctors were beginning to prescribe particular diets instead of medicine as well as a call to women to embrace cooking as the most admirable occupation for the benefit of a family.

En die *gesonde gees*, sowel as *die gesonde liggaam* van die kinders, sal baie meer bevorder word deur die vrou en moeder wat tuis bly en haar kos goed kook en klaarmaak, as deur die vrou-advokaat en die vrou-parlementslid!⁹⁰

[And the healthy spirit, as well as the healthy body of the children, will be further improved by the woman and mother that stays at home and cooks her food well, than the female advocate and the female member of parliament]

An article called “Weet u Waarom u Vrugte moet Eet?” [Do you know why you must eat fruit] explained the vitamin and nutritional content of fruit before refuting the belief that fruit caused rheumatism and instead attempted to convince readers that fruit allowed the body to release “suurstowwe” [gasses] caused by eating too much meat. Fruit was also promised to encourage the appetite and the flow of digestive juices as well as being good for teeth. The article ended by explaining that it is better to spend money on fruit than on medicine.⁹¹ A similar article appeared concerning the medicinal benefits of eating certain vegetables. Carrots were seen as beneficial for the skin and for providing relief to those suffering from gout. Cabbage was thought to be good for the respite from constipation and a means of returning good colour to the skin and a sparkle to dull eyes. Celery was promised provide the prevention and cure for

⁸⁸ [Author Unknown]: “Benodig! Beter Kokke,” *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (105), 29 April 1924, pp.1-2;4.

⁸⁹ [Author Unknown]: “Wat is vitamienes?,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (305), 28 Februarie 1928, p.25; W. Gratzler: *Terrors of the table: The Curious History of Nutrition*, pp.178-179.

⁹⁰ [Author Unknown]: “Benodig! Beter Kokke,” *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (105), 29 April 1924, pp.1-2;4.

⁹¹ [Author Unknown]: “Weet U waarom u vrugte moet eet?,” *Die Huisvrou*, (V), (211), 11 Mei 1926, p.16.

rheumatism, while onions were believed to purify the blood- especially if eaten raw.⁹² Citrus fruits are worth mentioning again as Mrs Slade wrote the following about them: “[t]hey are veritable medicine chests and chemists tell us that the alkaline residue of these fruits is composed of potash, lime, magnesium, iron, phosphorus and silica, and that in addition to their medicinal value, they contain citric acid, sugar and a small quantity of protein”.⁹³ Another article in *Mrs. Slade’s Good South African Housekeeping* shows that it was believed that “the strain of modern life” created the space for realising that diet was necessary for gaining and maintaining physical health. It also encouraged all women to seek training and careers as dietitians.⁹⁴

Another manifestation of the emphasis on good nutrition as essential to life, was a desire to evoke appetite through presentation. By the late 1930s, with increasingly affordable access to cameras, the magazines and cookbooks started placing more and more prominence on the aesthetics of eating. It was an obsession that was formed on the belief that monotony ruined appetite, especially in children.⁹⁵ An article in *Mrs. Slade’s Good South African Housekeeping*, bluntly called “Garnishing is important”, revealed the belief that looking at a beautifully presented meal would start the digestion process and add to its palatability. “There is an art in preparing simple dishes so attractively and appetizingly that they literally “make the mouth water,” and it has been proved that food that is relished is digested more easily than the food that is partaken of indifferently.” Garnishing was a fashionable means of making dishes visually pleasing and the magazine suggested colouring salad dressings with bright colours and decorating with: parsley and lemon for savoury dishes, peas in rice, whipped cream on desserts and using hollowed out tomatoes and whole lettuce leaves to fill with different foods. Filled lettuce baskets were commonly filled with egg mayonnaise and ham.⁹⁶ Recipe pamphlets and cookbooks, such as those of Davis Gelatine, presented photographs of colourful and odd-looking creations (see figure 2.3). An article in *Die Huisvrou* explained that variety in texture and colour was necessary for making food appetising and also suggested lettuce and parsley to

⁹² [Author Unknown]: “Kookkuns: Die geneeskundige waarde van verskillende groentes,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (353), 29 Januarie 1929, p.26.

⁹³ Mrs. H.M. Slade: “Citrus Fruits: Their Value and Uses,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (II), (2), May 1936, p.52.

⁹⁴ M.E. McKerron: “A Career for your daughter,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (III), (11), February 1938, p.499.

⁹⁵ [Author Unknown]: “Voeding van die Normale Skoolkind,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XII), (599), 17 Oktober 1933, p.28.

⁹⁶ E.M. Barnard: “Garnishing is important,” *Mrs Slade’s Good South African housekeeping*, (IV), (4), July 1938, p.192.

achieve this goal, as well as a dash of paprika or slices of radish.⁹⁷ *Foods and Cookery* argued that presenting attractive food was one of the seven most important aspects of planning meals.⁹⁸ And presentation was recognised as the second most important element, out of three, to preparing good food for sick people. In a description of the process of making food for invalids the book explained that: “[t]he food must be carefully prepared, and served as tastefully as possible. The tray, linen, cutlery, dishes, etc., should be spotlessly clean, and the best we can provide”.⁹⁹

Nurses, housewives and nursing in the home

In the 1920s it became more and more acceptable for women to study to be and seek employment as nurses or other jobs within in the medical field.¹⁰⁰ Working as a nurse was seen as a “huishoudelike” [household] profession, once again showing the expansion of the domestic realm. Nursing was believed to be a favourable form of employment for women because it apparently kept them from the possibility of being exposed to unfamiliar or unsupervised men.¹⁰¹ But countrywide problems with, and greater attention on high infant mortality rates led to a need for trained nurses and midwives.¹⁰² In 1911, 96 out of every 1000 children died at birth and by 1926 that figure had been reduced to 65 per 1000. There were nonetheless concerns that the rates were still much higher than other countries the Union compared itself to. The figure for New Zealand in 1925 was 42 per 1000. Fears because of the decreasing “European” population in South Africa culminated in suggestions for Europeans to be imported from Holland and other European countries to augment numbers on Southern African Soil.¹⁰³ Homes to care for orphans and young women that had fallen pregnant out of wedlock began to emerge with the stated purpose of protecting the defenceless in society, but perhaps also provided means of ensuring that every “European” child was properly cared for

⁹⁷ Mej. E.M. Hofmeyr: “Opstel van Maaltye: ’n voortdurende vraagstuk vir die Huisvrou,” *Die Huisvrou*, 12 November 1935, (XIV), (707), p.27; [Author Unknown]: “Kookkuns: Kokery vir die Sieke,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (706), 5 November 1935, p.27.

⁹⁸ *Foods and cookery*, p.13.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* p.207.

¹⁰⁰ [Author Unknown]: “Wat sal ons maak met ons meisies: ’n pleidooi vir die Onderwys-Professie vir Meisies,” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (10), 4 Julie 1922, pp.1-2.

¹⁰¹ [Author Unknown]: “Loopbane vir Meisies,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (198), 9 Februarie 1926, pp.1-2.

¹⁰² [Author Unknown]: “Publieke Gesondheid: Die aandeel daarin van die Huismoeder,” *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (99), 18 Maart 1924, pp.1-3.

¹⁰³ [Author Unknown]: “Om die Teetafel,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (387), 24 September 1929, p.13.; [Author Unknown]: “Om die Teetafel: Die Kindersterfsyfers vir die Unie,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (168), 14 Julie 1925, p.29.

in order to boost population numbers.¹⁰⁴ Those with money could afford to have someone in the home as a nurse to care for the sick, especially sick children, but while the nurses found in homes could be women that were hired by the family that required their services, often housewives were expected to fulfil this duty. A list of books recommended to aid women in caring for their family included: *The Doctor at Home and Nurse's Guide*, *Good Health and Happiness- "New Science of Health"*, *Ventilation Health- "New Hygiene Fresh Air"* and *Good Health and Long Life-How to attain them*.¹⁰⁵ Practically, health care in the home was executed by turning a room in the house into a "sick room", cooking special food for the invalid and making and administering remedies for the ailment being suffered.¹⁰⁶

In *Mrs Slade's Good South African Housekeeping* a series of articles appeared in the last years of the 1930s called "Sickroom Cookery". The title given alludes to the expectation that houses would have a room for the use of the sick in them. Articles appeared in both magazines giving explanations for how the "sickroom" was to be arranged.¹⁰⁷ It appears that most people would convert a room usually used for a different purpose into a special place to care for the person who was sick at the time, as opposed to one permanently dedicated to the use. It was preferably a sunny and well-lit room that was in a quiet part of the house and, if possible, close to the latrine. The chosen room was then stripped of any unnecessary household items that the patient would not use or need. After that the room was cleaned from top to bottom, a process that was repeated daily. The clothes of the nurse and patient as well as the bedding were to be boiled every day.¹⁰⁸ Women acting as nurses in the home were encouraged to gather information concerning diagnosing sicknesses. Articles appeared in *Die Huisvrou* with such information and they advised those nursing at home to keep medical equipment such as thermometers to aid them in this process.¹⁰⁹

The last chapter of the *Foods and Cookery* book is one concerned with "Diet for the sick and convalescent". While distinctions between food classified as appropriate for the sick versus food for the healthy have been known to exist since the Roman times, each new era provides

¹⁰⁴[Author Unknown]: "Dink aan Ander: Die Lewe van 'n Edel Suid-Afrikaanse Vrou," *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (67), 7 Augustus 1923, pp.22-23.

¹⁰⁵[Advertisement for "Boeke oor Gesondheid vir die Huis"]: *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (353), 29 Januarie 1929, p.15.

¹⁰⁶B. Mienie: "Tuisverpleging," *Die Huisvrou*, (XXI), (1081), 19 Januarie 1943, p.15.

¹⁰⁷[Author Unknown]: "Spaarsaamheids-wenke," *Die Huisvrou*, 31 Augustus 1926, (VI), (227), p.15.

¹⁰⁸B. Mienie: "Tuisverpleging," *Die Huisvrou*, (XXI), (1081), 19 Januarie 1943, p.15.

¹⁰⁹[Author Given as C.C.P.]: "Om siektes te Herken," *Die Huisvrou*, (XIX), (958), 3 September 1940, p.10,

evidence of different ideas about the properties of food and what should be classed in each category.¹¹⁰ Both magazines featured numerous articles referring to making food for invalids. The recipes that appeared in these sections were for dishes considered especially nutritious and essential to good health, while being specifically suited to the needs of the sick. The introduction to one article called “Sick Room Cookery” reads:

When the crisis of an illness is passed, the feeding-up of the patient is often far more important than actual medicine, for the recovery usually depends on building up the strength of the patient. Spare no trouble or pain, therefore, in studying the likes and dislikes of you patient in every possible way and to serve foods in the most attractive manner.¹¹¹

An article in *Die Huisvrou* in 1927 distinguishes between three different diets for invalids: a liquid diet, soft or semi-solid diet or a light diet. A liquid diet included raw eggs, beef tea and barley water, while a soft or semi-solid diet was comprised of jelly, toast soaked in milk and custard pudding and a light diet was one of thin toast, soft cooked eggs, spinach, peas and meat.¹¹² While some dishes sound quite appetising, many are strange concoctions. Drinks made from some form of meat were the diet of the sick as chicken soup is today, and they gained popularity in various forms. Beef tea (also known as beef/meat extract) was a favourite that was made from mincing fresh meat, pouring water over it, allowing it to draw and then straining the water from the meat and serving. The meat would be discarded.¹¹³ Beef juice was made by squeezing a lightly grilled piece of beef that was cut into pieces.¹¹⁴ Bovril (a salty meat extract initially used to make hot drinks and later to spread on bread/toast) provided advertisements/recipes for “Iced Bovril” where one teaspoonful of Bovril was dissolved in a small quantity of water to which ice and soda water was added.¹¹⁵

Meat was not the only ingredient used to make nutritious drinks for patients. Barley water was a thick drink made by boiling barley kernels in water with sugar and lemon. Raw eggs were considered as nutritious and easier to digest than their cooked counterparts and they were sometimes served beaten with brandy and milk.¹¹⁶ Eggs were also added to orange juice to make what was called an “Orange Cordial.” The cordial was made by beating one egg with a

¹¹⁰ W. Gratzler: *Terrors of the table: The Curious History of Nutrition*, p.39.

¹¹¹ [Author Unknown]: “Sick Room Cookery,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (v), (4), February 1938, p.146.

¹¹² [Author Unknown]: “Kookkuns: Kos vir siekmense,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (254), 8 Maart 1927, p.27.

¹¹³ [Author Unknown]: “Kookkuns: Ligte en maklik verteerbare geregte vir kinders en siekmense,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (312), 17 April 1928, p.27.

¹¹⁴ *Foods and Cookery*, 1939, p.210.

¹¹⁵ [Advert for Bovril]: *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (VII), (11), February 1941, p.375,

¹¹⁶ B. Jacobs: “Kookkuns: Voedsel vir die Sieke,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XII), (599), 17 Oktober 1933, p.26.

tablespoon of sugar until frothy and then adding the juice of one orange and a tablespoon of cream.¹¹⁷ Rice Jelly, another popular dish found in both magazines and cookbooks, was made by mixing rice flour with boiling water and a dash of lemon juice, salt and cinnamon. The mixture was poured into a bowl to set and when cool cut into slices and served with milk or cream and sugar.¹¹⁸

Housewives were additionally expected to make remedies themselves to treat their patients. While food was considered the best medicine, housewives also made treatments, often using food, for specific ailments. A very bad cold could be treated by the patient consuming a mixture of raw egg, lemon and brandy three times a day. The water extracted by soaking raw turnips in sugar was used as a cough syrup. The same method was used to make an onion-based syrup. Another cough syrup was made from slowly baking carrots with sugar and then using the liquid at the bottom of the pan to administer to the patient. Sage leaves were soaked in boiling water which was allowed to cool and then the mixture was combined with honey and vinegar and used for gargling to alleviate sore throats.¹¹⁹ Onions, especially raw ones, were revered as a superfood which could cure coughs, colds, ear ache, convulsions, act as a tonic for nerves and be applied as a poultice. One remedy for curing convulsions with onions seems particularly odd. It called for onion to be crushed and then pressed onto the veins and tied into place with bandages.¹²⁰ An article in *Mrs Slade's South African Good Housekeeping* also encouraged European women to tap into the "healing powers" of herbs, indigenous and otherwise, in treating the sick as "the coloured people in the Cape" did.¹²¹ The author relays the benefits of drinking the juice of sour fig leaves in warm water for tonsils, kankerbosch for stomach and constipation, mullein for colds and argues that herbs act as stimulants and laxatives as well as treating fevers, skin troubles and lung problems.¹²² Historian Sandra Swart has also shown that in the first two decades of the 20th century certain rural Afrikaners were open to the use of treatments offered by African traditional healing practices.¹²³

¹¹⁷[Author given as "a Nurse"]: "When there's 'Flu in the house,'" *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (VII), (11), February 1941, p.375.

¹¹⁸*Foods and Cookery*, 1939 p.212; [Author Unknown]: "Kookkuns: Nog meer resepe vir die dieët van siekes en herstellendes," *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (716), 14 Januarie 1936, p.27.

¹¹⁹ [Author Unknown]: "Huismiddels," *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (628), 8 Mei 1934, p.25,

¹²⁰ C.M. Brookes-Ball: "Onions as healers," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (7), October 1939, p.255.

¹²¹At this time herbs were also garnering the attention of the medical world and pharmaceuticals.

[Advertisement]: "Die Kruie in Medisyne," *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (638), 17 Julie 1934, p.26.

¹²² J. Lumsden: "Herbs are free gifts from nature," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (4), July 1939, pp.124;126.

¹²³ S. Swart: "'Bushveld Magic' and 'Miracle Doctors': An Exploration of Eugène Marais and C. Louis

Women were also provided with opportunities to access ready-made products to enhance their own health as well as that of their families. During the 1930s, advertisements appeared in the magazines for treatments to all kinds of ailments as well as foods which promised to meet all nutritional needs. Many were aimed at women's health, reflecting the dangers associated with bearing children, or children's health with very little being advertised for men. An advertisement for "Feluna Pills" (see figure 2.4), explained that women's health affected their temperament and behaviour and that "Sonder gesondheid kan sy onmoontlik die vrou en moeder wees, wat sy hoop om te wees" [without health it is impossible to be the wife and the mother that she hopes to be].¹²⁴ Women needed to be in prime condition themselves if they were to effectively care for those around them. These special pills for so called feminine complaints promised to cure pains, anaemia, depression, irritability, headaches and exhaustion which were all attested to weak blood and "Funksionele ongereeldheid" [functional irregularity].¹²⁵ Andrew's Liver Salt claimed that it could protect against everything from rheumatism to loss of appetite as well as provide inner purity.¹²⁶ There was also a sudden surge of milk formulas for babies on the market, though at this time, many were adulterated.¹²⁷ Special food for breastfeeding mothers were also advertised such as Robinson's 'Patent' Groats which promised to provide health for the mother and the breastfeeding child. The heading of the advertisement encouraged women to give health to their child for their first birthday.¹²⁸

Fresh air and fitness fanatics

Providing the correct food and nursing the sick were not the only ways that housewives could ensure the health of their family. A few articles appeared about exercise in *Die Huisvrou* in the 1920s, but a flood of article by the 1930s, shows that physical exercise and the physical environment surrounding people were coming to be regarded as important to gaining and maintaining good health. Fresh air, sunshine, and at least an hour of exercise a day is what one article recommended for a healthy body. Sunshine, which one apparently could never have too much of, was believed to kill germs on and in a person, and provide the body with a direct source of energy, while fresh air was thought to reduce the risk of catching a cold or other

Leipoldt's Experiences in the Waterberg, South Africa, c. 1906-1917," *The Journal of African History*, (45), (2), 2004, pp. 237-255.

¹²⁴ [Advertisement for Feluna], *Die Huisvrou*, (XVI), (873), 17 Januarie 1939, p.2.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* p.2.

¹²⁶ [Advertisement for Andrew's Liver Salt], *Die Huisvrou*, (XVI), (856), 20 September 1938, p.26.

¹²⁷ W. Gratzler: *Terrors of the table: The Curious History of Nutrition*, pp.113-114; [Author Unknown]: "n Groot nasionale verantwoordelikheid vir vrouens," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (304), 21 Februarie 1928, pp.1-2.

¹²⁸ [Advertisement for Robinson's Patent Groats], *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (809), 26 Oktober 1937, p.6.

germs.¹²⁹ Staying inside too much, though there are no specifications of what “too much” was, was therefore considered doubly dangerous for health, firstly because of lack of sunshine and secondly, a lack of fresh air.¹³⁰ Urban life was consequently viewed as hazardous to good health and calls were made for women to move outside of the home in order to provide a good environment for themselves and their families.¹³¹ If wide open spaces filled with fresh air and sunshine were not available, exercise was another means of overcoming the negative effects of urban life. “Die toestand waarin die moderne beskawing verkeer in sy oorbevolkte omgewings, beperkte ruimtes, ens, maak die noodsaaklikheid van oefening soveel groter”¹³² [The state of the modern civilization, with its overpopulated environments, limited spaces, etc., make the need for exercise so much greater].

Exercise was ultimately believed to be valuable to the process of building the health of individuals as well as the nation because of its perceived benefits.¹³³ Certain physical activity was seen as an important means of expelling “old” air from the body, making blood fresh and pure, expelling used materials out of the body through sweating, killing germs in the body, keeping muscles from going wobbly and weak and also aiding digestion, especially by means of exercising the stomach muscles.¹³⁴ Exercises given to alleviate indigestion included lying on one’s back and forcing the stomach in and out with breathing while another was something like hula-hooping without the hoop.¹³⁵ Eating hard foods was also considered important as the process was believed to exercise the jaw and therefore help with the chewing process and aid digestion.¹³⁶ These physical activities were aimed at women in these articles, and conveyed the notion that women’s constitutions were different to those of men.¹³⁷

The quantity of exercise that needed to be done in a day appears to have been up for interpretation. An article from 1940 went into great detail about the length of time people

¹²⁹ [Author Unknown]: “Wees gesond en Gelukkig,” *Die Huisvrou*, (X), (487), 25 Augustus 1931, pp.12-13.

¹³⁰ [Author Unknown]: “Beveiliging van die Liggaam,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIX), (957), 27 Augustus 1940, p.10.

¹³¹ Mej. E.M. Ackerman: “Die Gesondheid van die Huisgesin,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (681), 14 Mei 1935, p.23.

¹³² G.M. Steenkamp: “Oefening,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XVII), (905), 29 Augustus 1939, p.22.

¹³³ G.M. Steenkamp: “Oefening,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XVII), (905), 29 Augustus 1939, p.22.

¹³⁴ Mej. S. Naude: “’n Gesonde Spysverteringsstelsel,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XXI), (1073), 24 November 1942, p.16;

[Author Unknown]: “Dinge wat ’n huisvrou behoort om te weet,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (254), 8 Maart 1927, p.25;

[Author Unknown]: “Dinge wat ’n huisvrou behoort te weet,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (255), 15 Maart p.13.

¹³⁵ [Author Unknown]: “Die Huisdokter,” *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (94), 12 Februarie 1924, pp.12-13.

¹³⁶ [Author Unknown]: “Die gesondheid van ’n volk is die rykdom van ’n volk,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (193), 5 Januarie 1926, pp.1-2.

¹³⁷ E.H. Botha: “Die Vrou en Haar Liggaamlike Welstand,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1197), 10 April 1945, pp.2-3.

should exercise for as well as the time of day that this exercising should take place. It was recommended that busy or weak middle-aged people do about five minutes a day and warned that so-called “Gesondheidsdokters” (health doctors) usually recommended exercises that were too strenuous and could pose health risks. Ten to fifteen minutes before the morning or evening bath was recommended as the best time to do exercise. The article also criticised doctors for providing people with artificial or unnatural exercises, which it says were becoming an obsession, while “natural” movements, such as walking, running and swimming were advocated as being more effective.¹³⁸ Another article passionately defended walking as the best form of exercise, but only if done properly. Walking “properly” for women meant taking long steps, lifting the thighs with each step, pointing the foot approaching the ground as much as possible, lifting the head, pulling shoulders back, pushing the chest out and moving nicely (the direct translation reads: “a women’s walk ought to give the idea that her back is full of elastic muscles”).¹³⁹ This description hints at exercise also being something aesthetic, and with the increasing accessibility of cameras and film, health now also had specific, even manufactured, visual properties. Women could look in the magazine and see a picture of a “healthy” man, woman or child. Thus, exercise and healthy eating came to be about looking, as well as being, healthy.

In the 1920s, articles asking women if they were too fat appeared in *Die Huisvrou* and one explained that there were very few people who were fat because they were unhealthy. “Daar is nie baie mense nie wat vet is deur slegte gesondheid. Gesetheid beteken gewoonlik goeie gesondheid, al kom dit ook van te veel eet.”¹⁴⁰ [There are not many people that are fat because of bad health. Stoutness usually means good health, even if it comes from eating too much.] By the late 1920s an article specified that it was not good to be too skinny or too fat, but explains that the fashion was to be as thin as a rake and that people would start gaining weight when they stop exercising.¹⁴¹ In the 1920s, skinniness was acknowledged as fashionable, but not seen as a specific indication of health. By the 1930s, articles began appearing in *Die Huisvrou* concerning exercise as a means of losing weight and lack of exercise was recognised

¹³⁸ [Author Unknown]: “Die Waarde van Liggaamsoefening,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XVII), (932), 5 Maart 1940, pp.17-18.

¹³⁹ [Author Unknown]: “Die beste oefening in die Wêreld,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (444), 28 Oktober 1930, p.11.

¹⁴⁰ [Author Unknown]: “Is u te maer?,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (216), 15 Junie 1926, p.18.

¹⁴¹ [Author Unknown]: “Om die teetafel: Om skraal te bly,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (295), 27 Desember 1927, p.14.

as one of the chief causes of excess weight.¹⁴² Being overweight was established as something that was bad for health in some articles, but being too skinny was not seen as healthy or attractive as advertisements appeared for medicines which helped women to gain weight so that they would not look “skinny, sickly, weary or nervous.” One advertisement (see figure 2.5) showed a scantily-clad man and woman with muscles rippling in the man, and accentuated the curviness of the woman by showing her in a seated position. The heading of the advertisement equated skinniness with sickness.¹⁴³ An article from 1938 explained that being overweight was a problem with diet or with a person’s metabolism.¹⁴⁴ By 1940 however, an article called “Is u bang om te eet?” [“Are you afraid to eat?”] showed that women were becoming more conscious of weight as well as fearful of being overweight for appearance, rather than health reasons.¹⁴⁵ The trend of looking skinny lasted well into the 1940s, though *Die Huisvrou* attempted to encourage women not to be taken in by the fad, and used articles to explain that being thin could not be automatically equated to good health, they still featured articles providing exercises for weight loss (see figure 2.6).¹⁴⁶

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to explore an obsession with health that became apparent amongst housewives in the time period being considered as well as to discover the details of that obsession in daily lives. Diverse threats to the health of the *Volk* in the Union, such as a decreasing “European” population, food shortages and malnutrition, appear to have culminated in the desire to build a strong nation and the recognition that women held the greatest power to realise that ideal as well as cause its ruin. It was also found that women embraced this role acquiring knowledge about the specific properties of foods taking great care in providing what they believed to be appropriate nutrition –for the healthy and the sick, as well as diagnosing and caring for the sick in their home and making their own remedies. Physical exercise also came to be regarded as a way of strengthening and maintaining the health of children and mothers as well as a means of losing weight and attaining certain appearances.

¹⁴² [Author Unknown]: “Oortollige gewig is nadelig vir gesondheid,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (633), 12 Junie 1934, p.14.

¹⁴³ [Advertisement for Vikelp], *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (735), 26 Mei 1936, p.10.

¹⁴⁴ [Author given as “Dr. L.L.”]: “Hoe om die liggaam gesond te hou,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XVI), (846), 12 Julie 1938, p.7.

¹⁴⁵ [Author Unknown]: “Is u bang om te eet?” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIX), (960), 17 September 1940, p.21.

¹⁴⁶ [Author given as “Spero”]: “Is u te vet?” *Die Huisvrou*, (XXI), (1052), 30 Junie 1942, p.5.

Chapter 3

The Concerns of the Housewife: Fashion, Finances, Flings and Friction

Introduction

Vroeër tyd was die posisie van die vrou in die samelewing baie anders as wat dit vandag is. Die vrou se plig was hoofsaaklik om kinders voort te bring- en haar man te bedien. [...] Die vrou vandag is besig om haarself op elke terrein van die lewe meer en meer te laat geld; in die kantoor, op die sportsvelde, op skool en universiteit- hier, daar, orals. En dis nie meer as reg nie: ons ekonomiese stelse eis dit.¹

[In earlier times the position of the woman in society was very different to what it is today. The woman's duty was chiefly to conceive children- and to serve her husband. [...] The woman today is very busy making herself more invaluable; in the office, on the sports fields, at school and university, here, there, everywhere. And it's no more than right: our economic system demands it.]

The personal lives, relationships and opinions of housewives - how they came to be housewives, what they wore, what their beauty regimes were, what they thought of relationships with the opposite sex, their views on marriage, how they married and what provoked them - are the concerns of this chapter. As briefly mentioned in the first chapter, after the First World War, more women were moving outside of the home in order to gain access to economic and social opportunities. In 1924/1925 women occupied just over 14% of the industrial labour force in the Union and by 1938, that figure had risen to 25%. In 1926, the Union Yearbooks showed that 90 000 white women found employment outside of the home and by 1936 that figure had increased to 131 000, though by that year, 482, 544 were engaged in "household duties" indicating that most women were still identifying themselves as housewives.² While it became increasingly socially acceptable for women to work before they were married, and capitalism was seen to demand economic productivity, it was still a contested issue and some felt that it wasted valuable time which girls could use to train to be good housewives. Women were, however, still expected to stop gainful labour once they had

¹ [Author given as "Theo"]: "Die Vrou in die Samelewing," *Die Huisvrou*, (XVI), (867), 6 Desember 1938, pp.1-2.

² L. Vincent: "Bread and Honour: White Working Class Women and Afrikaner Nationalism in the 1930s," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, March 2000, (26), (1), p.62; *Union of South Africa Yearbooks*, Nos. 4-21, cited in E. Brink: "The Afrikaner Women of the Garment Workers' Union" (M.A. Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, 1986), p. 45; *Union of South Africa Census of Population, 5th May, 1936, Preliminary report*, Volume VII, Occupations and Industries, Union of South Africa, p.vii.

married, though making money from home was becoming usual. Much fear was expressed that the activities that young, unmarried women engaged in somehow undermined their ability to be a housewife.

Daar is werklik iets treurigs in die skouspel wat ons teenswoordig kry van baie van ons Suidafrikaanse besigheids-meisies in ons groot stede en dorpe. Hulle wil nie meer in hulle huis lewe en werk nie. Hulle wil nie ’n huislike lewe voer nie, maar ’n publieke lewe. Hulle wil die hele dag uit wees en in die aand ook! Hulle het nie tyd vir die huislike omgang met hulle vader en moeder en broers en susters.³

[There is really something tragic in the spectacle that we have these days from many of our South African business-girls in our big cities and towns. They do not want to live and work in the home anymore. They do not want a domestic life, but a public one. They will be out for the whole day and the night too! They don't have time for home relationships with their mother and father and brothers and sisters.]

In his work on labour and white women in the Union, from 1957, Dr. M.J.M. Prinsloo explained that the Afrikaans people were not prepared for the century-old form of industrialisation imposed upon them by the British. Afrikaner communities came into social crisis, he argues, because of the acceptance of women into the labour force. This move into the labour force was viewed as an acceptance of an individualistic way of life and a rejection of family-based community and the Christian faith. Women were seen to move dramatically from the role of housewife and mother, which she was seen to have held for 200 years, to one defined in economic and political terms which took attention away from the family.⁴ Sometimes this move outside the home was out of financial necessity, but it also became something which women used to gain freedom through economic spending power. Along with this new freedom arose fears of women abandoning the domestic sphere, thereby threatening the well-being of their families and ultimately, especially amongst Afrikaner communities, *Die Volk*. Women spending too much time outside of the home on business not directly related to the domestic sphere was believed to be undermining the family unit and home life and this fear resulted in apprehension with regards to the nuances of consumerism, joining the work force and divorce. Suspicions of young women being drawn into patterns of consumerism were expressed by *Die Huisvrou*, alluding to anxieties surrounding economic changes taking place in South African

³ [Author Unknown]: “Die Suidafrikaanse Meisie in Besigheid,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (233), 12 October 1926, pp.19; 20.

⁴ M.J.M. Prinsloo: *Blanke vroue-arbeid in die Unie van Suid-Afrika*, pp.313-314.

society. In the 1920s, South African cities were thought to be crawling with Flappers, young women who were viewed a manifestation of the “new woman” characterised by involvement in sport, smoking, drinking, dancing, clubs, jazz and imitating masculinity.⁵ During the 1920s, at the height of the women’s suffrage movement in South Africa, *Die Huisvrou* contained many articles debating the role of women in society. The passionately discussed issues included education for women and children, divorce, the role of the women in the workplace and women’s place in the political sphere. After white women obtained the vote in 1930, this energy moved to pursuing fashion trends and planning weddings, debates on the place of dancing and modesty in women’s lives and panic around divorce.

Working, fashion and questioning femininity

Die teenswoordige vrouens het veel geleer. Hulle kan motorkarre drywe en lugskepe bestier en uitmunt in sports en goedbetaalde poste van die mans afneem. Maar bring dit vir hulle ware gelukkigheid?⁶

[The women of today have learned much. They can drive motor cars and fly aeroplanes and excel in sports and take well-paying jobs from men. But does it bring them true happiness?]

Die Huisvrou spent much time and effort in the 1920s warning girls of “’n Nuwe Soort Meisie” [A new kind of girl] that they said appeared after the First World War. One article explains that during and straight after the War, because of a shortage of young men in Europe, girls put more and more effort into their appearance in order to secure a husband - which resulted in shorter dresses, lower necklines and more make up, but that these fashions did not really gain a following in South Africa.⁷ However, the new girls, or unmarried woman, that appeared after those just mentioned, were found to be prevalent in South Africa. They were painted, by *Die Huisvrou*, as trying to be free from the constraints of life such as their “huislike pligte” [domestic duties] and even, with the use of birth control, their supposed natural calling - namely, reproduction. This kind of woman was seen to be obsessed with emancipation, and the magazine considered them to be socially and financially free, but caught in a web of morally compromising situations.⁸ Alongside this phenomenon, *Die Huisvrou* attempted to convey

⁵ E. Viljoen: *ADAM* (1920 – 1922): *The sex appeal of the Flapper*, chapter from a forthcoming work, October 2016, p.8.

⁶ [Author Unknown]: “Die toekomstige vrou,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (341), 6 November 1928, pp. 1-2.

⁷ [Author Unknown]: “’n Nuwe soort meisie,” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (32), 5 December 1922, p.7.

⁸ [Author Unknown]: “Die toekomstige vrou,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (341), 6 November 1928, pp. 1-2.

their own impression of a new kind of woman fashioned along different lines. The ideal for the perfect Afrikaner girl was one characterised by a striving towards motherhood, as has been said often before in literature explaining the phenomenon of the *Volksmoeder*. Those writing for *Die Huisvrou* put their denouncements of the new woman in direct contrast to a better ideal in an attempt to show the practicalities of being a good Afrikaner.

Ons wil hê die Afrikaanse meisies moet rein, beskeie en betaamlik wees, sodat hulle getrou kan bly aan die hoogste ideale van die vrou, en sodat hulle ware moeders kan word. Hulle moet beskeie wees in hulle kleredrag en in hulle gedrag omdat dit reg is, nie omdat dit mode is nie.⁹

[We want Afrikaner girls to be pure, modest and respectable, so that they can be faithful to the highest ideal of the woman, and so that they can become true mothers. They must be modest in their dress and in their behaviour because it is right, not because it is fashionable.]

Concern with being fashionable was therefore perceived as being a threat to these ideals of motherhood and conveys that Afrikaans communities were themselves feeling the effects of these changes. Young Afrikaners seem to have been particularly susceptible to the lures of this new free life. In *Die Huisvrou*, an article expressing the distress of parents at the trends amongst young boys and girls (15-23 year olds), including their own children, decried their constant pursuit of entertainment. Their favoured places of enjoyment were recognised as the streets, cinemas and coffee houses where groups of young people could be found engaging in deplorable activities such as loitering, smoking and wearing indecent clothing - which for girls included wearing short and transparent dresses. The irate authors of the article identified the lures of city life, especially in Cape Town, to be the cause of this phenomenon explaining that these groups of young people dressed as if they had all the money and time in the world instead of using their time to do something constructive.¹⁰

⁹ [Author Unknown]: “’n Nuwe soort meisie,” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (32), 5 December 1922, p.7.

