

Cheers! Selling Health and Happiness: Advertising
Alcohol in New Zealand, c.1900-1945

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Abstract

At the turn of the 20th century New Zealand's newspapers were filled with advertising material offering information on a wide variety of products. Among these advertisements were those for alcoholic drinks, a commodity which the advertisements claimed to have multiple benefits, including those of a restorative and curative nature. This thesis will examine how two groups of products, alcoholic beverages claiming medicinal value, and patent medicines containing alcohol, were advertised in selected New Zealand newspapers and magazines during the years 1900-1945.

The advertising of these two groups was, in many ways, similar. Both used evocative text and images, with the images changing from drawn illustrations to photographs, and both targeted groups, linking these to specific drinks. For example, tonic wine advertising was aimed at women suffering from psychological distress, while beer and spirit advertisements targeted men and sporting codes, and patent medicine advertisements were designed to attract mothers and those suffering from respiratory illnesses. While both alcohol and patent medicines were subject to legislation this was not always effective. The Quackery Act 1908, which should have impacted on both alcohol and patent medicine advertising had no effect on either group. Patent medicine advertisers however, responded to the Physical Welfare Recreation Act 1937, and the Social Welfare Act 1938 with images of active, healthy children. The Medical Advertisements Act 1942 impacted immediately on alcohol advertising, but was not as successful with patent medicines.

Both groups had significant changes affecting their advertising. For example, patent medicine advertising was dramatically altered by the discovery of vitamins. This, to a large extent, moved the impetus of many of these advertisements from illness to health. Two factors influenced alcohol advertising: the first being Prohibition Referenda which saw the emergence of advertising focused on placing alcohol in the household medicine chest. This highlighted the use of alcohol as a commodity commonly used in the home for medical and other emergencies and these advertisements informed readers of what could be lost if prohibition were passed. The second, and most significant change came about with the Medical Advertisements Act 1942 when any mention of cure or relief became unlawful.

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Abbreviations

<i>AH&COG</i>	<i>Alexander Herald & Central Otago Gazette</i>
<i>BOPT</i>	<i>Bay of Plenty Times</i>
<i>CA</i>	<i>Cromwell Argus</i>
<i>EG</i>	<i>Ellesmere Guardian</i>
<i>EP</i>	<i>Evening Post</i>
<i>F&SG</i>	<i>The Fishing & Shooting Gazette New Zealand</i>
<i>GRA</i>	<i>Grey River Argus</i>
<i>KT</i>	<i>Kai Tiaki</i>
<i>LM</i>	<i>Ladies' Mirror</i>
<i>MW</i>	<i>Maoriland Worker</i>
<i>NE</i>	<i>Nelson Examiner & New Zealand Chronicle</i>
<i>NZH</i>	<i>New Zealand Herald</i>
<i>NZH&AG</i>	<i>New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette</i>
<i>NZJH</i>	<i>New Zealand Journal of History</i>
<i>NZGI</i>	<i>New Zealand Golf Illustrated</i>
<i>NZOYB</i>	<i>New Zealand Official Year Book</i>
<i>NZ Tab</i>	<i>New Zealand Tablet</i>
<i>NZ Times</i>	<i>New Zealand Times</i>
<i>NZT</i>	<i>New Zealand Truth</i>
<i>NZWW</i>	<i>New Zealand Woman's Weekly</i>
<i>ODT</i>	<i>Otago Daily Times</i>
<i>Press</i>	<i>The Press</i>
<i>QM</i>	<i>Quick March</i>
<i>R&OT,W&KG</i>	<i>Rodney and Otamatea Times, Waitemata and Kaipara Gazette.</i>
<i>TH</i>	<i>Taranaki Herald</i>
<i>WCTU</i>	<i>Women's Christian Temperance Union</i>

Notes on Sources and Conventions

In some instances, in this thesis, product names have been shortened as below.

Alcohol	Refers to alcohol claiming medicinal effects (unless otherwise stated)
Aspro	Aspro, Aspirin, Acetylsalicylic Acid
Ayer's	Ayer's Cherry Pectoral
Baxter's	Baxter's Lung Preserver
Boomerang	Boomerang Brandy
Bonnington's	Bonnington's Irish Moss
Bostona	Bostona Tonic Wine
Chamberlain's	Chamberlain's Cough Remedy
Congreve's	Congreve's Elixir
D.C.L.	D.C.L. Whisky
Gilbey's	Gilbey's Dry Gin, Gilbey's Gin
Hall's	Hall's Wine
Hearn's	Hearn's Bronchitis Cure
Hennessy's	Hennessy's Brandy
J.D.K.Z.	J.D.K.Z. Gin
Lane's	Lane's Emulsion
Patent medicines	Refers to patent medicines containing alcohol (unless otherwise stated)
Serravallo's	Serravallo's Tonic Bark and Iron Wine
Wood's	Wood's Great Peppermint Cure
Woodward's	Woodward's "Gripe Water"

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Introduction

‘A great deal of advertising sustains, nourishes or inspires a train of fantasy.’¹

John Cohen’s “train of fantasy” articulates a train that many have run to catch for as long as advertising has existed. Advertising delivers much to its audience: information on available goods and services, price, benefits claimed by those with previous experience of the good/service and, most importantly, what the product has to offer an individual. In this thesis the world of advertising has been narrowed to focus on a specific place and time: New Zealand, 1900 to 1945, and the products under study are alcoholic beverages specifically promoted as offering medicinal benefits, and patent medicines containing alcohol.

On 1 January 1900, the *Press* ran an advertisement for Fletcher, Humphrey’s & Co., Wine, Spirit and Cider Merchants, importers of Cigars and Cigarettes and Indian and Ceylon Teas.² This advertisement demonstrates the ambiguous nature of alcohol in 1900: it was commonplace, openly advertised, and sold alongside cigarettes, billiard tables and coffee essence. Alcohol was, and was advertised as, an ordinary commodity, a part of everyday life. However, this ordinary commodity had a feature which was not typical in cigarette or coffee essence advertising. Alcohol was not only recognised and promoted for celebration and relaxation, it was also advertised as a stimulant, antiseptic and analgesic. It was recognised as an agent beneficial for health and was used for illnesses such as rheumatic and respiratory complaints. Wollerman & Co., Wine, Spirit & General Merchants of Wellington, also advertised at the start of the new century and much of their advertisement was aimed at alcohol with medicinal benefits. They advertised, for example, Doctors Special “The Only Medicinal Whisky in the Market”, Invalid Port “Specially bottled and laid down for invalids”, Eggnog Cognac “A liquid food for persons in feeble health” and Quinine Wine “A Preventative for Influenza &c” - the language used in this advertisement indicates that alcohol was widely used as a medicinal product.⁴ And alcohol was also a significant ingredient in patent medicines: Lanes Emulsion contained 7% alcohol, Ayer’s Cherry Pectoral 44% and Congreve’s Elixir 43.8%. Early in the 20th Century, these preparations

¹ J. Cohen ‘Psychology and Philosophy in Advertising’, in A. Wilson *Advertising and the Community*, Manchester, Manchester University Press 1968. pp. 2-14., p. 12.

² Advertisement - Fletcher, Humphrey’s & Co., *Press*, 1 January 1900, p. 7.

⁴ Advertisement - Wollerman & Co., *EP*, 20 February 1900, p. 3.

claimed relief from respiratory illnesses in phrases such as: “Preventing Consumption” and “...an ideal Medicine for Bronchial and Lung Complaints”.⁵

To build a product’s name and attract sales, were frequently used and institutions, such as hospitals and medical publications, as well as professional groups and dignitaries, were employed to increase product reputation. What was on sale was hope. Anticipation and optimism secured potential buyers as advertisements displayed pictures of healthy men, women and children living in ideal conditions or, conversely, acutely distressed people looking for respite from symptoms and disease. Information regarding content and possible side-effects may have been unavailable and actual facts given about a product were minimal.

This study will examine how the advertising of alcoholic beverages and patent medicines altered during the years 1900-1945. The four decades to the end of the Second World War were years of dramatic economic and social change and this was reflected in patterns of consumption as well as production. There is little material available specifically addressing the advertising of alcohol and patent medicines in New Zealand, although Ian Grant notes that both were frequently advertised in early New Zealand newspapers.⁸

Much of the literature examining alcohol in New Zealand deals with the iniquities of the trade or, with prohibition and control. Conrad Bollinger’s *Grog’s Own Country*, covering New Zealand’s liquor licensing system and the legislation controlling the liquor industry, describes how the industry adapted and worked within licensing and legislative constraints.¹² Describing battles between prohibitionists and the liquor industry, he outlines the long, bitter fight to remove 6 o’clock closing and focuses on the behaviour of the liquor industry and the anti-drink brigade and, he argues, they each co-opted the cause for their own benefit. Paul Christoffell’s thesis ‘Removing Temptation: New Zealand’s Alcohol Restrictions, 1881-2005’, discusses the history of alcohol legislation and in a 2008 NZJH article, he details the ever-present trifecta surrounding New Zealand’s alcohol debate - legislation, temperance and the liquor trade, and puts forward the premise that controlling the availability of alcohol by legislation, would curb harm. Sue Upton’s - *Wanted a Beautiful Barmaid* also addresses legislation affecting the liquor industry.¹³ Jock Phillips’s - *A Man’s Country*, locates alcohol

⁵ Advertisements – Ayer’s Cherry Pectoral, *ODT*, 7 May 1900. P. 7., Congreve’s Elixir, *ODT*, 22 September 1914, p. 9.

⁸ I. Grant, *Lasting Impressions*, Masterton, Fraser Books, 2018, p. 16.

¹² C. Bollinger, *Grog’s own Country*, 2nd revised edition, Auckland, Minerva Press, 1967.

¹³ S. Upton, *Wanted, a Beautiful Barmaid: Women Behind the Bar in New Zealand, 1830-1976*, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2013.

consumption, often to excess, as fundamental to New Zealand masculinities and refers to the trajectory of male drinking from the pioneering days through to 6 o'clock closing and beyond.¹⁴

Greg Ryan writes that the scholarship of alcohol in New Zealand must encompass wider horizons.¹⁵ His two articles, "The Tornado that circles the Liquor Question: New Zealand's Anti Prohibition Arguments and Strategies, c.1890-1930", and "Drink and the Historians: Sober Reflections on Alcohol in New Zealand 1840-1941", examine arguments about the introduction of prohibition in New Zealand and how this period has been presented by historians. He identifies a lack of scholarship regarding the attitudes and beliefs of those working against prohibition and challenges the existing historiography, stating 'The Tornado' is "a brief excursion to highlight the need for a more balanced historiography of prohibition that gives voice to the critics and conveys a sense of ongoing debate"¹⁶ He further argues in 'Drink and the Historians', that "Future work must set drinking in its broader contemporary cultural context, examine the arguments of its proponents and scrutinize the rhetoric of its critics", and that, "To determine the impact of alcohol on New Zealand society we need to distinguish between those who drank to excess, those who drank in calm moderation, those who abstained quietly and those who abstained noisily".¹⁷ This thesis will explore other aspects of alcohol use in New Zealand: alcohol in patent medicines and alcoholic beverage advertisements claiming relief from a variety of ailments.

The history of advertising in New Zealand is less well-served. While no scholarly articles could be found, publications such as Claire Robinson's *Promises Promises*, and Peter Alsop and Gary Stewart's book *Promoting Prosperity: The Art of Early New Zealand Advertising*, provided a good background by presenting vivid illustrations of political and advertising artwork. Charlotte Macdonald's *Strong, Beautiful and Modern* provided information on the Physical Welfare and Fitness Act 1937 and the impact this had on advertising.

Geoffrey Rice's *Black November* was a valuable resource for information on the 1918 Influenza Pandemic, this work showed the use of brandy as a home remedy and one used by doctors, and on the use and availability of Aspirin during the 1918 Pandemic. Claire Le

¹⁴ J. Phillips, *A Man's Country?* New Zealand, Penguin, 1987.

¹⁵ G. Ryan, 'Drink and the Historians: Sober Reflections on Alcohol in New Zealand 1840-1941', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 44, Issue 1, 2010. pp. 35-52, p.9 49.

¹⁶ G. Ryan, 'The Tornado that circles the liquor question: New Zealand anti-prohibition arguments and strategies c1890-1930', *Drugs, Education, Prevention and Policy*, Vol. 22, Issue 1, 2015. pp. .96-97.

¹⁷ G. Ryan, 'A Drink and the Historians', p. 49 and 35.

Couteur's *Pills & Potions at the Cotter Medical History Trust*, provided information on many patent medicines available in New Zealand for the period under review.¹⁸

Material on advertising arises primarily from the United States of America, with a smaller output from the United Kingdom. Work by Robert Goldman, Thora Hands, William Leiss, Stephen Kline and Sut Jhally, Karin Albrecht, Roland Marchand, and Daniel Pope provided useful comments and insights on the history of alcohol advertising. The total of these books, theses and articles, have provided rich material for research.¹⁹

The bulk of the research for this study was accomplished by accessing the National Library's digitised newspaper and magazine website *Papers Past*, without which it would have been extremely difficult to retrieve the advertisements examined. The advertisements were selected from New Zealand newspapers and magazines: fifteen newspapers were chosen from both islands covering metropolitan, provincial and rural areas. Most were published daily; others weekly, and two were printed two or three times a week.²⁰ From each group, two newspapers were selected to ensure an even sampling. However, due to the short-lived nature of early South Island papers, it was not possible to find two examples of provincial papers covering the entire period under examination. The *North Canterbury Gazette* (1932-1939) and the *Grey River Argus* (1900-1920), were chosen to cover a period of 39 years as a shortened, amalgamated sampling. It should be noted that not all newspapers selected were digitised for the entire time-period researched for this thesis. A small selection of magazines held at the National Library of New Zealand were also physically accessed as were magazines digitised on *Papers Past*.

While spirits, tonic wines, beer, and ale advertisements have been examined, those for table and sacramental wines were not. This was due to the paucity of advertising for these groups during the period under review. They did however occasionally feature in advertisements for specific brands, small vineyards, hotel bottle stores and in church

¹⁸ See - C. Macdonald, *Strong, Beautiful and Modern*, Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2011., G. Rice, *Black November* 2nd edn., Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 2005., C. Le Couteur, *Pills & Potions at the Cotter Medical History Trust*, Dunedin, Otago University Press, 2014.

¹⁹ See - R. Goldman, *Reading ads socially*, London; New York: Routledge, 1992., T. Hands, *Drinking in Victorian & Edwardian Britain*, Palgrave Macmillan (e-book), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-92964-4>., Leiss, S. Kline and S. Jhally, *Social Communication in Advertising*, 2nd Ed, London, Routledge, 1997., K. Albrecht, *From Cure-alls to Calcium Tablets: A Comparative Semiotic Analysis of Advertisements for 19th and 20th Century Patent Medicines and Contemporary Dietary Supplements*, Msc in Media and Communication, Tennessee, Middle Tennessee State University, 2018., R. Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, California, University of California Press, 1985., D. Pope, *The making of modern advertising*, New York, Basic Books, 1983.

²⁰ For example, *NZT* and *MW*, were published twice weekly, and the *WI* and *BOPT* three times a week.

publications such as *The New Zealand Tablet*.²¹ The disparity in table and sacramental wine advertising numbers in comparison to other alcoholic beverages, reflects the volume of different alcohol types consumed as seen in the following table.

Table 1.

	Beer	Spirits	Wine
	Gal. (4.5 Litres)	Gal. (4.5 Litres)	Gal. (4.5 Litres)
1900	8.696	0.684	0.145
1910	9.294	0.737	0.147
1920	12.159	0.763	0.193
1930	8.251	0.251	0.089
1935*	7.2	0.22	0.17

Volumes of alcohol consumed per head of population 1900-1930 (including Māori)
*1935 figures used as WW2 interrupted accurate figures for 1940.²²

Advertising in New Zealand newspapers followed trends set by overseas publications and some advertisements were sourced from outside New Zealand and motifs used often reflected the origins of such advertisements. For example, Wolfe's Schnapps used images of windmills and Dutch national dress, while whiskies referenced Scotland with images of tartan, thistles and kilts, and Australian brandy was identified by the name *Boomerang* and a map of Australia.²³ While the utilisation of overseas advertising may have simply been a matter of expediency for agencies who imported products into New Zealand, these advertisements had the effect of introducing different cultures into New Zealand. Alcohol advertising promoting health benefits included French and Australian brandies, Scotch whiskies and schnapps from The Netherlands, while some patent medicines such as Ayer's Cherry Pectoral were imported from the USA. Ayer's advertisements named the place of manufacture - Massachusetts, USA, and at times contained references to Ayers being "... the standard remedy all over the world". The world, in this case, being "... Europe, Asia, Africa and America."²⁴

While this trend continued for the period under review, domestic advertisements indicate that New Zealand had a thriving, innovative and confident advertising industry to call

²¹ Advertisements - Corban's Wines, *EP*, 21 June 1928, p. 21., Te Mata Vineyards, *QM*, April 1919, p. 56., Birdwood Vineyards, *NZH*, 20 April 1927, p. 1., Princess Hotel, *EP*, 23 December 1938, p. 1., Meeanee Mission Vineyards, *NZ Tab*, 20 February 1913, p 54., Seven Hills Altar Wine, *NZ Tab*, 19 November 1924, p. 34.

²² Figures extracted from NZOYBs 1900-1935.

²³ Advertisements - Wolfe's Schnapps, *EP*, 13 October 1925, p. 14., Dewar's Scotch Whisky, *Press*, 18 January 1932, p. 14., Boomerang Brand, *EP*, 29 August 1901, p. 2.

²⁴ Advertisements - Ayers Cherry Pectoral, *GRA*, 20 September 1907, p. 1.

on and these attributes are displayed in Alsop and Stewart's book *Promoting Prosperity*. Advertisements for New Zealand brands, such as Lane's Emulsion, MacCarthy's Ale & Stout, Bonnington's Irish Moss and Timaru Table Ale, all point to an industry capable of producing attractive and innovative advertising copy without recourse to overseas sources.²⁶ The use of overseas sourced advertisements therefore, did not suppress the home-grown nature of advertising which depicted and celebrated very specific qualities and customs of New Zealand life.²⁷

However, only two examples were located in the research for this thesis showing Māori images and text in advertisements for alcohol and patent medicines. The two examples found were: Timaru Ale, which did not reference medicinal use but used the word "Haka", plus Bonnington's Irish Moss. In the latter, two Māori men are shown set apart from the action in the advertisement, side-lined from others and therefore, appearing remote from society at large. However, this could have been an attempt by the advertisers to show Bonnington's as a product available in New Zealand for many decades and also one to be associated with modernity by juxtaposing Bonnington's with the 'primitive' imagery of Māori.²⁸

²⁶ Advertisements - Lane's Emulsion, *Press*, 23 May 1917, p. 10., MacCarthy's Ale & Stout, *NZT*, 6 June 1925, p. 12., Bonnington's Irish Moss, *ODT*, 12 April 1938, p. 19., Timaru Table Ale, *BOPT*, 30 March 1933, p. 4.