¹⁰ The cure to this was that mothers instead expose their children to, and allow them to work in, nature and the expanse of the South African countryside- “Wat moet ons doen?” “Laat ons probeer om ons seuns en dogters weg te hou van die verleiding en goedkoop valse glans van die stede. Hulle sal nie in maatskaplike status of in karaktersterkte toeneem deur in aanraking te kom met al hierdie dinge nie. Maar deur in aanraking te bly met die natuur, deur op die land te werk (p.9) en vir die opbou van die ware krag en grootheid van onse land, sal hulle baie behou, wat kostelik is vir die gees en vir die karakter en sal hulle daarvan gered word om onder die vloek te kom van die teenswoordige soeker na vermaak en van onbeteulde Vryheid en losbandigheid.”

[What must we do? “Let us try to keep our sons and daughters away from the lure and cheap gleam of the cities. They will not increase in social status or character traits by coming into contact with all these things. But by staying connected to nature, by working on the land (p.9) and for the development of the true power and greatness of our country, they will maintain what is valuable for the soul and for the character and they will be rescued from the curse of the present longing for entertainment and unchecked Freedom and debauchery.]

Academic Don Slater asserts that all consumption is ultimately cultural and explains that identity and “social relations themselves are reproduced through culturally specific consumption”.¹¹ At this point in South African history it can be seen that as attempts to form specific cultural identities were being made, consumption of products or experiences that were new and not specifically South African, or considered to be unhelpful to the propagation of a nation, were interpreted by the magazines as threats. In 1925, one article in *Die Huisvrou* blamed a rising living standard in South Africa for causing industrial unrest, social disruptions and strikes. Cape Town was once again denounced as a city full of well-dressed people streaming in and out of cafés and chasing after the latest fashions. The author of the article believed that the perceived turbulence being experienced by society was because people were trying to attain certain living standards by taking out loans that they could not afford.¹² Cape Town was, in the 1920s, developing into a modern city with expansions in transport, electricity and leisure networks.¹³ Although city life and consumerism were initially condemned, by the 1930s, *Die Huisvrou* began to feature cigarette advertisements on its cover page which sold ideas of beauty, leisure, fashion and smoking being inextricably linked, with images of young women on the beach in their bikinis handing cigarettes around (see figure 3.1). Historians Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen and Worden see women’s increasing engagement in activities such as smoking as a symbol of their growing “social emancipation”.¹⁴

Clothing and being fashionable were at the forefront of women’s lives in the 1920s and 1930s. *Die Huisvrou* and *Mrs Slade’s Good South African Housekeeping* both had regular features regarding what women should wear and how to dress appropriately for particular occasions. Women seeking employment in department stores were advised that they would only be eligible if they had good posture and wore neat clothes.¹⁵ Many women made their own clothes and *Die Huisvrou* celebrated this as well as denouncing using a milliner to make clothes as an unnecessary luxury.¹⁶ Although women produced their own clothes in their homes, they also partook in the mass production of clothing. Women worked in clothing factories to the extent

[Author Unknown]: “By die teetafel: Seuns en Meisies in koffiehuisse,” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (45), 6 Maart 1923, pp.7-9; [Author Unknown]: “Die Kind en die bioskoop: die groot vraagstuk van die dag,” *Die Huisvrou*, 16 May 1922, (I), (3), pp.1-2.

¹¹ D. Slater: *Consumer Culture & Modernity*, Polity Press, Oxford, 2004, p.132.

¹² [Author Unknown]: “’n verhoogde lewensstandaard,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (186), 1925, pp.1-2.

¹³ V. Bickford-Smith, E. Van Heyningen & N. Worden: *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, p.67.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p.27.

¹⁵ [Author Unknown]: “Werksaamhede vir Meisies,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (402), 7 Januarie 1930, p.10.

¹⁶ A.J.C. Volchenk: “Meisies wat mans nie van hou nie,” *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (67), 7 Augustus 1923, p.13.

that many were active participants in the Garments Worker's Union, which was founded in 1913. By the 1920s, most of the leadership of the union was comprised of Afrikaner women.¹⁷ Historian Elsabé Brink elucidates that it is difficult to explain what exactly drew half of the white women employed by the manufacturing industry to the clothing sector in the 1920s. She does however show that white women were more commonly employed than females of other races perhaps because: they were by far the largest population group on the Rand in the 1920s, they were paid far less than white males and that clothes made by white labour were seen as being superior to other clothes.¹⁸

Die Huisvrou was, however, uneasy with the relationship between women and clothing, while also presenting ambivalence towards new patterns of the consumption of fashion. Young women's obsession with buying and wearing fashionable items was considered problematic. Girls were told that simplicity would be most attractive to men. "Eenvoudige paslike klere trek altyd die aandag van 'n jongman, vir wie die duur "modepoppe" geen aantreklikheid het nie...!"¹⁹ [Simple appropriate clothes always draw the attention of a young man, to whom the expensive "fashion dolls" have no attraction...!]. *Die Huisvrou* recognised that South Africa was a quickly capitalising society and felt that especially women were succumbing to the lure of consumerism, though everyone was believed to be more taken by money than they been had before. Living standards were thought to be much better than those previous generations had experienced and one article explained that what their forefathers had considered "lush" or luxurious was viewed as necessity in the 1930s.²⁰ But, in some ways, this new lavishness was feared and denounced. In 1933, an article appeared explaining that the perfect woman was frugal and not be taken in by luxury.²¹ Working girls, on the other hand, were considered to be especially vulnerable because they were viewed as slaves to fashion and had access to buying clothes on credit. Stories of some going into such bad debt that they could not repay it were used to encourage thriftiness and wise spending in others.²² Brink shows, however, that

¹⁷ [Author Unknown]: "Werksaamhede vir Meisies," *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (402), 7 Januarie 1930, p.10.; L. Vincent: "Bread and Honour: White Working Class Women and Afrikaner Nationalism in the 1930s," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, March 2000, (26), (1), pp.61-78.

¹⁸ E. Brink: "'Maar 'n klomp "factory" meide': Afrikaner Family and Community on the Witwatersrand during the 1920s," in *Class, Community and Conflict: South African Perspectives*, B. Bozzoli (editor), pp.179-181.

¹⁹ [Author Unknown]: "Vir die meisies: die wens om te trou," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (358), 5 Maart 1929, p.15.

²⁰ [Author Unknown]: "Geld," *Die Huisvrou*, (XII), (579), 23 Mei 1933, pp.1-2; [Author Unknown]: "Is ons te weelderig?," *Die Huisvrou*, (XII), (610), 2 Januarie 1934, pp.1-2.

²¹ [Author Unknown]: "Volkmaakte Mans en Vrouens," *Die Huisvrou*, (XI), (561), 24 Januarie 1933, p.11.

²² [Author Unknown]: "Spaarsaamheid en die besigheidsmeisie," *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (405), 28 Januarie 1930, pp.1-3.

especially married women were entering the work force in the 1920s to put food on the table. They would enter the workforce willing to work for a very low wage in order to provide for their families, often in light of their husband having lost his job. Younger women that worked in the industry often earned too little to afford board and lodging and would rely on prostitution to provide accommodation or enough money to survive in the city.²³

Women were, however, still encouraged to have a relationship with fashion. They were advised to be friends with- and not slaves to fashion and attempt to dress appropriately in all situations. Ultimately, articles attempted to convince women that beauty and respectability could not be separated and an article from 1923 ironically attempted to convince women that physical beauty was out of fashion denouncing what it called “die domglimlaggende soort van poppe-skoonheid” [the stupid-smiling kind of doll-beauty] of the first years of the 20th Century.²⁴ Focus on appearances was presented alongside the encouragement of kindness, selflessness and sincerity. In 1926 the Afrikaans magazine was also very troubled by a new competition, called Miss South Africa, which took place in Cape Town and awarded the winner with prizes. One article expresses shock at the format of such competitions explaining that farmers parade their livestock at shows, not their wives. Once again fear was voiced that young women’s involvement in such activities would erode the domestic life of Afrikaner families.²⁵ Articles criticising aspects of young people’s lives, such as these beauty competitions, appeared alongside lists of characteristics which girls were encouraged to adopt for the purpose of attracting the attention of young men. Young women were encouraged to choose hockey, tennis and other “acceptable games” over flirting with men, and to stick to one suitor as opposed to flitting between them - referring to the trend epitomised by the new women who often kept a few men in tow. These lists also incorporated specific denouncements, such as: “do not walk on the streets as if you don’t have anything better to do than get asked by the first

²³ E. Brink: ““Maar n klomp “factory” meide’: Afrikaner Family and Community on the Witwatersrand during the 1920s,” in *Class, Community and Conflict: South African Perspectives*, B. Bozzoli (editor), pp.182-183;187.

²⁴ [Author Unknown]: “Die lelike meisie en waar haar krag le,” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (43), 20 Februarie 1923, p.22.

²⁵ The editor of *Die Huisvrou* wrote: “Vir my is so n wedstryd en tentoonstelling van vrouens en meisies nie alleen onwaardig vir die Moederstad van Suid-Afrika, maar dis ook afstotend en verlagend. En dis seker regstreeks teen die gesindheid en ideale van ons Afrikaanse volk, en veral ons Afrikaanse vrouens, wat n meer ideale en christelike eerbied het vir die heiligheid van ons huislike lewe, as om hulle vrouens en dogters publiek te laat vertoon soos diere.”

[To me such a competition and exhibition of women and girls is not only unworthy of the Mother City of South Africa, but it is also offensive and demeaning. And it is surely directly opposed to the attitudes and ideals of our Afrikaans people, and especially our Afrikaans women, who have a more perfect and Christian reverence for the holiness of our home life, to allow the parading of their daughters and women in public like animals.]

[Author Unknown]: “Ons Afrikaanse Vrouens en die skoonheid’s wedstryd,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (228), 21 September 1926, pp.1-2.

young man that you meet to go for a walk”.²⁶ Other such lists included: not accepting jewellery or clothing from young men because of the indebtedness that it would create, avoiding dance parties and men that want to put their arm around a girl after 10 minutes.²⁷ Starting a conversation with a giggle, fiddling with hair, batting eye lashes more than necessary, biting nails and slipping rings on and off fingers were just some of the many other simple activities frowned upon for young women in social situations. Such instructions also included ones concerning physical appearance and adherence to fashion, though these presented many conflicting views of women and femininity.²⁸ Although *Die Huisvrou* attempted to avoid separating the spiritual ideals they associated with womanhood from beauty and fashion tips and kept featuring articles that did espouse virtuousness as the most attractive feature of women, more and more articles concerning just physical aspects of beauty began to be featured in the 1930s.²⁹

Women’s increasing participation in the work place also precipitated in fears of women stealing men’s jobs and becoming like men in their characteristics - thereby eroding the “holiness” of their femininity.³⁰ In 1925, an article in *Die Huisvrou* bemoans the fact that women were moving outside of the home, intentionally undermining its value in their lives, for the sake of pursuing their careers. “Dit is aaklig om daaraan te dink- dat vrouens en meisies nie alleen die professies van die mans vir hulle toeëien nie, maar ook hulle gewoontes en maniere.”³¹ [It is terrible to think of it- that women and girls do not only appropriate men’s professions for themselves, but also their habits and manners.] These women, it said, stayed in cheap boarding houses and spent all their money on pretty hats and expensive clothes and shoes. It stated that they pretended to be like men, with cigarettes hanging from their lips from which much foul language flowed. They were accused of neglecting their families, who were characterised as being lonely and poor, which was believed to result in the loss of “lovely” and “holy” relationships, while gallivanting at the sea and spending their money on pleasures and

²⁶ [Author unknown]: “Om die teetafel: Tien voorskrifte vir Meisies,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (262), 10 Mei 1927, p.11.

²⁷ [Author unknown]: “Om die teetafel: Tien voorskrifte vir Meisies,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (262), 10 Mei 1927, p.11; [Author Unknown]: “Moenies vir jong Meisies” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (166), 30 Junie 1925, p. 15.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ [Author Unknown]: “Wil u graag mooi wees? Hier is tien reëls wat ’n jong dame noukeurig in ag moet neem as sy mooi wil lyk,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (162), 2 Junie 1925, p.20; [Author Unknown]: “Skoonheid, Waarheid en Goedheid,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XII), (585), 4 Julie 1933, pp. 1-2.

³⁰ [Author Unknown]: “’n woord tot meisies,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (221), 20 Julie 1926, pp.1-2

³¹ [Author Unknown]: “Is Hoger opvoeding altyd goed vir meisies?,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (167), Dinsdag 7 Julie, 1925, p.1.

entertainment that even the wealthy could not afford.³² An article used to attempt to dissuade women from smoking used the loss of femininity associated with it as a reason to stop the practice- denouncing because it was thought as “nie paslik vir ’n vrou nie” [not appropriate for a woman] and “dit werk demoraliserend op die Karakter” [it works demoralizingly on the character].³³

A section called “Moenies vir Meisies” [Don’ts for Girls] added to the criticising of women who “acted like men” and were viewed as rejecting their femininity. “Moenie vergeet dat u grootste eer moet wees om vroulik te wees nie” [Don’t forget that your greatest honour should be your femininity]. “Moenie probeer om ’n verspote namaaksel van ’n man te wees, in plaas van ’n ware vrou te wees nie” [Don’t try to be a silly imitation of a man instead of a true woman].³⁴ Rejecting femininity was also viewed as a direct result of moving out of the home, from rural areas into the towns or cities, and participation in careers as opposed to home life.³⁵ Young urban women, specified to be found especially at the sea and around hotels, called “loshaar meisies” [loose-haired girls], were censured for their excessive ways of dressing which were associated with licentiousness and attributed to a lack of education in the domestic field which will be referred to later in this chapter.³⁶ Young married women were also accused of abandoning the values of the home by continuing to work once married and leaving all the house work to servants because they, the working women, were not trained in the matters of the home.³⁷

These women were presented as abandoning their inherent femininity in their move from the home, being simultaneously too concerned with their appearances and attempting to be like men in their physical characteristics. Too much sport for women was also denounced because it was believed to tarnish their femininity if muscles showed in their bodies. Doing sports was ultimately considered to damage women emotionally and physically.³⁸ Amongst these

³² [Author Unknown]: “Vrouens as lede van stadsrade en ander publieke liggame,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (175), 1 September 1925, pp.1-2; [Author Unknown]: “Die Suidafrikaanse Meisie in Besigheid” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (233), 12 October 1926, p.19.

³³ S.C. Du Plessis: “Moet Vrouens Rook?,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (761), 24 November 1936, p.12.

³⁴ [Author Unknown]: “Moenies vir Meisies,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (405), 4 Februarie 1930, p.6.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ [Author Unknown]: “Om die teetafel: Die loshaar meisie geen vraagstuk in Suid-Afrika,” *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (93), 5 Februarie 1924, pp.29-30.

³⁷ [Author Unknown]: “Werkloon vir vrouens- ’n saak vir ideale,” *Die Huisvrou*, (7), (279), 2 Augustus 1927, pp.1-2.

³⁸ [Author Unknown]: “Die Goue Kroon,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (642), 14 Augustus 1934, pp.1-2.

descriptions, a discrepancy becomes apparent. On the one hand, women working outside the home were presented as forsaking their perceived natural character, which was associated with the domestic sphere. On the other, they were reprimanded for thinking that they could just leave the work place and enter back into the home without having thoroughly learned about home life, a theme which will be further explored later in this chapter. Although debates raged about other topics, such as dancing, with letters being written in to argue differing stances, the abovementioned accusations against women were not clearly debated anywhere. Instead, there was much censure of those seen to be abandoning their womanhood.

Hair became a contested issue in the period between the wars as it became fashionable for women to wear short hair. In the 1920s, short hair was associated with the promiscuity and impulsiveness of the Flappers. Short hair was therefore something that *Die Huisvrou* associated with unattractiveness in women as well as the rejection and missing out on femininity and even the denouncement of Christianity.³⁹ One article explained that it was not only young people, but also mothers being “taken in” by the fashion. It stated that this was an anti-Christian act and claimed that the Bible prohibited women cutting their hair at all.⁴⁰ Some blamed the phenomenon on increasing freedom for women and the context of urbanisation, though one article stated that the phenomenon had spread to rural districts too.⁴¹ Women wearing short hairstyles were characterised as those that participated in activities defined at the time as essentially masculine, such as smoking and intensive sport.⁴² Those that did “succumb” to the short-hair fashion were scorned in the 1940s by *Die Huisvrou* for asking for suggestions for styles to use in the process of growing their hair longer again.⁴³ Some readers of *Die Huisvrou* reacted to the short hair trend by sending in numerous photos of women sporting long hair, which sometimes reached to their knees and even ankles (see figure 3.2).⁴⁴ Ultimately, wearing short hair was denounced as another attempt to be like men.⁴⁵

³⁹ [Author Unknown]: “Om die teetafel: Kort hare vir moeders,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (239), 23 November 1926, p.19.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ [Author Unknown]: “Afrikaanse vrouens en professies,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (165), 23 Junie 1925, p.1.

⁴² [Author Unknown]: “Vrouens wat rook,” *Die Huisvrou*, (X), (503), 15 Desember 1931, p.9.

⁴³ [Author Unknown]: “Sal ek my hare laat groei?,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIX), (956), 20 Augustus 1940, p.7.

⁴⁴ [Photograph with a caption that reads]: “Hierdie dame is nog nie ’n slagoffer van die korthaar mode nie,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XI), (543), 20 September 1932, p.19; [Photograph]: *Die Huisvrou*, (IX), (470), 28 April 1931, p.18; Photograph: *Die Huisvrou*, 22 Augustus 1933, p.18.

⁴⁵ [Author Unknown]: “Vrouens wat rook,” *Die Huisvrou*, (X), (503), 15 Desember 1931, p.9.

While hair was a subject of great debate, especially in the late 1920s, it appears to have been agreed that well-looked after hands and nails and having good posture, were particularly essential to being perceived as beautiful.⁴⁶ Beauty was believed to be attainable through grooming and not just from natural features.⁴⁷ One article explained that women spent the most money on beautifying their faces and hands. Having “pretty hands” was an accomplishment and an honour, though drawing attention to one’s attractive hands was socially unacceptable. An article in *Mrs Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping* specified that “[n]ail culture and hand culture to-day are signs of intelligent self-respect. Neglect of them, merely...but why say more? Unintelligence is not worth considering.”⁴⁸ Wearing nail polish, was a way of enhancing the hands as well as the shape of the nail and creating an almond form with the nails was viewed as most flattering.⁴⁹ The use of “sleeping gloves” was encouraged to aid in softening dry and damaged hands. Women struggling with rough hands were instructed to moisturise and massage their hands with cream or oil and then sleep in a loose pair of “sleeping gloves” at least once a week.⁵⁰ Caring for hands and nails was considered as important as care for hair, and at this time, women started training as manicurists and working at salons in the Union.⁵¹ Specific tips were also given concerning filing techniques and the best polish colours for different finger and hand shapes.⁵²

Posture was considered another essential part of attractiveness, as well as something that could be improved, and bad posture was considered to make even the most beautiful girl ugly. “Moenie daarin behaë skeep om rond te slinger in allerhande lelike posture, te slof as u loop, en u lyf pap en krom te hou nie.”⁵³ [Don’t take pleasure in slinking around in all kinds of ugly postures, or drag your feet, holding your body floppily or crookedly]. One article railed against young women being indifferent to their sitting technique and saw it as a rebellion against the

⁴⁶ [Author Unknown]: “Mooi hande en Naels,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (706), 5 November 1935, p.15.; N. Playfair: “Groomed to your fingertips,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (7), October 1939, p.240.

⁴⁷ [Author Unknown]: “Tien Skoonheidstoetse,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (196), 21 Julie, 1925, p.12; N. Playfair: “Groomed to your fingertips,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (7), October, 1939, p.240.

⁴⁸ N. Playfair: “Groomed to your fingertips,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (7), October, 1939, p.240.

⁴⁹ [Author Unknown]: “Sorg vir die Voete,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XVII), (935), 26 Maart 1940, p.13; [Author Unknown]: “Tien Skoonheidstoetse,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (196), 21 Julie 1925, p.12”; [Author Unknown]: “Mooi hande en Naels,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (706), 5 November 1935, p.15.

⁵⁰ N. Playfair: “Groomed to your fingertips,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (7), October 1939, p.240.

⁵¹ “Professies vir meisies: Hare-opmaak,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (356), 19 Februarie 1929, p.10.

⁵² [Author Unknown]: “Mooi hande en Naels,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (706), 5 November 1935, p.15.

⁵³ [Author Unknown]: “Tien Skoonheidstoetse,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (196), 21 Julie 1925, p.12

prim and proper manners of their grandmothers, while others illustrated the correct way to sit (see figure 3.3).⁵⁴ The ideal posture was not only about the way a body was held by its owner, but also the proportions and dimensions of that body. The ideal height for a woman was five foot seven/eight and while one article presented the specific measurements of the ideal neck, forearm, wrist, bust, hips, thighs, ankles etcetera, for women, it also critiqued the new fashion of being skinny and flat - like a boy - as opposed to “die ronde vet soort vrou” [the round, fat type of woman].⁵⁵ Although the article criticised the trend, it pandered to its audience by spending the majority its content providing dietary and exercise requirements to achieve a skinny body.⁵⁶

Ultimately, gaining and maintaining physical beauty was repeatedly emphasised in both magazines. The following poem from *Good Housekeeping* shows the time that women could be expected to spend on their beauty routine before bed as well as the elements of their appearances they considered important:

“Please note...Do not assume that here rhyme is without reason. These verses are a guide to a practical and complete beauty ritual”

Bedtime comes, but first you must
 Cleanse your face of grime and dust
 Make this cleansing a strict duty
 If you would preserve your beauty

Smear your face with cleansing cream,
 Work it in to smooth and clean,
 Then with tissues or clean cloth
 Gently take the soiled cream off.

Next with pad of cotton wool
 Moistened with a tonic cool,
 Briskly pat without cessation
 To stimulate circulation.

Examine closely and take heed
 If you have any other need:
 Pore cream can make the texture fine,
 Massage can iron out each line.

If your skin is rather dry,

⁵⁴ [Author Unknown]: “Moenies vir jong Meisies,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (166), 30 Junie 1925, p.15.

⁵⁵ [Author Unknown]: “Om die teetafel: Die ideale postuur,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (295), 27 Desember 1927, p.14.

⁵⁶ [Author Unknown]: “Om die teetafel: Om Skraal te bly,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (295), 27 Desember 1927, p.14.

Where crow's feet lurk around mouth or eye,
 Tap in cream, and leave to seep
 Gently in while you're asleep.

The time has come to brush your hair,
 Be it dark or flaxen fair,
 Brush until it glistens bright,
 Twenty strokes at least each night.

Fix your waves in proper place,
 Cover with a cap of lace.
 Exercised done at night
 Keep your weight exactly right.

Bend, to keep your figure slim,
 Touch your toes and keep in trim.
 Lastly brush your teeth with zest
 Before you take your well-earned rest.⁵⁷

The point of all these beautification articles was often stated to be to gain the attention of the opposite sex. The following is a selection of a few points on a list specifically presented to explain what kinds of women would not be attractive to men. “Die meisie wat al die teaters en plekke van vermaak wil bywoon” [The girl who wants to attend all the theatres and places of entertainment], “Die vrou wat in die mode wil wees deur alkohol te drink of sigarets te rook” [The woman who wants to be fashionable by drinking or smoking cigarettes], “Die meisie wat haar verbeeld al haar klere moet gemaak word by die modemaakster” [The girl who imagines that she has to have all her clothes made at a milliner] and “Die meisie wat haar gesig vermom met poeier en verf en die uitheemse modes so gretig navolg” [The girl who disfigures her face with powder and paint and follows the outlandish fashions so eagerly].⁵⁸ But in *Die Huisvrou*, even married women were scolded for not taking enough care over their appearances, and one article focussed on a husband's love waning because his wife looked sloppy when she cleaned their home.⁵⁹

Dating, dancing and weddings

Twee persone alleen in 'n motor, miskien myle van ouers huis,
 want 'n motor gly tog alte lekker oor die weg. Was daar 'n geklou?
 Was daar ontmoeting van die lippe? Wie het gesien, alleen in die

⁵⁷ [Author given as “Elizabeth”]: “Bedtime regime,” *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (X), (6), September 1944, p.213.

⁵⁸ A.J.C. Volschenk: “Meisies wat mans nie van hou nie,” *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (67), 7 Augustus 1923, p.13.

⁵⁹ [Author Unknown]: “'n Waarskuwing vir jong Huisvrou-tjies,” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (4), 23 Mei 1922, p.21.

verte, waar ons in die danssaal, teenwoordig met al ons vriende en vriendinne is?⁶⁰

[Two people alone in a car, perhaps miles from the parents' house, because a car slips to nicely over the road. Was there clinging? Was there a meeting of the lips? Who saw, alone in the distance, where we were present in the dance hall with all our friends?]

Throughout the period between the two World Wars, young women's interactions with men came under much criticism from *Die Huisvrou*. In her book *From Front Porch to Back Seat*, Beth Bailey explains that in America, the 1920s and 1930s were a time of change in the rituals of interaction between young men and women because of the motorcar and increasing access to disposable incomes which resulted in and enabled young people to seek "promiscuous popularity". Before the First World War, young men would visit girls on the safety of the porch of her parents' home, but later these exchanges increasingly moved away from the protection of offered by the presence of elders to the car owned by the young man, or places of entertainment. Women also did not pick a beau and stick with them, but instead oscillated between those who could offer them the most at any given time.⁶¹ Similar approaches appeared in South Africa too. *Die Huisvrou* accused young women of going to the *veld* for a picnic alone with men on their motorbikes or in their cars and joining men in their cars at night. Both activities were said to make women less attractive to men.⁶² Ultimately, girls were seen to be sullyng their reputations and civility by doing all kinds of things with young men such as driving, going to the beach and wearing khaki shorts and shirts.⁶³

Wearing shorts or "very little clothing" was a particularly sensitive and debated matter in the analysis of interactions between men and women. It was seen as problematic firstly, because it was thought to indecently expose girls to men, but another attempt to discourage girls from wearing shorts was to convince them that men would not find such exposure attractive. "[D]aar sal minder bewonderaars wees, want geen jongman met selfrespek, bewonder en admireer die jongdame, wat nie skaamte het vir haar eie liggaamsdele nie" [There will be fewer admirers,

⁶⁰ [Author given as Mev. G.S.K.]: "Onderlinge hulp en vriendskap bond: Dans," *Die Huisvrou*, (XI), (527), 31 Mei 1932, p.17.

⁶¹ B. Bailey: "From Front Porch to Back Seat: A History of the Date," *OAH Magazine of History*, (18), (4), July 2004, pp. 23-26.

⁶² A.J.C. Volschenk: "Meisies wat mans nie van hou nie," *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (67), 7 Augustus 1923, p.13.

⁶³ [Author Unknown]: "Beleefdheid," *Die Huisvrou*, (XI), (568), 14 Maart 1933, pp.1-2.

because no young man with self-respect will admire the young woman that does not have shame for her own body parts].⁶⁴ An article by a *dominee's* wife expressed shock that young people were swimming together wearing only bathing clothes, then frolicking around on the beach and sitting in close proximity to each other without wrapping something around them, and that girls were leading men astray by wearing short dresses with low necklines and without sleeves.⁶⁵ Clothing was therefore another manifestation of increasing freedom being sought in relationships, especially on the part of women, as well as the removal of previously rigid barriers between unmarried couples. Ultimately, *Die Huisvrou* still featured articles which opposed the ideas it introduced about modesty and clothing. For instance, an advertisement for Kodak featured in 1938 showed a young girl in khaki shorts on a hike with a young man (see figure 3.4).

Dancing was another topic of debate, especially with regards to the perceived dangers of young people gaining an opportunity to interact without the supervision of their parents. The English and Afrikaans magazines both denounced the activity, though for different reasons. *Good Housekeeping* featured an article addressed to mothers with daughters at school-leaving age which warned that dances had the power to distract girls and quash their ambitions for their careers.⁶⁶ *Die Huisvrou*, however, suggested that girls stay away from dance parties because they were considered compromising as well as being a waste of time. Dancing was considered a sign of frivolity and excess, especially when young university-educated working women participated and used their money to engage in the pastime.⁶⁷ It also became a symbol of the dissolution of morals. At dances, the article explained, there would be lots of dark corners for couples to disappear into and there would not be responsible supervision.⁶⁸ In the early 1930s a debate raged in the magazine about whether or not young people should go to dances. A letter

⁶⁴ M. Du Toit: "Meisies in "Shorts"," *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (779), 30 Maart 1937, p.15.

⁶⁵ "Daar is veral kleredrag- te kort rokke, en moueloos, met te lae hals, ens. Dryf dit nie die swakke jongman tot verleiding? En wat van die *saambaaier*, met byna geen baaiklere aan? En dan tog *so* saam te sit, en *so* saam te wandel, sonder selfs n bad-handdoek om, of kamerjas aan?"

[There is especially ways of dressing- dresses that are two short, without sleeves, with a low neckline etc. Doesn't it drive the young man to seduction? And what of the bathing together, wearing hardly any swimwear? And then still the sitting together like that, and walking like that, without even a towel around them or with a bathrobe on?]

Mev. Ds. Zie vogel: "Reinheid: Aan die Dogters van ons volk veral," *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (783), 27 April 1937, p.9.

⁶⁶ [Author Unknown]: "Is your daughter leaving School?" *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (3), (11), February 1938 p.540.

⁶⁷ [Author Unknown]: "Is Hoger opvoeding altyd goed vir meisies?," *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (167), 7 Julie 1925, p.1.

⁶⁸ [Author unknown]: "Om die teetafel: Tien voorskrifte vir Meisies," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (262), 10 Mei 1927, p.11.

from a reader explained in dramatic terms that Christians should not be found in dance halls as they were a place where young men and women could become servants of Satan.⁶⁹ Others wrote opinion pieces stating that dancing had the potential to be sinful, but that it did not have to be.⁷⁰ This idea was echoed by others saying that people could not make a blanket call that dancing was bad. Some made the claim that dancing was beneficial for young people because it was a good form of exercise, though others still saw it as a harmful form of exercise because they considered the music to be restrictive to proper movement.⁷¹ By the late 1930s, however, *Die Huisvrou* was giving tips on etiquette for dances, showing that attending public dances did come to be a more acceptable form of entertainment.⁷² Historians have also noted that a dance obsession hit Cape Town by 1946, further indicating that although there was initial opposition to the pastime, it soon caught on, especially in urban areas.⁷³

Flirting and promiscuity were found to be prevalent amongst young people, but predominantly blamed on young women. An article in *Good Housekeeping* encouraged married women to trust that their husbands would return to them, even if they were flirting with and kissing other women.⁷⁴ In the English magazine, getting married young or fooling around with men was warned against as it was viewed as a hindrance to women building careers and achieving life goals.⁷⁵ Women initiating relationships with older men because of their financial position caused much apprehension too. Young, unmarried women were chastised for chasing rich, married men and attempts to dissuade them included claims that no young man would ever marry a girl that was known to have had a married “swank”.⁷⁶ Articles encouraged young women to rather abstain from marriage than marry for financial gain, and true love was repeatedly emphasised as the only motivation to enter the institution.⁷⁷ Despite these fears, young men and women still seem to have been getting engaged and marrying as both magazines were filled with tips for organising weddings.

⁶⁹ [Author given as J.W. v.d.B.]: “Onderlinge hulp en Vriendskap Bond,” *Die Huisvrou*, (X), (516), 22 Maart 1932, p.17.

⁷⁰ [Author Unknown]: “Dans,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XI), (524), 10 Mei 1932, p.13.

⁷¹ [Author Unknown]: “Dans,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XI), (527), 31 Mei 1932, pp.6-7; J. Wolmarans: “Onderlinge Hulp en Vriendskap Bond: Meisies wat dans,” *Die Huisvrou*, (X), (520), 12 April 1932, p.18.

⁷² [Author given as “Naomi”]: “Etiketete in Publieke Plekke,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XVII), (899), 18 Julie 1939, pp.26-28.

⁷³ V. Bickford-Smith, E. Van Heyningen & N. Worden: *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, p.129.

⁷⁴ L.C. Moore: “Rules for a Perfect Wife,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (3), (12), March 1938, p.564.

⁷⁵ [Author Unknown]: “Is your daughter leaving School?” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (3), (11), February 1938, p.540.

⁷⁶ [Author given as “Percevel”]: “Hedendaagse Dames,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XI), (528), 7 Mei 1932, p.23.

⁷⁷ [Author Unknown]: “Moenie Trou,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XI), (567), 7 Maart 1933, pp.1-2.

Completing a time of engagement was the first step towards marriage, though it was not considered an opportunity for the couple getting to know each other. As one article explained, because of women's increasing freedom in society, they would not enter into an engagement until they had gotten to know a man properly and knew that they wanted to marry him.⁷⁸ A ring was not always used to seal the engagement, but during the period at hand, engagement rings went from being relatively rare, if presented at all, in the form simple gold bands, to diamond-containing ornate rings.⁷⁹ Advertisements for engagement rings only began to appear in *Die Huisvrou* in the late 1930s with great emphasis on the emotions and romance of engagement and marriage (see figure 3.5).⁸⁰ Before a couple became engaged, both sets of parents needed to be asked for permission, and once that permission had been attained, the couple would place a "sophisticated and restrained" announcement in the newspaper. A suggested example which appeared in *Die Huisvrou* read as follows.⁸¹

Hart-Hand-Hiermee wens ons Mimie, oudste dogter van mnr. En mev. W. Hart, van Louisvale, en Gerhard, jongste seun van mnr. en mev. D. Hand van Aliwal Noord, bekend te maak dat ons verloof is.⁸²

[Hart-Hand- with this we, Mimie, oldest daughter of Mr and Mrs W. Hart, from Louisvale, and Gerhard, youngest son of Mr and Mrs D. Hand from Aliwal North, wish to announce that we are engaged.]

The engagement was sometimes not made public until an engagement party was held. One article suggested that engagement parties be a simple affair with the invitation list only including as many people on it as could comfortably fit into the home it would be celebrated in. Evening parties were preferred to those in the day because then "the men could come too". Music would be played, sometimes performed as live items by musical friends and family, and the article specified that the hostess ask those she would like to present poems or other items in advance.⁸³ Engagement parties were also sometimes intimate gatherings with a few friends

⁷⁸ [Author given as "Spero"]: "Die Verlowing," *Die Huisvrou*, (XIX), (951), 16 Julie 1940, p.17.

⁷⁹ [Author given as "Spero"]: "Die Verlowing," *Die Huisvrou*, (XIX), (951), 16 Julie 1940, p.17.

⁸⁰ [Advertisement for Engagement ring by Pinn & co.]: *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1100), 1 Junie 1943, p.ii.

⁸¹ [Author given as "Spero"]: "Die Verlowing," *Die Huisvrou*, (XIX), (951), 16 Julie 1940, p.17.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ [Author Unknown]: "n verlowings-partytjie," *Die Huisvrou*, (V), (212), 18 Mei 1926, p.18.

and members of the family where fruitcake was served with tea.⁸⁴ During the period of engagement, invitations for the wedding would be sent out and, in the 1920s, the idea of holding something like a bridal shower was introduced. An article in 1923 described throwing a party for a bride-to-be whose parents could not afford to pay for her wedding. Each guest was asked to bring a handkerchief and ribbons for the bride which at a specific time of the celebration would be produced and thrown at her. The ribbons were meant for the bride to use to trim underwear, hats and other clothing and the author of the article explained that in America people were starting to present her with kitchen articles.⁸⁵ Three weeks before the day, invitations would be sent out for the wedding celebrations.⁸⁶ One article suggested that invitations be printed in a silver font on white paper and sent out a few weeks before the wedding.⁸⁷

The protocol of which members of the family paid for which elements of the wedding was a very specific one and was discussed in detail in the Afrikaans magazine. An article from *Die Huisvrou* from 1929 presented the financial details of a wedding. The parents of the bride paid for the invitations, and the costs associated with sending them, as well as the bride's dress and other clothes and linen. They also funded the reception and the vehicle that transported the bride and her bridesmaids from the church to the reception. The bridegroom was expected to pay for the church and the organist, the wedding band (ring), the car to carry him and his groomsmen between the venue and church, the honeymoon, presents for the bridesmaids (such as a brooch or a bracelet) and posies for his mother, mother-in-law to be and bridesmaids.⁸⁸ By 1940, an article in *Die Huisvrou* shows that these expectations remained largely unchanged other than the addition of a specification that bridesmaids and groomsmen (though it was common to have only one) were expected to pay for their own clothing.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ [Author Unknown]: "Kookkuns: verversinge vir 'n verloofskap partytjie," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (351), 15 Januarie 1929, pp.26-27; [Author Unknown]: "Bruidskoek," *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (60), 19 Junie 1923, p.31.

⁸⁵ [Author Unknown]: "Vir die toekomstige bruid: 'n Nuttige Bruid Behoorlike Bruilof Gewoonte," *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (68), 14 Augustus 1923, p.8.

⁸⁶ [Author Unknown]: "Huweliksresepies en alles in verband daarmee," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (365), 23 April 1929, p.13.

⁸⁷ [Author Unknown]: "Huweliksresepies en alles in verband daarmee," *Die Huisvrou*, (XVII), (928), 6 Februarie 1940, p.18.

⁸⁸ [Author Unknown]: "Huweliksresepies en alles in verband daarmee," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (365), 23 April 1929, p.13.

⁸⁹ [Author Unknown]: "Huweliksresepies en alles in verband daarmee," *Die Huisvrou*, (XVII), (928), 6 Februarie 1940, p.18.

Big weddings with long speeches and stiff formalities were going out of fashion in the 1920s and intimate gatherings with 20-30 guests, though one article shows that this number could be as high as 60, in the home or garden of the bride's parents were the favoured form of reception well into the 1940s. "Stiff" meals with heavy foods such as a roast with all the trimmings and dessert were considered old-fashioned and the younger brides wanted an afternoon affair of tea and cakes.⁹⁰ Brides even wanted to wear shorter dresses that just reached to their knees, were loose fitting and reminiscent of the style of dresses worn by the Flappers (see figure 3.6). Some wedding celebrations only included close family and bridesmaid's and groomsmen, while the guest lists of others were once again arranged around the home space available.⁹¹ Whatever the type of reception, choosing the appropriate apparel was essential. Very informal and small weddings called for the groom to wear a "lounge" suit in navy blue or faded brown with brown shoes, dark socks and a felt hat, while it was suggested that the bride wear a nice dress with a matching hat and jacket for the honeymoon. A bigger and more formal wedding, either held at the home of the bride's parents or at a hotel, required the bride to wear a specifically white dress made of satin, silk or crepe de chine with a veil and a wreath, often of orange blossoms. The groom was instructed to wear coat and tails.⁹² Roses and/or lilies were the preferred flowers for bouquets, though brides were not required to have bouquets at very small weddings.⁹³ For the bride, wearing a crown, that looked like the one the statue of liberty sports, became particularly fashionable in the late 1930s and early 1940s, and gloves went in and out of fashion a few times during the period being considered.⁹⁴

Relaxed wedding celebrations, especially in the form of tea parties, were recommended to commence with a ceremony at a church between 14:00 and 15:00 in the afternoon. Once the marriage ceremony had taken place at the church, the bridal party and guests moved over to the reception venue which was, as mentioned before, usually the home of the bride's parents. As guests arrived at the reception venue, the parents of the bride would greet them at the front door and then they would move through the house into a room where they would greet the

⁹⁰ [Author Unknown]: "Om die teetafel: teenswoordige huwelikspresente," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (262), 10 Mei 1927, p.11; [Author Unknown]: "Alles omtrent n' Huwelik," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (265), 31 Mei 1927, p.10; [Author Unknown]: "Alles omtrent n' Huwelik," *Die Huisvrou*, (XVII), (930), 20 Februarie 1940, p.19; [Author Unknown]: "Hoe ek my bruilof gereel het," *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (29), 14 November 1922, p.9.

⁹¹ [Author Unknown]: "Alles omtrent n' Huwelik," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (368), 14 Mei 1929, p.14.

⁹² [Author Unknown]: "Huweliksplegtighede," *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (397), 3 Desember 1929, pp.10-11.

⁹³ [Author Unknown]: "Huwelike van vandag, en alles omtrent hulle," *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (193), 5 Januarie 1926, pp.14-15.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

bridal couple who would be positioned under a bell (“geluysklok”) hanging from the ceiling.⁹⁵ In the 1920s, pink, white and silver were fashionable colours for decorations. Jam tins were painted white or pink and filled with posies of sweet peas or any other flowers that were blooming in the garden at the time.⁹⁶ Furniture was moved out of the biggest rooms to make room to stand and mingle. Another room in the house was dedicated to storing hats/coats while another provided a space to keep presents for the bride and groom.⁹⁷ Suggested gifts included: clothing, hats, stockings, gloves, slippers, ties, undergarments, down duvets, cutlery, “pyrex dishes” and electrical equipment such as kettles and lamps.⁹⁸ Tables and chairs were arranged on the *stoep* where food and coffee and tea was served.

The menu could include sandwiches - filled with salad, or with cream and dates or banana and walnuts - cookies, sweets and of course, cake.⁹⁹ The wedding cake was usually a fruit cake, placed on a separate table to the rest of the food and often consisting of elaborate designs with moulded white icing, tiers and ornate floral decorations.¹⁰⁰ After refreshments were served and short speeches delivered, the bridal couple would change into their travelling clothes. The bride, especially, was expected to put much thought into her *reispakkie* (travelling suit) in which she would leave the celebrations.¹⁰¹ The guests would all gather on the *stoep*, the groomsmen would load the wedding car with luggage necessary for the trip, and the happy couple was sent off between 16:30 and 17:00 with the tossing of confetti and paper flowers.¹⁰²

Love, marriage and divorce panic

Die Huisvrou is n blad vir gewone vrouens, wat aldag na hulle huisgesin moet kyk, en nie vir besondere soort vrouens, wat hulle plesier en werk buite hulle huis soek. En daarom probeer ek altyd om oor die dinge te skryf wat ons gewone vrouens interesseer; en van die dinge is die huwelik seker die grootste van almal.¹⁰³

⁹⁵ [Author Unknown]: “Alles omtrent n Huwelik,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (265), 31 Mei 1927, p.10.

⁹⁶ [Author Unknown]: “Alles Omtrent my bruilof en resepsie,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (194), 12 Januarie 1926, p.12.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ [Author Unknown]: “Om die teetafel: teenswoordige huwelikspresente,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (262), 10 Mei 1927, p.11.

⁹⁹ [Author Unknown]: “Alles Omtrent my bruilof en resepsie,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (194), 12 Januarie 1926, p.12.; [Author Unknown]: “Die Spaarsaam bruid: Die Tuigemaakte bruidskoek en hoe om dit te versuiker en versier,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (225), 17 Augustus 1926, p.30.

¹⁰⁰ [Author Unknown]: “Die Spaarsaam bruid: Die Tuigemaakte bruidskoek en hoe om dit te versuiker en versier,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (225), 17 Augustus 1926, p.30.

¹⁰¹ [Author Unknown]: “Alles omtrent n Huwelik,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XVII), (930), 20 Februarie 1940, p.19

¹⁰² [Author Unknown]: “Alles omtrent n Huwelik,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (265), 31 Mei 1927, p.10.

¹⁰³ [Author Unknown]: “Goeie vrouens van goeie mans,” *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (75), 2 Oktober 1923, pp.1-2.

[*Die Huisvrou* is a magazine for ordinary women, who must look after their family every day, and not for exceptional kinds of women, that seek their pleasure and work outside of the home. And therefore I try to always write about things that interest ordinary women; and of these things, marriage is probably the greatest of them all.]

It has been found thus far in this chapter that great fears arose about the nature of women's interactions with men, specifically before marriage, because of their new position outside of the home. Pertinently, the quote above appeared in the editor's section of an early edition of *Die Huisvrou*. Both magazines constantly featured articles concerning marriage. Often underlying these conversations in the magazines was a tone of concern that marriage would go completely out of fashion and that white South African families, and ultimately society, would fall apart, or that the value of marriage had been reduced to a business transaction because of capitalism.¹⁰⁴ In the 1920s, female suffrage was believed to pose a threat to the home and home life while evidence that young people no longer wanted to marry was found in that they were not enamoured by romance, poetry, singing and writing sentimental love songs and reading novels about love.¹⁰⁵ It was feared that fewer people would consider marriage as it was thought that many girls saw a committed union with a man as a life of drudgery and boredom.¹⁰⁶ *Die Huisvrou* expressed the belief that women would be consumed by the independence that would come with being allowed to vote and pursue careers outside of the home. The apprehension was two-fold. Firstly, young women were accused of not focussing on marriage or attaining a husband, and secondly, that this neglect arose from women being too busy trying to get the vote and compete with men.¹⁰⁷ Compounding factors included changes to divorce laws in South Africa which, which according to the *Die Huisvrou*, led to a rise in divorce, along with women's increasing freedom and power in society.¹⁰⁸ Despite these fears, marriage statistics from the Union census of 1936 show that there was in fact no decline in the number of women getting married. There was surprisingly an increase from 1921 to 1936, though birth rates dropped slightly.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ [Author Unknown]: "Werkloon vir vrouens- ñ saak vir ideale," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (275), 2 Augustus 1927, pp.1-2.

¹⁰⁵ [Author Unknown]: "ñ Man se maat- of sy Engel?," *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (248), 25 Januarie 1927, pp.1-2.

¹⁰⁶ [Author Unknown]: "Huwelik as ñ loopbaan," (IV), (196), 26 Januarie 1926, pp.1-2.

¹⁰⁷ [Author Unknown]: "ñ Man se maat- of sy Engel?," *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (248), 25 Januarie 1927, pp.1-2.

¹⁰⁸ [Author Unknown]: "Een Egskeiding vir elke huwelik," *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (253), 1 Maart 1927, pp.1-2.

¹⁰⁹ *Union of South Africa Census of Population, 5th May, 1936, Preliminary report*, Volume II, Ages of the European, Asiatic and Coloured Population, Government Printer, Union of South Africa, p.x.

As women were moving out of the home to pursue careers, attempts were made to encourage them to view marriage as a career: something that needed their serious and undivided attention as well as a pursuit which required study. *Die Huisvrou* also tried to construct an ideal of marriage that was more attractive to girls because it was believed that young women chose careers over marriage because marriage was perceived a form of slavery and they feared losing their independence.¹¹⁰ Having a disposable income, especially in the years of economic depression in the early 1930s, was thought to be a more attractive prospect to men and women than marriage and the pressure associated with relying on a single income.¹¹¹ Young women were also believed to be wasting their time studying degrees which made them delay marriage for the sake of their studies and then supposedly found it harder to find a husband because they would leave university/college with higher expectations for a spouse, as well as accrued financial debt.¹¹²

Educating women about how to be housewives was considered a good solution to the perceived problem because unhappy marriages were believed to be a result of ignorance about the institution and what it entailed.¹¹³ One article said that there were three reasons for divorce: a weakened understanding of the holiness of the marriage vows, a lack of education about the home and finally, women losing their femininity and trying to be like men. The women's suffrage movement was believed to be calling women to be like men and encouraging women to abandon their maternal and marital duties.¹¹⁴ Dropping marriage figures were also attested to young girls being underprepared for married life and their under preparedness was attributed to spending too much time on things other than "the work for which nature made them."¹¹⁵ One article put forward that the result of the neglect of "proper" education for girls in preparation for marriage was young women that were considered unfit for marriage. The characteristics of such women were: not being trustworthy with their own or their husband's money because they were apparently used to home being a hostel where everything is done for them, not having knowledge of child care and sicknesses, not being capable of caring for their own physical

¹¹⁰ [Author Unknown]: "Huwelik as 'n loopbaan," (IV), (196), 26 Januarie 1926, pp.1-2; [Author Unknown]: "Jongmense en die Huwelik," *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (456), 20 Januarie 1931, pp.1-2.

¹¹¹ [Author Unknown]: "Jongmense en die Huwelik," *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (456), 20 Januarie 1931, pp.1-2.

¹¹² [Author given as "S.D."]: "Die Huwelik en die Intellektuele Dame," *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (268), 21 Junie 1927, p.29.

¹¹³ [Author Unknown]: "Huwelik as 'n loopbaan," (IV), (196), 26 Januarie 1926, pp.1-2.

¹¹⁴ [Author Unknown]: "'n Pleid vir Moederskap: Die oorsake van die egskedingeuwel," *Die Huisvrou*, (II), 92), 29 Januarie 1924, pp.1-2.

¹¹⁵ [Author Unknown]: "Meisies wat nie geskik is om te trou nie," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (322), 26 Junie 1928, pp.1-2.

well-being and not being able to do or oversee the completion of housework.¹¹⁶ Girls who thought themselves to be equipped for housewifery after studying a degree unrelated to the home were chastised as foolish and unattractive to men.¹¹⁷ It was also repeatedly emphasised that women who wanted to marry needed to learn how to be a good housewife, which included being a good wife as well as being knowledgeable about housework.¹¹⁸

Women were encouraged to study something to do with domesticity to ensure that they would be good housewives. In the early 1920s in *Die Huisvrou*, studying something at college or university such as law or medicine was equated to being distracted by things outside of the home which resulted in losing touch with the home and the ability to be a good mother.¹¹⁹

[Ek] voel dat ons in baie gevalle ons meisies te hoog opvoed, en hulle liefde en gehegtheid van hulle huis aftrek. Ek weet van ’n meisie wat ’n B.A. van die Londense Uniwersiteit het, en klerk is in ’n Bank in Kaapstad vir £10 in die maand. En ek weet van ’n ander meisie, wat ’n graad van ’n Afrikaanse Uniwersiteit besit, en haar tyd in die dag deurbring as tikster op ’n skryfmasien, en in die aand met “jazz” en “fox-trot” op danspartye!¹²⁰

[I feel that we often educate our girls too much, that takes away their love and attachment for the home. I know of a girl that has a B.A. from the University of London and is a clerk at a bank in Cape Town for £10 a month. And I know of another girl, that has a degree from an Afrikaans University, and she spends her days working as a typist at a typewriter, and her nights with “jazz” and “fox-trot” at dance parties.]

One front page article in *Die Huisvrou* stated that the night life in Jazz clubs in Johannesburg was as raucous and debaucherous as in big American and European cities, and that without proper measures being followed, the cancer of immorality would further spread across South Africa. It went on to blame contact with the United States and Europe for the demise of the family and respect for religion and simple lives. The author of the article did, however, preclude these thoughts with a statement that he/she is viewed as old-fashioned by many.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ [Author Unknown]: “Meisies wat nie geskik is om te trou nie,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (322), 26 Junie 1928, pp.1-2.

¹¹⁷ A.J.C. Volschenk: “Meisies wat mans nie van hou nie,” *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (67), 7 Augustus 1923, p.13.

¹¹⁸ [Author Unknown]: “Die Suidafrikaanse Meisie in Besigheid,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (233), 12 October 1926, p.19.

¹¹⁹ [Author Unknown]: “Is Hoger opvoeding altyd goed vir meisies?,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (167), 7 Julie 1925, p.1

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ [Author Unknown]: “Die Heiligheid van die Huisgesin en die gevare vir ons meisies,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (251), 15 Februarie 1927, pp.1-2.

Instead, housewifery was presented as a career in itself which required serious attention in order to make a success of life as a woman.¹²² Debates even arose concerning whether or not women should be paid to work as a housewife, but the question of remuneration was believed by some to reduce the sanctity of marriage.¹²³ Towards the end of the 1930s, *Die Huisvrou* began to encourage young women to study domestic sciences and espoused it as a course which would equip women for their work in the home as opposed to drawing them from home life.¹²⁴ Teaching young girls subjects other than those related to keeping a home were thought to be a waste of time, though training in professions such as teaching and nursing were thought to be of benefit to women in their career as housewives.¹²⁵ In the 1920s, agricultural schools began to offer courses in domestic science which were expected to attract young women to them after which they would be trained to run their homes. Subjects included domestic science, washing, cooking, general household management and needlework.¹²⁶ Despite the emphasis being placed on women gaining an education in domestic sciences as opposed to conventional schooling, by 1951 there were only 9 *Huishoudskole* [Housekeeping schools] in South Africa. Though the number of girls attending these schools increased from 139 in 1927 to 795 in 1951, the relatively low numbers of attendance were attributed to the fact that Domestic Sciences was offered as a subject at the majority of schools in the country and therefore girls did not need to attend schools specifically dedicated to the pursuit.¹²⁷ A text book from 1923 called *A Domestic Science Note Book for South African Schools* shows that from a young age, girls were taught about “The Functions of Food”, “Feeding of Infants and Children”, “Laundry” and “Housewifery”.¹²⁸ Ultimately, women’s abilities and skills in the home were seen to be directly related to their success as housewives.¹²⁹

¹²² [Author Unknown]: “ñ kollege kursus vir die huwelike staat” *Die Huisvrou*, 18 Januarie 1927, (VI), (247), pp.1-2.

¹²³ [Author Unknown]: “Werkloon vir vrouens- ñ saak vir ideale,” *Die Huisvrou*, (7), (279), 2 Augustus 1927, pp.1-2.

¹²⁴ [Author Unknown]: “Die dringende behoefte van huishoudkunde aan te moedig,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (416), 15 April 1930, pp.1-2.

¹²⁵ [Author Unknown]: “Om die teetafel: Geen Huishoudkunde meer in die Primêre standerds,” *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (101), 1 April, 1924, p.27; [Author Unknown]: “Loopbane vir Meisies,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (672), 19 Maart 1935, p.12.

¹²⁶ [Author Unknown]: “Die landbouskool op tweespruit,” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (43), 20 Februarie 1923, p.7.

¹²⁷ M.J.M. Prinsloo: *Blanke vroue-arbeid in die Unie van Suid-Afrika*, p.108.

¹²⁸ W.M. Currey & R. Fouché: *A Domestic Science Note Book for South African Schools*, pp.vii-viii.

¹²⁹ “Ek het altyd gesê dat een van die vernaamste deugde van die Afrikaanse vrou die knapheid en lus is waarmee sy haar huislike pligte verrig.”

[Author Unknown]: “Die Opvoeding van ons kinders in Huislike Pligte: Die Tradisies van die Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouens” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (8), 20 Junie 1922, pp.1-3.

Die Huisvrou also featured articles relaying the difficulties and aspirations of married life as well as attempting to portray marriage as a more favourable option for women if it was considered a partnership between husband and wife. An article from 1923 explained that the marriage and family should not rely on the efforts of women alone, elaborating that no single person could run a home and look after children without help. Marriage was presented as a relationship of cooperation between the husband and wife as well as the sharing of burdens in the home. It also chastised those that thought the husband should just be the breadwinner and not contribute to home life.¹³⁰ One woman wrote a letter about striving for a partnership in a marriage as well as clearly outlining the hardships associated with her own life as a housewife (though, in the introduction to the letter below, the editor of *Die Huisvrou* added a disclaimer stating that she did not agree with most of its points).

Ek glo dat ’n huwelik ’n genootskap is, en dat ek die swaarste deel van die las moet dra. Somtyds gaan ek ook uit, en laat vir hom die babetjie oppas; en is gladnie onsteld nie as hy vir my sê die babetjie al die tyd gehuil het. Dit doen my man goed om te weet wat ek elke dag moet deurmaak.¹³¹

[I believe that marriage is a partnership, and that I [the wife] carry the heaviest part of the load. Sometimes I go out too, and leave him to look after the baby; and am not perturbed if he tells me that the baby cried all the time. It does my husband good to know what I must go through every day]

Good Housekeeping also presented the view that marriage should be a comradeship with neither spouse dominating the other.¹³²

Throughout the period between the two World Wars, articles in *Die Huisvrou* encouraged the belief that South Africa was gripped by a divorce epidemic, which was conveyed by various articles expressing a kind of moral panic. In the period between 1917-1920, the incidence of divorce increased by 116% in the Union, a rate which South Africa never experienced again in the period between 1913 and 1956. However, the incidence of divorce increased from 50 per 1000 marriages in the period 1918-1920, to 133 per 1000 in the period 1921-1944.¹³³ In an early volume of the *Die Huisvrou*, in 1923, an article appeared called “Die egskedingswetsontwerp - ’n gevaar vir ons volksbestaan” [The divorce bill - a danger for our

¹³⁰ [Author Unknown]: “’n Huis op vier bene,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (187), 24 November 1925, pp.1-3.

¹³¹ [Author Unknown]: “Die Klagte van ’n jonggetroude vrou,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (218), 26 June 1926, p.6.

¹³² [Author Unknown]: “Let’s talk it over,” *Mrs Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (II), (6), September 1936, p.276.

¹³³ G. Cronjé (Editor): *Egskeding: Die Aard en Oorsake va Huweliks-Ontbinding in Suid-Afrika*, N.G. Kerk Uitgewers, Kaapstad-Pretoria, 1959, pp.9;13.

nation's existence].¹³⁴ The article explained that the new bill would add three new grounds for a person to gain a divorce from their partner, namely if their spouse had leprosy, a declaration of madness from doctors or if they were found to be a criminal that had a life sentence.¹³⁵ It would appear that these grounds, bar one, were only made law when an amendment was made to the divorce laws of the Union in 1935. The amendment added grounds of divorcing a spouse declared mentally ill and incurable after seven years of showing symptoms by three medical practitioners appointed by the court or declared a "habitual criminal" under the Criminal Procedure Act of 1917 and had been incarcerated for at least five years.¹³⁶ Before 1935, it seems that divorce was only granted on grounds of adultery and malicious desertion.¹³⁷ It was feared that easier access to divorce would cause more people to try to obtain one. This claim was supported by reflecting on the state of marriage in Europe and America where it was considered comparatively easy to get a divorce. These countries were believed to be in a "state of crisis" with regards to the actions of women and the predicament was blamed on high rates of dissolved marriages. Easily-obtained divorces were believed to induce a mockery of the marriage institution.¹³⁸ American society was expressing similar concerns in the last half of the 19th century, though there were female activists for and against the process with questions surrounding the grounds for divorce causing friction between various groups including suffragists and women's rights activists. By the period between 1910 and 1945, America had higher divorce rates than any other country in the world.¹³⁹

A desire for freedom within marriage was another factor blamed for contributing to rising divorce statistics. In the Afrikaans magazine, women were accused of grasping after freedom and therefore eroding the marriage institution by seeking ways of avoiding that which did not bring them pleasure. An article in *Die Huisvrou* blamed dissatisfaction in women overseas on their new lifestyle of living in hotels or flats and eating meals in restaurants or from tins, all of which were believed to reflect a relaxation in the ideals of what "huislike lewe" [home life]

¹³⁴ [Author Unknown]: "Die egskedingswetsontwerp- n gevaar vir ons volksbestaan," *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (46), 13 Maart 1923, pp.22-23.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Act no.31 of 1935, *Statutes of the Union of South Africa 1935*, Cape Town, 1935, State Printer. pp.186;188.; W. G. Hoal, A. J. Pienaar, Justice Carlisle, H. Pring, A. A. Hope, E. E. Jenkins and R. J. Morton: "South Africa," *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, (19), (2), 1937, p.114.

¹³⁷ H. de Villiers: "The Law of South Africa," *Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation*, (3), (1), 1901, p.14.

¹³⁸ [Author Unknown]: "Die Gevaar Van Maklike Egskeiding," *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (163), 9 Junie 1925, p.1.

¹³⁹ G. Riley: *Divorce: An American Tradition*, pp.71-75; 133.

was meant to be.¹⁴⁰ It seems like escaping their homes to stay in hotels was common amongst Afrikaner women too, as one article warned that men did not like married women who left their homes behind to stay in hotels.¹⁴¹ The author of another article relayed that the word “obey” had been taken out of the marriage vows at English weddings, but recently she attended an Afrikaans wedding and they had removed the word too. This desire for freedom was attested to new selfish arrangements where neither spouse wanted to be responsible for anyone but themselves and that women did not want to acknowledge their husband’s as the head of the household.

The infidelity of husbands was blamed on wives being too busy gallivanting - playing golf, going away with friends for weekends, using their motor cars to drive wherever they pleased and slighting their homes by staying in hotels. Men were believed to have a natural desire for escaping to the home from their daily stresses while women’s hunger for freedom from the home, was perceived as infringing that desire and considered to be fatal to marriage.¹⁴² *Die Huisvrou* considered the hotel-aspect of this pursuit of freedom to be especially disconcerting because the home was thought to be the foundation of a successful nation. The trend of married couples living in a hotel or flat for their first years of marriage for convenience and the avoidance housework was seen as “coldblooded denial of the higher ideals of married and home life.”¹⁴³ *Good Housekeeping* furthered this idea by explaining that women got a divorce in order to attain freedom from the perceived “enslavement of marriage”, and once she was free from her husband, she moved to a flat.¹⁴⁴ An article in the same magazine found it understandable that women considered domestic routines as tedious after being active participants in the working world: “[t]he woman who before her marriage has been a person of some importance in her profession may find the obscurity of home life, where her labours are almost invariably taken for granted, a trifle depressing”.¹⁴⁵ It nonetheless warned women not to neglect their homes, husbands and children and encouraged them instead to get involved in

¹⁴⁰ [Author Unknown]: “Die Opvoeding van ons kinders in Huislike Pligte: Die Traditiesies van die Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouens” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (8), 20 Junie 1922, pp.1-3.

¹⁴¹ A.J.C. Volschenk: “Meisies wat mans nie van hou nie,” *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (67), 7 Augustus 1923, p.13.

¹⁴² [Author Unknown]: “Huwelik en Vryheid,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (370), 28 Mei 1929, pp.1-2; [Author Unknown]: “Die nuwe manier om n huis met sukses te bestier,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (323), 3 Julie 1928, pp.1-2.

¹⁴³ [Author Unknown]: “Die ophou van n gelukkige huislike lewe,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (314), 1 Mei 1928, pp.1-2.

¹⁴⁴ F. K. Goldie: “From one Woman to Another: Does Divorce Bring Freedom?,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (IV), (2), May 1938, p.54.

¹⁴⁵ M.E. McKerron: “Public life and the home,” *Mrs Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (IV), (2), May 1938, p.58.

things to replace that opportunity for significance which paid work outside the home provided.¹⁴⁶ Another article in *Die Huisvrou* suggested that women be given a break before they became completely despondent and attempted to attain freedom in ways that would be harmful to the family.¹⁴⁷

By the 1940s, however, *Die Huisvrou* featured a series of articles about trying to change laws concerning women: owning property, having the freedom to do their own financial administration and make amendments to other laws that infringed upon their freedom. In one of the articles, the author complained that women could not even open their own bank account without the supervision of their husbands.¹⁴⁸ The editor of the magazine also raised her concern that the freedom of women was being hampered by South African laws and she introduced the news of a delegation of men and women, including members of the ACVV, South African Women's Federation and the National Women's Council, whose aim was to plead for improved legislation for married women in November 1945. She specifically spoke against the law that enabled men to leave their children's care to someone other than their mother in their will and for that will to override the rights of a woman's claim to her children.¹⁴⁹ An advertisement for an adult education course offered by the Department of Education in 1945 on the other hand demonstrates that a strange mix of ideas existed about improving the position of women, and the desire to be beautiful, accomplished in the bedroom, loved by your children and popular in society.¹⁵⁰ An image perhaps most indicative of this new understanding of a woman's roles is one used on the cover page of *Die Huisvrou* from 1940 (see figure 3.7). It showed a close-up of a perfectly-groomed blonde woman at the wheel of a car, wearing all the correct fashionable items of clothing for the occasion and poised to determine her own direction in life.

Conclusion

There was a sense of astonishment at the sheer numbers of women willing to trade their role as housewives for that of economic independence expressed in *Die Huisvrou*. As the position of women in society was affected by their participation in the work force and other areas

¹⁴⁶M.E. McKerron: "Public life and the home," *Mrs Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (IV), (2), May 1938, p.58.

¹⁴⁷ [Author Unknown]: "Om die teetafel: Vakansie vir vrouens," *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (228), 7 September 1926, p.18.

¹⁴⁸ M. van der Klooster: "Die Getroude Vrou Se Eiendomswet," *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1228), 27 Februarie 1945, p.4.

¹⁴⁹[Author given as "Die Redaktrise"]: "Onder Ons," *Die Huisvrou*, (XXIII), (1228), 4 Desember 1945, p.1.

¹⁵⁰ [Advertisement for "4 Dinge Wat Elke Vrou Begeer"]: *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1198), 17 April 1945, p.5

outside of the home, their roles in the home were considered to be under threat by those who were concerned with building a strong society based on family life. Before women married, the way they spent their money, what they wore and who they spent their time with came under criticism. When they married, their actions outside of the home and changes in divorce laws led to panic surrounding the supposed prevalence of dissolving marriages - which in turn precipitated in the denouncement of women's actions outside of the domestic sphere. Despite these fears, and concerns expressed about women being enslaved to fashion, the magazines spent much time discussing bridal and wedding fashions indicating that marriage was not being wholly rejected. The need to express all of these apprehensions also shows that especially young Afrikaans and English women were embracing the economic and social freedom at their disposal despite the intense criticism that it exposed them to.

Chapter 4

The Queen of the Home

Introduction

Let us accept as the definition of a normal home one which so moulds and influences the children that they in their turn will become the founders of homes which will be a benefit and not a burden to the state. A Home is an organisation, and it functions as an organisation; that is, it functions healthily and normally only by regulation and order as agreed upon by its members. The founders of a normal home, the father and the mother, divide the responsibility between them. This division is arranged by different races in different ways, but it is generally based on the respective physical powers of the parents. The father usually provides the supplies, and the mother applies them to the needs of the family. Those homes are of the most value to the state in which both parents carry out fully their respective duties and functions, and understand and supplement those of the other.¹

The quote which opens this chapter is the description given of a “normal home” by the Carnegie Commission. It elucidates many of the assumptions about the purposes and functions of the home in white South African society in and around the 1930s, when the Commission was published, which also become apparent in both magazines studied. The home was ultimately considered to be and celebrated as central to the functioning of a good society. It was thought of as place where the housewife could/should create an atmosphere where her husband would be honoured, and where children could be unconsciously educated in how to behave as good citizens.² While the division of labour in the home is presented by the Carnegie Commission as a malleable process determined by the “founders of home”, practically, it often manifested in rigid guidelines for housewives with regards to their functions within and outside of the home. The norm was that the mother’s role in the home was characterised by the use of finances or commodities, provided by the father, to ensure that the needs of the family were met. Though this quote does not make it as clear, the home was considered the mother’s domain - her kingdom over which she exercised her wisdom and authority. The idea that the home was the woman’s sphere was something that both the English and Afrikaans magazines appear to have been comfortable with, and the perceived threats to home life mentioned in the previous chapter did not leave the home untouched. Historian Cherryl Walker explains that by the 1930s white South African women were no longer only confined to the home.³ Instead, attempts were made

¹M.E. Rothmann: *The Poor White Problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission: Part V. Sociological Report: (b) The Mother and Daughter in the Poor Family*, p.171.

² [Author unknown]: “Die Kombuis,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (748), 8 September 1936, p.2.

³ C. Walker. Ed.: *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*, p.316.

to extend the home into the public sphere, or at least, embark on a slippery slope of endeavouring to define “women’s work”.

Good Housekeeping presented the idea that housewives could rightly extend their sphere of domestic influence into all areas which would affect the good of the home. Involvement in social welfare work and public service committees was encouraged as an opportunity to use their knowledge of the home to positively influence external factors in their communities that would perhaps negatively influence home life.⁴ In the 1920s, *Die Huisvrou* encouraged the idea that women could accomplish positive change in their communities without the vote and denounced the idea of women serving as members of Parliament or any other position in politics, because politics was considered to be outside of the sphere of domestic influence. Some women opposed full suffrage for white women in South Africa, though women could vote for councillors, which was believed to be within the bounds of their space of knowledge and interest.⁵ South African suffragettes also used this approach in their movement in proposing that the vote would empower women in order that they could do their “work” of improving society.⁶ The formation and popularity of organisations such as the ACVV furthers the idea of an acceptable public realm of “women’s work” and academic Marijke du Toit argues that women used the extension of their domestic sphere to increase their political influence.⁷ It is found that *Die Huisvrou* criticised women filling specifically formal political positions while encouraging the extension of home influence into society.

The position held by Miss Margaret Bondfield, the parliamentary secretary of the Minister of labour in Britain (the highest political position held by a woman at the time), was denounced by the Afrikaans magazine as a waste of time because she would be spending it on broader society rather than her immediate family, even though she was celebrated for aiding the plight of women and women’s work.⁸ Participation in public health bodies was, however, acceptable because women were seen to be “caring” for the population directly, and not taking the positions of men. Charity work such as caring for the aged and vulnerable children and girls (or young

⁴ M.E. McKerron: “Public life and the home,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (IV), (2), May 1938, p.58.

⁵ [Author Unknown]: “Behoort ons Vrouens Lede te wees van stadsrade en ander publieke liggame?,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (173), 18 Augustus, 1925, p.1.