²⁷ One long running advertising campaign which successfully showed life in New Zealand were the Timaru Ale advertisements running from February 1930 to November 1945. These featured cartoon characters, Tim & Ru who were involved with 26 sporting activities, celebrated Christmas, Easter and Labour Day with family and friends. They danced, picnicking, supported Poppy Day collections and commented on national and international matters such as Daylight Saving, six o'clock closing and the 1935 Abyssinia Crisis.

²⁸ Advertisement -Timaru Ale, *NZH*, 2 January 1935, p. 13.

**The first Coach
to the West Coast**

carried a varied freight seventy years ago—not least was a case of Bonnington's Irish Moss, consigned to a shrewd West Coast trader.



In 1882, on January 10th, W. J. Graham wrote:—

Dear Sirs,
I was troubled for a long time with a bad cough, which I found was becoming chronic. I used your IRISH MOSS, and gave it a fair trial. I am happy to be able to tell you that it quite relieved me, and I recommend it as a certain cure.

M. E. Hadrill, of Hamilton, now writes:—

It gives me pleasure to state that Bonnington's Irish Moss has been used in my family for upwards of 30 years.
I myself, though 70 years of age, still find great relief by taking Bonnington's Irish Moss, and can recommend it to young and old.

Note carefully these two letters—for almost three-quarters of a century has passed between the dates on which they were written. For close on 70 years people have known that nothing is as good as Bonnington's for immediately checking coughs, colds, croup, bronchitis and 'flu. The formula and the careful compounding of Bonnington's has withstood a test that no other bronchial specific in the Dominion can claim. Always keep a large bottle handy in the home.

**BONNINGTON'S
IRISH MOSS**
For Coughs and Colds

1/6 and 2/6 at all Chemists and Stores.
As a family cough remedy, Bonnington's holds first favour—the Adult Dose is 2 teaspoonfuls, while 10 drops is sufficient for Baby.

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Figure 1.
NZT, 3 April 1930, p.13

Why Māori featured so infrequently in alcohol or patent medicine advertising 1900-1945 may have arisen from two origins. Firstly, the attention focused on Māori by the New Zealand Alliance whose campaign included material which 'developed special attention to the

education of the Maoris on the liquor problem'.²⁹ This may have influenced advertisers not wanting to give the Alliance further ammunition to promote prohibition. Alternatively, the lingering effect of Sir Robert Stout's belief that the State needed to be, for Māori, a 'paternal state', and thus Māori needed protecting from alcohol, may also have informed advertising decisions.³⁰ While these reasons may have contributed to the absence of Māori in this advertising, it is acknowledged that advertising exists solely to sell products and services and given that, both these explanations falter, it could be argued, in the face of commercial endeavour. The absence of Māori presence in alcohol advertising is more likely to be a reflection of Māori position in society, that is, outside mainstream culture during the period 1900-1945. This absence represents what has been described as the distorted reality of advertising.³¹ While these two examples were the only references to Māori images or language found in this study, further research may discover more.

As advertisements for alcohol and patent medicines were examined, certain trends and themes emerged. For example, advertisers responded to international crises, such as the Second World War, as seen in a Lung Preserver advertisement in 1943 encouraging people to "pop a bottle into the next parcel for their man overseas". This had the effect of allowing readers to feel they were contributing to the ongoing health of loved ones serving in the armed forces".³² Selected groups were targeted by advertisers in both alcohol promoting relief and cure and patent medicine advertising. These groups included all sectors of society and covered a variety of physical and psychological illnesses. Parents, predominantly mothers, were alerted to children's health and advertisements showed mother as being alert to the best interests of her family and the one on whom the family could rely on for continuing good health. Mothers also appeared in inter-generational advertisements where women gave and received advice and, although this was seen predominately in patent medicine advertising, it also featured in alcohol advertising where both men and women promoted products used by their forebears.³³

Alcohol advertisements were an important feature in the prohibition and continuance campaigns and why this occurred is worth exploration. The era of prohibition campaigns overseas and in New Zealand, released a large volume of advertising for and against the

²⁹ Crocker, Rev I, J. Malton Murray, *Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand*, Epworth Press, 1930, pp. 199-203.

³⁰ Oliver, W. H., (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1991, p. 190.

³¹ R. Pollay, *The Distorted Mirror*, p. 32.

³² Advertisement - Baxter's Lung Preserver, *AH&COG*, 17 November 1943, p. 2.

³³ Advertisements - Bonnington's Irish Moss, *NZWW*, 19 September 1935, p. 58., Wolfe's Schnapps, *EP*, 12 July 1922, p. 14., Wolfe's Schnapps, *NZT*, 4 April 1929, p. 7.

proposal that alcohol should be a prohibited commodity. The chaos alcohol caused in many communities caused distress and fury in some quarters. This was particularly so in New Zealand's emerging society where many people had emigrated to escape social ills including poverty and excessive drinking and Wrightman argues that the gendered nature of alcohol consumption was regarded as threatening family life.³⁵ In settler society, many men were isolated, drunkenness was high, and men found companionship and warmth available in pubs. This congregating of lonely, out of control men, led to public displays of drunkenness resulting in a public backlash, followed by the formation of groups to quell such unacceptable behaviour. The reaction of many people to early settler drunkenness was to look to other countries and take up the battle for prohibition. However, this response to drunkenness and the fervour of the prohibition campaigners could justifiably be said to be the result of a moral panic. As Stanley Cohen notes, conditions, peoples and events which become established as a danger to a society's values or interests are regarded as threatening, and as such need to be removed or regulated.³⁶ Sean Hier endorses Cohen's viewpoint with a persuasive explanation on how those in power fashion ideas that exaggerate behaviour that *they* deem deviant. Such claims, he stresses, set up conflict between offenders, victims and, the *victims self-appointed defenders*.³⁷ Drunken behaviour in early settler society was judged transgressive and, some sectors of society believed, in need of reforming. This generated a response in some quarters leading to an acceptance of the Temperance and Prohibition movements. Although alcohol was widely used for medicinal purposes, the fear generated by reports of unmanageable drinking, may have resulted in a rise of alcohol advertising stressing the importance of alcohol to the public: specifically for alcohol commonly used for treating illnesses and emergencies at home.³⁸ This health-giving and emergency theme sat alongside advertisements displaying alcohol as a life-enhancing product and one celebrating leisure and occasions such as weddings.³⁹

Ryan argues that the consumption of alcohol in New Zealand was in decline prior to the prohibition movement gathering strength and he considers why drinking, a long tradition enjoyed by many societies, was both marginalised and stigmatised. He supports his argument

³⁵ S. Wrightman, *From 'Problem Men' to 'Problem Women', A Study of Gender in New Zealand, c. 1890 to c. 1930*, MA in History Thesis, Wellington, Victoria University, 1999, p. 32.

³⁶ S. Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, London, Routledge, 2002, p. 1.

³⁷ S. Hier, 'Moral panic, moral regulation, and the civilising process', *British Journal of Sociology*, Volume 67, Issue 3, 2016., p. 415.

³⁸ Advertisements - Martell's Brandy, *NZH*, 1 March 1910, p4., Wolfe's Schnapps, *Press*, 9 February 1935, p. 11.

³⁹ Advertisements - Hennessy's Brandy, *LM*, 1 December 1926, p. 65., Timaru Table Ale, *NZH*, 8 April 1930, p. 5.

with the following figures for European males: between the years 1881-1919, the consumption of beer rose slightly while the consumption of spirits and wine dropped approximately 50%. In the same period, doctors ceased prescribing alcohol (exception being during the 1918 influenza epidemic), and the convictions for drunkenness (per head of population) were down by a one-third. These figures indicate that the overall alcohol consumption was falling.⁴⁰ And he suggests that if “The more fundamental question asked by many anti-prohibitionists was whether New Zealand had a drink problem in the first place”.⁴¹

What did exist in New Zealand was a huge volume of patent medicine, alcohol and prohibition advertising in newspapers and magazines in the first half of the 20th century. While prohibition advertising dropped sharply from the early 1930s, advertisements for alcohol claiming medical benefits and patent medicines continued unabated. Readers faced columns of cures for everything and anything a person could, or imagine they could, suffer from every time a newspaper or magazine was opened. The amount of advertising and the coverage across the country allowed information on patent medicine and alcoholic beverages to be available to much of the population. Ian Grant notes that early settlers were mainly literate, and literacy improved with New Zealand educational policies. He further states that for much of the 19th century the number of newspapers per head of population in New Zealand was higher than in other countries.⁴² This indicates a population who created a demand for newspapers which continued into the 20th century. Alan Mackintosh’s observation of advertising patent medicines in England is equally true for New Zealand: “...the printed word was the essential vehicle for publicising and explaining the medicines”.⁴³ The following table shows the number of advertisements for selected patent medicines and alcohol in the newspapers and magazines used in this thesis, plus the national totals for those products.⁴⁴ These, and the myriad of other like-products not included, indicate the vast amount of advertisements which appeared in newspapers and magazines in New Zealand.