⁶ C. Walker. Ed.: *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*, pp.319-320.

⁷ M. du Toit: “The Domesticity of Afrikaner Nationalism: Volksmoeders and the ACVV, 1904-1929,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (21), (1), March 2003, p.159.

⁸[Author Unknown]: “By die teetafel: Wetontwerp oor Vrouestemreg,” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (43), 20 Februarie 1923, p.7.; [Author Unkown]: “Om die tee tafel,” *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (96), 26 Februarie 1924, pp.29-30.

women) was also encouraged.⁹ Women's involvement in public life was most acceptable when offered as a process of women preserving and protecting the home. Though housewives were also warned that they could become too absorbed by work in their community or women's organisations, which would lead to the demise of their own home life. Straying too far from that which was considered to be "the home" was therefore considered threatening to the welfare of South African society as well as a danger to existing social gender distinctions.¹⁰ By 1944, *Die Huisvrou* featured a cover page article about Frances Perkins, the Minister of Labour in America, and celebrated her for being an "outstanding woman",¹¹ though the importance of the home remained a central tenet to the proper functioning of society, especially in light of perceived threats arising in Europe.

Daar is een ding wat Suid-Afrika vir ń lang tyd sal bewaar van die golwe van onverskilligheid wat dreig om Europa en Amerika te verswelg, en dit is die Afrikander se liefde vir sy huis, waar die vrou en moeder as ń koningin op haar troon is, en die grootste invloed het op die lotgevalle van ons volk, en die moeder is van fris en dapper seuns en rein en deegsame dogters.¹²

[There is one thing that will long preserve South Africa from the waves of indifference that threaten to engulf Europe and America, and that is the Afrikander's love for his house, where the wife and mother is on her throne as a queen, and has the biggest influence on the fate of our nation, and is the mother of healthy and brave sons and pure and industrious daughters.]

Housewives were therefore considered the foundation of good society through their participation in their sphere of domestic. In their homes they could provide stability for their family and ultimately influence a generation.¹³ The concept of a "true home" was much philosophised about and came to be defined in *Die Huisvrou* as the housewife's domain where she would rear responsible citizens through fostering an atmosphere of kindness, care and sacrificial love.¹⁴ Home life, or "Huislike lewe", was revered, especially in the Afrikaans

⁹ [Author Unknown]: "Vrouens as lede van stadsrade en ander publieke liggame," *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (176), 8 September 1925, p.1.

¹⁰ M.E. McKerron: "Public life and the home," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (IV), (2), May 1938, p.58.

¹¹ M. Schoeman: "Uistaande Vroue in die Hedendaagse Wêreld: Frances Perkins, Minister van Arbeid," *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1160), 25 Julie 1944, p.1.

¹² [Author Unknown]: "Behoort ons Vrouens Lede te wees van stadsrade en ander publieke liggame?," *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (173), 18 Augustus 1925, p.1.

¹³ [Author Unknown]: "Die Koningin van die huis," *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (62), 3 Julie 1923, pp.1-2.

¹⁴ [Author Unknown]: "Wat ń ware huis is," *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (61), 26 Junie 1923, p.13.

magazine, as the holy epicentre of society.¹⁵ “Want almal wat ons Afrikaanse mense ken, weet dat hulle die heiligheid van die huisgesin bewaar het deur hulle stil en eenvoudige lewe en hulle respek vir godsdiens en die voorvaderlike gewoontes.”¹⁶ [Because everyone who knows Afrikaans people, knows that they preserve the holiness of the home family through quiet and simple lives and their respect for religion and the traditions of the forefathers]. As mentioned in the previous chapter, problems in society associated with urbanisation, and the dissolution of morals were also seen to be caused by the rejection of home life, which in turn put extra emphasis on creating a “holy” family life in the home. In contrast to a good family life in a “proper” home was the new kind of family making their lives in a flat in the city. Living in a flat was considered an indication of materialism and selfishness, which was believed to erode the character of the rest of the family. Living in a small space was directly equated to selfishness because housework and the upkeep of the home decreased with the smaller space, and a lack of room was also believed to impair the lives of children at the hands of their parents’ desire for convenience. Children that did not have access to a garden and “were constantly forced to play in hushed voices”, would not, an article said, experience proper development in health and happiness.¹⁷ Finances, or what could or couldn’t be afforded, were not brought in the equation. Women were encouraged to have many children and *Die Huisvrou* even offered prizes in the late 1920s to large families that were celebrated for preserving the country and the *volk* (See figure 4.1).¹⁸ In theory, this home life was painted as a noble and intentional pursuit of the greater good of society. But the pillar of home life relied on housewives carrying out, or overseeing, the day-to-day tasks that were expected of them. This chapter hopes to explore what those tasks were, how they were expected to be accomplished and the characteristics of home in which they were completed.

Things that need doing

Sy moet haar kinders leer om vir haar as die “Koningin van die Huis” te beskou en eer. Sy moet vir hulle laat verstaan dat sy hulle jong lewe bestuur, en dat hulle huis die brandpunt van hulle lewe is. Sy moet die troon van haar moederskap in die huis vestig, en haar kinders leer om haar gewillige en blymoedige dienaars en helpers te wees. Dan sal sy haar posisie as moeder ophef, bowe die wasgoed balie en die bakoond, tot hoë standpunt wat sy reg

¹⁵[Author Unknown]: “Ons Afrikaanse Vrouens en die skoonheid’s wedstryd,” *Die Huisvrou*, 21 September 1926, pp.1-2.

¹⁶ [Author Unknown]: “Die Heiligheid van die Huisgesin en die gevare vir ons meisies,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (251), 15 Februarie 1927, pp.1-2.

¹⁷ [Author Unknown]: “Wonings en huise,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (403), 14 Januarie 1930, pp.1-2.

¹⁸ *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (347), 18 Desember 1928, p.14.

op het, en waar sy haar hoogste posisie en edelste geseënte werk as moeder vir haar kinders sal doen.¹⁹

[She must teach her children to view and honour her as the “Queen of the House”. She must make them understand that she manages their young lives, and that the house is the focus of their lives. She must establish the throne of her motherhood in the house, and teach her children to be willing and cheerful servants and helpers. Then she will raise her position as a mother, above the washing bar and the baking oven, to a high position where she has rights, and where she will take her highest position and do the noblest blessed work as a mother for her children.]

One of the most obvious expectations of housewives was they would beget children in the context of a marriage and raise them in a way that would allow them to flourish. Caring for children was viewed as a full time and essential part of being a housewife. Educating children was a particularly great concern to mothers in the period being studied - as evidenced by various articles in *Die Huisvrou* presenting the latest advances in curriculums, child psychology and school systems. Discussions about Montessori and the latest discoveries of Dr Truby King were among the noteworthy interests.²⁰ The Afrikaans magazine explained that the Montessori system was based on allowing children the freedom to discover things for themselves.²¹ Despite praising the methods of freedom espoused by Montessori, in the 1920s, white South African schools were seen as safe places where children would learn the importance of the home and not be influenced by the strange ideas that teachers and other children might hold about freedom from home life - dangers which were considered to be threatening Europe and America.²² In 1944, Maria Montessori was hailed by *Die Huisvrou* as being one of the greatest contributors to education in the world and for being known by most parents and educators by 1909, indicating her influence on education in South Africa too.²³

Sir Truby King was known for reforming health systems, especially in his home country, New Zealand, and espoused the idea that the mental condition of children could be affected by their environment, which explains some of the emphasis on providing children with a home that

¹⁹ [Author Unknown]: “Die Koningin van die huis,” *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (62), 3 Julie 1923, pp.1-2.

²⁰ [Author Unknown]: “Die Natuur se opvoedingsplan,” *Die Huisvrou*, (V), (201), 2 Maart 1926, pp.1-2;

[Author Unknown]: “’n Montessori moeder,” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (39), 23 Januarie 1923, pp.1-2.; [Author

Unknown]: “Die Nuwe soort opvoeding,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (297), 3 Januarie 1928, pp.1-2; [Author

Unknown]: “’n Montessori Moeder,” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (38), 16 Januarie 1923, pp.1-3.

²¹ [Author Unknown]: “’n Montessori Moeder,” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (38), 16 Januarie 1923, pp.1-3.

²² [Author Unknown]: “Die Geseende Naam van “Moeder,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (157), 18 April 1925, p.1.

²³ M. Schoeman: “Uistaande Vroue in die Hedendaagse Wêreld: Maria Montessori en die Opvoedkunde,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1165), 29 Augustus 1944, p.1.

included a garden reflected in the South African magazines.²⁴ Some nurses appear to have travelled South Africa to provide training in Truby King designed diets and other information considering children's health, which included encouraging children to eat foods with lots of roughage and avoiding refined foods such as white bread.²⁵ His books were also reviewed and suggested as good reading for mothers that wanted to gain knowledge about nutrition and health in the magazines, and one edition of *Die Huisvrou* presented a photograph of a mother and her child with the caption "ń Truby King babetjie" [a Truby King Baby].²⁶

The quote which introduced this section also alludes to the extent to which housewives' lives were concerned with housework although the degree to which their lives were dominated by domestic chores, as were women's lives that did not have access to cheap labour, is debatable. Cleaning the home was explained to be a necessary means of making the home an aesthetically pleasing and hygienic place to be.²⁷ As will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, white South African women usually utilised cheap domestic help, but articles in both magazines show that completing daily tasks in the home was still a tiresome expectation which housewives were to fulfil. An article in *Die Huisvrou* provided the schedule of a housewife that hired on domestic servant as well as that of the daily duties for the servant. According to this article, the tasks of the housewife included waking and dressing the children, feeding the children, making beds, organising rooms and clearing floors so that they could be swept, caring for children who were younger than school-going age and looking after children after school and preparing them for bed.²⁸ Another article suggested that the housewife also spent time making and repairing clothes, cooking and supervising the preparation of meals and dusting.²⁹

²⁴ Sir Truby King, whose work made much impact in the first decades of the 20th Century, is also noted for his role in creating diets for women malnourished from forgoing food in order to ensure that their children and husbands consumed enough.

P.V. Stock, C. Bricknell: "Nature's good for you: Sir Truby King, Seacliff Asylum, and the greening of health care in New Zealand, 1899-1922," *Elsevier: Health & Place*, (22), 2013, pp.109;111.

²⁵ [Author Unknown]: "By die teetafel: Soorte voedsel vir die gesondheid," *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (70), 28 Augustus 1923, p.30.

²⁶ [Author Unknown]: "ń groot nasionale verantwoordelikheid vir vrouens," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (304), 21 Februarie 1928, pp.1-2; [A photograph with the caption: ń Truby King babetjie- hy is die seuntjie van Mnr. M. M.J. Basson, P.K. Kafferskraal 214, Zeerust, Transvaal]: "Onderlinge Hulp en Vrindskap Bond," *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (232), 28 September 1927, p.22.

²⁷ [Author Unknown]: "Dinge wat ń Huisvrou behoort te weet: Waarom moet sy skoonmaak en afstof," *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (256), 22 Maart 1927, p.23.

²⁸ [Author Unknown]: "Die Diensbode-vraagstuk," *Die Huisvrou*, (V), (207), 13 April 1926, p.12.

²⁹ [Author Unknown]: "Die Huisvrou se dagboek," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (301), 31 January 1928, p.9.

Despite the Afrikaans magazine providing schedules which housewives could use to manage their domestic workers in the home, many articles also appeared which were specifically directed at aiding the housewife in her housework. Information concerning techniques in polishing silverware, using the bile of a cow to clean carpets, scrubbing floors, removing stains from material and washing and ironing. Most of the tips presented were accompanied by effort-saving instructions further indicating the housewife's role in completing the housework.³⁰ A good home, according to a booklet called *Die Moeder en Haar Huis* (1942), brought out by the housekeeping school in Bethlehem, in the Orange Free State, presented the specific aspects of a well-looked after home and environment. These included "simple, but clean and neatly dressed husband and wife, clean and neat kitchen, clean and neat floors, clean and neat bedding, clean and neat table linen and tableware, well cared for- and unchipped crockery, a well-managed vegetable garden, a pretty and well-maintained little flower garden, cared for trees around the home and happy parents and children".³¹

A woman, calling herself a "modern housewife" relayed the activities of her day and took pains to explain how housework impacted her day as well as encouraging women to employ work-saving techniques and appliances. She would wake up at 07:00 and make coffee on her mini-electrical stove which she kept next to her bed. While her husband was in the bath, she would drink her coffee and then go downstairs to prepare a breakfast of porridge, fried bacon, or chops and eggs, brown bread, jam and fruit, as well more coffee on the gas stove. She added that

³⁰ [Author Unknown]: "Spaarsaamheidswenke," *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (221), 20 Julie 1926, p.11; [Author Unknown]: "Dinge wat 'n Huisvrou behoort te weet: Was en skoonmaak," *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (257), 29 Maart 1927, p.12; [Author Unknown]: "Die Netjiese Huis: "Hoe om 'n kamer skoon te maak," *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (96), 26 Februarie 1924, Vol. II. No. 96, pp.24-25; [Author given as "n Moderne Huisvrou"]: "Nuwerwetse Huisvrou," *Die Huisvrou*, (V), (203), 16 Maart 1926, pp.19-20; [Author Unknown]: "Money for Ideas," *Mrs Slade's South African Good Housekeeping Magazine*, (11), (3), February 1938, p.508; [Author Unknown]: "Uithaal van vlekke," *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (707), 12 November 1935, p.14; [Author given as "Lucille"]: "Nuttige Wenke vir die Huisvrou," *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1147), 25 April 1944, p.18.

³¹ K. Bosman (Hoof, Presidents Steyn-Huishoudskool, Bethlehem): *Die Moeder en Haar Huis*, uitgegee deur die hoofbestuur van die Oranje-Vrouevereniging, foreword written in 1942, Nasionale pers, Bloemfontein. p.46: Kenmerke van 'n goed versorgde woonhuisie en omgewing:

1. Eenvoudige maar skoon en net geklede man en vrou.
2. Skoon, wel en net geklede kinders
3. Skoon en nette kombuis
4. Skoon en nette vloere
5. Skoon en heel beddegoed
6. Skoon en nette tafellinne en tafelgereedskap
7. Goedversorgde en ongebarste skottelgoed
8. Eenvoudige maar goed gelbalenseerde en goed voorbereide maaltye
9. 'n Goed bewerkte groentetuin
10. 'n Mooi versorgde blomtuintjie
11. 'n Aantal goed versorgde bome om die huis
12. Gelukkige ouers en kinders

breakfast and coffee took her approximately 15 minutes to prepare. By 09:00 there would be no trace of breakfast and cleaning up in the dining room would take 30 minutes. Her special technique for speeding the process up was to rub the fat off dishes with newspaper before washing them in the sink. Next, she would clean the bedroom which was made easier by the facts, she said, that her husband was neat, there was no clutter in the room and she never left her clothes lying around. Thirty minutes were allocated to cleaning bedrooms. The rest of her day was more relaxing. Her husband worked in the city, she explained, so she did not have to prepare a meal for him because he would have a light lunch at a tea room. After cleaning the house, she planned supper, and because she had been so productive, used her afternoons to enjoy free time or to bake fruit pies or cook fruit which could be served for breakfast.³² This woman referred to having a room in the house for a maid, though it is not specified how she would have been occupied. No mention of children was made which also could have made the load lighter and easier to complete for this specific housewife.

If husbands did not eat at a tea room or cafeteria, they would, along with any school-going children, need a packed lunch. An article in *Good Housekeeping* encouraged housewives to be more creative than just making sandwiches (for fear of monotony ruining appetites, as mentioned in chapter two). The school lunch box was encouraged to contain a ripe tomato every day or at least one fresh vegetable. Fish seems to have been considered specifically original and exciting and it was suggested in all forms including pickled, in a cake or cold. Housewives were urged to make an effort to make the lunchboxes “tasty, and attractive in appearance.”³³ A feast was suggested for a husband’s lunchbox:

What would stimulate the appetite of the tired office worker more than the sight of cold pickled fish (neatly packed in a little ramekin dish and covered with grease-proof paper), cold minced tongue and chicken, accompanied by a fresh tomato, and some nice crisp lettuce leaves and a generous helping of fruit salad (this will carry very well in a one-pint screw-top fruit jar) and a few slices of wholemeal bread and butter. Cheese and biscuits to complete the meal.³⁴

³² [Author given as “ñ Moderne Huisvrou”]: “Nuwerwetse Huisvrou,” *Die Huisvrou*, (V), (203), 16 Maart 1926, pp.19-20

³³ [Author given as E.M.B.]: “The Lunch Box,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (VI), (8), November 1940, p.258.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

Other suggestions from this article included a small milk pudding and a bottle of milk or orange juice.³⁵

Although affordable ready-made soaps were available to women between the World Wars, especially in urban areas, it seems that many women spent time making their own.³⁶ Soap was also one of the products with which women competed in agricultural shows and other competitions surrounding home produced items.³⁷ By the late 1930s soap-making seems to have existed as more of a hobby for some. Tulleken's *The Practical Cookery Book for South Africa*, published in 1945, provided over 25 different soap recipes which included "Prickly Pear Soap", "Pumpkin Soap", "Mealie Soap", "Raw Bacon Soap" and "Ostrich Egg Soap".³⁸ All the recipes presented in Tulleken's book use very large quantities of ingredients which could also indicate the soap was used extensively and not just made in small batches for fun. The Prickly Pear Soap, for instance, required 28 lbs (12.7 kg) of prickly pear cactus leaves. Once the leaves had been stripped of their thorns, if a soap with a green colour was desired, the green part of the leaves were used too, otherwise, only the fleshy innards made their way into the mixture. The leaves were sliced lengthwise and then combined with 14 lbs (6.4 kg) of fat, 3 ¼ lbs (1.5 kg) caustic soda and water, boiled until the mixture gained a texture like honey. It was left to cure for three days before being sliced into bars and allowed to cure further.³⁹ The effectiveness of soap to use for cleaning was enhanced by adding *mieliemeel* or crushed egg shells.⁴⁰

Die Moeder en Haar Huis also saw gardening as an essential part of a good home. *Die Huisvrou* also often ran articles with tips on establishing and maintaining a garden for the provision of food as well as aesthetic purposes.⁴¹ A Mrs V.F. from Germiston wrote into *Good Housekeeping's* "Questions and Answers" section to ask questions and tips about "Pitsai"

³⁵ [Author given as E.M.B.]: "The Lunch Box," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (VI), (8), November 1940, p.258.

³⁶ [Palmolive Advertisement]: *Mrs Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (II), (11), February 1937, p.487; B. Jacobs: "Kookkuns: Seepmakery," *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (654), 6 November 1934, p.27; [Author Unknown]: "Afrikaanse Reseppe: ń paar goeie en spaarsaam seep-reseppe," *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (7), 13 Junie 1922, p.31.

³⁷ [Author Unknown]: "Beoordeling van Tuigemaakte Produkte," *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (677), 23 April 1935, p.14.

³⁸ S. Blom: "Share your recipes," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (III), (5), August 1937, p.194; S. Van H. Tulleken: *The Practical Cookery Book for South Africa*, 1945, pp.xxxii-xxxiii.

³⁹ S. Van H. Tulleken: *The Practical Cookery Book for South Africa*, 1945, pp.272-273.

⁴⁰ [Author Unknown]: "Tuigemaakte seep," *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (776), 9 Maart 1937, p.25.

⁴¹ K. Bosman (Hoof, Presidents Steyn-Huishoudskool, Bethlehem): *Die Moeder en Haar Huis*, uitgegee deur die hoofbestuur van die Oranje-Vrouevereeniging, foreword written in 1942, Nasionale pers, Bloemfontein, p.46.

Chinese cabbages indicating that women were growing food for themselves, not just being advised to do so.⁴² Both magazines studied encouraged women to consider cultivating, selling and arranging flowers as a means of making a living. One woman mentioned by the Afrikaans magazine in 1945 owned and managed four florist shops which she started herself.⁴³ *Die Huisvrou* also tells the story in 1922 of two young women that started a successful food market by cultivating flowers in their parents' gardens and selling them from their *stoep* as mentioned in chapter 1.⁴⁴ Other than a wide variety of flowers, women were also growing of fruit and vegetables which they then preserved or used immediately in the home in the form of fruit puddings or vegetable dishes.⁴⁵ Gardening and spending time in outdoor spaces were also believed to be good for the physical and spiritual aspects of human life.⁴⁶

As briefly mentioned in the first chapter, housewives were also in the habit of hosting people in their home. While the emphasis on the first chapter was on the cooking aspect of hosting, here it will be on the finer details of the practicalities hosting people in the home. Lunch parties, afternoon tea and dinner parties were some of the types of events that housewives hosted. Lunch guests were never taken to any of the bedrooms and were expected to leave an hour after lunch was served, unless they were specifically invited to stay for afternoon tea or dinner. Visitors who arrived between 16:00 and 17:00 in the afternoon anticipated that they would be served afternoon tea. If there were no servants to serve the tea, younger guests would serve their elders and food such as bread and butter and/or cake were served along with the beverages. One form of afternoon tea consisted of tea and other refreshments being on offer for the whole afternoon and guests popping in as it suited them. Guests to dinner parties were welcomed into the home by the host and hostess in the foyer or anteroom. If it was a small party, the female guests would follow their hostess to the dining room after which the host and the male guests

⁴² [Author given as "Mrs. V.F. from Germiston"]: "Questions and Answers," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (1), April 1939, p.40.

⁴³ M.E. McKerron: "A career for your daughter," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (11), (3), February 1938, p.496; [Author Unknown]: "Huisdekorasie: Die Rangskikking van Blomme," *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (702), 8 Oktober 1935, p.24; M. van der Klooster: "Vroue met interessante Beroepe: Die Bloemiste-Baanbreke op 'n nuwe gebied," *Die Huisvrou*, (XXIII), (1231), 25 Desember 1945, p.5; [Author Unknown]: "Industriële Unie Zuid-Afrikaanse Vrouen," *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (36), 2 January 1923, pp.7;9; [Author Unknown]: "Vir die Meisies: Hoe om 'n Professie te Kies," *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (51), 17 April 1923, pp.1-2.

⁴⁴ [Author Unknown]: "n Waar storie: Hoe twee meisies n vrugte en groente-besigheid gedrywe het," *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (27), 31 Oktober 1922, p.19.

⁴⁵ [Author Unknown]: "In die Blomtuin," *Die Huisvrou*, (XI), (570), 28 Maart 1933, p.12; B. Jacobs: "Kookkuns: Uit die Tuin," *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (677), 23 April 1935, p.27; B. du Rand: "Kookkuns: Eet meet uie," *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (770), 2 Februarie 1937, p.25.

⁴⁶ [Author Unknown]: "Happy Moments: A youthful Gardener," *Mrs Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (III), (7), October 1937, p.318; [Author given as "Mrs. Digby"]: "Share your recipes," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (III), (6), September 1937, pp.242-244.

would make their way there too.⁴⁷ The use of paper serviettes at a private dinner party was frowned upon and housewives were also advised to avoid the use of coloured glasses for wine as it was believed to be bad taste. Seating guests too close to each other was also considered a faux pas, perhaps in light of the obsession with space and fresh air in providing good health, and was thought to reduce the tastiness of the food being served because of guests feeling restricted.⁴⁸ The most honoured female guest would be seated at the left of the hostess and the most honoured male guest on her right.⁴⁹ By the 1940s, the food served at dinner parties was consciously less formal than in earlier times and a menu could include: roast chicken with a bread-based stuffing, vegetable salad, scones and apple pudding with whipped cream.⁵⁰ *Good Housekeeping* presented more complicated dinner menus, even during the Second World War. One dinner included “East Indies Soup, Fish or Chicken [Souffle], Sausage-Stuffed Mutton chops, Creamed Jerusalem Artichokes, Mushrooms, Jellied Fish and Egg Timbales and Pineapple and Plum Surprise.”⁵¹ After dinner coffee would be served to the women in the foyer while men enjoyed cigars and/or cigarettes in the dining room. Staying too late was considered very rude and 22:30 thought a suitable time to leave the party.⁵²

This formalisation of all activities surrounding the home arose as a reaction to children moving out of their familial sphere of influence and into areas where parents were no longer the primary sources of information on the ways of the world. Boarding schools and entertainment-driven lives were just some of the aspects of the changing society that led to, what *Die Huisvrou* felt, a decline in the home as an institution. The following quote also alludes to the political emphasis and fears which occasioned such prescription and distress.

Die ras wat uiteindelik in S.-Afrika sal regeer, sal nie die ras wees wat die grootste rykdom besit nie, of wat die grootste meederheid by die stembusse sal hê nie, maar die ras wat geleer het om die huis en huislike lewe op te rig en te waardeer.⁵³

[The race that will ultimately rule South Africa will not be the one that is richest, or that has the majority at the polls, but the race

⁴⁷ [Author Unknown]: “Die regte manier II,” *Die Huisvrou*, (V), (206), 6 April 1926, pp.18-19.

⁴⁸ [Author given as “Lucelle”]: “Die Formele Dinee,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1097), 11 Mei 1943, p.15.

⁴⁹ [Author Unknown]: “Die regte manier II,” *Die Huisvrou*, (V), (206), 6 April 1926, pp.18-19.

⁵⁰ [Author given as “E.E.”]: “Gaste Uitnoui vir Aandete,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XXI), (1027), 6 Januarie 1942, p.21.

⁵¹ [Author unknown]: “Tested and Seasonable Dishes,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (VI), (8), November 1940, p.273.

⁵² [Author Unknown]: “Die regte manier II,” *Die Huisvrou*, (V), (206), 6 April 1926, pp.18-19; [Author Unknown]: “Tips for the Hostess,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (II), (6), September 1936, p.258.

⁵³ [Author Unknown]: “Die Mag wat teen die Huis Werk,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (418), 29 April 1930, pp.1-3.

that has learnt to establish and cherish the home and domestic life.]

How things need to be done

Housewives were not just told what to do, they were also instructed on how to do things inside the home. Much time was spent figuring out how best to approach doing housework. The magazines did not attempt to portray any kind idealised view of housework, but instead women were told that the way that they could avoid the drudgery of the quotidian tasks was by assuming the correct approach. Completing tasks effectively and efficiently became a means of coping with the monotony and providing women with as much free time as possible and the home was seen as a form of complicated business which could be managed as such.⁵⁴ (The activities that filled that free time will be discussed in the following chapter) In approaching the home as one would a business, women were called to be practical, organised and concise. This approach included keeping log books of household stocks such as food, making sure the accounts were kept up to date and having an order book.⁵⁵ When it came to the nitty gritty of housework, there were also “correct” ways of accomplishing the tasks. Methodologies of the “correct” way to clean included taking all cleaning apparatus out of storage and putting it in the room where it was needed. It was then suggested that all the furniture be covered in old newspapers or sheets. The next step was to take all loose carpets out of the room to be beaten and brushed in the garden. The carpets were left outside while the room was dusted. Then all the furniture was moved out of the room and the floor given a thorough sweep before everything was put back in and the space declared clean.⁵⁶ While meticulousness was celebrated, being obsessive about housework was however frowned upon. But the housewife was recognised as being constantly concerned with making her house a home, acknowledging, once again, that the idea that the home was not merely the physical space, though also appreciating the role of the physical in creating a true home.⁵⁷

Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping was especially concerned with modernising housework and creating more efficient routines in the face of the monotony of the task. These

⁵⁴ [Author Unknown]: “Drywe U Huishouding Soos ’n Besigheid,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (163), 9 Junie 1925, p.10.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ [Author Unknown]: “Die Netjiese Huis: “Hoe om ’n kamer skoon te maak,” *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (96), 26 Februarie 1924, pp.24-25

⁵⁷ [Author given as “’n Bruid”]: “Hoe ek my huis ’n werklike tuiste gemaak het,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (307), 13 Maart 1928, p.25.

purposes were written into the introduced intentions in the magazine's first edition. As mentioned in chapter 1, science was seen as a means of overcoming the monotony of the tasks that a housewife was required to complete in a day. Women were encouraged to solve "household problems and contingencies" with the help of certain approaches introduced to them by the magazine.⁵⁸ One of the ways this mission was planned to be achieved was through the use of household items which could improve efficiency and save time. An advertisement for "modern electrical" inventions showed a glamorous-looking woman in an evening dress putting earrings on at a mirror and saying: "The woman who says "I've no time to myself" is out of date in her methods of home management...clever home-managers make time for recreation, for play with the children, and above all, for preserving their personal charm".⁵⁹ The items advertised included a vacuum cleaner, washer, dryer and food mixer.⁶⁰ An advertisement from 1940 showed an electric floor polisher, shaped something like a vacuum cleaner with a stick and handle attached to a circular polishing section at the bottom of stick. The heading of the advertisement read: "Makes Floor Brighter...Saves Labour, Time, Polish and More,"⁶¹ and *Die Huisvrou* presented diagrams of how kitchens should be laid out to minimise work for the housewife. A work-wasting kitchen meant that women misspent time moving between appliances or cupboards or work-surfaces unnecessarily, while the work-saving space had: a table that was on wheels and could be pushed where it was needed in the kitchen, a double sink with a dish-drying rack over it, the larder and food cabinet in close proximity to the cooking equipment and a serving hatch which was close to the stove and opened into the dining room.⁶²

One article clearly contrasted the incompetent and competent housewife by relaying the ways that they did things and the techniques that they employed in the home. The incompetent housewife had no plan for her day, she lay in her bed until the last minute, relied on her maid to order groceries, started off by cleaning her own room, but then became bored and got her servant to do it, bought tinned food and served it in tins at meals, did not provide balanced meals for the family and did not check receipts and weigh her groceries to ensure that she had not been cheated. The competent housewife had a fixed plan, studied the diet of her family,

⁵⁸ [Author given as "Mrs. Slade"]: "Among ourselves," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (I), (1), April 1935, p.9.

⁵⁹ [Advertisement]: *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (I), (4), July 1935, p.170.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ [Advertisement for "The Fillery Floor Polisher"]: *Mrs Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (VI), (4), July 1941, p.143.

⁶² [Author Unknown]: "ń Werksparende huis," *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (273), 19 Julie 1927, p.11.

read books and articles about cooking and home management, worked out weekly budgets, planted her own vegetables and fruit trees, utilised everything she could from her own garden, went grocery shopping herself and divided the housework evenly so that everything could be done effectively.⁶³ These work-saving devices also provided further opportunities for women to join the labour force.

A woman who did not have time to do the things she wanted to do was blamed for bad management of the home. Women were chastised for being slaves to the home or their families and were instead encouraged to plan and manage their work in such a way that children also played their part in completing the tasks at hand. Badly managed homes were viewed as being a result of the housewife's unsatisfactory participation, effort and training in their trade. Children who were not required to do housework were seen to be spoiled and it was believed that without the discipline of doing housework, they would become lazy and ineffective humans.⁶⁴ Viewing oneself as some kind of domestic martyr to the home and your family was also frowned upon, but a housewife being too fastidious about the home was, seen as a form of idolatry. Being obsessed with the home was thought to make it an uncomfortable place to be and therefore- a fine balance was expected to be achieved.⁶⁵ Pride in one's home was encouraged, on the other hand, and seen to be suitably accomplished when a husband was excited to come home and bring his friends over without needing to warn his wife and therefore give her time to ensure that her house was presentable.⁶⁶ This phenomenon of being obsessed with the home was described as a form of cruelty on the part of the housewife, in which she came to enjoy and be consumed by her housework more than her husband to the extent that she neglected him and spent time doing things in the home even as he ate his dinner.⁶⁷

During the Second World War, both magazines featured articles or pleas to women to be frugal in the home in order to avoid wastage in times when many shortages were being faced. Jeanette Slade wrote in September 1939, "[o]nce again we are called upon to face critical times, and it behoves every South African housewife to do her share by helping to conserve the food supply of our country. Many of us have taken a pride in serving lavish and over bountiful meals, leading

⁶³ [Author Unknown]: "Wat is n doeltreffende huis?," *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (416), 15 April 1930, p.23.

⁶⁴ [Author Unknown]: "Die moeder en die huis," *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (33), 12 December 1922, pp.1-2; [Author Unknown]: "Die Koningin van die huis," *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (62), 3 Julie 1923, pp.1-2.

⁶⁵ [Author Unknown]: "Is U n Huislike Martelaar?," *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (432), 5 Augustus 1930, pp.1-2.

⁶⁶ [Author Unknown]: "Huirots en Tuistrots," *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (188), 1 December 1925, p.19; [Author Unknown]: "Huislike Gerief," *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (659), 11 Desember 1934, p.16.

⁶⁷ [Author Unknown]: "Huislike Gerief," *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (659), 11 Desember 1934, p.16.

inevitably to a waste of food on the table.”⁶⁸ The article encouraged housewives to use cooking techniques that would prevent wastage, extravagance and creating overly complex meals that required a wide variety of ingredients. Housewives were also called to “grow vegetables in every available space” so that even when food supplies were low, mothers could still feed their families a balanced diet with commonly grown vegetables such as carrots, beetroot, young peas, turnips, mealies, lettuce and tomatoes.⁶⁹ Another article in *Good Housekeeping* suggested that mothers call meetings with their children and openly discuss finances in order to instil thriftiness from a young age.⁷⁰ Programmes were also run in schools to teach children to bring desirable waste materials to school where they could deposit them in Government-provided bins.

The Union Government seems to have initiated a campaign called “Save-to-Win” during the Second World War, which encouraged housewives to save (sometimes by motivating their children to do so): all bones, except for those of fish, old clothes, used paper and material rags. The bones were collected to make glue, fat, soap and a nutritious powder for agriculture, while the other waste products were taken to the Red Cross in order to be used for the making of paper.⁷¹ Other materials that housewives could take to various depots in urban areas included bottles, newspapers, books, old furniture, old clothes and scrap metal. While many housewives thought that tins would be valuable, because of their usefulness in waste campaigns in Britain, there were no facilities to process them in the Union.⁷² Old felt hats were turned into slippers in South Africa and blankets were used to line mine-sweeping gloves. Women also quickly began forming knitting clubs, which extended into the rural areas and even South West Africa, through which specific patterns were distributed by the Home Comforts Branch in Johannesburg to ensure that women knitted the items that were needed.⁷³

⁶⁸ J.C. Slade: “Economy and Thrift in the Kitchen,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (6), p.230.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* pp.231-232.

⁷⁰ V. Roberts: “The Game of Saving,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (7), October 1939, p.236

⁷¹ J.Cairns: “A Personal Appeal to Every Reader,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (VI), (5), August 1940, pp.160-161.

⁷² A.G. Thomson: “Save For Victory,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (VI), (6), September 1940, p.182.

⁷³ A.G. Thomson: “Save For Victory,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (VI), (7), October 1940, p.214.

Wastage was seen as bad practice on the part of housewives in the home which would lead to a malfunctioning household. “Onbedagsame verkwisting is die rede vir die onvermoë van baie huisvrouens om iets te bespaar uit die geld wat vir die huishouding beskikbaar is”⁷⁴ [Thoughtless wastage is the reason for the inability of many housewives to save something from the money that is available for the household]. One article in the English magazine claimed that “a nation never got wealthy by wasting-neither will you!” and asked a series of questions to help women waste less in the home. Various questions covered the topics of wastage in: time, finances, food, clothes, water, fuel and light, soap and health. Housewives were told that failing to: keep kitchen ingredients in labelled tins, keep accurate accounts, plan meals in advance, make one’s own clothes, close taps properly, put hot water into a pot to cook vegetables, allow soap to cure properly and eat regular meals would cause wastage in each of those areas respectively.⁷⁵

Saving while housekeeping was another priority. A bag of salt could be warmed by the fire to heat a bed, apple skins could be turned into a flavourful syrup, old stockings could be used as clothes, blankets that were fraying around the edges could have a ribbon sewn around them, pieces of old cloth could be sewn into a quilt, pipes could be unblocked with a long piece of wire that was bent at the end in order to hook whatever was blocking it and corks could be ground up and mixed with lime to fix cracks in linoleum floors.⁷⁶ An article appeared in *Die Huisvrou* in 1932 called “Die Spaarsaam Huisvrou Weet” [The Frugal Housewife Knows], which consisted of bullet point of activities that the frugal housewife would be implementing in her home. Points included the explanation: “[d]at die gereelde en sistematiese skoonmaak van kassies en laatjies en klerekaste nodig is teen die verniel van kleure deur motte en stof”⁷⁷ [that the regular and systematic cleaning of cupboard and drawers and wardrobes is necessary to avoid the ruining of clothes by moths and dust]. Housewives were expected, not only to do their housework, but to do it in a certain manner which fostered efficiency and frugality in the home.

⁷⁴ [Author Unknown]: “Die Sorgvuldige Huisvrou,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XVII), (924), 9 Januarie, 1940, p.11.

⁷⁵ [Author given as “Housewife”]: “Do you waste...,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (VI), (11), February 1941, p.376.

⁷⁶ [Author Unknown]: “Spaarsaamheids-wenke,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (227), 31 Augustus 1926, p.15.

⁷⁷ [Author Unkown]: “Die Spaarsaam Huisvrou Weet,” *Die Huisvrou*, (X), (517), 29 Maart 1932, p.13.

Your very own home

The time that planning a home takes, it almost seems like an addiction, a time wasting experience to give purpose and meaning [...] “It was amazing, Joanna thought, how much time one could spend on this business of planning a home. And the deeper one got into it the more fascinating it grew. For the last two months she had been going around the furniture shops and looking with new eyes at her friends’ color schemes with the object of working out a furnishing scheme of her own.”⁷⁸

This introductory quote alludes to the energy that can be used on decorating and running a home, as well as the psychological fulfilment these activities have brought to housewives. In *Die Huisvrou*, it becomes clear that women were spending much time dreaming about their homes between the World Wars.⁷⁹ Building a home and making it a place of comfort and health for the family was the housewife’s greatest task. Especially because of the emphasis placed on the environment and its effects on physical and psychological well-being, women spent much time on presenting the home in a way that was aesthetically pleasing as well as being practical and comfortable for family use. Maria Elizabeth Rothmann, also commonly known as MER, the only female contributor to the *Carnegie Commission*, visited homes of poor whites and partly equated their social and economic conditions to disorder and uncleanliness in the home.⁸⁰ In the period after the First World War *Die Huisvrou* shows that women spent more and more time fantasising about their homes, aspiring to build and design their homes in specific ways and fill them with fashionable furnishings. An advertisement in *Mrs Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping* alludes to the decoration of the home becoming an end in and of itself to some women, as opposed to a factor which enabled the well-being of a family. The advertisement shows a drawing of a very disappointed looking man with a woman walking away from him with the words “Of course she said no” flung across the scene. The reader discovers that she said “no” because he did not offer her a “love-nest bright and cheerful and comfortable, with wonderful furniture and furnishings”. Being thought of as a “nice man” was attributed to being able to provide a woman with the home she wanted.⁸¹ Apart from the

⁷⁸ The quote is from a letter that appeared in 1946 in an Australian magazine about what the writer’s hopes and dreams were for her home.

L. Johnson & J. Lloyd: *Sentenced to everyday life: Feminism and the Housewife*, Berg, Oxford-New York, 2004, p.57.

⁷⁹[Author Unknown]: “Dinge wat die spaarsaam huisvrou graag wil weet,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (270), 28 Junie 1927, p. 28.

⁸⁰ M.E. Rothmann: *The Poor White Problem in South Africa: Report of the Carnegie Commission: Part V. Sociological Report: (b) The Mother and Daughter in the Poor Family*, p.169.

⁸¹ [An advertisement for Green & Richard’s Furniture store]: *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (II), (3), June 1936, p.144.

aforementioned advertisement though, the English magazine contained very little information pertaining to the building and decorating of a home, instead spending more time on practical tips on keeping the home, such as those referring to cleaning.

While an article in the 1920s indicates that families often rented homes, by the late 1920s and 1930s, many articles began to appear instructing women on how to plan, design and build their own homes with drawings of layouts included in the articles (see figure 4.2).⁸² One article began by explaining that the magazine, *Die Huisvrou*, was being swamped by letters from women asking about building small and reasonably priced homes.⁸³ The typical home of a newly married white couple in 1920s South Africa, one article in *Die Huisvrou* said, was a four to five roomed house which included a *voorkamer*, literally translated as front room, dining room, kitchen, bedroom and pantry. The front door opened from a little *stoep* at the front of the house into a short passage and doors to the left and right led to the *voorkamer* on the one side and bedroom on the other. The passage would lead into the dining room and the kitchen would branch off it and then the pantry would branch off the kitchen. A big window was recommended for each room as well as a fire place in the front room- which acted as a sitting room. At this stage, it seems that the bathroom was still separate from the house a little distance from the house in the backyard. An article from 1927 supports this as it presents one of the domestic servants tasks to be emptying the potties every morning.⁸⁴ Though by the early 1930s, advertisements were appearing for flushing toilets and one particular advertisement from 1933 explained that the flushing toilet should be standard in all houses, including those living rurally.⁸⁵ *Die Huisvrou* also featured photographs of “die modern, goedtoegeruste badkamer” [the modern, well-equipped bathroom] by 1935, which showed a tiled bathroom with a basin and bath with a shower over it (see figure 4.3). The aforementioned article introduced the topic by explaining that every girl dreams of a house of her own, but that it was important to be realistic. The house explained above as the realistic and affordable dream for a newly married couple.⁸⁶

⁸² [Author Unknown]: “Die Netjiese Huis: Die Meubileer van die klein huis,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (233), 12 October, 1926, p.12; [Author Unknown]: “Die Netjiese Huis: Planne vir ’n nuwe huis,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (314), 1 Mei 1928, p.14.

⁸³ [Author Unknown]: “Wil u ’n Huis bou?,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (313), 24 April 1928, p.25

⁸⁴ [Author Unknown]: “Die Netjiese Huis, Hoe om ’n “een-bediende” huis te bestier,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (272), 12 Julie 1927, p.11.

⁸⁵ [Advertisement for SAM Newman BPK]: *Die Huisvrou*, 22 Augustus 1933, p.12.

⁸⁶ [Author Unknown]: “Die Netjiese Huis: ’n Huis vir ’n Bruid,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (165), 23 Junie 1925, p.14.

The kitchen was hailed as the centre of the home because of its role in the housewife's task of providing food for the family. Floors were to be made of materials that were ergonomically practical and would not cause the housewife unnecessary effort or suffering from spending long hours on her feet. One article suggested oiled woods such as yellowwood or pine as the softest and most comfortable, but said that "normal yellowwood" covered in linoleum would also suffice. Tiles and cement were found to be practical from a cleaning perspective, but not comfortable for passing extended periods walking or standing on it.⁸⁷ The colour scheme of the kitchen was, as in other rooms in the house (which will be further discussed), considered essential to the achievement of perceived purposes for the room. Fresh, clean and cool looking colours were recommended such as blue, light cream or green. It was further advised that windows be big and situated over the sink and near to the cooking apparatus. Curtains could be made of cotton and a plaid, striped or speckled pattern were options for covering the windows. Gauze was used to cover open windows to avoid letting flies in. Access to water in the kitchen was viewed by one article as the most important aspect of providing an effective work space and while those living in towns were seen to have easy access to water, the article explained that women living on farms might have had to work harder to access clean water. The removal of used water appears to have been a concern for urban and rural housewives alike and it was recommended by an article (in 1936), that a ditch, about 5 feet deep, 10 feet long and 1 ½ foot wide, be dug to safely dispose of dirty water. The water was moved to the ditch with a pipe.⁸⁸ A well-equipped modern kitchen was to include aluminium pots, which were considered effective for cooking on gas or electric stoves as opposed to iron which was advised for use over fires.⁸⁹ While those living in the country did not yet have access to electricity, according to one article in *Die Huisvrou* from 1942, urban housewives did – and could utilise electric stoves and kettles. Rural women still used coal or wood stoves and were pitied for having to deal with a smoky kitchen.⁹⁰

The bedrooms, especially the master bedroom, were considered places of calm, fresh air and rest to which members of the family could escape. Such a room was to be furnished with an armchair, a work table, a basin, a bed, a dressing table and built in cupboards (which were

⁸⁷ [Author Unknown]: "Die Kombuis," *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (748), 8 September 1936, p.2.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p.16.

⁸⁹ [Author Unknown]: "Die netjiese huis: Doeltreffendheid in die kombuis," *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (414), 1 April 1930, p.22.

⁹⁰ [Author given as "S.S"]: "Die Kombuis," *Die Huisvrou*, (XXI), (1027), 6 Januarie 1942, Vol. XXI, No.1027, p.29.

explained to be the way in which cupboards were being built in modern homes in the 1920s). If building a basin with drainage and running water could not be afforded, one article suggested building a stand for a washbowl and jug by putting wooden planks, in keeping with the colour of wood in the rest of the room, across a corner and erecting a curtain to cover it when it was not in use.⁹¹ Once again, the colour of the room was considered very important. Lively, cheerful colours were favoured for bedrooms over dark, as dark colours were thought to be oppressive.⁹² An article from 1926 explained that “modern” bedrooms were simply furnished and the most important parts of the room were the bed and making sure that the towels and linen for the bed were clean and fresh.⁹³

The colour scheme of a room was considered to be the most important part of establishing the atmosphere of a room. Dark walls were believed to have the power to dampen and depress a sunny mood and the main emotions that colours were thought to evoke were either calm or conversely agitation/irritation, enjoyment or depression. It was not only the colour of the walls that needed consideration, but also the cornices, skirting boards, window and door frames, doors, woodwork, furniture and wallpaper. The temperature, light and size of the room were other factors taken into consideration when picking the right colours for a room. Red was believed to create a cosy, warm and sociable environment in a large and cold room, but if used in a small space it would make things feel claustrophobic, and yellow was advised instead to create a warm and friendly atmosphere. The use of yellow in large rooms was advised against because it was believed to create the impression of space, and too much space seems to have been undesirable. Green and blue were recognised as cool colours and recommended for very sunny and hot rooms to cool them down.⁹⁴ This fixation with choosing the correct colour according to the space and the mood one wanted to create was still present in 1939, and one article presented the psychological impacts of colour on people. An analysis of red read as follows: “[r]ooi gee die indruk van bloed, geweld en vuur; ’n uiters warm kleur, wat as aanhitsend beskrywe kan word. Groot hoeveelhede van rooi in sy helderste vorm gee ’n rustelose invloed, omdat die kleur homself op ’n mens aandring”⁹⁵ [Red gives the impression of blood,

⁹¹ [Author Unknown]: “Die Netjiese Huis: Die Meubileer van die klein huis,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (233), 12 October 1926, p.12; [Author given as “’n leseres van *Die Huisvrou*”]: “Nog wenke vir meubelering: My ideale slaapkamer,” *Die Huisvrou*, (V), (202), 9 Maart 1926, p.17.

⁹² [Author Unknown]: “Die Netjiese Huis: Die Meubileer van die klein huis,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (233), 12 October 1926, p.12

⁹³ [Author given as “’n Korrespondent”]: “Mubileer van ’n nuwe huis (van ’n korrespondent),” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (198), 9 Februarie 1926, pp.7-9.

⁹⁴ [Author given as “Nina”]: “Huisdekorasie,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (668), 19 Februarie 1935, pp.24-25.

⁹⁵ [Author Unknown]: “Kleur in die Huis,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XVII), (903), 15 Augustus 1939, pp.14-15.

violence and fire: an extremely hot colour, which can be described as inflammatory. Great quantities of red in its brightest form create a restless influence, because the colour impresses itself on one].

In 1926, an article appeared which explained that the “ideal” living room would be one where the family could sit, live and be relaxed, not one filled with expensive and beautiful things that were inevitably impractical. It was also specifically introduced as a room to which the husband should be drawn as well as a place of socialising. “Daardie woonkamer van my, moet die plek wees waaraan my man dink as hy moeg en afgemat van die werk af kom, waar al ons vriende verseker kan wees om ons te vind in die aande; dit moet die ewebeeld wees van geselligheid en huislikheid”⁹⁶ [That living room of mine, must be the place that my husband thinks of when he comes back tired and weary from work, where all our friends can be sure to find us in the evenings; it must be the picture of cosiness and hominess]. By 1936, the “modern” sitting room was suggested to have only three main pieces of furniture- two single seater deep chairs and one large couch- all of which were advised to match the rug’s colour and vice versa.⁹⁷ The floors would be covered in one main rug and an article from the 1920s advised that though monochromatic rugs were very fashionable at the time, they were impractical because they showed dirt easily. Housewives were instead advised to buy one or two floral carpets that hid the dirt.⁹⁸ Ideally, the room would have a door that would open onto the *stoep* as well as a fire place with an accent red face brick wall covering the chimney.⁹⁹ Having big doors and windows throughout the home was thought to be important because good ventilation was considered essential to the well-being of the family. Housewives were encouraged to keep them open as much as possible to ensure that “life-giving” air would fill the home and specific indications were also given on how to design a house with the best ventilation possible. If it was too cold to have sash windows fully open, a small piece of wood could be used to prop the window open a bit. Ventilation bricks and well-built chimneys were other means of creating good circulation of air in the home.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ [Author Unknown]: “Die Bruid en haar huis: Die ideale woonkamer,” *Die Huisvrou*, (V), (200), 23 Februarie 1926, p.7.

⁹⁷ [Author given as “Rosita”]: “Die Vroulike Agtergrond,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XVI), (860), 18 Oktober 1938, p.16.

⁹⁸ [Author Unknown]: “Die Netjiese Huis: ’n Huis vir ’n Bruid,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (165), 23 Junie 1925, p.14.

⁹⁹ [Author Unknown]: “Die Bruid en haar huis: Die ideale woonkamer,” *Die Huisvrou*, (V), (200), 23 Februarie 1926, p.7.

¹⁰⁰ [Author Unknown]: “Dinge wat ’n huisvrou behoort te weet: vars lug en ventilasie,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (249), 1 Februarie 1927, pp.25-26.

The living room was initially synonymous with the sitting room, but in the 1930s, *Die Huisvrou* switched over to recommending a combined sitting and living room, especially in smaller houses.¹⁰¹ For the multi-purpose living room, another article suggested a round or oval dining room table as opposed to a long rectangular one. Wooden furnishings, made from teak in one description, such as a side board from which food could be served and linen could be stored in and a shelf on which plates or other ornamental objects stood, found their place alongside upholstered chairs and a couch. One article specifies that the Chesterfield design for the couch (usually a leather couch with deep buttons which create dimples in the upholstery, with rounded arm rests and no height differentiation between the back and arm rests) was very fashionable. This article also presented the option to either fill the room with modern furniture or traditional Dutch designs.¹⁰² In the 1920s an article acknowledged that if your house was furnished with traditional Dutch style furniture that it would definitely be fashionable, but that those designs were very expensive and not accessible to everyone.¹⁰³ By the 1930s though, the fashions had clearly turned to Art Deco trends with angular veneers of contrasting colours, oddly-shaped couches with bookshelves contained in the arm rests and extendable tables.¹⁰⁴ The move towards “modern” furniture was a conscious and rapid one with numerous articles introducing all kinds of ways in which this modernity could be presented. Fussy decorations and heavy furniture were shunned as impractical and outdated while sleek lines and easy to maintain surfaces were welcomed with eagerness.¹⁰⁵

The passages connecting the rooms were also considered a vital consideration in the planning of a house. One article said that the ideal entrance hall would have stand with hooks for hanging hats and jackets as well as a little table to place a vase with flowers on. Linoleum floors were recommended as being easy to clean with interesting and “appropriate” patterns.¹⁰⁶ Another one explained that big and expensive hat and flower stands were a waste of space that often made passages crowded and were not always practical or appreciated. It instead advised that the passage have a nice rug on the floor, a few good chairs and a small polished table with a

¹⁰¹ [Author Unknown]: “Die Eetkamer-Sitkamer,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XI), (453), 20 September 1932, p.21.

¹⁰² [Author Unknown]: “Die Eetkamer-Sitkamer,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XI), (453), 20 September 1932, p.21.; [Author given as “ñ Korrespondent”]: “Mubileer van ñ nuwe huis (van ñ korrespondent),” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (198), 9 Februarie 1926, pp.7-9.

¹⁰³ [Author Unknown]: “Meubileer van ñ nuwe huis,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (199), 16 Februarie 1926, pp.12-13.

¹⁰⁴ [Author Unknown]: “Moderne Meubels,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (648), 25 September 1934, p.17; [Author Unknown]: “Die Moderne Eetkamer,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (683), 28 Mei 1935, p.16; [Photograph with caption]: “Die Moderne, goedtoegeruste badkamer,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (691), 23 Julie 1935, p.7.

¹⁰⁵ [Author Unknown]: “Huisdekorasie: Modern Meubels,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (682), 21 Mei 1935, p.26.

¹⁰⁶ [Author Unknown]: “Die Netjiese Huis: ñ Huis vir ñ Bruid,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (165), 23 Junie 1925, p.14.

vase of flowers and an ashtray.¹⁰⁷ One article also suggested that women could make their own floors by using paper. It seems to have been a complicated and crude process, that was perhaps more prevalent in rural areas where houses still had ground floors, of soaking and mincing paper and then boiling it with water and starch and adding lime, after which it would be spread on the floor.¹⁰⁸ Wooden floors do however appear to have been most common and housewives would care for them by varnishing them or oiling them, depending on their state.¹⁰⁹

Conclusion

Though the home was viewed, especially by Afrikaans women, as an essentially sacred space that needed to be ordered, hospitable and safe, concern with what that home looked like took up much of their time and alludes to a greater concern with fashion and modernisation than with the holiness of family life. Women walked a tight rope between being perceived as neglecting or mismanaging their home on the one hand and being obsessive and too busy with efficiency on the other. Decorating their homes and dreaming about the latest fashions took much of their time, but perhaps because of the importance placed on the home by society, this was not criticised. Furbishing a home, however, was not merely considered important for the sake of following fashions- it was a process of making the house a place where the family would feel comfortable and be able to flourish and rest, where guests felt welcome and housewives could complete their daily tasks with as little as effort and stress as possible. In the face of political and social uncertainty, the home was an area in which women could exert political control.

¹⁰⁷ [Author Unknown]: "Meubileer van 'n nuwe huis," *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (199), 16 Februarie, 1926, pp.12-13.

¹⁰⁸ M. Du Toit: "Papiervloere," *Die Huisvrou*, (XVI), (883), 28 Maart, 1939, p.34.

¹⁰⁹ [Author Unknown]: "Wat moet ek met my vloere doen? *Wenke om Vloere te Verf*," *Die Huisvrou*, (XIX), (981), 11 Februarie, 1941, p.15.

Chapter 5

The Housewife's Pursuit of Leisure: the Help, Hobbies and Holidays

Introduction

The suburban housewife, particularly, has so much time at her disposal, such totally favourable [conditions] to act under. Given reasonable circumstances, such as one servant, one or two domestic appliances, and the minimum of organizing ability, housekeeping becomes a fairly simple matter, leaving one a good slice of time to either fritter away or put to some useful purpose.¹

In one way, white South African housewives were definitively different to those in the west, though they often claimed connections with women in Europe and America. They usually had access to cheap labour that made housework much less of a burden than it was to European and American housewives. Johnson and Lloyd argue that the figure of the housewife, and the housework required of them, were central to second wave feminism because housewives were painted by pivotal feminists, such as De Beauvoir, to be trapped in a never-ending monotonous battle with cleaning and other forms of work in the home.² Ann Oakley wrote that “[h]ousework is work directly opposed to the possibility of human self-actualization.”³ Jacklyn Cock pertinently summarises the position of the South African housewife during Apartheid in her Sociological study *Maids and Madams*.

In sharp contrast to their black women employees, the white employers in the sample engage in a variety of leisure activities. Many of them lead varied, rich and interesting lives. They are thus in a very different position from housewives in other societies where the ‘lack of contact with other people coupled with the almost non-existence of a social life or leisure activities...paints a depressing picture.’⁴

Cock’s study also showed that the vast majority of white housewives she studied in the 1970s spent their leisure time on various activities including: sewing, knitting, making jams and preserves, tennis, golf, bowls, dressmaking, photography, music, involvement in a choir, painting, making tapestries and gardening.⁵ Leisure and rest were viewed as essential elements of life and productivity. If women did not spend time on themselves, relaxing, and doing

¹ D. Stranger: “Why this “Suburban” Neurosis?,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (5), August 1939, p.196.

² L. Johnson & J. Lloyd: *Sentenced to everyday life: Feminism and the Housewife*, p.7.

³ A. Oakley: *Housewife*, p.222.

⁴ J. Cock: *Maids and Madams: a study in the politics of Exploitation*, p.130.

⁵ *Ibid.* p.136.

things they enjoyed, they were expected to be unproductive in their daily lives.⁶ In this chapter, many of these listed hobbies are found to have been popular amongst housewives between the two World Wars. Along with spending time on specific diversions, housewives put time and effort into planning and partaking in vacations for their families. The first focus of this chapter will, however, be the enabling factor for a leisured lifestyle, domestic help.

Help

Want waar vrouens vroeër hulle geluk en tevredenheid gevind het in hulle huis, vind baie van hulle vandag hulle gewone en onvermydelike huislike pligte onaangenaam en lastig. En dit kom ook daarvaan dat hulle hande, wat net gewoon is om klavier te speel en met masienskrif besig te wees, nie regstaan vir huiswerk nie.⁷

[Because where women previously found their joy and satisfaction in their house, today many of them find normal and unavoidable home duties unpleasant and difficult. And that is also because their hands, which are used to playing the piano and being busy with typewriting, are not poised for housework.]

Both magazines and the advertisements in them indicate that those reading the magazine utilised domestic servants. While an article in *Die Huisvrou* from 1925 explained that only the wealthy could afford to employ servants in the home,⁸ by 1929 the magazine explained perceptively that while women overseas had to do lots of dirty and difficult work in the home, white housewives in South Africa had access to “people of colour” to do that work for them.⁹ The norm by the 1940s was to employ black or coloured servants, who were usually women, in the home. The engagement of this kind of labour in the home is evidenced by the fact that in 1936, over 45 000 coloured women were employed as domestic servants.¹⁰ Severe droughts and the implications of the 1913 Native land act, such as the compulsion of the wives of black labourers to work in the white farmers home, also drove thousands of black women to towns and urban areas to seek paid employment. Ena Jansen also argues that domestic work was one of the only options to enable black women to live self-sufficiently in the city.¹¹ Jacklyn Cock

⁶ N. Playfair: “Rest when you can,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (VI), (5) August 1940, p.162.

⁷ [Author Unknown]: “Die Meisie wat nie kan kook nie,” *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (85), 11 Desember 1923, pp.1-2.

⁸ [Author Unknown]: “Wat vrouens doen vir vrouens in andere lande,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (185), 10 November 1925, p.7.

⁹ [Author Unknown]: “Die Suidafrikaanse en die oorsee se huisvrouens,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (372), 11 Junie 1929, pp.1-2.

¹⁰ *Union of South Africa Census of Population, 5th May, 1936, Preliminary report*, Volume VII, Occupations and Industries, Union of South Africa, p.104.

¹¹ E. Jansen: *Soos Familie: Stedelike huiswerkers in Suid-Afrikaanse tekste*, pp.79-80.

explains that black women did not always dominate domestic work in South Africa, that servants in white homes had included a wide range of people including San, Indian, African men and Europeans.¹² By the 1920s it was less common to employ white women in the home and domestic service was seen as the work of black people.¹³ Because of the poor white problem, Lou-Marie Kruger explains that middle-class readers of the magazine *Die Boervrou* were astonished that poorer white women did not excitedly enter employment as domestic workers as there was a demand for white maids. ME Rothmann attested this to a lack of control over working conditions which led to varying situations, with the potential to be unfavourable.¹⁴ Rothmann furthered this idea in an article in *Die Huisgenoot* in 1931 which explained that white employers had to improve conditions for their employees to attain better results from poor-white servant girls. At the time, there was great pushback against the institution of a minimum wage for domestic workers.¹⁵ One article from *Die Huisvrou* in 1943 indicates that some white housewives employed white maids, though this trend seems to have made white women feel uncomfortable.¹⁶

Neem die vrou altyd die gevoelens van haar blanke diensmeisie in ag? Het daardie vrou al so ver gedink dat dit net die goedheid van God is dat *haar* dogter nie nodig het om ń bediende te wees nie. Koester daardie blanke diensmeisie se moeder nie ook dalk dieselfde ideale vir haar dogter as sy self nie? Laat die vrou waak en bid dat haar nageslag nie maai wat sy in haar vermetelheid gesaai het nie! Die minderbevoorregte blanke bediende het gewoonlik nie die kanse wat die welgesteldes het nie, anders sou sy sekerlik nie daardie betrekking beklee nie.¹⁷

[Does the woman always take the feelings of her white servant girl into consideration? Has that woman thought so far as that it is only by the goodness of God that *her* daughter has not yet needed to be a maid. Does that white maid's mother not also maybe cherish the same ideals for her daughter as the woman herself?

Let the woman watch and pray that her descendants would not harvest what she sowed in her temerity! The disadvantaged white maid has usually not had the opportunities that the wealthy have, otherwise she would surely not have held that position.]

¹² J. Cock: *Maids and Madams: a study in the politics of Exploitation*, p.173.

¹³ *Ibid.* p.226.

¹⁴ L. Kruger: "Gender, Community and Identity: Women and Afrikaner Nationalism in the Volksmoeder Discourse of *Die Boervrou* 1919-1931," (Masters of Social Science, University of Cape Town, March 1991), pp.336-337.

¹⁵ E. Jansen: *Soos Familie: Stedelike huiswerkers in Suid-Afrikaanse tekste*, p.120.

¹⁶ [Author Unknown]: "Die Vrou en Haar Werk," *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1122), 2 November 1943, p.3

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

By 1936 only 6 609 white women/girls were employed as domestic servants in the Union and 2 765 as housekeepers.¹⁸ Being a domestic servant was not considered a position to be envied, and white women seem to have avoided hiring poorer whites as their servants because of their negative view of the occupation. This view also elucidates the idea that black or coloured people were somehow more suited to the work. Being a housekeeper was, on the other hand, an occupation encouraged for white women in *Die Huisvrou* as a position which would support the work of a housewife and help her to work with her domestic employees.¹⁹ An article from *Die Huisvrou* in 1928 shows however that its author believed that if white women needed employment, and there was no other job available to them, they should take positions as domestic workers.²⁰

Housewives did not all have uniform experiences with their domestic servants. An article from 1927 explained that a housewife was having such trouble with her maid that she found a way to do all of the work in the home herself. Her house apparently always looked neat, and she had all her housework finished by the early afternoon.²¹ Hiring more than one domestic worker appears to have been common, but *Die Huisvrou* presented articles with recommendations for running a home with “only” one maid, in which case the housewife would help in the home too.²² An article from 1926 explains that new laws protecting domestic workers had come into place which compelled employers to give their employees time off, though it did not specify how much time. This article also created the impression that housewives were complaining about their servants. It explained that “gekleurde” [coloured] servants (it is not clear whether they are referring only to coloured servants or anyone of colour) were not immune to doing good work, but that it was the housewife’s duty to train them properly and provide them with expectations and an official schedule. A servant who was not properly trained was not to be blamed for their mistakes, it was their employer who was at fault for not taking the time to inform them.²³

¹⁸ *Union of South Africa Census of Population, 5th May, 1936, Preliminary report, Volume VII, Occupations and Industries, Union of South Africa, p.xxv.*

¹⁹ [Author Unknown]: “Loopbane vir Vrouens,” *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (171), 4 Augustus 1925, p.29.

²⁰ [Author Unknown]: “Die Bediende kwessie,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (312), 17 April 1928, p.14.

²¹ [Author Unknown]: “Die Netjiese Huis”, “Hoe om n “een-bediende” huis te bestier,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (272), 12 Julie 1927, p.11.

²² [Author Unknown]: “Die Diensbode-vraagstuk,” *Die Huisvrou*, (V), (207), 13 April 1926, p.12.

²³ *Ibid.*

The ease with which housewives could replace their servants of colour appears to have made them lazy when it came to training them.²⁴ Housewives also seemed to have high expectations of their employees. One article took pains to clarify that a single maid could not be expected to clean an entire house, cook and care for children - perhaps indicating that some housewives had unrealistic expectations. Providing a good room for the domestic employees, giving the kitchen maid a comfortable chair that she could use when preparing the food and offering a day or a few hours free was also considered integral to making servants productive.²⁵ Maids were considered to be a reflection of their employers and having good personal hygiene and looking neat in dress were emphasised by *Die Huisvrou* as essential to creating a good impression of the housewife and her household. One article recommended uniforms made from a light, breathable and practical material, as it explained that maids often did not own their own clothes.²⁶

Even in homes where the domestic worker and the housewife shared the load, the work was gruelling for the hired maid working alone in a home. An article from 1926 in *Die Huisvrou* described a day's activities as follows. Work would begin at seven in the morning with preparing and serving breakfast. She would then discuss the meals of the day with her employee, often referred to as "noi" if she was Afrikaans speaking. She would then move onto doing general housework until it was time to prepare and serve the midday meal. After cleaning up after lunch she could rest until she needed to prepare supper, after which she would organise the kitchen and then be in bed by nine.²⁷ Another schedule which appeared in *Die Huisvrou* two years later showed no time for rest for a maid between 06:45 and 19:00. The housewife had free time between 16:00 and 18:00, but the maid would spend her whole afternoon with tasks such as: cleaning up after lunch, bringing the dry washing in, ironing, making the supper and laying the table.²⁸

²⁴ [Author Unknown]: "Die Netjiese Huis: Diensbodes en Hulle Pligte," *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (411), 11 Maart 1930, pp.12-13.

²⁵ [Author Unknown]: "Die Diensbode-vraagstuk," *Die Huisvrou*, (V), (207), 13 April 1926, p.12.; [Author Unknown]: "Diensbodes en hulle Pligte: Die Verskillende Pligte," *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (424), 10 Junie, 1930, p.12.

²⁶ [Author Unknown]: "Die Netjiese Huis: ń Sindelike Huisvrou maak ń sindelike bediende," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (384), 3 September, 1929, p.13.

²⁷ [Author Unknown]: "Die Diensbode-vraagstuk," *Die Huisvrou*, (V), (207), 13 April 1926, p.12.

²⁸ [Author Unknown]: "Die Huisvrou se dagboek," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (301), 31 January 1928, p.9.

The division of labour within the home became a topic of discussion when women were relying on servants to care for their children. Articles encouraged the housewife to look after the children as much as possible as they would be greatly influenced by whoever cared for them, and ultimately, the most important role of a mother was thought to be mothering.²⁹ One article admonished women that were so busy trying to be perfect housewives that they neglected their children. The author of the article fumed that she had recently visited a family and as she entered the kitchen she saw the 4-year old daughter of the hostess sitting on the lap of a “kafferbooi” being fed her meal by him. The author of the article was indignant and said that this was a disturbing sight because the girl’s instruction and upbringing was being jeopardised because of the servant looking after her. She called this particular servant a “half heathen” of “inferior people”.³⁰

Kinders onder die sorg van diensbodes drentel gewoonlike doelloos rond, terwyl hulle behoort geleer te word om op te let op die skoonhede van die natuur en die lesse van hulle omgewing³¹

[Children under the care of servants usually loiter around aimlessly, while they should be being taught to notice the beauty of nature and the lessons of their environment.]

The author explained that she was not judging people of colour, she was judging people that left their children with servants of any kind, though a previous article indicates that the judgement was race-related, as it recommended young white girls of a certain class, that just wanted a bit of extra pocket money, be hired to care for children instead of servants of colour.³²

Fear surrounded this tendency for housewives to leave children in the care of servants to such an extent that an article suggested that mothers rather send their children to a day care institution, which would have trained people caring for children, than entrusting their children’s purity (on holiday at the sea and when at home) to “unsuitable maids of dubious morals and characters, and who are often dirty and obscene”.³³ An allegorical story from 1936, which appeared in *Die Huisvrou*, indicates a belief was held that white people were more productive and better established in society because of being better workers than those of

²⁹ [Author Unknown]: “Die Diensbode-vraagstuk,” *Die Huisvrou*, (V), (207), 13 April 1926, p.12.

³⁰ [Author Unknown]: “Weer diensbodes en kinders,” *Die huisvrou*, (VII), (335), 25 September 1928, pp.1-2.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² [Author Unknown]: “Weer diensbodes en kinders,” *Die huisvrou*, (VII), (335), 25 September 1928, pp.1-2;

[Author Unknown]: “Diensbodes en kinders,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (330), 21 Augustus, 1928, pp.1-2.

³³ “En by die see, en in die parke, en op die publieke speelgronde en langes die staat sien ons oral jong kinders wat oorgelaat word aan die sorg van ongeskikte diensbodes van twyfelagtige sedes en karakter, en wat dikwels vuil en liederlik is.”

[Author Unknown]: “Diensbodes en kinders,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (330), 21 Augustus 1928, pp.1-2.

colour. One of the white female characters in the narrative said: “as die kleurlinge vandag net so goed of nog beter as ons kon werk sou hul nie nodig gehad het om vir die witman te werk nie. Hul sou dan al op dieselfde voet soos ons gestaan het.”³⁴ [If the people of colour today worked just as well or better than us they would not have needed to work for us. They would then have already been on the same footing as we are.]