⁴⁰ G. Ryan, ‘Drink and the Historians’, pp. 35-52.

⁴¹ G. Ryan, ‘The tornado that circles round the liquor question’, p. 100.

⁴² I. Grant, *Lasting Impressions*, Masterton, Fraser Books, 2018, pp. ix, x.

⁴³ A. Mackintosh, *The Patent Medicines Industry in Georgian England Constructing the Market by the Potency of Print*, p. 5.

⁴⁴ These figures were obtained by using Papers Past - products were selected and matched with newspapers and magazines in print 1900-1945. First calculation was products with selected publications, second with all publications printed in New Zealand during that period.

Table 2.

	1900-1945	1900-1945
Product	Number of advertisements in papers & magazines reviewed	National total
Baxter's Lung Preserver	25,105	110,470
Bonnington's Irish Moss	6,308	34,257
Lane's Emulsion	19,031	104,437
Woodward's "Gripe Water"	329	707
Black & White Whisky	214	639
Martell's Brandy	629	2,596
Timaru Ale	477	1,885
Wolfe's Schnapps	18,391	51,127
Wincarnis Tonic Wine	6,120	8,269
Totals	76,604	314,387

The numbers of advertisements for selected products, placed in the newspapers and magazines under review, plus the national totals

Many advertisements encouraged households to keep alcohol on hand for medicinal purposes as shown in a Gilbey's Gin advertisement headed "Medicine Chest Size", and reading, "Gilbey's is always in demand because of its medicinal worth!"⁴⁵ Martell brandy advertisers described their product as a "physician", and a "friend and doctor".⁴⁶ Both Gilbey's gin and Martell's brandy offered relief without medical intervention when seeking medical advice may have been difficult due to financial pressures or the physical distances involved in accessing medical care. The range of advertisements listing alcohol as beneficial to those suffering from a variety of medical conditions was extensive. Gin, whisky, brandy, and beer promoted the health-giving or pain-relieving properties of their product with emotive copy.⁴⁷

Hospitals in New Zealand purchased alcohol to treat patients and Auckland Hospital was the largest purchaser of alcohol in the country, a fact the Auckland Women's Christian Temperance Union protested.⁴⁸ If alcohol was used in hospitals for pain relief, as a tonic or antiseptic, this would be seen by patients, their families and hospital staff as a valid means of treatment, and this knowledge would have moved into the domestic domain and from there, spread throughout communities. Doctors were respected members of society and their use of

⁴⁵ Advertisement - Gilbey's Dry Gin, *NZT*, 29 August 1929, p. 4.

⁴⁶ Advertisements - Martell's Brandy, *NZH*, 5 November 1910, p. 5., *ODT*, 3 October 1925, p. 22., *NZT*, 24 December 1925, p. 7.

⁴⁷ Advertisement - J.D.K.Z. Gin, *NZH*, 12 February 1934, p. 12., Watson's Whisky, *EP*, 6 January 1900, p. 3., Milne, Bremner Ltd., *ODT*, 19 September 1921, p. 9., Carlton Tonic Stout, *NZH*, 11 December 1939, p. 10.

⁴⁸ S. Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*. Auckland, Penguin Books NZ, 1993, p. 95.

alcohol in the medical setting would have validated its medicinal use away from medical institutions. This in effect, legitimised alcohol advertisements claiming medicinal properties.

Advertising alcohol in New Zealand had a healthy start when the first publication of *The New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette* (a four page newspaper printed on 10 July 1841), contained advertisements for alcohol on pages 1 and 4, while page 2 listed current prices for alcohol and other products including salt, gunpowder and soap: all essential provisions for life in the new colony.⁴⁹ This was the start of what became a thriving sector in New Zealand's advertising industry - alcohol, an ordinary commodity, became a regular presence in newspaper advertising. Twenty years later, on 25 May 1861 in its first year of publication, the *Press*, ran an advertisement for Dann and Bishop, Importer of Wines and Spirits, where a variety of spirits, wines, and ales were offered for sale. This appears to be one of the first advertisements for alcohol in the newspapers and magazines reviewed: it was a modest statement of goods and included the offer of free delivery within a short distance.⁵⁰ In 1872, *NZH* ran a lavish advertisement for Wolfe's Schnapps, headed "Important Public Notice". This advertisement displayed a variety of testimonials and an analysis of the product from the Government Analytical Laboratory in Melbourne. Among the various testimonials, the advertisement stated that in cases of gravel (kidney stones), rheumatism, dropsy (oedema), dyspepsia, kidney and liver complaints, flatulency of age and infancy, as well as other maladies, Wolfe's was recommended by the medical profession.⁵¹

Alcohol advertisements in New Zealand newspapers, continued to grow in number and by the beginning of the 20th century were seen in advertisements for hotel and bottle stores, as well as for specific products claiming health benefits.⁵² As with the previous decade, New Zealand advertisers during the first half of the 20th century, used a variety of means, such as lists of symptoms and testimonials, to promote their products. Advertisements directed solely at promoting the medicinal use of alcohol were commonplace and included advertisements for spirits, particularly gin, brandy, whisky, to a lesser extent beer, with minimal advertising for wine.

Many of the earliest advertisements for alcohol in the 20th century avoided symptom and illness language, relying mainly on the non-specific, such as two Wolfe's Schnapps advertisements, the first stating "Recommended by the Medical Faculty", and two years later,

⁴⁹ Advertisements - *ANZ&AHG*, 10 July 1841, pp. 1, 2, 4.

⁵⁰ Advertisement - Dann and Bishop, *Press*, 25 May 1861, p. 6.

⁵¹ Advertisement - Wolfe's Schnapps, *NZH*, 10 September 1872, p. 4.

⁵² Advertisements - Middleton's Hotel, *OT*, 23 December 1901, p. 1., Wolfe's Schnapps, *BOPT*, 17 December 1902, p. 2.

“Possesses peculiar medicinal virtues”. Wolfe’s did not, however, confine itself to generalities. One advertisement asked, “Have you tried WOLFE’S SCHNAPPS for kidney ailments”.⁵³ Other early advertisements relied on readers’ knowledge of overseas luminaries, establishments and publications as noted by Buchanan’s Whisky, suppliers to “H.R.H. The Duke of Cornwall & York, K.G. and Suite”, for his use on the “H.M. Royal Yacht “Ophir””.⁵⁴ An advertisement such as this said little about the product, relying instead on the allure of establishment figures such as royalty, and reminders that some alcoholic drinks were sourced from the “mother” country. Here the reputations of organisations and a fascination with prominent individuals were exploited by advertisers.

Advertisements using photographs displaying people in real life situations (albeit manufactured by the advertisers), allowed what Leiss et. al. called the “symbolic attributes” of advertising of this era to be raised.⁵⁵ These included matters of status, family, lifestyle and health. However, as both photos and drawn illustrations were created by the advertising industry, this resulted in the presentation of fabricated constructs of what advertisers saw as the current reality. In fact, what they were portraying was *their* reality, and this may have had very little resemblance to the reality of many readers. In *Reading Ads Socially*, Goldman argues that advertisements allow an observation of the society in which they appear. “Excavate the social assumptions” he wrote, and then he advises re-reading the advertisements for cultural meanings which “offer a unique window” onto society.⁵⁶ When applied to the advertisements examined in this thesis, a re-reading provides the opportunity to extract such meanings. This is seen most strongly in the advertisements examined using authority figures, such as doctors, nurses, mothers, and institutions, all who endorse products or allow their names to be used. This, plus the medicine cupboard image and the frequent use of intergenerational knowledge, all point to collective beliefs regarding the value of experience, expertise, and position in society. Such cultural meanings however, needed to be understood and accepted by the readers. While the advertisements examined display what Pollay describes as a reflection of society, this reflection is what he sees as “a mirror that only reflects and exposes existing cultural values and behaviours.”⁵⁷ And this mirror, he contends, allows “selective reinforcement” of some values, thus resulting in his description of advertising as “a distorted mirror”.⁵⁸ However,

⁵³ Advertisements - Wolfe’s Schnapps, *ODT*, 1 August 1902, p. 6., 16 July 1904, p. 8., 2 August 1902, p. 10.

⁵⁴ Advertisement - Buchanan’s Whisky, *Press*, 30 August 1901, p7.

⁵⁵ W. Leiss, S. Kline and S. Jhally, *Social Communication in Advertising*, pp. 6 -7.

⁵⁶ R. Goldman, *Reading ads socially*, p. 2.

⁵⁷ R. Pollay, *The Distorted Mirror*, p. 32.

⁵⁸ R. Pollay, *On the Value of Reflections on the Values in ‘The Distorted Mirror’*, p. 108.

this view is challenged by Maurice Holbrook who argues that as a literary device the mirror is seen as an accurate reflection of the world the words represent.⁵⁹ In a rebuttal to Holbrook's challenge, Pollay responds by stating the advertising does not reflect society as a whole and that some values are strengthened and others ignored.⁶⁰

Pollay's argument that advertisements provide a distorted picture of society is supported by Frith who argues that cultural symbols employed by advertisers reflect only the "dominant ideological theme" of a society and not the society as a whole.⁶¹ This is especially apparent in the almost complete exclusion of non-white New Zealanders in the advertising under scrutiny. Men and women, the young and the elderly, the well and unwell: all are seen in the advertisements. However, the groups they represented were white New Zealanders and this indicates the images and text advertisers presented to readers were heavily curated and displayed the views of the advertising industry.