Domestic servants of colour were sometimes given the benefit of the doubt and that black men were also employed as servants in the home. Historian Charles van Onselen explains that “houseboys” at the turn of the century on the Witwatersrand were hired by families to build fires, keep stoves clean, wash dishes and prepare tea. They occupied lives filled with exploitation and control, often working 16 hour days.³⁵ The precarious position of men working as domestic servants is apparent in the magazines. An advertisement for “Bok” furniture polish showed a black man holding a tin of polish with a big heading to the advertisement reading “Strictly speaking it wasn’t “Jim’s” fault”.³⁶ A series of cartoon pictures of an exchange between a mother and her daughter follows where the daughter complains that her “boy”, meaning male servant, was becoming lazy because the floors looked terrible a day after he cleaned them. The concerned housewife’s mother explained that it may not be his fault, but the type of polish being used (see figure 5.1).³⁷ An article in *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping* from 1939 however, indicates that the concerns or feelings of servants were not usually acknowledged. The article was addressing the subject of being a good hostess and one of the characteristics of being a bad one was “ticking off” servants in the presents of guests. It explained that “ticking off” was the process of scolding your servants for something that they did wrong in the course of the party or meal, which would inevitably bring something to the attention of the guests which they would otherwise not have noticed. The level of abuse which servants could be exposed to is clear in the following excerpt:

Guests should be protected from violence in any shape or form, and even if something does go wrong, the hostess should control herself until the guests have departed. Then, but not till then, may she smash crockery over the offending servant’s head, or relieve her feelings in any other way considered desirable.³⁸

³⁴ [Author given as “Nina”]: “Iets oor Bediendes,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (752), 6 Oktober, 1936, p.15.

³⁵ C. Van Onselen: *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwaterstand 1886-1914*, pp.29-33.

³⁶ [Advertisement for “Bok Politoer”]: *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (751), 29 September, 1936, p.12.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ B. Callaghan: “Are you a good Hostess?,” *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (10), January 1940, pp.338-339.

The English magazine did, however, also maintain that biggest cause of problems between servants and their employers was a lack of leadership and direction on the part of the work givers. Allowing the servant to just “muddle through” the day was seen to make things unnecessarily difficult for the servant, which would have negative effects, as can be seen from the following interaction.

“I once said to a servant who had newly come to me: “Really, Maggie, I don’t know how you manage to take so long over so little work.” Her reply was: “That’s the worst of us Natives, Ma’am. We can’t ever plan out how to do things.” For Maggie had been told so often that she could not plan her work that eventually she had resigned herself to the belief that it was true.”³⁹

Employees were encouraged to give their domestic servants clear instructions and compliment them verbally, and financially, if they achieved the goals set for them. From the sounds of one article, housewives were not accustomed to giving their maids verbal affirmation, because they feared it would make them “cheeky”. The greatest concern was, however, for the productivity of the employee. Financial incentives were recommended as a means of motivating the servant to excellence. Treating servants well was, however, seen as the only sure way to ensure dedication and efficiency. Housewives that had bad tempers and mistreated their servants were warned that they would lose their employees quickly and find it hard to replace them, even if they offered high wages, while those that could not necessarily afford to pay their servants very much, but treated them well, were promised good employees that would remain with them.⁴⁰

What domestic servants were and were not meant to do was also a topic of discussion. As seen before, caring for children was advised against. Opening the front door for guests was also viewed as potentially risky, as the maid might have an opportunity to create a bad impression. But if she was well-dressed, opened the door wide and stood to the side and completed the entire task quietly, it could be permitted. The maid would then prepare coffee or tea for the visitors on a tray as well as push the handle of the tea or coffee pot towards the hostess. She was to quietly bring in the food before retreating into the kitchen to prepare more hot water if it was needed.⁴¹ By the 1940s and article in the English magazine showed that some

³⁹ M.E. McKerron: “Psychology and the servant problem”, *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (11), February 1940, pp.368-370.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ [Author Unknown]: “Diensbodes en hulle Pligte: Die Verskillende Pligte,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (424), 10 Junie, 1930, p.12.

housewives were providing their domestic servants with labour-saving devices, such as electric stoves, but the maids were often suspicious of them and time and patience was recommended in the process of introducing new things to the work that needed to be done.⁴²

Black men were also working in the domestic space, as has already been evidenced by the “Bok” advertisement and the man feeding his employee’s white daughter on his lap. A series of advertisements for Bon Ami soap, which appeared in *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, also showed various situations with a cartoon of a black male servant working in the home. One from September 1938 showed a black man holding a box of Bon Ami Powder while he leaned towards a young white boy wrapped in a bath robe, apparently just about to get into a bath. The servant says: “You make bath plenty dirty, Massa Jack- but Bon Ami soon make clean again.” Further text explains that servants know that Bon Ami is the best thing to clean the bath with quickly and effectively.⁴³ Another one shows the same servant cleaning a mirror and seeing his own reflection in it cleans and the headline reads “Your Mussus very clever, Jim...She make your work easy with Bon Ami.”⁴⁴ Interestingly, no advertisements showing women of colour acting as servants appeared in either magazine. Ultimately, whether with male or female help, the lives of white women were made considerably easier because of domestic servants.

Hobbies

Having help with tasks in the home allowed White South African women to engage in a variety of activities inside and outside of the home which were not specifically related to caring for the family’s needs or housework. Playing certain sports at certain levels of intensity may have been considered masculine, as mentioned in chapter 3, but playing tennis appears to have been the widely accepted and preferred sport for women. Aside from various fashion spreads over the years of *Die Huisvrou* showing various different outfits specifically designed for playing tennis (see figure 5.2), women held tennis parties.⁴⁵ At these parties, aside from tennis being played, there was socialising over tea and food. One article suggested the tea party include sultana cookies, anchovy fingers (brown bread topped with a mixture of the yolks of boiled

⁴² M.E. McKerron: “Psychology and the servant problem”, *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (11), February 1940, p.370.

⁴³ [Advertisement for Bon Ami]: *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (IV), (8), November 1938, p.267.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ [Author Unknown]: “Vrye tyd,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (241), 7 Desember, 1926, pp.1-2.

eggs and fish paste - also called Anchovette - whipped lemon butter with watercress and the whites of boiled eggs), sweet tartlets and coconut biscuits.⁴⁶ Advertisers also made use of women's involvement in tennis. One explained that drinking a certain tea would give the energy and stamina required for success on the court, while another displayed their product's suitability for making tennis jerseys.⁴⁷ KWV placed an advertisement in *Mrs Slade's South Africa Good Housekeeping* that showed a woman playing tennis with the same catch-phrase as mentioned in Chapter 2 which equated drinking South African Grape Juice to health.⁴⁸ Historians Vivian Bickford-Smith, Elizabeth van Heyningen and Nigel Worden explained the widespread popularity of tennis saying that: "[b]etween the wars tennis had become the outdoor recreation that epitomised middle-class status for all communities."⁴⁹ Golf was another sport that women seem to have enjoyed that advertiser's utilised, sometimes quite obscurely, such as an advertisement for "Bok" floor polish which showed a woman playing golf with the character, "Bok".⁵⁰ Although *Die Huisvrou* specifically criticised young women in 1928 that played golf as being unsuitable for marriage and wasting the time she had saved by doing her housework more efficiently or employing domestic servants, women were nonetheless involved in the sport.⁵¹ Women and their families were becoming so involved in sports that they began to be criticised for their willingness to neglect Sunday as a day of rest in order to participate in them.⁵²

The English magazine saw sport as a remedy for a bored or fidgety housewife that felt trapped by her marriage and situation in life. A woman wrote into the magazine to express that she was feeling dissatisfied with life and that her days seemed to be filled with endless empty time which she did not know how to spend. The suggestion from the advice columnist provides insight into the role that sports and other hobbies came to play.

You are obviously going through a phase, [...] a phase which means the end of your early marriage, when life is

⁴⁶ [Author Unknown]: "Kookkuns: toekokies en toebroodjie vir 'n tennis-tee," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (338), 16 Oktober, 1928, p.27.

⁴⁷ [Advertisement for "Teemark"]: *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (743), 21 Julie, 1936, p.4.; [Advertisement for "Anchor Tricoton"]: *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (750), 22 September, 1936, p.16.

⁴⁸ [Advertisement for KWV grape juice]: *Mrs Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (III), (12), March, 1938, p.547

⁴⁹ V. Bickford-Smith, E. Van Heyningen & N. Worden: *Cape Town in the Twentieth Century*, p.131.

⁵⁰ [Advertisement for "Bok politoersel"]: *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (353), 29 Januarie, 1929, p.15.

⁵¹ [Author Unknown]: "Meisies wat nie geskik is om te trou nie," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (322), 26 Junie, 1928, pp.1-2; [Author Unknown]: "Die nuwe manier om 'n huis met sukses te bestier," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (323), 3 Julie, 1928, pp.1-2.

⁵² [Author Unknown]: "Die Sondag in Suid-Afrika: Hoe dit waargeneem word," *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (246), 11 Januarie, 1926, pp.1-2.

completely filled with your husband and children. Many women have the feeling of being almost unnecessary in this period. If you let it get the upper hand it might spell disaster to your marriage. So often women look round for something to occupy their time and find the wrong thing. You could take up some course of study- I don't know what range your mind covers, but it could be literature, comparative religions, politics, social work- or on the other hand, some hobby such as music or languages. But let it be something that does not take you too far away from home surroundings. Also take up some sport. I should recommend in your case, giving bridge a wide berth, as I think it would develop the futile feeling still more strongly.⁵³

An article from *Die Huisvrou* also saw hobbies in general as a positive pursuit for the housewife because they believed that having hobbies would ultimately foster a love for the home space as opposed to women just being overwhelmed by boredom in facing their daily tasks. The article from 1926 explained that housewives that did not have positive occupations for their free time in things such as reading, playing music, gardening, painting and sewing would inevitably live uneventful lives and be indifferent towards the home. Housewives that could talk about nothing except their troubles with their servants or their struggles with their butcher and baker were considered pitiable. The article did however also encourage women to see housework as a form of hobby and explained that seeing it as a hobby would make it more interesting. Hobbies such as playing cards and driving in motor cars were denounced because they were seen as activities pursued for the sake of pleasure, instead of favourable hobbies which would focus women's attention on the home. These pleasure-seeking undertakings were frowned upon by the Afrikaans magazine as a sign of the dissatisfaction and restlessness of young women in that time.⁵⁴

Although it was advised by *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping* that bridge be avoided, bridge parties appear to have been a popular form of entertainment for housewives, which sometimes included men too. The invitation to a bridge party was to be answered immediately and specifically so that if an invitee would not attend, their hosts had enough time to invite another player. It was considered bad manners not to suggest a person that could be a good replacement if one could not attend. It was then the hostess's responsibility to decide whether or not she would replace that person with their suggestion, or someone from her own

⁵³ C. Cash: "Let's talk it over," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (II), (5), August 1936, pp.230-231.

⁵⁴ [Author Unknown]: "Liefhebberye en Huise," *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (229), 14 September, 1926, pp.1-2.

circle of friends. The dress code for informal bridge parties was something between a day and night dress for women, and day suits for men. The party would start between 19:45 and 20:00 and often ended after midnight. As guests arrived they were shown to their specific seats and introduced to the others seated at their bridge table. Losing one's temper or showing the slightest displeasure, especially after making a mistake or losing, was thought to be "uncivilised".⁵⁵

Arranging flowers was considered by some to be part of the chores of a housewife, essentially, a task essential to the running of a good home, while others viewed it as an artistic pursuit and one which could be completed in a woman's free time.⁵⁶ The arranging of flowers was not only concerned with putting stems into a vase. Women were told how to pick flowers, which ones to choose for longer freshness and which combinations would work well together. Flowers were to be picked early in the morning for maximum freshness and cut with a good pair of sharp scissors. One article directed certain tips at women that lived in flats explaining that though "all" women loved flower arranging, some that lived in cities did not have as much opportunity to practice as they did not grow their own flowers. To start the process of arranging, a variety of vases was chosen and placed on the back *stoep* on a nice big table. If the glassware was dirty, a method sent in by a reader of *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping* could be utilised. It required dirty vases to be filled with sour milk and left to soak for a few days until they were clean again.⁵⁷ The vases were then filled with fresh water and the flower arranging could ensue. The water of sunflower had to be changed daily, but the other types of flowers could last up to three days before a change was required. A pinch of salt in the water was recommended for long lasting freshness. The end of the stem of each flower was bruised a bit to allow them to absorb water better. It was also advised that certain varieties would be better off with the base of their stem being burnt rather than bruised. The arranger usually desired the flowers to be straight-stemmed and to be held in a specific and straight position. Chicken mesh was commonly placed in the vase, if it was opaque, to hold flowers in an upright position. If the vase was made of glass, a plan had to be made to hide the wire, alternatively, an article suggested tightly packed Cyprus branches or potatoes with

⁵⁵ [Author Unknown]: "Etiket by onthaling," *Die Huisvrou*, (XVI), (842), 14 Junie, 1938, p.17.

⁵⁶ A.N. Swemmer: "Why this "Suburban Neurosis" Nonsense?," *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (6), September 1939, p.196.

⁵⁷ [Author given as J.V.M.]: "Money for ideas: "Glass Blocks"," *Mrs Slade South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (1), April, 1939, p.30.

holes cut in them be used to ensure an aesthetically pleasing way of keeping each stem in place.⁵⁸

The form, line and colour of the flowers were the three most important elements to take note of in creating an arrangement. Certain flowers, such as pansies, were thought to look best in a tight bunch without any other types of flowers or foliage with them. Lilies on the other hand were placed in a vase as a single stem, or with only a few other lilies. Each flower had defined characteristics. While pansies were only considered to have one distinctive, namely colour, roses, dahlias, zinnias and poppies had two: colour and form, which allowed them to be displayed effectively as a single stem or in a bunch. Grasses, ferns and other greenery were advised to be added with the florist's discretion.⁵⁹ The extent to which flower arranging was a serious and cherished pursuit is evidenced by words from an article written in *Die Huisvrou*.

In die rangskikking van blomme, net soos in die geval van kleredrag, skilderye, ens., moet harmonie, balans en ritme in aanmerking geneem word. Daar moet harmonie tussen die blomme en die vaas of blombak wees; harmonie tussen die verskillende gerangskikte blomdele; ook harmonie in die verskillende kleure wat saamgebruik word.⁶⁰

[In the arrangement of flowers, just as in the case of clothing, painting, etc., harmony, balance and rhythm should be taken into consideration. There must be harmony between the flowers and the vase or flower bowl; harmony between the different arranged flowers; also harmony in the different colours that are used together.]

Rhythm and harmony were attainable through arranging plants in the three different stages of development (bud, semi-open and full bloom) and balance by ensuring that both sides of the arrangement were equally eye-catching.⁶¹ Flowers were believed to hold the power to turn a gloomy space into a warm and friendly one, if they were correctly chosen. If the wrong choices were made, they could render an inviting room dull and unattractive.⁶²

⁵⁸ [Author Unknown]: "Huisdekorasie: Die Rangskikking van Blomme," *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (702), 8 Oktober, 1935, p.24; [Author given as "Marieta"]: "Die Versorging van Afgesnyde Blomme," *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1184), 9 Januarie, 1945, p.26.

⁵⁹ H.H. Meyer: "Rangskikking van blomme," *Die Huisvrou*, (XX), (1010), 9 September, 1941, p.12.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p.13.

⁶² [Author Unknown]: "Oorspronklikheid van blomme: Hoe om blomme te rangskik," *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (391), 22 Oktober, 1929, p.25.

Painting, drawing and other forms of producing artworks were also a popular way of spending free time and recommended as such by the magazines.⁶³ *Die Huisvrou* made reference to the 11th annual eisteddfod in 1931 where art, specifically done by Afrikaners, was celebrated.⁶⁴ The Industrial Union of South-African Women encouraged women to use their art and hand crafts to provide an income for themselves. This included lace making, designing wallpaper, creating new prints on fabric (which were specifically advised to include South African flora and fauna) and weaving.⁶⁵ Women were also encouraged to cultivate an eye for good art by spending time making a study of famous art and artists in order to be able to use art to create a good atmosphere in their homes.⁶⁶ Discerning which pieces to buy was not the only way in which women were knowledgeable about art, they also needed to know exactly how that artwork needed to be arranged in the home.⁶⁷ In 1944, *Die Huisvrou* also ran a series of articles celebrating famous South African female artists. Those noted included Maggie Laubser, Irma Stern, Cecil Higgs, Florence Zerffi, Maud Sumner, Nita Spilhaus, Constance Penstone, Dorothy Kay, May Hillhouse and Ruth Prowse.⁶⁸

An article celebrating “Voortrekkersideale” [Voortrekker’s ideals] considered art and being artistic to be one of the four foundations of being a true Afrikaner, especially with regards to musical talents.⁶⁹ Music was viewed as patriotic means of awaking the soul to purer, higher things as well as a way of heartening those playing and appreciating it.⁷⁰ Advertisements appeared in *Die Huisvrou* for various musical instruments including pianos, guitars and violins.⁷¹ Housewives often played musical instruments themselves and music was central to home life. Listening to the music on the gramophone was becoming more and more popular. The device was considered a piece of modern life that an article in *Die Huisvrou* explained in 1930 would become as much a part of society as the motor car. It was recommended that

⁶³ [Author Unknown]: “Liefhebberye en Huise,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VI), (229), 14 September, 1926, pp.1-2.

⁶⁴ [Author Unknown]: “Die Afrikaanse Kunsvereniging,” *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (469), 21 April, 1931, p.22.

⁶⁵ [Author Unknown]: “Industriële Unie Zuid-Afrikaanse Vrouen,” *Die Huisvrou*, (I), (36), 2 January, 1923, pp.7;9.

⁶⁶ [Author Unknown]: “Meubileering en Huisversiering,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (699), 17 September, 1935, p.15.

⁶⁷ [Author Unknown]: “Huisdekorasie: Die Rangskikking van Prente en Skilderye,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (694), 13 Augustus, 1935, p.2.

⁶⁸ J. Meintjies: “Die Vroueskilders van Suid-Afrika,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1157), 4 Julie 1944, p.5.; J.

Meintjies: “Die Vroueskilders van Suid-Afrika,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1159), 18 Julie 1944, p.7; J. Meintjies: “Die Vroueskilders van Suid-Afrika,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1160), 25 Julie 1944, p.5.

⁶⁹ [Author Unknown]: “Voortrekkersideale,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (632), 5 Junie, 1934, p.26.

⁷⁰ [Author Unknown]: “Musiek,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XVI), (886), 18 April, 1939, pp.1-2.

⁷¹ [Advertisement for “R. Müller: Suid-Afrika se vernaamste Musiekwinkel”]: (XVI), (887), *Die Huisvrou*, 25 April, 1939, p.24.

[Advertisement]: *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (61), 26 Junie, 1923, p.13.

women be discerning with what kinds of music their family listened to. Bach, Polliack, Kie and Mozart were some of the approved composers.⁷²

Women also had opportunities to engage with each other socially because of the time that they could spend outside of the home. They had the capacity to spend time doing charitable work, such as organising bazaars to raise funds. An article from *Die Huisvrou* in 1926 explained that the bazaar was the easiest way to raise money for whichever cause required it. The steps for organising a good bazaar included choosing a committee, dividing the committee into subcommittees for décor, food, drinks and entertainment, and most importantly, appointing a small group that would have control of the finances.⁷³ Women would meet in the committee member's home with the most space. Advertising the bazaar well was, after appointing a treasurer, first priority. Suggested tables included one with white elephant goods, another with delicate items such as underwear, night caps, lavender bags and decorated clothing hangers and the crowd-pleasing table with various competitions. Entertainment, such as a concert or donkey rides, was considered another effective way of attracting people. Holding a home-made doll-clothing competition was one way of interesting children and a baby exhibition, where a doctor would examine babies and choose the "best baby", an attraction for mothers.⁷⁴ Although the actual bazaar fulfilled a purpose, housewives could spend weeks socialising over preparations and then more time discussing the event once it had passed. Organising such events therefore provided opportunities for shared, purposeful use of leisure time.

Holidays

Kenmerkend van die tyd waarin ons lewe is die belangrike rol wat vakansiereise, wat vroeër as 'n buitengewone weelde beskou is, tans in ons volkslewe speel.⁷⁵

[Something that is characteristic of the time in which we live is the important role that holiday trips, that were viewed earlier as extraordinary luxuries, currently play in our national/population's life.]

In the 1930s, going on holiday came to play an important role in the lives of South African housewives. White South Africans believed that packing their belongings and escaping to the sea, or a river, or a mountain, or all of the above, would provide them with something they

⁷² M.L. de Villiers: "Grammofoonmusiek," *Die Huisvrou*, (VIII), (436), 2 September, 1930, p.12.

⁷³ [Author Unknown]: "Omtrent 'n Basaar," *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (197), 2 Februarie, 1926, p.14.

⁷⁴ [Author Unknown]: "Hoe om 'n suksesvol basaar te hou," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (308), 20 Maart 1928, pp.10-11.

⁷⁵ [Author Unknown]: "Vakansiereise," *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (649), 2 Oktober, 1934, p.26.

could not have if they did not go.⁷⁶ Holidaying was believed to be something that “re-awakens the joy of living.”⁷⁷ Leaving home and going to a new destination as a family or with friends to break away from everyday life and have a rest is something that the South African Tourist Bureau began encouraging profusely in the 1930s in both magazines. The magazines, and advertisements placed in them, covered categories of vacationing such as: how to go on holiday, the point of going, where to go, how to travel there and affordable modes of relaxing during the Second World War. Racking up holiday experiences were to be taken seriously by the housewife as they were considered essential to fostering the holiness of family life.

[G]elukkige vakansietye is mylpale in ons lewe, en in die lewe van ons huisgesin. Hulle het  n bepaalde waarde - nie alleen vir ons gesondheid en liggaamlike ontspanning, maar ook vir die opbou van  n sterker huislike band, wat ouers en kinders aanmekaar verbind.⁷⁸

[Happy holiday times are milestones in our lives, and in the life of our family. They have a specific value - not only for health and bodily relaxation, but also for the development of a stronger home tie, which links parents and children to each other.]

Options for transport to a holiday location included trains, planes, ships or cars.⁷⁹ The S.A.R. (South African Railways) Tourist Bureau advertised itself as a provider of transportation and accommodation to ensure the maximum enjoyment on a holiday. The state-owned enterprise wanted to cultivate more traffic on its 10 000 miles of line and was at the forefront of promoting organised holidays in the first twenty years after union. Its advertisement campaigns targeted local tourists as well as those in Europe and America.⁸⁰ An advertisement from *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping* showed two women seated across from each other in a train with a table between them, both looking relaxed and absorbed by their newspapers. A beautiful view including a mountain was visible in the large windows behind them and the words “relax as you travel” took up almost as much space as the photograph in the advertisement. The advertisement went on to encourage readers to book their travel and hotel arrangements through the Bureau and explained that they also offered “Seaside Excursion Tickets” and daily “General

⁷⁶ [Author Unknown]: “Verskeidenheid van vakansieplekke,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (628), 8 Mei 1934, p.16.

⁷⁷ [Advertisement for S.A.R. Tourist Bureau]: *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (VI), (11), March 1941, p.403.

⁷⁸ [Author Unknown]: “Die oue en die nuwe,” *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (93), 5 Februarie 1924, p.2.

⁷⁹ [Photograph with the caption “op teer”]: *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (306), 6 Maart 1928, p.20; [Author Unknown]: “Verskeidenheid van vakansieplekke,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (628), 8 Mei 1934, p.16.

⁸⁰ G.H. Pirie: “Elite Exoticism: Sea-rail Cruise Tourism to South Africa, 1926-1939,” *African Historical Review*, (43), (1), 2011, pp.74-75.

Excursions” and that all station masters were agents through which holidays could be booked.⁸¹ Academic Jeremy Foster argues that photography and the South African Railways both played a role in demarcating white landscapes as: “new technologies that regulated and ordered time and space; natural allies in the creation and definition of new political territories, they lent themselves to modern governance and nation-building,” especially in the repeated reproduction of images, such as advertisements.⁸²

The South African Railways organised planned tours where holiday makers could travel around the country for up to two weeks with prearranged stops, sometimes for up to a week in one place, and excursions along the way.⁸³ They also offered car transport services on the trains if holiday makers wanted to take their car along to use at their destination.⁸⁴ Another advertisement explained that “The S.A.R. Tourist Branch with its staff of travel experts, will plan your holiday or tour. They will prepare an itinerary for you, book your hotel accommodation, attend to train reservations and sight-seeing trips - in fact relieve you of all the worrying details connected with your holiday.”⁸⁵ *Die Huisvrou* featured an advertisement for the bureau that recommended that during winter months South Africans consider flying or taking the train to a warmer place such as Durban, Mozambique, then known as Lourenço Marques, and Zimbabwe, specifically, Victoria Falls.⁸⁶ A day trip to the Kruger National Park was also on offer from Johannesburg in the summer months.⁸⁷ Other options included visiting the inland sites in South Africa, such as the Cango Caves and the Drakensberg mountains.⁸⁸ Albert Grundlingh shows in his work on the seaside town of Hartenbos that the South African Railway Services and the sea were intricately connected in the process of encouraging working-class Afrikaners to participate in wholesome leisure activities. The Afrikaanse Taal- en Kultuurvereniging (ATKV), formed in 1930 to protect the rights of Afrikaans-speaking

⁸¹ [Advert for S.A.R. Tourist Bureau]: *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (7), October 1939, p.242.

⁸² J. Foster: “‘Land of Contrasts' or 'Home We Have Always Known'?: The SAR&H and the Imaginary Geography of White South African Nationhood, 1910-1930,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (29), (3), September, 2003, pp. 660;558.

⁸³ [Author Unknown]: “Vakansiereise,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (649), 2 Oktober 1934, p.26.

⁸⁴ [Advertisement for S.A.R. Tourist Bureau]: *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (9), December 1939, p. 325.

⁸⁵ [Advertisement for S.A.R. Tourist Bureau]: *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (6), September 1939, p.207

⁸⁶ [Author Unknown]: “Wintereise per Spoor en Vliegtuig,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (684), 4 Junie 1935, p.26; [Advertisement for “S.A.R. Tourist Bureau: Popular winter tours”]: *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (V), (3), June 1939, p.117.

⁸⁷ [Author Unknown]: “Vakansiereise,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (649), 2 Oktober 1934, p.26

⁸⁸ [Advertisement for S.A.R. Tourist Bureau]: *Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping*, (VI), (11), February, 1941 p.iii.

employees working for the Railways. Among their concerns was the way in which these employees were spending their holidays.⁸⁹ In 1936, Hartenbos came into being as a seaside resort as the ATKV purchased a piece of land near to Mossel Bay. The space was used to provide health-giving and easily affordable, and therefore accessible, vacationing at the sea, which was mingled with cultural activities to define Afrikaner identity.⁹⁰ Academic Jeremy Foster proposes that train travel enabled white South African to grasp the magnitude of the country, nurturing an imagined community and creating hubs of leisure around resorts such as Sea Point, Muizenberg, Mossel Bay, Port Elizabeth and East London.⁹¹

References to holidays in *Die Huisvrou* were not only because of advertisements. The magazine also suggested types of holidays as well as destinations and often featured photographs sent in by readers of their holidays, often at the sea. It emphasised the value placed on vacationing by presenting accounts of people going on holidays to various places in South Africa and other countries. Visiting the “Transkei” was seen as a valuable opportunity to escape the city and the stresses of modern life as well as one of spending time making a study of the lives of the different groups of “Natives” living in the area. An added attraction was the fact that many of these beautiful and remote areas with rolling green hills scattered with round huts and the extensive ocean views were easily accessible by rail, indicating that the South African railway services were never too far from the holiday ideas presented in the Afrikaans magazine.⁹² Finding the road, or rail, less travelled appears to have been a concern in the early 1930s as another article appeared informing readers of quieter spots to break away to. Plettenberg Bay was introduced as one of these less busy destinations and holiday makers were encouraged to visit it for its amazing beaches, ocean views and untouched nature. Stilbaai, Jeffrey’s Bay and the Wilge river were recommended as other options.⁹³

Seaside holidays seem to have been favoured and one advertisement showed a range of accommodation options, all in and around Strand in the Western Cape, that families or friends could stay at. An advert for “Stopforths Fairview Private Hotel” promoted the hotel by

⁸⁹ A. Grundlingh: *Potent Pastimes: Sports and Leisure practices in modern Afrikaner history*, pp.38;

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* pp.42; 49.

⁹¹ J. Foster: “‘Land of Contrasts’ or ‘Home We Have Always Known’?: The SAR&H and the Imaginary Geography of White South African Nationhood, 1910-1930,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, (29), (3), September, 2003, pp. 666-7.

⁹² [Author Unknown]: “Vakansie Langs die Woeste Kus: ver van die gevoel van die Stadslewe,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XII), (622), 27 Maart 1934, p.23.

⁹³ [Author Unknown]: “Verskeidenheid van vakansieplekke,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (628), 8 Mei 1934, p.16.

explaining that it would be an easy and comfortable place to stay, positioned right on the beach with large and light rooms, hot and cold water available in the hotel and water sanitation.⁹⁴ An article in 1935 gave an account of a couple's trip to Lesotho which included recommendations of activities as well as giving tips of expectations and travel arrangements.⁹⁵ A woman wrote an article about her travels in Florence and the experiences that she enjoyed while she was there with a specific focus on the historical value of her trip. She suggested waking up before sunrise to see the city as the day dawned and spent the rest of her words florally discussing the wealth of historical sites.⁹⁶

Even when going on holiday prescriptions were made concerning how that holiday should take place, spiritually and physically. An article in *Die Huisvrou* from 1924 specified how a family should go on holiday by describing two different families going to the sea. One did things the "right" way, while the other did not. The wrong way of doing holiday consisted of a housewife dragging all kinds of furniture and home decoration with her to the house that she and her family were staying in at the sea. Picture and paintings to hang on the walls of the holiday home were part of the luggage hauled along on the journey. Once she had single-handedly unpacked everything, she cleaned constantly and shooed the children out of the house so that they would not make a mess in it. Any time spent in the house was controlled by a long list of rules. The children therefore entertained themselves elsewhere. In the allegory provided, the housewife holidaying "incorrectly" does not notice that her one son is playing billiards at a hotel, and her daughter is visiting with a young man. The housewife doing things the correct way, on the other hand, achieved the purpose of a family holiday, which was to rest and relax. She accomplished this by staying in a house with very little furniture, to reduce the cleaning work-load, roping children in by giving them each specific chore (though apparently with this method of holidaying, the children would be offering up their own time to serve their mother without being asked), and ultimately spending as much time as possible with her family and create better unity between them.⁹⁷ Most of their time together was spent frolicking in the great outdoors, sliding down dunes or playing games that would strengthen bodies - indicating that in many ways, the mother's work of raising healthy children did not stop when she was on

⁹⁴ [Author Unknown]: "Waar om tuis te gaan by die Strand," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (333), 11 September, 1928, p.17.

⁹⁵ [Author given as "B.C."]: "In Basutoland," *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (685), 11 Junie 1935, p.23.

⁹⁶ A. Joelson: "ñ Suidafrikaner in Florence," *Die Huisvrou*, (X), (503), 15 Desember 1931, p.20.

⁹⁷ [Author Unknown]: "Die oue en die nuwe," *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (93), 5 Februarie 1924, pp.1-3.

holiday. She was however portrayed as being adored by her children and celebrated for her carefree approach to the constraints of normal life.

[H]aar rok is kort en haar hare dra sy in twee lang vlegsels, om vry in haar liggaamsbeweginge te kan wees...As die spelethies begint, vergader haar kinders rondom haar, en sy speel saam met hulle. Of sy lees vir hulle uit mooi boeke en wys vir hulle op die goeie lesse wat daaruit te leer is, en plant op die manier goeie sade in hulle harte, wat in hulle later leeftyd heilsame vrugte sal dra.⁹⁸

[Her dress is short and she wears her hair in two long plaits, to be free in the movements of her body...As the games begin, her children meet around her, and she plays with them. Or she reads to them out of beautiful books and shows them the good lesson that can be learnt from them, and in this way she plants good seeds in their hearts, which in later life will produce wholesome fruits in them.]

Photography was at the forefront of leisure activities. From its first edition in 1922, *Die Huisvrou* featured a section where readers could share their photographs. The fact that this section remained in the magazine for the duration of the period studied, while many others disappeared, is a testament to the value that photography came to play in women's lives, as well as the satisfaction that was gained from sharing their escapades with other readers. The subjects of these photographs often featured children or families, usually having fun. Many showed children playing on beaches, such as Muizenberg and St. James, deeply distracted by building sand structures, or in the water, posing with their buckets or doing handstands at Gordon's Bay (see figure 5.3).⁹⁹ Others show adults frolicking in the waves with boogie boards or a group gathered around a fire preparing food.¹⁰⁰ The destinations and the activities being engaged in were the focus as photographs showed picnics, interactions with fauna and flora and favoured holiday destinations. A photograph from 1924 showed two women riding camels side-saddle in Namibia, then South West Africa.¹⁰¹ Another showed a family draped over rocks with the caption "n Ekpedisiegroep langs die Vaalrivier" [an expedition group next to the Vaal river].¹⁰²

⁹⁸ [Author Unknown]: "Die oue en die nuwe," *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (93), 5 Februarie 1924, pp.1-3.

⁹⁹ [Photographs]: *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (725), 17 Maart 1936, p.17.

¹⁰⁰ [Photograph]: "St. James, naby Kaapstad, n naie populêre vakansie plek", (IV), (1925), 22 Desember 1925, p.27; [Photograph]: *Die Huisvrou*, (XI), (549), 1 November 1932, p.18; [Author Unknown]: "By Muizenberg Strand," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (294), 20 Desember 1927, p.32.

¹⁰¹ [Photograph]: "Onderlinge hulp en Vrindskap," *Die Huisvrou*, (II), (101), 1 April 1924, p.20.

¹⁰² [Photograph with the caption: "n Ekpedisiegroep"]: *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (306), 6 Maart 1928, p.20.