While this thesis examines the medicalisation of alcohol, in alcoholic beverages and patent medicines, the pleasure aspects of alcohol, such as socialising and mood elevation, and the use of alcohol in secular and religious celebration are acknowledged however they are not the focus of this work. Target audiences, prohibition referenda, legislation, technological and scientific discoveries will be addressed. This will show the advertising industry as a dynamic commercial activity capable of responding to social, national, and international developments and, one with a deep awareness of the varied nature of New Zealand's magazine and newspaper readers. New techniques were embraced by the industry, and new ideas and fashions introduced into the lives of newspapers and magazine readers

The thesis is divided into four chapters. The first covers the nature of alcohol and how it was perceived at the turn of the 20th century. Early advertisements show alcohol was a widely used and accepted commodity and one listed in advertisements along with products as diverse as tobacco, clothing and ironmongery.⁶² Testimonials, used to promote alcohol, will be examined, as will the tools of advertising, including repetition of words and phrases, images of authority figures from medical and allied professions and the use of medical terminology. The use of these tools reveals changes in New Zealand society as, for example, when advertising moved from using public figures to mothers to promote products.⁶³ The effects of Prohibition

⁵⁹ M. Holbrook, 'Mirror, mirror, on the wall, what's unfair in the reflections on Advertising?' *Journal of Marketing*, Jul 1987: 51, 3. p. 95.

⁶⁰ R. Pollay, On the Value of Reflections on the Values in 'The Distorted Mirror', p. 108.

⁶¹ K.T. Frith, ed. *Undressing the ad: reading culture in advertising*, p. 13.

⁶² Advertisement - Victoria Store Clyde, *AH&COG*, 6 August 1903, p. 1.

⁶³ Advertisements - Baxter's Lung Preserver, *EP*, 4 June 1900, p. 5., Lane's Emulsion, *ODT*, 20 May 1941, p. 2.

Referenda on advertising will be discussed as will the rise of medicine chest advertising. Targeting potential buyers, such as mothers and sportsmen, will be seen in meticulously arranged advertisements which placed a wealth of opportunities and solutions before readers. The second chapter examines selected examples of alcoholic beverage advertising: these will be unpacked to extract their content and context and how these changed over a period of forty-five years. Target audiences will be identified, as will the use of text, drawn illustrations and photographs to gain customers and improve sales. The third chapter will address patent medicines containing alcohol and will examine many of the issues outlined in Chapter One. This chapter includes information on the discovery of vitamins - a finding seized on by patent medicine advertisers to promote products. The fourth chapter (as in Chapter 2), will examine and unpack advertising of patent medicines containing alcohol and tonic wines.

The effect of legislation on both groups will be examined across all chapters. This includes the Opium Act, 1908, the Quackery Prevention Act, 1908, the Physical Welfare & Recreation Act, 1937, the Social Security Act, 1938 and the Medical Advertisements Act, 1942, and successes and failures of these acts will be discussed.

Ultimately the aim of this thesis is to fill an under-researched and, existing gap in the history of alcohol in New Zealand. This examination will highlight the cross-over of themes, claims and the duplication of words used in advertising alcohol claiming medicinal benefits and patent medicines containing alcohol, in New Zealand c.1900-45.

Chapter One

Cheers: The curative powers of alcoholic beverages

From the earliest days of Pākehāā settlement, a vast array of cures and promises of relief from assorted illnesses and ailments were advertised in New Zealand newspapers.¹ One source of this relief was alcohol and the belief in the efficacy of alcohol as a curative agent had travelled to New Zealand with the settlers. An example of the traditional use of alcohol can be seen in the following anecdote which Maria Wigley wrote to Mary Vogel in 1886:

“...Agnes who was doing something to her corset yesterday with a hatchet and all but cut off her finger and there was a great set out so I gave her some brandy and then sent her to Dr Grace who bound up her hand. She seems all right this morning”.²

Given the use of alcohol during the late 19th century for illness and emergencies, it seems entirely possible there would have been an expectation on Agnes’s part that she would have been given brandy, or some other spirit, to ease her pain and lessen the shock of her ordeal.

Historically alcohol has provided relief and comfort for physical and psychological suffering. Wolfgang Schivelbusch notes that throughout history alcohol has been used as a curative agent for both physical and mental illnesses, describing its use as a “cure for cares” and “for what ails”.³ The opiates, cannabis and coca products, freely available and commonly used in the 19th century, came under attack in the early 20th century when legislation, such as the Opium Act 1902 was enacted.

Rice notes that Muskets’ 1903 *Illustrated Medical Guide: New Zealand Edition*, recommended alcohol as a restorative treatment after influenza. During the 1918 influenza epidemic, alcoholic spirits were available only with a doctor’s prescription,⁶ and Rice reports that alcohol, available in some homes, was used therapeutically.⁷ The belief that alcohol was effective in aiding those suffering from influenza was supported by articles in newspapers

¹Advertisements - Keating’s Cough Lozenges, *NE*, 22 July 1857, p. 1., Holloway’s Pills, *TH*, 6 October 1860, p. 1., Wolfe’s Schnapps, *EP*, 3 October 1876, p. 2., Dawson’s Perfection Whisky, *NZ Times*, 15 February 1896 p. 2.

² F. Porter, C. Macdonald, (eds), *My hand will write what my heart dictates*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, Bridget Williams Books, 1996. p. 181.

³ W. Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise*, p. 149.

⁶ Advertisement – The Otago Hospital and Charitable Aid Board, *ODT*, 18 November 1918, p. 1.

⁷G. Rice, *Black November* 2nd edn., Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 2005, pp. 40, 86, 163.

carrying reports from overseas. In one article, alcohol was described as “...the only valuable antidote for the new influenza. Many physicians are prescribing it”.⁸

The use of alcohol was acknowledged by Henry Guly in his work on medical aspects of Antarctic explorations. He notes that “Alcohol was much used as a drug”, during the expeditions of Robert Falcon Scott and Ernest Shackleton.⁹ In a paper “Medicinal Brandy”, Guly quotes a 1905 article in the *British Medical Journal* which reported that “No alcohol was taken on sledge journeys, except for a small can of brandy for emergencies”. Guly describes different situations where brandy was used for medical purposes, including fainting, reduction of fevers, sedation, sleep promotion, reversal of hypothermia and as an anaesthetic.¹⁰ In the same year Dr James Barr spoke on alcohol as medication, in a presidential address to the British Medical Association, describing alcohol as versatile and available in various types suited to treat different illnesses.¹¹ Table 3 below illustrates a selection of alcohol Barr believed to be beneficial in treating a wide array of ailments and situations.

Table 3.

Vomiting	Small doses of champagne
Typhoid	A good pint of bitter
Collapse/Shock	Brandy
Palliative Care	Diluted Brandy
Invalids	A good port
Nervous Diseases	Alcohol (not specified) for sedation and analgesia
Neuralgia	Good Stout
Angina	Hot whisky or brandy
Sedative	Light draught beer

Dr James Barr’s pairing of ailments and alcohol

Source: T. Hands, *Drinking in Victorian & Edwardian Britain*, p.97-98.

Barr, and those who followed his beliefs on alcohol for medicinal purposes were not without critics. Other doctors recognised alcohol had the potential to cause ‘more harm than good’ and furthermore, that its use was unethical given that alcohol could cause addiction in some

⁸ English Epidemic, *EP*, 4 February 1919, p. 8.

⁹ H.R. Guly, *Medical aspects of the expeditions of the Heroic Age of Antarctic exploration (1895- 1922)*, Phd Thesis in History, Exeter, University of Exeter, 2015. P. 44.

¹⁰ H.R. Gully, ‘Medicinal Brandy’, *Resuscitation*, 2011 Jul; 82(7-2): pp. 951–954.

¹¹ Hands, Thora, *Drinking in Victorian & Edwardian Britain*, p. 97.

patients.¹² Two years following Barr's recommended 'therapeutic use of alcohol', Dr Harry Campbell addressed the British Society for the Study of Inebriety asking for clarification of what constituted a moderate dose as he suggested the term was 'highly elastic' with individuals having different opinions as regarding dosage.¹³ Hands argues that the need for profit, combined with the medicinal use of alcohol, allowed the advertising and alcohol industries to give rise to the promotion of alcoholic drinks claiming medical benefits.¹⁶ And this claim could equally be applied to New Zealand advertisements.¹⁷ Alcohol was not only a means of relaxing and enjoying life, or for marking secular or religious occasions: alcohol was a valued aid in emergency situations.¹⁸¹⁹ Alcohol had a history of use for medicinal purposes and, most importantly, alcohol offered effective and efficient pain relief when no other was available. Given there was continuing lobbying and political debate surrounding the question of alcohol, Why did it continue to be used for medicinal purposes?

As Hands notes, "The Victorian and Edwardians [in Britain] drank for pleasure but they also drank for pain". And again, this argument could be applied to New Zealand.²² Alcohol had a legitimate role in the treatment of illnesses - alleviating pain, providing sedation, designated as a stimulant or restorative and, in the case of one Hennessy's advertisement, as both.³³ The advertisers made every effort to ensure their products were attractive and this was accomplished by weaving alcohol into the lives of prospective customers by producing advertisements promising relief, cure, and continuing well-being. Advertisements for spirits selected specific medical complaints such as rheumatic conditions, kidney ailments, blood irregularities (non-specific), depression, and gynaecological problems. Beer and ales were not as well represented: advertisements for these spoke of health, tonic for invalids and occasionally, vitality.³⁴

The curated combinations of alcohol and daily life were employed to attract purchasers to their products by targeting specific age groups, illnesses, and gender. Promising relief for

¹² T. Hands, *Drinking in Victorian & Edwardian Britain*, pp. 96-98.

¹³ *Ibid*, pp. 97-98.

¹⁶ T. Hands, *Drinking in Victorian & Edwardian Britain*, Palgrave Macmillan (e-book), pp. 113-115.

¹⁷ Advertisements - McGavin's Oat-Malt Stout, *QM*, 10 May 1920, p. 22., Carlton Tonic Stout, *NZH*, 6 August 1938, p. 21.

¹⁸ G. Rice, *Black November*, p. 252.

¹⁹ The legal age to purchase alcohol changed over the years under review. In 1900 the minimum age to purchase and drink in hotels was 16, with no minimum age to purchase alcohol to take away. The drinking age was raised in 1904 to 18, and again in 1910 to 21, although those under 21 could purchase alcohol to take away. In 1914 the minimum age for purchasing all alcohol was raised to 21 and this remained the legal age until 1969.

²² G. Rice, *Black November*, p. 161.

³³ Advertisement - Hennessy's Brandy, *ODT*, 3 October 1925, p. 21.

³⁴ Advertisements - Waitemata Pale Ale, *NZH*, 29 April 1930, p. 13., McGavin's Stout, *QM*, 10 May 1920, p. 22., Kaka Ale, *ODT*, 10 December 1930, p. 13.

multiple conditions was not uncommon in spirits advertising, with White Horse whisky, J.D.K.Z. and Wolfe's gins, offering relief from rheumatic and urinary problems. J.D.K.Z. promised to relieve gynaecological distress, and this was indicated in advertisements using coded phrases such as women's 'troubles' and 'periodic indisposition.'³⁵ This brand also targeted women by age in advertisements headlined "Radiant Health in Middle Age" and referring to "little troubles" and, "SHE does not fear the FORTIES", years described as the time when "Nature takes a greater toll on a woman's reserves of health". However, J.D.K.Z. had, "...unique medical powers to remove irritation and despondency".³⁶ Both these advertisements contain oblique references to menopause and targeted women during the time of life when this would occur. More overt was a J.D.K.Z. advertising included the phrase "...while in the event of a sluggish or congested condition in the organs it acts definitely as a stimulant".³⁷ It could be argued that this phrase meant pregnancy, the sluggish or congested organ referencing the non-appearance of menstruation, signalling pregnancy. Gin was believed to be an abortifacient and here the J.D.K.Z. advertisers were encouraging readers to consider using gin to end an unwanted pregnancy. However, as Margaret Sparrow noted, gin and hot baths were "... a familiar, if unrewarding instruction".³⁸

Having established that alcoholic beverages claimed to relieve or cure an array of illnesses, how was this to be achieved? While the claims may have been convincing, how reliable were they? The promised relief/cure fell into broad categories of bodily functions: respiratory, muscular-skeletal, urinary, gynaecological, alimentary (including liver), cardiovascular, nerve, and blood disorders. The products themselves also fell into largely distinct groups associated with specific illnesses. There were however occasional outliers which moved briefly from one group to another, such as series of advertisement for J.D.K.Z. gin (usually associated with urinary and rheumatological disorders), claimed the product contained blood purifying and cleansing properties, aided digestion and provided relief for gynaecological disorders as noted above.³⁹ There were also small, often indirect, references to mental distress in some alcohol advertisements. "For Happy Thoughts and Strength try Oatmeal Stout", suggested one, while another recommended Gilbey's Invalid Port as it would revive people "Broken down in health and spirit".⁴⁰ In 1921 Gilbey's Gin reminded readers that "Not only

³⁵ Advertisements - J.D.K.Z. Gin, *NZWW*, 16 November 1933, p. 43., *NZH*, 25 June 1934, p. 4.

³⁶ Advertisements - J.D.K.Z. Gin, *NZWW*, 23 November 1933, p. 33., 51 May 1936, p. 27.

³⁷ Advertisement - J.D.K.Z. Gin, *NZH*, 12 February 1934, p. 12.

³⁸ M. Sparrow, *Risking their lives: New Zealand Abortion Stories 1900-1949*, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2017, p. 309.

³⁹ Advertisement - J.D.K.Z. Gin, *Press*, 9 April 1928, p. 11.

⁴⁰ Advertisements - Oatmeal Stout, *QM*, 1 January 1919, p. 14., Gilbey's Invalid Port, *ODT*, 7 May 1921, p. 4.

will this pure stimulant ‘not do you any harm’, but it is, in fact, a highly beneficial beverage, possessing universally recognised medicinal properties”. This was followed by a claim the product “Cleanses Instead of Clogs”. However, this provided no information on how this would occur. And the words “not do you any harm” are like the phrase taught to medical students and adhered to by doctors, *first, do no harm*. The wording of this advertisement may have resonated with readers who knew the phrase or, those who did not want to drink harmful spirits and who may have interpreted the wording to mean Gilbey’s Gin would in fact, have no harmful effects.⁴¹

Gilbey’s and J.D.K.Z. gin advertisements typically focused on the kidneys and liver, organs which, if neglected, the advertisements claimed, caused weakness and lassitude. However, a Gilbey’s advertisement in 1926 used the words “wheezing” and “sneezing” and advises readers that a tot would “...nip that “flu attack in the bud””, claiming that cleansing would occur, but how this purifying action was to happen was not explained.⁴² Two years later J.D.K.Z. gin made the sweeping statement that their product would help “you to resist winter ills”.⁴³ Such resistance was to be achieved by the effect of Italian Juniper extract which would clean the system and aid resistance. Again, no explanation was given as how this would occur. Any benefit arising from these products would have been palliative: for example, pain relief and the feeling of wellbeing that may appear after taking any alcoholic drink.

Nowhere in the alcohol advertisements claiming medicinal benefits was any evidence given of how these would be achieved. Brandy, for example, relied on the reputation brandy had as a stimulant and restorative, a claim often mentioned in advertisements. Beers and ales rarely moved past an occasional mention of hops.⁴⁴ However, one Waitemata advertisement used a Certificate of Analysis by a Bacteriologist and Analytical Chemist to claim the barley in beer production contained, “...a high protein and vitamin content”, thus confirming the claim that “Your health is All-Important”.⁴⁵ Wolfe’s and Gilbey’s gins repeatedly stated Italian Juniper berries to be valuable cleansing agents and while White Horse Whisky claimed to be free of sugar, other brands made no claims of how any benefits would be achieved.

⁴¹ Advertisement - Gilbey’s Dry Gin, *NZH*, 15 December 1921, p. 3.

⁴² Advertisement - Gilbey’s Dry Gin, *Press*, 10 May 1926, p. 5.

⁴³ Advertisement - J.D.K.Z. Gin, *EP*, 19 September 1928, p. 19.

⁴⁴ Advertisement - Ward’s Ale, *Press*, 23 November 1931, p. 3.

⁴⁵ Advertisement - Waitemata Pale Ale, *OPT*, 2 August 1932, p. 4.

Prohibition and the Medicine Cupboard

During the years when Prohibition referenda were held, the liquor industry used advertisements showing what would be lost if the Prohibition campaign succeeded. These advertisements showcased the positive benefits alcohol had on New Zealand life highlighting it as a medicinal aid and as a drink used in everyday life and for occasions of celebration. The closeness of the vote highlights how contentious the alcohol situation was. For example, when the threshold to win Prohibition was set at 60%, the Prohibition vote in 1911 and 1914 were 55.8% and 49% and this trend continued in 1919 with 49% and 49.8%, and in 1922 with 48.6%. When the threshold was dropped to 50% for the 1928 Poll, Prohibition won 47.3% in that year followed by 30.2% in 1930, dropping to 29.6 in 1935 and a further drop in 1938 to 28%.

In 1911 in a series of small but bluntly worded advertisements, Martell's outlined what New Zealanders would face should the Prohibition Referendum be won. Brandy would only be available with a doctor's prescription. A valuable home remedy would be lost. And living without a doctor in close proximity could be difficult when an emergency or illness occurred.⁴⁶ For example, one month prior to the 1911 referendum, one of this series stated that "If prohibition is carried hundreds of sick people will be deprived of a valuable medicine".⁴⁷ And another, shown below, outlined the problem and consequences of not having ready access to medical attention.

Perhaps you live many miles from a doctor, then you cannot do better than have a bottle of Martell's brandy on hand. Prohibition would prevent this, and you must pay the doctor every time he prescribes brandy. 6

Figure 2.

Press, 30 November 1911, p. 4.

These advertisements stressed that the possible absence of alcohol posed a threat to how illnesses and emergencies could be treated at home. Providing pain relief for chronic diseases, reviving the distressed, sedating the insomniac, or elevating mood: alcohol was in danger of moving out of the household without medical prescription and without any available substitute.

⁴⁶ Advertisements – Martell's Brandy, *Press*, 14 November 1911, p.7., *NZH*, 29 November 1911, p. 8., 7 December 1911, p. 9.

⁴⁷ Advertisement – Martell's Brandy, *Press*, 5 December 1911, p. 9.