Photographs were also used to show off the mode of transport being used, such as one with a few people in their Sunday best, standing in front of their car, with one leaning on it which indicates the leisurely nature of the trip as well as drawing attention to the vehicle, with the caption to the photograph reading “Op teer. Die kiekie is geneem op die kaal bulte van Standterton” [On tar. This shot was taken on the bare hills of Standterton].¹⁰³ One showed the forests in Knysna with a car in the centre of the composition and two people looking at the flora. Beneath this photograph was an action shot of a car driving along a very steep gravel road on the edge of the cliff, that looked as if it could have been taken in Die Hel, with the caption “Die Kronkelpad”.¹⁰⁴ Another showed a group of adults sitting on the back bumpers of their cars with the ocean behind them.¹⁰⁵ The advertisements for Kodak placed in *Die Huisvrou* emphasise the role that the camera played in going on holiday as well as the kinds of experiences that white South Africans sought on holiday. The adverts often had specifically South African landmarks in them, such as a drawing of the Rhodes Memorial which showed a woman posing in front of the statues of the lions with the memorial and Table Mountain towering up behind her.¹⁰⁶ Another showed a young couple, clearly meant to be on a hike, with walking sticks and khaki shorts and shirts with bold writing across the scene reading “vir sprekende vakansiekiekies” [for telling/explanatory holiday shots].¹⁰⁷

The Second World War put a dampener on holiday options, but even international crisis did not deter Afrikaners from going on holiday. A photograph of a canvas tee-pee-like tent from 1932 sent in by a reader on holiday showed that in the early 1930s, camping was already a favoured means of vacationing.¹⁰⁸ Holiday makers would drive or travel a long way to reach their destinations, but during the War, train trips were hampered by the fact that thousands of the employees of the South African Railways were serving, and soaring petrol prices made it much more expensive to drive long distances.¹⁰⁹ It does seem that not all holiday makers, especially those in Johannesburg, were willing to trade their holiday at the sea for a camping trip on the *veld* for the sake of assisting the war effort. An article in 1944 attempted to convince readers that a camping holiday in the bush was in fact even more beneficial than staying in a

¹⁰³ [Photograph with the caption “op teer”]: *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (306), 6 Maart 1928, p.20.

¹⁰⁴ [Photograph]: *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (709), 26 November 1935, p.20.

¹⁰⁵ [Photograph]: *Die Huisvrou*, (XI), (556), 20 Desember 1932, p.19.

¹⁰⁶ [Advertisement for “Kodak”]: *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (343), 20 November 1928, p.23.

¹⁰⁷ [Advertisement for “Kodak”]: *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (833), 12 April 1938, p.16.

¹⁰⁸ [Photograph of tent]: *Die Huisvrou*, (XI), (556), 20 Desember 1932, p.19.

¹⁰⁹ [Advertisement by the “Suid-Afrikaanse Spoorweë”]: *Die Huisvrou*, (XXI), (1028), 13 Januarie 1942, p.14; [Author given as “Stella”]: “Wil u gaan uitkamp?,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1172), 17 Oktober 1944, pp.20-21.

luxurious hotel as well as educate them about how to make their trip most enjoyable. The article suggested finding a beautiful river or some mountains to camp near to and then pitching the tent under a tree. The trees would also provide wood for the fire. It was recommended that two tents be taken along. One for the living area and the other for sleeping in. Lots of toys for the young children and at least a dozen books for the adults and older children were recommended as entertainment other than exploring and swimming. Housewives were encouraged to pack lots of homemade sweets, dried fruits and nuts as they would be wholesome high energy foods which would be easy to keep on the trip. All types of food were to be stored in sealed containers to avoid ants and other *goggas* from spoiling them. If there was a farmer close to where a group was camping, they could arrange to buy fresh milk, vegetables and meat from him. The alternative was to eat lots of preserved foods, such as preserved fruit and vegetables, biltong and rusks, or ingredients such as rice, butter, baking powder, onions, potatoes, fat and eggs could be taken along and prepared at the site.¹¹⁰

Advertisements for holidays in *Good Housekeeping* during the Second World War explained that there were trips available that could include “an abounding wealth of woodland, river and marine scenery,” included opportunities to play golf, tennis, surfing, fishing and mountaineering and were “as cheap as staying at home.”¹¹¹ But as the war progressed, eager holiday-makers were asked to stay at home to allow those who were in real need of a break to be allowed to have time off. The S.A.R. placed an advert in *Good Housekeeping* in 1944 to request that people not travel unless it was absolutely essential.¹¹²

Tourism was also seen as an acceptable means of employment for women. Aside from going on holidays, some enterprising women seem to have participated in the tourism economy. An article in *Die Huisvrou* from 1926 relays a story of two young women that rented themselves out as tour guides in Durban. They took tourists to the factories and industrial areas as well as providing opportunities for them to play tennis and golf, swim in the sea, row and fish. They also directed them to the best shops for a bargain and other places where things could be bought for a reasonable price. The article suggested that women that lived in pretty little towns in the

¹¹⁰ [Author given as “Stella”]: “Wil u gaan uitkamp?,” *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1172), 17 Oktober 1944, pp.20-21.

¹¹¹ [Advertisement for S.A.R. Tourist Bureau]: *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (VI), (11), March 1941, p.403.

¹¹² [Advertisement by S.A.R.]: *Mrs. Slade’s South African Good Housekeeping*, (X), (3), 1942, p.91.

Cape could do the same. A group of South African women also started a business in London where they showed South African tourists to the best shops and attractions, using the opportunity to see the world themselves.¹¹³ There was also the promise of more and more tourists from overseas visiting South Africa.¹¹⁴ As mentioned in the first chapter, women were also encouraged to use their culinary skills to make a living and give overseas visitors a good impression of South Africa and its cuisine.¹¹⁵ Interestingly, many of the advertisements for accommodation provided a woman's name next to the contact number for the hotel (see figure 5.4). By 1936, over 531 women listed their occupations as either hotel or public keepers and 1 204 as boarding or lodging keepers, indicating that tourism was a way in which women gained access to an income.¹¹⁶

Conclusion

White women in South Africa were able to engage in a number of leisure activities because of their use of cheap labour to aid them in their domestic duties. Although poor white women were sometimes employed as domestic servants, most work in the home was completed by servants of colour, usually female, but sometimes male. Housewives in the 1920s-1940s were not always natural employers and both magazines took time to assist them in the process of training servants and encouraging efficiency through charitable treatment. White women were, however, set apart from those of colour because of their access to leisure time which they used to participate in hobbies such as the arrangement of flowers, organising of bazaars, participation in sport and card games such as bridge and their pursuit of rest in the form of holidays. Vacationing trends were visible in advertisements for the South African Railways and hotels at the sea as well as article in *Die Huisvrou* advocating specific types of trips and methods of achieving relaxation. Holidays too came to form a part of white identity as an integral feature of wholesome family life.

¹¹³ [Author Unknown]: "Om die teetafel: "ñ nuwe liefhebberij vir meisies", (VI), (232), *Die Huisvrou*, 5 October 1926, p.20.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ Author Unknown: "Loopbane vir Meisies," *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (187), 24 November 1925, pp.8-9.

¹¹⁶ *Union of South Africa Census of Population, 5th May, 1936, Preliminary report*, Volume VII, Occupations and Industries, Union of South Africa, p.xxv.

Conclusion

The objective of this study has been to investigate the nature of the daily lives of white South African Housewives from 1918 to 1945. While there are many aspects of their lives that could provide points of departure for research in themselves, this investigation has sought to provide an impression of the domestic realm of housewives including what they cooked, ate, thought about nutrition, felt strongly about, planned for, debated, their hobbies and how they spent their leisure time. Academic attention has been spent on white women's impact outside of the home, especially Afrikaans women as *volksmoeders*, while the domestic realm as an essential part of everyday life has been a neglected area of enquiry. Two woman's magazines specifically directed at housewives have provided the chief sources for this work.

In the first chapter of this study it was found that food played an integral role in the lives of housewives as a means of providing social agency and educational and financial opportunities as well as being an aspect of their lives that they took very seriously and were willing to invest much time in. The life of Jeanette Corbet van Duyn, who was an "Instructress in Household Science"¹, and prolific author of cookbooks, showed that women were moving out of the home in the name of developing women's cooking abilities as well as making money from food preparation. Her life also showed that domestic science was on the agenda at a governmental level, which could be perceived elsewhere by the growing number of women studying and entering into the field, the fact that the first female professorship in South Africa was in the subject and the Union's investment in publishing their own cookbook. The government also utilised the skills of such women to influence housewives' perceptions of nutritious food with the consumption of certain foods being encouraged in times of surplus. Emphasis placed on hosting in both magazines elucidates the role which food and its preparation played in housewives' lives as a form of social agency. *Good Housekeeping* stressed women's hosting abilities in terms of brilliance and intelligence, while concurrently celebrating the women's familial and social connections. *Die Huisvrou* impressed the idea on readers that women needed to be good hostesses in order to properly fulfil their functions as housewives and that appropriate steps needed to be taken to ensure that they achieved in the sphere.

Food preparation was also a socially acceptable way of providing an income as a woman. Although it was becoming more customary for women to work outside the home, married

¹ J.C. Van Duyn: *The Household Science Cookery Book*, 1916, introduction.

women were expected to dedicate all of their attention to the domestic sphere. Women were encouraged to use South African fruits to produce preserves which could provide them with an income while they operated in the home. Other suggestions provided by the magazines for women to source an income from home included growing fruit and vegetables in the garden and selling them to neighbours, keeping bees for their honey and wax and starting a coffee room which could service passers-by with traditional South-African food. Some women were cut off from processes of production in this time, but from the magazines it is evident that creating an income from food production was not wholly dependent on access to land.

Cooking was found to be considered a serious endeavour which required extensive study. Universities and colleges around South Africa began offering courses in Domestic Sciences and the first person to graduate with a South African degree in the subject did so in 1929 at Stellenbosch University. Practical results of the emphasis on science in the cooking process were visible in the magazines' emphasis on measurements and household devices which were promised to improve processes and get the job done correctly. Agricultural shows furthered this phenomenon by requiring meticulous precision in preparation for different food sections such as making biltong, or jams. These shows also created opportunity for women to interact and compete while also expressing their creativity and precision.

The second chapter of this work seeks to explore the role of nutrition in establishing women's roles as mothers of the nation, or *volksmoeders*. The possibility of a strong and healthy nation was considered to be directly related to what its citizens were eating. It is found that both magazines convey the expectation that wives were to engage in caring for their families for the good of the nation, while developments in the field of nutrition and pressures concerning the provision of food added immense pressure on housewives as sources of health. Droughts, the great depression, food shortages and interrupted export and import chains during the two World Wars also increased government intervention in food production, provision and preparation. Anxiety about food in combination with dropping birth rates and high infant and maternal mortality rates led to fears of the demise of the white population in South Africa. These fears, along with the aforementioned contextual factors, contributed to an obsessive pursuit of good health amongst housewives. Women also took matters into their own hands and started the Housewives' League of South Africa in the 1920s to protect consumers of food in the Union and hold the regulators of food production accountable.

As ideas about nutrition, such as an awareness of the existence and function of vitamins, filtered down to the magazines and cookbooks, articles appeared espousing particular foods for their health benefits. Salad (more like jellies filled with suspended vegetables, than the salads of today), certain fruits and South African produce such as *mieliemeel* were hailed as essential to providing good health to one's family. Refined and processed foods, a lack of vitamins and excessive quantities of certain foods were believed to be threats to health. The Union Government produced its own cook book in the 1930s called *Foods and Cookery* which established the importance placed on food preparation and also provides an indication of what was believed to be wholesome. Section in *Foods and Cookery* and *Die Huisvrou* provide exact details of what a child should eat in a day down to the number of tablespoons of porridge for breakfast and the methods used to prepare each aspect of the diet. Housewives were also required to act as nurses in the home, converting a room into the house into the sickroom and treating their sick family members there. Food was considered the best form of medicine and different diets ranging from a liquid one to a light one were cooked for the invalids to suit their needs and nurse them back to health. Certain foods were used for their specific health properties, such as onions being believed to purify the blood, disinfect wounds by being used in poultices and act as a tonic for nerves. Home remedies were also made using the ingredients, such as a cough syrup made from roasting carrots with sugar and then using the combination of carrot extract and syrup to administer to the patient.

Food was, however, not the only way in which mothers believed they could raise healthy children. Getting enough sleep, clean water and enough outdoor activity were other elements of gaining good health. In the face of rising levels of urbanisation, *Die Huisvrou* encouraged women to expose their children to lots of fresh air and wide-open spaces in nature. Physical exercise was also encouraged as a means of gaining and maintaining good health. It was believed to have the power to expel old air from the body and purify blood among other things, though it soon became apparent from the magazines that exercising for the sake of appearances was becoming important to housewives as the physical activity recommended was for the sake of firming and shaping more than it was for health benefits.

The third chapter of this thesis examines various different ideas that were conveyed in the magazines as women self-consciously negotiated the many changes being experienced around expectations and understandings of femininity. Growing numbers of white women between the ages of 16 and 24 worked outside of the home and while it was becoming more acceptable to

find gainful employment, expectations were still that gainful employment outside the home should be given up when a woman married. By 1930, when white women gained the vote in the Union, *Die Huisvrou* expressed disdain that more and more young women were abandoning their parents and siblings to move to evil cities where they would steal the jobs of men and attempt to be like men in other ways, such as wearing short hair and smoking, which would render them unsuitable wives. The change of divorce laws in 1935 to include mental illness and habitual criminality as grounds for the dissolution of marriage led to frenzied attempts to try to encourage women to equip themselves to be proper wives, and still seek to get married. While marriage rates did not decline as they were expected to, divorces rates did increase slightly during the period between the Wars. Spending too much time outside of the home, especially as a married woman, was believed to corrupt and dissolve family life. The general response from the Afrikaans magazine was an attempt to regulate and control women by providing them with diverse dos and don'ts while simultaneously clearly displaying a move towards acceptance of new patterns of consumption.

Fashion played a big role in making modernity visible. Women were, on the one hand, denounced for being slaves to fashion, but on the other, both magazines contained many articles giving directions to women with regards to what should be worn when. Young women were denounced for wearing clothes that attracted men's attention, but concurrently, *Die Huisvrou* attempted to convince readers that wearing simple clothes would be the best way of drawing men to them. By the 1930s, the magazines interspersed articles encouraging women to be spiritually attractive and ones explaining how to be physically beautiful. Long lists of rules about appropriate behaviour for finding a husband were espoused next to strict beauty regimes. The one message that did resonate clearly from the Afrikaans magazine was that women should make themselves suitable for marriage. The process of meeting potential partners and courting had however also changed, and *Die Huisvrou* was filled with debates about whether or not women should go dancing and denouncements of young couples going on unaccompanied drives. Young working women were also chastised for keeping more than one man in tow at any one time and were instead discouraged from accepting jewellery from anyone, as that was believed to create indebtedness towards the giver.

Despite fears, women were still getting married. The engagement period was no longer one of establishing whether a couple should or shouldn't get married, but rather it was a time of planning for a wedding celebration. The American tradition of a kitchen-tea-like celebration

was introduced with success and couples would also hold engagement parties, usually at the bride's parents' home, with close family and friends. Big wedding celebrations went out of fashion in the 1920s, and brides wanted less formal affairs in a family home. Three weeks before the wedding day, invites would be posted. On the day, approximately thirty guests would gather in and around the chosen home for afternoon tea, speeches and gift-giving after the reception at a church. By the 1940s gifts could include: clothing, hats, stockings, gloves, slippers, ties, undergarments, down duvets, cutlery, "pyrex" dishes and electrical equipment such as kettles and lamps. Even though women were still marrying, *Die Huisvrou* expressed that independent-minded women that believed that any university degree would equip them for marriage should rather have spent their energy on gaining an education that pertained to the home and would make them good wives.

The fourth chapter of this study investigates the relationship between the housewife and her home, both as an ideological and physical manifestation. Both magazines perceived the housewife as the queen of the home, championing it as her domain over which she exerted her rule and therefore influence. The home was also seen as being essential to the well-being of a society. Repeated emphasis was placed on providing a stable and efficient home life in which children could flourish and grow to be good citizens. Demarcating the home as the housewife's sphere also meant that debates arose around what could be defined as the home. Serving on municipal bodies came to be seen as acceptable by some because it was believed to be a task which directly affected the well-being of the family. But becoming too absorbed by work outside the home was frowned upon as detracting from and causing the neglect of the domestic realm.

Within the home, housewives were expected to accomplish certain tasks. The first, and perhaps most emphasised task of the housewife was to raise her children to respect her and to be educated and useful contributors to society. Therefore, much time was spent discussing their educational and physical well-being. The Montessori method of teaching, which advocated allowing children the freedom to learn for themselves, was one of the topics of discussion. Dr Truby King, who propagated and promoted the idea that mental health and access to the outdoors were directly related, was another. Despite most white South African women having access to cheap domestic labour, the magazines, especially *Die Huisvrou*, touted the idea that white housewives still did a substantial amount of manual labour in the home. Tasks included: making food, washing the dishes, cleaning the bedrooms, packing lunch for her husband,

making soap and candles, gardening, arranging flowers, making preserves, hosting friends for afternoon tea and other meals.

Housewives were, however, not just concerned with what had to be done in the home, but also how it was to be done. The characterisation of the incompetent housewife was constantly compared with the competent one. The incompetent housewife lay in bed too long, left the ordering of groceries too late and did not provide balanced meals for her family. In contrast, the competent housewife was organised, learned and disciplined, running her home like a business. The magazines both presented a realistic view of housework as a monotonous and continuous drudgery, but they also promoted the idea that good methodological approaches to housework could make the task more palatable. There was a “correct” way of doing things, though taking things too seriously and becoming obsessed with housework was frowned upon. Time-saving electrical equipment such as vacuum cleaners were encouraged as one way in which things could be done properly, and designing the home correctly was another. Using clever designs such as a table on wheels and a serving hatch was considered part of achieving effectivity. During the Second World War, both magazines called for women to be frugal and prevent wastage in the home. Women participated in government-run campaigns to collect waste items such as old bones to make glue with. Old felt hats were turned into slippers and women formed all kinds of clubs to support the war effort.

Designing, building and decorating one’s own home was an activity which housewives spent much effort on. Most white South Africans lived in homes with at least 3-5 rooms other than a kitchen, pantry, bathroom, living room and outside rooms indicating much space to work with. Women often wrote into *Die Huisvrou* asking for tips to build homes for newlyweds and the affordable option in the late 1920s was a four to five roomed house which could include a front room, dining room, kitchen, pantry and bedroom. The kitchen was hailed as the centre of the home and the place where the housewife would spend the majority of her time. Much attention was therefore paid to decorating it appropriately to make it a warm, friendly place that would also be efficient and hygienic. Colours used in the home were established as mood influencers which had to be used appropriately and systematically to achieve the desired atmosphere. Effort was spent establishing and achieving the “ideal” living room, or dining room and by the end of the 1920s, *Die Huisvrou* also began to feature “modern” furniture and floor plans.

Chapter 5 presented the idea that while white South African housewives compared themselves with their American, Canadian and European counterparts, the fact that white women had access to cheap labour meant that their lives were much freer. They had time to engage in various leisure activities, such as hobbies and holidays. In the 1920s and later around the time of the great depression, attempts were made to encourage the employment of white women as domestic workers, but this did not make much of an impact. White women seem to have been uncomfortable with the idea and only 6 609 white women/girls were working as domestic servants by 1936. Hiring a domestic servant required the housewife to provide training and both magazines presented articles explaining different training methods. It does, however, appear that because of the sheer volume of options that women had to replace a servant they were unhappy with, they easily neglected proper training for their maids. *Die Huisvrou* reprimanded housewives that expected their domestic workers to complete tasks they had not been trained to do. Providing domestic servants with adequate accommodation was also considered necessary in encouraging productivity and neat, well-kept employees that would reflect well on their employers. If a housewife employed “only” one domestic worker, labour was divided in the home between the two. The care of the children was a hot topic of the time as *Die Huisvrou* argued that it would negatively affect the children’s upbringing and taint them by spending too much time with those of a lower class.

With this free time gained by delegating work to domestic workers, women had time to engage in hobbies. Playing tennis was considered an acceptable past time for housewives and much time was spent planning outfits to play in, attending tennis parties and playing tournaments. Sport, or certain types of sport, as others were thought to be too masculine, was viewed as a wholesome pastime for housewives, but bridge, on the other hand, was denounced by *Die Huisvrou* as a pleasure-seeking activity, though by the 1940s it seems to have changed its mind. Other hobbies that appear to have been common were arranging flowers, painting, drawing, playing musical instruments and organising social activities such as bazaars.

Holidaying also came to occupy an important place in the lives of housewives at this time. The act of going on holiday was viewed as necessary to a good family life. Holidays were promised to provide something which ordinary life could not and *Die Huisvrou* went as far as to say that vacationing would contribute to the holiness of family unit. Families would travel in and around South Africa by boat, train or automobile to destinations such as the Drakensberg, Mosselbay, Pletternberg Bay and Victoria Falls. The South African Railways played a big role

in promoting certain destinations and travelling by train also enabled white South Africans to understand and feel a part of their country's landscapes. Housewives were, according to *Die Huisvrou*, to spend their time away with their family with her children - in a short dress, sliding down dunes and gaining their trust as opposed to spending too much time cleaning and preparing food and therefore leaving her sons to play billiards and daughters to rendezvous with unfamiliar men.

Photography was central to documenting and affirming housewives' leisure activities. Women sent photos into the magazines showing great family picnics, people frolicking in the sea and building sandcastles on the beach, climbing mountains and posing with their automobiles in their Sunday best. Though many of the photographs attempted to convey grandeur, the magazines saw holidaying as something essential to all families. Camping was therefore recommended as a cheaper alternative and at that time, campers could pick any spot they found as long as it was not agricultural land. During the Second World War white South Africans were also encouraged to holiday close to home so as not to put pressure on the transport system. Soaring petrol prices as a result of the War was an added motivating factor. Ultimately, holidays were found to play an important role in constructing ideas of white identity and a united white South African culture.

Throughout this investigation of the interior lives of English and Afrikaans housewives, something rather obvious has been elucidated: most of these women's daily activities were very similar and transferable between the two cultures. The elements of their days that required attention were the same: caring for their spouse, rearing children, cooking, cleaning and looking after their physical appearances. Both had access to cheap labour in the home to make their practical duties easier. While their context is often seen as one of animosity between the two language groups, it is found in this study that philosophically, white South African housewives were governed by similar beliefs. White women, whether Afrikaans or English, desired to ensure the well-being of their families. They were expected to be knowledgeable in the field of nutrition in order to strengthen the white race in South Africa. Both cultural groups ultimately cherished and endorsed the idea that the success of a society is determined by achieving harmony and contentment in the home. Both magazines revealed that women in the home engaged in enterprises to provide themselves with an income which was not seen as incompatible with femininity and womanhood because it enabled them to better care for their families. The period that has been examined is also acknowledged as a time of much change

for white women in South Africa outside of the home. The English and Afrikaans magazines revealed an awareness of changing expectations of women and their attempts to negotiate education, work, dating and marriage norms, hobbies, fashion and the society they were part of.

Appendix Chapter 1

November, 1938 Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping Page iii

By Courtesy of "South African Good Housekeeping"

Mrs. H. M. SLADE



*is demonstrating
cookery in talking
pictures for the*

Daily Express
DOMESTIC BUREAU

● WATCH THE
DAILY EXPRESS FOR
DATES SHOWING AT
YOUR LOCAL THEATRE

*Mrs. Slade's cookery articles and
recipes also appear every Wednesday
in the Domestic Bureau pages of the*

Daily Express

The Modern Evening Newspaper

Send postal order to Subscription Department, Express House, Main and Mooi Streets, Johannesburg. Rates in the Union: Three months, 15/-; six months, 30/-; twelve months, 60/-. Subscriptions received at all all branches of Publix, The Chemists.

Published by the CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY LTD., P.O. Box 1023, Johannesburg, for the Proprietors, Mrs. SLADE'S S.A. GOOD HOUSEKEEPING, LTD., 43 Beckett's Building, Johannesburg.
Printed in its entirety by L. E. JOSEPH & CO. (Pty.), Ltd., corner Park Lane and Commercial Road, Fordsburg, Johannesburg.

Figure 1.1: Mrs Slade's South African Good Housekeeping, (IV), (8), November 1938, p.iii.

Learn how to become an Expert Cake-Maker

Jeanette's Cake-Making Lessons

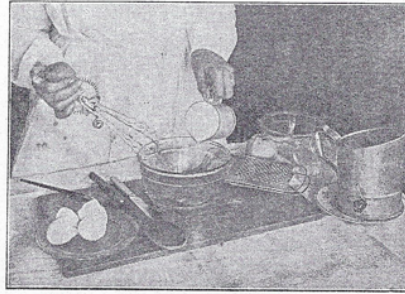
LESSON 47

FEATHER SANDWICH CAKE

(This is a deliciously light, moist sandwich cake, that melts in the mouth. It can be kept for a week, without drying out.)

INGREDIENTS	ICING AND FILLING
1½ cups flour	3 cups icing sugar
4 tablespoons butter	2 tablespoons butter or cream
½ cup sugar	1 grenadilla
2 eggs	1 orange
2 teaspoons baking powder	3 tablespoons water
3 tablespoons milk	
3 tablespoons water	Apricot jam

(All measurements must be level, unless otherwise stated. The measuring cup used is a half-pint size or a breakfast cup. In measuring flour, fill cup lightly with a spoon. Flour being very light, 4 cups go to the pound, whilst 2 cups of butter or liquid equal a lb. approximately.)



2. Break eggs into mixing bowl, add sugar, then beat thoroughly, with a rotary egg-beater, until thick and lemon-coloured.



1. Collect utensils and ingredients. Cut rounds of paper to fit two sandwich tins, measuring 8 inches in diameter, and leave ungreased.



3. Put flour and baking powder into flour sifter, and gradually add to the sugar and egg mixture, alternately with milk and water brought to the boil, together with the butter. Continue folding in the flour until all the liquid has been added.

Figure 1.2: Mrs Slade's South African Good Housekeeping, (V), (5), August 1939, p.172.


PRYSWENNENDE KOEKBAKKERS



. . . gee *ROYAL* die krediet

MEV. Allchin verower elke jaar tientalle pryse op die Rosebankse Tentoonstelling. Verlede jaar het ook haar dogter 'n Royal-roosbak gewen vir die uitmuntende koek wat sy gebak het. Hierbo verskyn 'n portretafdruk van hulle, en hulle gee albei die eer vir hul sukses aan Royal.

Mev. Allchin sê:—, Ek maak slegs gebruik van die allerbeste bestanddele wanneer ek 'n koek bak. 'n Mislukking kan ernstige gevolge vir my hê. Daarom is dit dat ek

nog altoos Royal gebruik. Royal het tot al my suksesse bygedra. Ek gebruik Royal reeds vir 30 jaar en ek het bewys dat dit uiters betroubaar is. Dit misluk nooit nie. Royal hou my bakkoste laag en wel omdat die hoeveelheid wat 'n mens vir 'n koek nodig het so uiters min kos.'

U kan gerus die raad volg van diegene wat die absolute betroubaarheid en voordeligheid van Royal bewys het. Sorg dat daar altoos 'n blikkie Royal op u spensrak staan.

ROYAL
 Die Kremetartbakkpoeier

Figure 1.3: *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (721), 18 Februarie 1936, p.16.

“Wees besonder versigtig met die afmeet van die grondbestanddele”

sê Mej. J. G. RUDD

Prinsipale van Huishoukunde Afdeling, Tegniese Kollege, Port Elizabeth.



Deur haar leersame skrywings en demonstrasiewerk het mej. Rudd al baie Suidafrikaanse huisvrouens gehelp tot groter bekwaamheid in alle takke van kookkuns.

MEJ. RUDD SE POFFERTJIES.

1 Pond Meelblom, 1 eier, knypie sout, 2 opgehoopte (4 gladgestrykte) teelepels Royal Bakpoeler, 4 opgehoopte teelepels botter, 2 opgehoopte teelepels suiker, en 'n bietjie melk.

Sif die meelblom, sout, suiker en Royal Bakpoeler saam. Vrywe die botter daarby met die mengsel soos fyn broodkrummels is. Voeg dan die eier en 'n bietjie melk by en meng tot 'n stywe deeg. Sit opgehoopte lepelsvol in warm vet en bak totdat dit goudbruin is.

Die vet moet net warm genoeg wees om 'n waas af te gee—nie 'n rokie nie. As dit te warm is sal die poffertjies rou wees in die middel. Laat die vet goed afoop, rol die poffertjies in suiker en bedien dit met tee, of gooi warmgemaakte stroop daaroor en eet dit as poeding.

ROYAL

Die Kremetart Bakpoeler.

“GEDURENDE die twaalf jaar wat ek al onderwys gee het ek gevind dat die meeste mislukkings toe te skrywe is aan die feit dat die regte proporsies meelblom en bakpoeler nie gebruik word nie. En hulle is die grondbestanddele, sodat u nie te versigtig kan wees met die afmeet daarvan nie.

“Die versoeking is somtyds daar om 'n bietjie meer bakpoeler te gebruik as wat die resep aangee. Dit is nooit nodig as u Royal gebruik nie. Onthou dat hierdie suiwer kremetart bakpoeler groter rysvermoe het as enig ander.

“Die enigste tyd wanneer u 'n bietjie ekstra bakpoeler kan gebruik, is wanneer u miskien een van die in die resep aangegeve getal eiers kort is. Dan kan u 'n verdere gladgestrykte teelepel Royal byvoeg en seker wees dat u dieselfde uitstekende resultate sal kry wat hierdie standaard bakpoeler altyd lewer.”

Mej. Rudd se lof voeg gewig by wat ander vername Suidafrikaanse Huishoukunde eksperte sê. Gebruik Royal—die Kremetart Bakpoeler. Dan is u seker van suiverheid. . . . van heerlike geur. . . . en van volmaakte sukses elke keer.

In hierdie nuwigheids Royal Kookboek sal 252 egte bioskoop prentjies vir u stap vir stap wys hoe om met sukses te bak.



Royal Baking Powder (Pty.) Beperk, Posbus 1842, Kaapstad.

Stuur asseblief vir my besonderhede hoe om vir 1/3 die Nuwe Royal Bioskoop Kookboek “Enigeen Kan Bak” te kry, wat gewoonlik verkoop word vir 10/6.

Naam.....

Adres.....

M.V.10.

Figure: 1.4: Die Huisvrou, (VIII), (411), 11 Maart 1930, p.14.

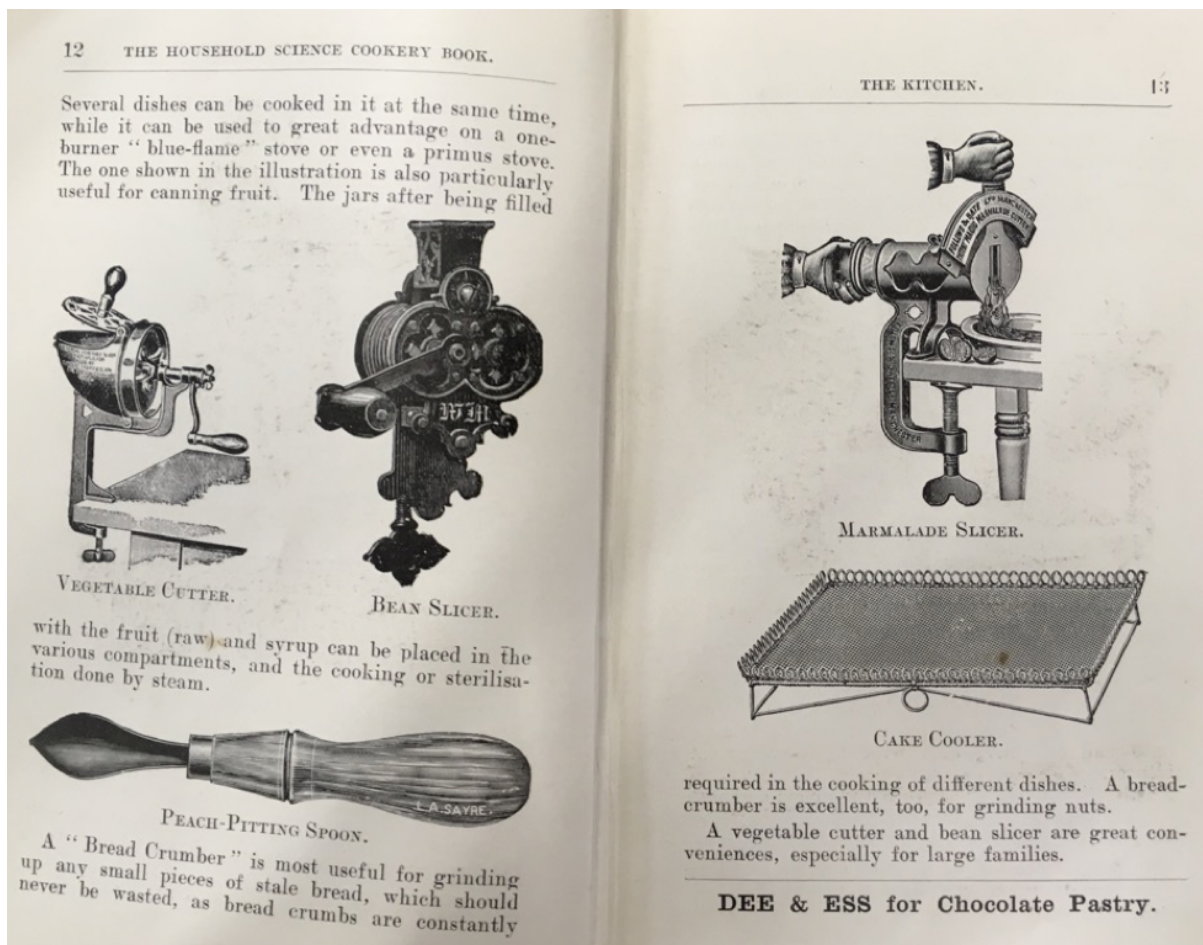


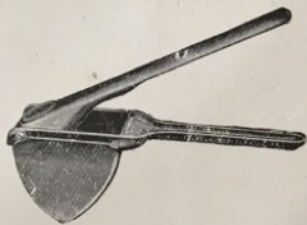
Figure 1.5: J.C. Van Duyn: *The Household Science Cookery Book*, 1916, pp.12-13

of time and labour, requiring very little expenditure of energy in creaming the sugar and butter. It is



BREAD MIXER.

particularly useful in making fruit cakes. A raisin-seeder, too, will be found a great advantage, the seeds being removed from the raisins without waste.



POTATO MASHER.

A bread mixer is an article which is indispensable in large households, and, like the cake mixer, saves much time and strength.

A potato masher or ricer should be found in every well-equipped kitchen; also sugar and flour dredgers, which prevent waste, and also make it easy to distribute the ingredients lightly and evenly over the article.



STEAM COOKER.

A steam cooker is a very handy thing to have, as it can be made to economise both space and fuel.

MAZAWATTEE—goes far in brewing.

Figure 1.6: J.C. Van Duyn: *The Household Science Cookery Book*, 1916, pp.10-11.