This situation was again brought to public attention in 1925. In May, seven months before the 1925 General Election and Prohibition Referendum, Hennessy's Brandy published an advertisement which, while not mentioning prohibition or the possibility that alcohol may become an illegal substance, raised a warning flag. Headed "It is a duty", this advertisement sent a powerful message to women regarding the medicinal properties of brandy by addressing those women "...who abstain from spirits as beverages". The duty referred to was the responsibility women had for keeping the family well and, acknowledging the value of brandy as a necessary item for household emergencies. This duty, the advertisement implied, should not be disregarded.



Figure 3.
NZT, 2 May 1925, p. 6.

This challenging advertisement asked women to abandon moral or religious objections regarding alcohol for the safety of their families, this had the potential to cause anguish to some women as they tried to balance closely held beliefs with family obligations.⁴⁸ It could be argued that this advertisement was indicating the referendum was seven months away, and was in effect, raising awareness of issues women may have to face. This clearly shows how the advertising industry played on the belief that spirits, brandy in particular, had medicinal value and belonged in the home for emergencies. It could be interpreted as a measure advertisers used

⁴⁸ Advertisement - Hennessy's Brandy, *NZT*, 2 May 1925, p. 6.

to counterbalance emerging prohibition advertising, including promotion of prohibition speakers at various churches in the same month this advertisement was published.⁴⁹

Martell's continued their campaign to inform the public of the importance of brandy as a household necessity with advertisements linking brandy and the medicine chest. One month prior to the 1925 referendum, Martell's Brandy placed what could be described as a provocative advertisement in the *ODT*. Headed "Awaiting the Emergency", and displaying a large bottle of the product, it effectively bought to readers' attention what would happen if Prohibition were passed: a known, reliable asset in the home medical kit would be lost. "Here's a specialist on the spot" the advertisement declares, "in time of emergency, accident or collapse, don't stop to ring the nearest doctor - bring him out of the cupboard. Your readiest physician is Martell's Brandy".⁵⁰ Martell's Brandy, in sum, provided everything a doctor brings to the patient. The brief text accompanying the illustration conveys a sense of urgency: the reader needs to be prepared for emergencies. A doctor may not be readily available and the householder is on his or her own. You cannot, this advertisement implies, rely on authority, you need to be prepared and equipped to face whatever the future brings. And what bigger emergency for an alcohol drinker than the possibility that prohibition could be enforced in three weeks time if the forthcoming referendum is won by the Prohibition vote? This advertisement, published within weeks of the election, would have aroused feelings of apprehension, if not dread, among those in the community who drank brandy – whether for pleasure, pain relief or simply because they were addicted to alcohol. John Berger notes that publicity images 'stimulate the imagination by way of either memory or expectation'.⁵¹ The memory of past occasions where alcohol had been drunk for pleasure, relief or compulsion and, the expectation of loss should prohibition be carried, would have been a strong message conveyed by this advertisement.

Another Martell's advertisement placed a bottle of brandy inside a medicine chest in November 1925, one month prior to the Referendum. Taking up half the space within the cupboard, and overpowering rolls of bandages and bottles, the advertisement claims that "The Perfect Medicine Chest" contains not pills, powders or "painful potions" but a bottle of Martell's brandy.⁵² This image of a bottle of spirits sitting in what was obviously a cabinet for medicines would have been powerful. The knowledge of alcohol as an agent of medicinal worth, used for emergencies and as a sedative, was long-established and here an embodiment of that

⁴⁹ Advertisements - Prohibitionist Rally, Wesley Church, *BOPT*, 20 May 1925 p. 1., NZ Alliance Publicity, *EP*, 2 May 1925, p. 4., St Paul's Presbyterian Church, *Press*, 23 May 1925, p. 18.

⁵⁰ Advertisement - Martell's Brandy, *ODT*, 12 December 1925, p. 25.

⁵¹ J. Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, London, Penguin Books, 1972, p.129.

⁵² Advertisement - Martell's Brandy, *ODT*, 14 November 1925, p. 23.

knowledge had been give a physical space in which to reside. But it was not only brandy which promoted the medicine cupboard theme in 1925, this was also seen in gin and whisky advertisements, with one Dewar's whisky advertisement stating 'It should be in every medicine chest'.⁵³



Figure 4.

ODT, 14 November 1925, p. 23.

The Continuance faction placed an advertisement declaring “It will be a criminal offence to keep a bottle of brandy in your medicine chest if Prohibition is carried”, before referring to brandy as “Life-Saving”.⁵⁶ Two days later another advertisement advised that under prohibition alcohol would only be available by doctor’s prescription, and this may not be obtained in time to ease suffering. Boldly headed “BRANDY IN THE HOME. THE MENACE OF PROHHIBITIONISTS. ADVICE TO WOMEN ELECTORS”, this advertisement outlined the medicinal use of brandy in the home. “Every mother, every housewife knows its usefulness, its safety, and its merit”.⁵⁷ The idea that keeping a commonly

⁵³ Advertisements - Wolfe’s Schnapps, *NZH*, 4 July 1925, p. 17., Dewar’s Imperial Whisky, *NZT*, 3 October 1925, p. 17.

⁵⁶ Advertisement – National Continuance, *NZH*, 2 November 1925, p. 7.

⁵⁷ Advertisement - National Continuance, *EP*, 4 November 1925, p 7.

held household commodity could become the source of a criminal act and, that any home could be “...searched at any hour of the day and night” if it was thought it contained alcohol, would have alarmed law-abiding citizens.⁵⁸ These advertisements emphasised how medicinal alcohol for domestic use would only be available by doctors’ prescription if prohibition were passed. If alcohol was unable to be purchased for the home, women, it was made clear, would face difficulties when nursing the ill, or dealing with emergencies where alcohol was used to revive. Whether the overlapping of the liquor industry and the Continuance faction’s advertising was intentional, or whether they were acting independently, each set of advertisements effectively confirmed and strengthened the other’s arguments.

Placing alcohol in the medicine cupboard to be dispensed by the women of the house legitimised and continued to medicalise alcohol at times when its availability was under threat. Emotive advertising highlighted the use, and possible loss, of alcohol plus the possibility of “mother” losing control of medicinal alcohol, was compelling. The idealised female figure so well promoted by patent medicine advertisers, knew what was best for family health. By capturing patent medicine images and rhetoric combining mothers’ care and concern, the alcohol industry incorporated that knowledge and experience into their own advertising. The female figure was given guardianship over the medicine cupboard and its content, as shown in the following advertisement.

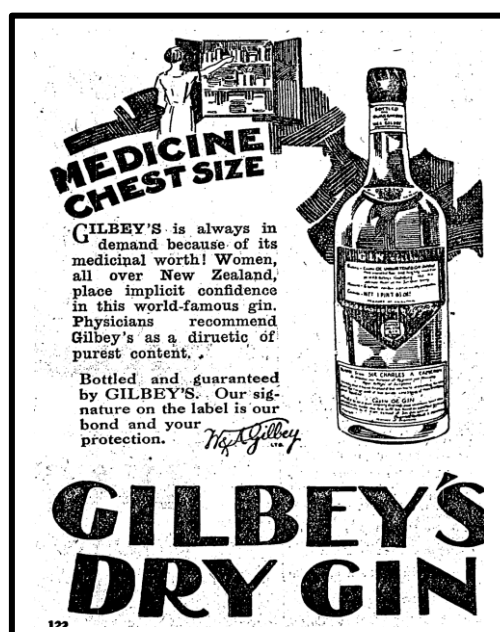


Figure 5.

NZT, 29 August 1929, p. 4.

⁵⁸ Advertisement – National Continuance, *NZH*, 30 September 1925, p. 6.

This advertisement placed alcohol firmly in the home, in the medicine chest and under the jurisdiction of women. The medicine cupboard was controlled by women in many advertisements, thus designating them as guardians of family health. It is interesting to note that while women appeared to access and control alcohol in the medicine cupboard, they were not shown purchasing it for that purpose. Advertisements specifically mentioning the medicine chest, showed men purchasing alcohol for the home and these, it could be argued, continued to sanction the presence of alcohol as an essential item in the home or illness and emergencies.⁵⁹

The promotion in alcohol advertising depicting women as guardians of alcohol in the home, may have been a deliberate attempt to temper the idealisation of women as "...guardians of the sanctity of the home" as promoted by the WCTU under the banner of Social Purity.⁶⁰ This theme can be seen in the New Zealand Alliance Prohibition Referenda advertising 1922-25, where the plight of women and children harmed by alcohol, was highlighted in Prohibition advertising as seen below.

The Shadow

The Shadow of the Bottle—the most pernicious influence that, in the history of the world, has ever cast its blighting shadow over the people of any land.


The Shadow of the Bottle darkens the future of every child; its threatening cloud makes women old before their time, and prevents many a good man from being true to the best that is in him. The Shadow of the Bottle menaces the peace and happiness of the home, and is a constant bar to the progress of the nation.

This deadly enemy that throws its accursed shadow over young and old must be swept out of existence. No longer must it be permitted to take toll of our young men and young women; no longer must the bottle and all that it means be allowed to hide the light of happier days from the homes of the people who now live under its shadow.

Remove the liquor traffic and you remove both bottle and shadow—you have the power; it is for you to say whether or not the Liquor traffic and all its attendant evils will be for ever banished from New Zealand.