GEREGISTREER BY DIE HOOF POSKANTOOR AS 'N NUUSBLAD.

'N WEEKBLAD VIR MOEDERS EN DOGTERS

DIE HUISVROU

DEEL XVII. No. 910.

DINSDAG, 3 OKTOBER, 1939.

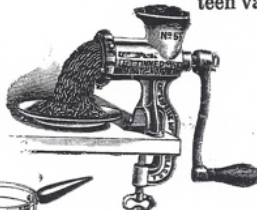
Prys: DRIE PENNIES.

Handig in die Kombuis

VERVANG IEGESLYTE GEREEDSKAP DADELIK—
teen vandag se lae pryse



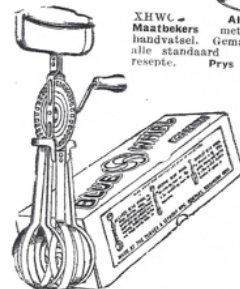
XHW00. "Onderste bo" Koeklik om aantreklike suikerbrood mee te maak. 9 duim deursny. Prys 1/-



XHW02. Belinders Vleismasjien. Deurgaans van die allerbeste maaksel. No. 5. No. 8. No. 16. No. 20. Prys 7/6 10/6 12/6 22/6



XHW03. Aluminium Maatbekers met hout handvat. Gemak vir alle standaard resepte. Prys 1/-



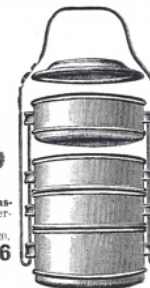
XHW01. "Blue Whirl" Eierklters sterk en doeltreffend. Groot grootte 6/8; Middelmatig 4/11; Klein 2/9



XHW04. "Auto nouer Fantasia" Koekdrukker presies soos skets. Dit sny goue allerhande fasette. Baie handig. Prys 2/6



XHW06. Poedingbakkie van die beste wit maatllose enommel. Deursny: 5 duim 1/3; 6 duim 1/6; 7 duim 2/6; 8 duim 3/4; 9 duim 4/4.



XHW05. Kos Emmertjies met vier afdelings. Beste wit enommel. 8 duim in deursny 15/6; 7 1/2 duim 13/6



XHW07. Botterkarrige met sterk glas vles. Liter:— 2 3 4 Prys 7/6 9/6 12/6

STUUR HIERDIE KOEPEN VANDAG

aan Fletcher en Cartwrights, Bpk.
Stuur my a.s.b. 'n volledig geïllustreerde Nuwe Katalogus

Naam.....
Mr. mev. mej.

Adres.....

DRUKLETTERS asseblief.

FLETCHER & CARTWRIGHTS LTD Bus 45, Kaapstad

Figure 1.7: Die Huisvrou, (XVII), (910), 3 Oktober 1939, cover page.

Chapter 2

Gesondheid
en
Lewenskrag
maklik behou!




Die ENERGIE WAARDE — in kalories — van EEN POND
BOTTER is niks minder as 3442.4. KAAS VOLG met 1939.1.
BOTTER en KAAS is NOODSAAKLIKE VOEDSELS dit
bevat FOSFOR, KALSIMUM en VITAMINS A en B waarom
u liggaam uitroep

Eet Meer BOTTER en KAAS!

Figure 2.1: *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (680), 7 Mei 1935, p.32.

FOR SPARKLING HEALTH



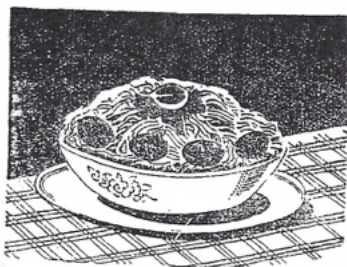
KWV

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delicious*

KWV
SOUTH AFRICAN
GRAPE JUICE

**Increase your
staying power by
regularly taking**
OXO **The Goodness
of Beef**

ALL CHILDREN LOVE IT—



*Their Health
Requires It!*

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delicious Macaroni
products are the
most nourishing
and easily digest-
ible foods for
growing children.
Obtainable at all
grocers.

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17 **delicious**
varieties
ready to serve

Lunch Tongue, Ox Tongue,
Spiced Beef, Corned Pork,
Pork Fillets, Port Cutlet
with Beans and Tomato,
Sausages and Beans,
Vienna Sausages,
Pork Sausages, Ox-
ford Sausages, Ox-
ford Soups, Boar
Head Brawn,
Ham Loaf,
etc., etc.



**ALL MEATS
BEST
SELECTED
AND
VETERINARY
INSPECTED.**

HISCOCK'S
pure canned
MEAT PRODUCTS



Figure 2.2: Mrs. Slade's South African Good Housekeeping, (IV), (8), November 1938, p.327.



Figure 2.3: *Davis se Heerlike Geregte*, Die-Davis-Gelatien-Organisasie, Suid-Afrika, 1938, p.27.

WAT 'N MAN

van sy vrou

vetwag

Hy wil 'n rehuis hê, en kameraadskap. En die belangrikste is *kameraadskap*.

Dis moontlik dat hy baie vriende het maar meeste van sy tyd word in die geselskap van sy vrou deurgebring. Sy gemak, sy plesier, sy persoonlike belange, sy kinders, dit alles is intiem met haar verbonde. En, met gesondheid, behoort sy die meeste tot sy geluk by te dra. Sonder gesondheid kan sy onmoontlik die vrou en moeder wees, wat sy hoop om te wees.

Sy kan nie die maat wees wat sy behoort te wees nie.

Temperament en gedrag, baie nou verbonde, word grotendeels deur die gesondheid bepaal. As gereelde verteringsorgane, ryk bloed en funksionele gereedheid haar die gelukkige vrou maak *wat sy kan wees*, sal sy 'n bron van vreugde vir haarself en diegene om haar wees.

Maar as ongereeldhede, swak bloed en verstopping, tesame met die bygaande hoofpyne en senuwee-ongesteldhede, haar senuwees ontstel en haar ongelukkig maak, sal sy baie te kort skiet van sy gekoesterde hoop en verwagting.



Ons wil die Feluna boodskap by die huise waar vrouens ly instuur. Feluna is spesiaal vir hulle opge- maak. Pyne, bloedarmoede, neerslagtigheid, prikkelbaarheid, uirputting, hoofpyn, almal direk aan funksionele ongereeldheid en swak bloed toe te skrywe, word baie gou verbeter deur die Feluna behandeling.

'n Feluna vrou is 'n gelukkige vrou. Sy geniet Feluna gesondheid. As sy weet *hoe* om 'n suksesvolle eggenote te wees, *sal Feluna haar een maak*.

Feluna Pille is te koop teen 3/3 per botteltjie. Proefgrootte, 1/9. Of regstreeks van *Posbus 731, Kaapstad*, op ontvangs van die bedrag.

FELUNA PILLE *vir*
vir vrouens alleen
VIR BETER GESONDHEID EN GELUK

Figure 2.4: *Die Huisvrou*, (XVI), (873), 17 Januarie, 1939, p.2.

MAER, SIEKLIK, VERMOEID, SENUWEEAGTIG



Hoe MINERALE en VOEDSEL-JOOD Uitgeputte Bleek, Sieklike Mense Verander in Sterk Rooibloed Manhaftige Mans en Vrouens.

Duisende maer, swak, uitgeputte, ofgetobde mans en vrouens wat sensuweeagtig en permanent verouder is, besef noulikers dat hulle vernaamste moelikeid dikwels toe te skrywe is aan **KLIERE WAT 'N TEKORT AAN MINERALE EN VOEDSEL-JOOD HET.** Wanneer hierdie kliere, vernaamlik die skilbiede en ander klein versteekte klierejies wat inderdaad die liggaam gewig en sterkte beheer, gebrek het aan minerale en natuurlike voedsel-jood (wat nie met chemiese joodhoudende samestellinge verwar moet word nie, wat dikwels giftig of bloot joodloos is) selfs kos wat ryk is aan vet, en stysel kan nie gesondheid, krag en energie produseer nie. Dit is waarom maer, uitgeputte, moeg mans en vrouens dikwels so baie eet, en tog doen hulle kos wat hulle eet hulle geen goed nie. Net maar wanneer die gestel 'n genoegsame voorraad van hierdie 12 essensies, die liggaam **MINERALE** plus **VOEDSEL-JOOD** kry, kan 'n mens se metabolisme reugleer—die liggaam se proses van verteerde voedsel in stewige vlees om te sit en nuwe gesondheid, sterkte en energie te verskaf.

Met „Vikelp” Tabletjies, 'n minerale-konsentraat wat berei word van 'n reus plant, 90 voet hoog uit die Stille see, word erken as die werld se rykste bron van die 12 minerale: natrium, yster, kalcium, fosfor, mangaan, ens., wat belangrik is vir die liggaam, plus **VOEDSEL-JOOD** kan u seker wees van die nodige rantsoen van hierdie kostelike bestanddele, wat so treurig gebrek by die alledaagse gekookte kos wat ons eet. Dit beteken 1300 maal meer **JOOD** as oesters—wat voorheen die beste joodbron was. „Vikelp” tabletjies gemeng met u kos, sal u goed doen. Hulle stimuleer die kliere wat die sappe produseer wat vir u in staat stel om al die goedheid uit vette en stysel, die gewiggewende voedsels te trek. Met behoorlike assimilering van voedsel, bou u nuwe gesondheid, sterkte, vermoë en sensuweekrag, verban u moegheid en doen aan stewige blywende vlees. Nie alleen word u liggaam verjong nie, maar gebreke soos metabolisme, hardlywigheid, maagontsteking, kropgewasse, reumatiek, en ander siektes van die gestel word reggemak en verdwyn heeltemal sonder die gebruik van medisyne.

Koop „Vikelp” Tabletjies vandag en as u nadat u hulle tien dae gebruik het, nie wonderlik voel, beter eet, slaap beter, en nie ten minste 5 pond swaarder geword het (20-40 pond per maand is nie ongewoon nie) **IS DIE PAKKIE NEMING GRATIS.** As u handelaar u nomine kan voorsien, betaal u nie meer as 5/9 vir 'n pakkie van 100 tabletjies (4.5 maal soveel as gewone tabletjies), of 11/- vir die gewone, voorkeuse grootte van 225 tabletjies, regstreeks aan Hill en Murray (Pretoria) Bpk., Afd. D/6/2, Pritchardstraat 23, Johannesburg.

VIKELP
Merk
Liggaam-opbouende Tablette

Figure 2.5: *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (735), 26 Mei 1936, p.10.



Gesondheidsprobleme

Wil u Gewig Verloor?

Deur Dr. X

EN van die lesersse skrywe onlangs dat hoewel sy nog maar 23 jaar oud is, neem sy in die laaste tyd vinnig in gewig toe. Dit kwel haar dat sy so vet is. Die oorgewig veroorsaak nie slegs ongerief nie, maar maak ook nie 'n mooi vertoning nie. Sy wil graag weet wat om te doen.

As die lesers net kan agterkom wat die oorsaak is van die skielike toename in gewig, kan sy dit met alle erns beveg. Sy kan dan die oorsaak probeer verwyder.

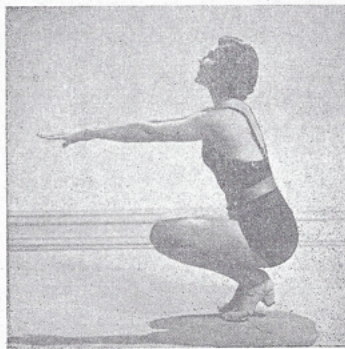
In geval sy nie slegs vet word nie, maar ook siek voel, behoort sy haar huisdokter te raadpleeg. Dit kan wees dat die buislose kliere van haar liggaam wat as reguleerders van die stofwisseling dien, nie goed genoeg funksioneer nie. Maar aan die ander kant kan die abnormale vet aan teken dat as 'n mens dieselfde gewig dis net die gewig wat aangetoon het so iets soos verkeerde diëet toeskrywe word. Die pasiënt sekere proefnemings doen en uitvind of die fout by haar diëet lê.

Twee dames A en B kan hier as 'n goeie voorbeeld dien. Al twee is nog jonk, maar ag, so ongemaklik vet. A het 'n onversadigbare eetlus; sy kry nooit genoeg aan die eettafel nie, maar soek gedurig na allerhande lekkernye soos sjokolade en koek om tussen maaltye te versind. B wat aan net soveel oorgewig ly, eet matig, byna te min.

„Sien julle,” hoor ek A vir maats van haar sê, „dit kan tog nie kos wees wat my so vet maak nie! Kyk net vir B. Kyk hoe lyk sy, niks beter as ek nie en sy kom byna om van die honger.”

Ten spyte van hierdie feit het A haar uiteindelik deur haar geneesheer laat oorhaal om haar diëet te bestudeer. Styselkosse soos brood, koek, aartappels, rys, en veral ook suiker en vet het toe 'n klein deeltjie van haar diëet uitgemaak. Groente en vrugte kon sy volop geniet. Haar vriendin B het dieselfde diëet geprobeer, maar hoewel A binne 'n paar maande heelwat van haar abnormale gewig kwytgeraak het, het B geen enkele pond in gewig afgeval nie. By B was dit klaarblyklik nie diëet nie, maar wel kliere wat nie ordentlik wou funksioneer nie.

Hierdie buislose kliere reguleer die opbou- en afbreekprosesse, naamlik die stofwisseling van die liggaam. Die liggaamselle word mos gedurig afgebreek en weer opgebou. Dit behou, dan balanseer hierdie twee dat hulle nie sioneer nie. Net so vinnig soos sioneer nie.



Oefening is nodig om 'n slanke postuur te behou.

selle afbreek, word ander weer opgebou. Maar word jy vet, dan is die opbouproses sterker as die ander een, en word jy weer maer, is dit net omgekeerd.

Hierdie kliere werk op die volgende manier: hulle vervaardig en skei sekere stowwe in die bloed af, stowwe wat as hormone bekend is. Net aan die betekenis van die woord, hormone, is dit al duidelik dat hulle wonderlike veranderinge in die liggaam moet teweeg bring. Hormone —van die Griekse woord afgelei, beteken, „Ek wek op” of „Ek bring in beweging.”

Dis hierdie deel van B se masjinerie wat uit orde was. In haar geval het dit haar nie siek laat voel nie; dis net die gewig wat aangetoon het dat haar kliere nie behoorlik funksioneer nie. Met 'n gesonde lewenswyse, genoeg oefening en ander belangrike gesondheidsreëls kan so 'n persoon dikwels weer haar kliere in orde bring. Maar tog is daar ook baie gevalle wat so hardnekkig is dat mediese hulp nodig is. Die pasiënt moet tog baie versigtig wees om nie sommer blindelings haar toevlug tot allerhande soorte geadverteerde middels te neem nie. Hoe weet sy of hulle nie skadelike bestanddele bevat en op die ou end nadelig op haar gesondheid sal inwerk nie? Dit het tog al dikwels gebeur.

Om nou terug te kom na die tipe persoon by wie die oorgewig aan 'n verkeerde (Vervolg op bladsy 19.)

Figure 2.6: *Die Huisvrou*, (XXIII), (1222), 23 Oktober 1945, p.17.

Chapter 3

'N WEEKBLAD VIR MOEDERS EN DOGTERS

DIE HUISVROU

DEEL XV. No. 833. DINSDAG, 12 APRIL, 1938. Prys: DRIE PENNIES.

CYRIL EN CUTHBERT ONS EERLIKE FOTOCRAWWE

(Op die Strand)

AFNEMERS kan nie lieg nie. Sy is op die punt om 'n koue skok te kry . . . en 'n koele genot met daardie C to C.



U/C.71

“C TO C”
SIGARETTE VAN KWALITEIT

Figure 3.1: *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (833), 12 April 1989, cover page.



(1) Mnr. en mev. J. Liebenberg met hulle 8 kinders. Ingestuur deur mev. F. J. Moolman, Wardenstraat, Harrismith. (2) Mejj. Cora, Lettie, Charlotte en Kitty Swanepoel. Ingestuur deur mej. C. E. Swanepoel. (3) Mev. J. Marais en haar dogtertjie, Paardeplaas, P.K. Belfast. Ingestuur deur mev. J. Smit. (Dit gebeur maar weinig dat 'n mens in ons dae sulke pragtige lang hare sien.) (4) Kobie de Wet, seuntjie van mnr. en mev. F. de Wet, Sandland, Friersdale. (5) Mnr. en mev. P. A. Eloff met hulle tien kinders wat nog lewe, een is reeds dood. Ingestuur deur mev. Eloff,

Figure 3.2: *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (354), 5 Februarie 1929, p.22.



BAIE van my leseresse sal miskien verbaas wees oor hierdie opskrif, want ek weet goed dat daar baie mense is wat nooit hierdie saak die minste gedagte gee nie, en tog is dit van groot belang.

Selfs die mense wat weet hoe om hulle liggaam te hou wanneer hulle loop, en ook weet hoe om op die regte manier te staan, is geneig om sorgeloos te wees in die manier waarop hulle sit, en dit is tog so lelik om 'n meisie te sien sit met haar bene en voete voor haar uitgestrek, of met gekruisde bene.

Op hierdie bladsy sien u 'n paar sketse van die regte en verkeerde manier om te sit, en as u die regte manier volg, sal u altyd op u gemak voel.

Dit is veral noodsaaklik om gedurende u ledige ure of in 'n geselskap behoorlik te sit, en ons eerste prentjie wys vir u twee van die mees algemene maniere van sit, en ek hoef byna nie te sê hoe lelik dit lyk nie, en as u in die gewoonte was om so te sit, sal u miskien verbaas wees—nou dat u die manier in die prentjie sien—hoe lelik dit was.

Om vooroor te leun met die elmboë op die knieë en met die tone na mekaar toe, of om uitgestrek op die ruggraat te lê met die bene uitgestrek, is heeltemal verkeerd. Die regte manier is om diep in die stoel te sit, sodat die rug teen

HOE SIT U ?

die leuning van die stoel rus, met die voete oormekaar—nie die bene nie, net maar die voete, sodat die een so effens voor die ander een is, terwyl die arms op die leunings van die stoel rus, en as dit nie 'n leuningstoel is nie, dan die hande op die skoot rus.

Wanneer gesit en skrywe word, is nog 'n tyd wanneer die regte houding noodsaaklik is. Om met beide die arms op die tafel te leun met die papier in so 'n posisie dat die skryfster haar skouers half moet verdraai om nie in haar eie lig te wees nie, is verkeerd en baie nadelig vir die oë, en veroorsaak ook pyn in die rug.



Die skets wys vir u die regte manier, met die lig aan die linkerkant van die skryfster, die elmboë laag en die papier reg voor haar. Hierdie posisie is nie alleen meer gerieflik nie, maar u sal vir 'n baie langer tyd kan skrywe sonder enige uitputting, maar dit lyk ook soveel mooier.

Maaltye is ook 'n toetstyd. Om met die elmboë weg van die lyf af te sit in plaas van hulle so styf as moontlik en gerieflik is teen die lyf te hou, en vooroor te leun, is baie lelik. Die regte manier is om regop te sit met die elmboë mooi teen die tlyf gehou—nie styf vasgedruk nie, maar net mooi gerieflik, met die elmboë



dieselfde hoogte as die tafel, is die regte houding.

En die laaste prentjie wys vir u hoe u moet sit op 'n stoel met 'n regop leuning. Vergelyk dit met die ander skets waar die meisie op die kant van die stoel sit, sodat net die skouers bo teen die leuning raak, terwyl die bene voor haar uitgestrek is.

Dit is 'n uiters ongemaklike manier en as u lank so moet sit, sal u gou spelde en naalde deur u liggaam voel, om nie eers te praat van hoe seer die rug word nie.



As u die twee houdings vergelyk, sal u self kan besluit welke een nie net maar die mooiste is nie, maar ook die gemaklikste.

Figure 3.3: *Die Huisvrou*, (XIII), (644), 28 Augustus 1934, p.17.

Bladsy 16 DIE HUISVROU. 12 April, 1938.

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Figure 3.4: *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (833), 12 April 1938, p.16.



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As trougeskenk gee **HOM** en **HAAR**
—'n "GOOD HOPE LEVER" horlosie,
ons het 'n groot verskeidenheid vir
dames en mans

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DIE VERNAAMSTE JEWELIERS

GROOTEKERK GEBOU,—ADDERLEYSTRAAT,—KAAPSTAD

Figure 3.5: *Die Huisvrou*, (XXII), (1100), 1 Junie 1943, p.ii.



Figure 3.6: "Mode-brief," *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (332), 4 September 1928, p.3.



Figure 3.7: *Die Huisvrou*, (XVII), (926), 23 Januarie 1940, cover page.

Chapter 4



Figure 4.1: *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (347), 18 December 1928, p.14.

WIL U 'N HUIS BOU ?

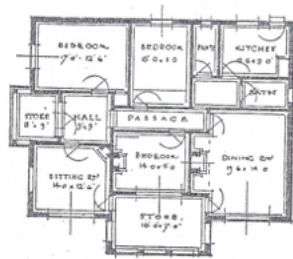
DIE HUISVROU SAL VIR U HULP.

In die laaste tyd het ek dikwels briewe gekry van lesersesse, om vir hulle te help met planne van klein goedkoop huise. En na veel soek het dit my geluk om 'n reeks van planne van heeltemal moderne huise te kry, van drie of vier of ses kamers, wat ek van tyd tot tyd in "Die Huisvrou" sal publiseer.

Daardie planne is die werk van 'n argitek, wie se naam en adres ek graag sal laat kry vir lesersesse wat vir hom wil konsulteer oor die planne en verder besonderhede.



FRONT ELEVATION



FLOOR PLAN

DRY, 2222.

Die eerste versoek wat ek gekry het, was omtrent 'n huis met drie slaapkamers en 'n eetkamer en 'n sitkamer. Ons sal dus daarmee begin.

Die skets wat ek gee is 'n aantreklike ontwerp, en die plan daarvan is mooi. Die nuwe idee om rooi bakstene te verenig met wit mure, kan daarin uitgevoer word met die stoepboë en pilare en skoorstene, wat van ongepleisterde rooi bakstene kan wees,

terwyl die huis verder heeltemal wit kan wees van buite.

Rooi teëls vir die dak, of sinkplate groen geskilder, met groen houtwerk, sal mooi lyk.

Maar vir 'n teël-dak en rooi bakstene, sou ek donker carbolineum "stain" aanbeveel vir die houtwerk.

Die vensters is van die lang "casement" soort wat buitekant toe oopgaan; en hulle kan rooi teël vensterbanke hê met dieselfde soort teëls vir die top van die muur van die stoep.

Die bekoorlikheid van hierdie huis is dat dit 'n groot ruim stoep het, waarop twee van die gewone kamers en een slaapkamer uitgaan. En dit is aan die eenkant van die huis, sodat dit privaatheid het wat 'n gewone front stoep nie het nie. En as die stoep 'n rooi "granolithic" vloer het, en sonblindings om die son en reent en wind af te keer, kan dit ook gebruik word vir 'n slaap-plek in die somer, wat 'n baie gerieflike iets is in ons warm klimaat.

Die voordeur gaan uit op 'n klein portaal-stoep. En die groot privaatheid wat die klein vierkant gang gee, is die bietjie meer geld meer as werd.

Die oopgaan van die voordeur in 'n "lounge" sitkamer is 'n bepaling van tweede klas argitekte, en dit neem alle gerief en privaatheid weg, veral waar daar kinders in die huis is.

As u 'n huis bou, moet u veral sorgdra vir die vloere en die mure. Plankvloere is moeilik om netjies te hou, en het baie "stain" en polys nodig. Hardehout (hardwood) vloere—pynboomhout of eikehout—vir die beste kamers, is die bietjie ekstra kotse werd. En die nuwe "composition rubber" vloermatte (waarvan die malthoed soort, wat u kan kry by Thesen & Ko., 30 Riebeeckstraat, Kaapstad, een van die beste en goedkoopste is), kan u gebruik vir die kombuis en spens en gange en slaapkamers. Dit is veel goedkoper as linoleum, en dit kan pragtig gepolys word. Dit maak ook die geraas minder in die huis, wat 'n groot konsiderasie is waar daar kinders is.

Die ruimte wat gelaat word vir die badkamer, kan in die helfte verdeel word, om 'n klein kamertjie te gee, vir rakke en kassies.

Figure 4.2: *Die Huisvrou*, (XVI), (887), 24 April 1939, cover page.

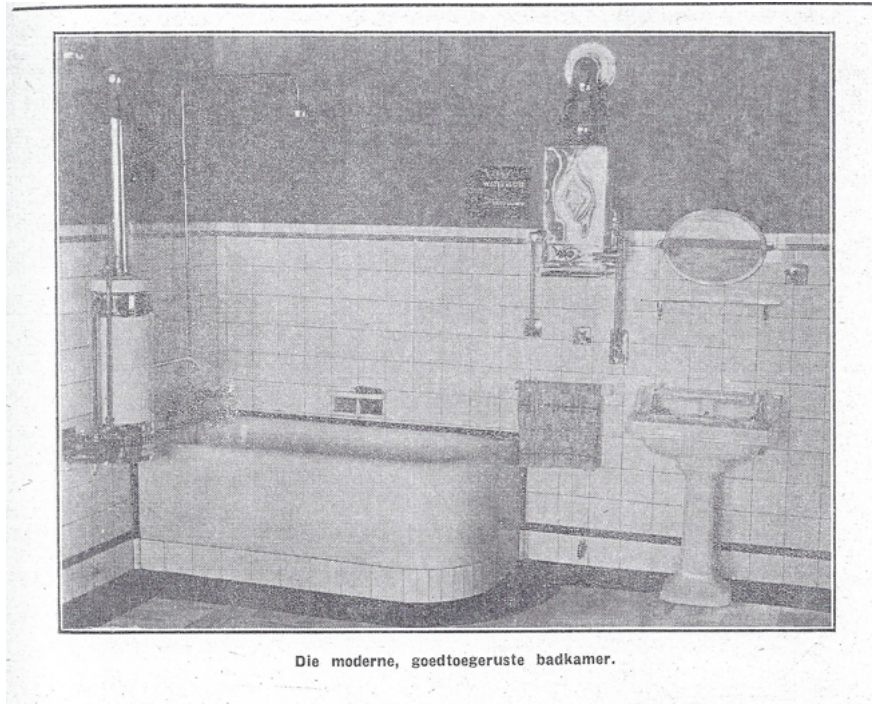


Figure 4.3: *Die Huisvrou*, (XIV), (691), 23 Julie 1935, p.7.

Chapter 5

Bladsy 12 DIE HUISVROU. 29 September, 1936.

**PER SLOT VAN REKENING WAS
DIT DAREM NIE "JIM" SE SKULD NIE!**

MOEDER, MY JONG' WORD SO LUI, KYK NET HOE LYK DIE VLOERE. HY MOES HULLE KAMMA AL EER-GISTER BLINK GEMAAK HET.

MISKIEN LÉ DIE FOUT BY DIE POLITOER, WAAR-OM LAAT JY HOM NIE BOK GEBRUIK NIE

DINK MOEDER, DIT SAL HELP?

HELP? DIT SAL DIE WERELD SE VERSKIL MAAK. DIE GLANS DUUR BAIE LANGER!

REGTIG?

JA, AS VLOERE EERS EENMAAL MET BOK BLINK GEMAAK IS, IS SLEGS 'N LIGTE VRYFIE 'N LIGTE VRYFIE 'N LIGTE VRYFIE 'N WEEK LATER DIE OORSPRONKLIKE GLANS TERUGTE BRING.

TWEWEKE LATER

DIT LYK DAREM OF "JIM" VANDOGGEND 'N BIETJIE EKSTRA TYD AAN DIE VLOERE BESTEE HET

NEE, HULLE IS DRIE DAE GELEDE OPGEVRYE. VANDAT MOEDER MY VAN BOK VERTEL HET BLY MY VLOERE BLINK. NOU IS DAAR NIE SOIETS AS DOWIE VLOERE IN DIE MIDDEL VAN DIE WEEK NIE...

MNR. BOK EN 'SY PLESTERIGE VRIENDE M.E.A.

Mnr. Bok: „U het die kiem van 'n idee daar mev. Krok.“

Mev. Krok: „En dit is die enigste kiem in die huis mnr. Bok—danky u goeie antiseptiese politoer.“

ANTISEPTIC POLISH

FOR CLEANING & POLISHING
FLOORS, LINOLEUM
FURNITURE
AND ALL
AUTOMOBILES

BOEPPOLITOER SEER VEEL

'N BLINK EN GESONDE
HUIS IN ELKE BLIK

BOK

DIE ANTISEPTIESE
POLITOER

VIR VLOERE EN MEUBELS

1868-1

Figure 5.1: *Die Huisvrou*, (XV), (751), 29 September 1936, p.12.

Vir Tennis en Baai

E52. Hier is 'n bekoorlike tabberd sonder nate wat 'n uiters handige vakansietabberd maak. Dit is baie maklik om aan te trek oor 'n baai-kostuum.

Byna enigeen kan dit self maak want die twee stukke waaruit die

D55. Dis nou net weer tennis waar 'n mens kyk en hierdie tabberd sal seker sy draagster tuis en goedgekleed laat voel. Dit is van die reguit skaduwee soort en tog het dit die nodige ruimte vir ongehinderde beweging. Die wydte om die bors is bekoorlik en die lyfie het 'n plooi aan weerskante agter.

Enige materiaal wat goed sal was en stryk is geskik vir hierdie tabberd, maar dit moet egter nie te dun en deurskynend wees nie. U sal sowat 3 jaarts materiaal nodig hê om dit van te maak en die patroon is verkrygbaar in 34, 36, 38 en 40 duim borsmaat vir 1/6 elk.



E53

E53. Die nuutste gril is sontabberds maar sommige van hulle is so uitpattig dat die meeste van ons hulle nie wil dra nie. Hier egter is een wat aan dieselfde doel beantwoord sonder om walglik te wees, want die klein baadjie daarby maak dit anders as die gewone sontabberd.

Die halsopening is vierkantig, baie laag agter die rug en taamlik hoog voor. Die romp het ingevoude plooië voor en agter. Dit word afgewerk met gepunte lint versierde sakkies. Die klein baadjie wat oop is van voor, word aan weerskante van die lyfie vasgeknop en het kort moultjies.

Geskikte materiale is linne, katoen met 'n linne afwerking, sy, kreton, en soortgelyke materiale waarvan u sowat 3½ tot 4 jaarts sal nodig hê.

Die patroon is verkrygbaar in 32, 34, 36 en 38 duim borsmaat vir 1/6 elk.



E52

tabberd bestaan, word op die skouers vasgeknop en ook by die heupe en die punte van die belt word vasgeryg met 'n lint of koor.

Daar is 'n groot verskeidenheid van materiale waarvan die tabberd kan gemaak word soos gingham, marokyn, shantung en soortgelyke materiale waarvan u sowat 3 jaarts sal nodig hê. Die patroon is verkrygbaar in 32, 34, en 36 duim borsmaat vir 1/6 elk.



D55

Figure 5.2: *Die Huisvrou*, (XVI), (860), 18 Oktober 1938, p.19.

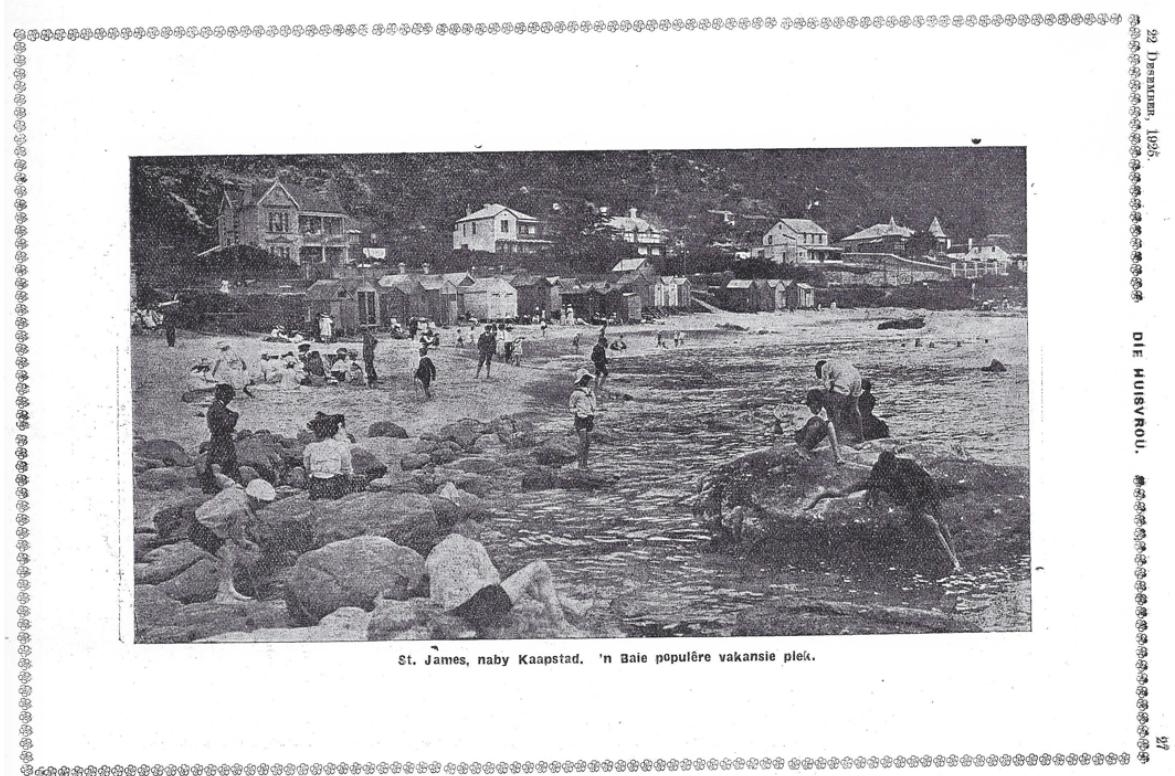


Figure 5.3: *Die Huisvrou*, (IV), (191), 22 Desember 1925, p.27

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Skrywe om terme aan die eienares.

MEV. GALLAGHER, DIE STRAND, K.P.

BESOEKERS AAN DIE KAAP.

Moet skrywe aan **PARK SMITH.**

Komissie en Huis Agent.

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Vir Gratis Geïllustreerde Handboekies.

SEA VIEW LOSIESHUIS.

Reg op die Strand.

Vir losies en goeie behandeling teen billike pryse.

Skrywe om terme aan die eienares.

MEV. JOEY VILJOEN, DIE STRAND, K.P.

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Figure 5.4: *Die Huisvrou*, (VII), (333), 11 September 1928, p.17.

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