For the sake of those you hold most dear—

**Strike Out The
Two Top Lines**



*The Shadow that Threatens the Future
of Every Child.*

Vote for PROHIBITION!

Figure 6.
NZH, 21 October 1922, p. 16.

⁵⁹ Advertisements - Wolfe's Schnapps, *NZT*, 30 June 1936, p. 6., Dewar's Whisky, *NZT*, 3 October 1925, p. 17.

⁶⁰ Coney, Sandra, *Standing in the Sunshine*. Auckland, Penguin Books NZ, 1993, p. 25.

While advertisements, for and against prohibition, were produced in New Zealand newspapers, also published were letters and articles concerning the outcome of Prohibition in the U.S.A., Canada and some Scandinavian countries.⁶¹ This allowed knowledge of the success or otherwise of prohibition overseas to disseminate throughout the community. While these countries adopted prohibition, provision had been made to allow for sacramental and medical use, for example in the U.S.A., provision was made for ‘nonbeverage liquor and sacramental wine’.⁶²

The medicine cupboard theme in advertising continued throughout the 1920s, falling away in the early 1930s. This downward trend appears to be in line with the results of prohibition referenda where the number of votes for prohibition had, by the mid-1930s, dropped to approximately 30%. The danger of prohibition had passed, and accordingly, alcohol advertising moved out of the medicine cupboard. That is not to say that alcohol advertising for medicinal purposes ceased: rather it moved from the medicine cupboard theme back to medical images and words, illness and wellness, as well as lifestyle.

While the medical-style advertisements dangled relief and cure in front of readers, lifestyle advertising offered something entirely different - fun and companionship, well-being and vitality. While it could be argued that medicinal advertisements played a vital role in prohibition advertising by making clear what would be unavailable to those caring for the unwell at home, lifestyle advertising at that time offered something completely different. This presented readers with images of what else would be lost if prohibition were voted in. The social cohesion achieved by people being together and sharing a drink would vanish. Newcomers to cities and towns would have fewer options for socialising if hotels, clubs, and sporting venues ceased to be places where people could drink alcohol and, many public and private celebrations would be less lively without the disinhibiting effect of alcohol. Lifestyle advertisements offered escape to places where friendship and fun were presented by images of smiling, happy and healthy men and women, accompanied by uplifting, encouraging text. On

⁶¹ Sobriety and the Law, *ODT*, 11 July 1914, p. 8., Prohibition in Norway, *EP*, 5 August 1916, p. 13., Prohibition Promotes Thrift, *R&OT, W&KG*, 8 November 1922, p. 5., U.S.A.’s Experience, *NZT*, 31 October 1925, p. 11.

⁶² U.S.A. SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS. Sess. I. Ch., 85. 1919., pp. 308-309.

display was a vibrant mix of possibilities available by purchasing alcoholic drinks, as seen in the following advertisement.

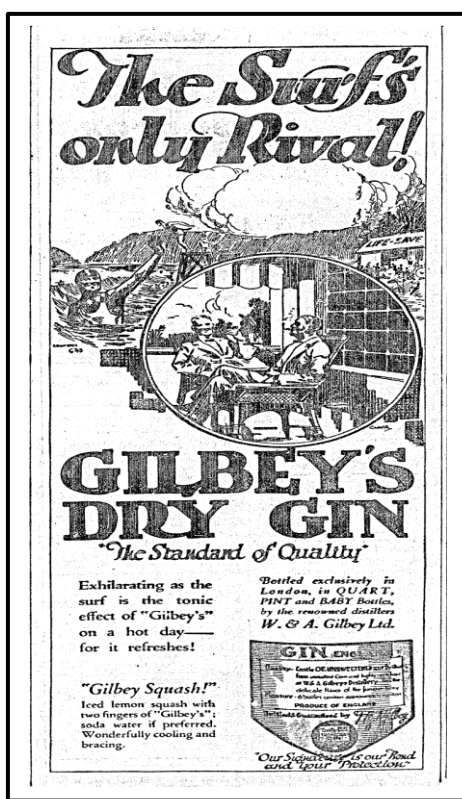


Figure 7.

NZH, 8 February 1926, p. 15.

However, an alteration occurred in lifestyle advertising when activities, such as sport and travel, or featuring people having fun or heading towards fun, became the vehicle for promoting alcohol claiming medicinal qualities. In the same year as the medicine cupboard advertisements, Martell's brandy targeted travellers. The allure of overseas travel was captured in an advertisement aimed at those who previously travelled or, those who wished to. One advertisement featured a well-dressed man carrying a suitcase and valise, striding away from a ship, ready for the next adventure confident in the knowledge that he has a "friend and doctor" with him. This advertisement skilfully melds the possibility of experiences beyond New Zealand with the reassurance that Martell's was a reliable travelling companion and a medical presence and therefore, the traveller would not be alone, thus creating an illusion of safety, continuing good health and companionship.

Some of the most powerful lifestyle advertisements combined sporting activities and medicinal benefits into the text and images. Alcohol, historically used as a stimulant, was advertised to increase players energy and revive them after games. The connection between sport and alcohol is seen in advertisements in the early-to-mid 1920s, such as J.D.K.Z. gin

advertisement headed “After the Game”, which recommending a “tot of refreshing J.D.K.Z.” following a game of tennis, golf or cricket, the effect of which “cools you down, braces the nerves”.⁶³ Spectators watching a game of rugby in inclement weather are advised that a “nasty chill” can be avoided by drinking Dewar’s whisky.⁶⁴ A J.D.Z.K. advertisement linked sport and health in an advertisement featured a man teeing off on a golf course. The advertisement stated the product was “...renowned everywhere for its sterling medicinal qualities”. J.D.K.Z. was credited with the player never being “...off colour in his health, or in his game”.⁶⁵ A year later a tennis motif featured where two healthy, fit, young men were pictured enjoying a glass of J.D.K.Z. gin post-match. “All Set!” the heading read, before mentioning the usual list of remedial properties attributed to Juniper Berries - blood cooling, nerves braced and system purified, along with the catchy phrase “The only drink for men of action”.⁶⁶ The game of tennis, identified by the presence of racquets, was irrelevant to the product. This advertisement contained the familiar message: potential well-being and health benefits, vitality and strength restored by using a specific product with, the added bonus, and implied promise, of entertainment and companionship in displays of idealised masculinity.⁶⁷ The rhetoric in all these advertisements remained the same whether it was rugby, tennis, golf or other activities. What changed was the image presenting the product to the readers, and this variety of images allowed the capture of a wider audience.

⁶³ Advertisement - J.D.K.Z. Gin, *ODT*, 4 February 1925, p. 8.

⁶⁴ Advertisement - Dewar’s Imperial Whisky, *NZT*, 12 August 1926, p. 18.

⁶⁵ Advertisement - J.D.K.Z. Gin, *NZH*, 5 December 1928, p. 6.

⁶⁶ Advertisement - J.D.K.Z. Gin, *EP*, 6 February 1929, p. 5.

⁶⁷ Advertisement - J.D.K.Z. Gin, *EP*, 2 June 1929, p.5.

A Front Ranker must be Fit!

Always on the ball - bearing the brunt of the heavy scrummaging - the front-row forward must keep in the very pink of condition. Like most men in active training, he knows the value of a healthy stimulant, and naturally he prefers J.D.K.Z. Gin. This genuine old malt gin is noted for its medicinal qualities. It cools the blood, cleanses the system and ensures perfect fitness and health.

J.D.K.Z. Gin is actually distilled with the berries of Italian Juniper, and is unique in its properties. At all Hotels and Bo de Stores. Look for the White Heart Label.

J.D.K.Z. GIN

Figure 8.
ODT, 15 July 1929, p. 3.

One J.D.K.Z. gin advertisement used a particularly persuasive image of a young man in the above advertisement, “A Front Ranker must be Fit!” The text included rugby terms, such as scrummaging and front-row, which would have been instantly familiar to both players and fans. Again, the message was that fitness could be achieved if men consumed J.D.K.Z. while in “active training”.⁶⁸ These examples show how language specific to a sport, was used to effectively link products to players and spectators. However, an advertisement for Crown Champion Ale had neither player nor spectator and relied instead on images of cricket equipment and terms to capture readers’ attention. Claiming the product worked for thirst and fatigue, this advertisement had the potential to capture a wide audience - not only the thirsty, but also those who may be fatigued or exhausted through illness. The effectiveness of this

⁶⁸ Advertisement - J.D.K.Z. Gin, *ODT*, 15 July 1927, p. 3.

advertisement and others like it, was that they were readily accessible by the reader. Terms such as “clean bowls”, “a spell at the crease” and “being out in the field”, accompanied by an image of flying bails and a toppling stump were all that were needed to carry the entire advertisement.⁶⁹ Equipment and specific language attached to a sport were incorporated to enhance readers’ participation. And language, as seen in the advertisement below, had the power to appeal to provincial and national sporting fans across the entire country. Understanding the rhetoric allowed newspaper and magazine readers to enter an advertisement, engage with the product and, ultimately, any promised outcome. The right words had the power to make a product appear effective.⁷⁰



Figure 9.

NZH, 13 July 1927, p. 12.

What alcohol advertising linked to medicinal properties and sport highlighted, were the spaces where men drank alcohol. This is seen in a 1928 advertisement connecting golf and stimulants. “On the golf links as well as everywhere else”, the advertisement read, “the need for a dependable stimulant often arises. There is nothing to equal brandy, and every club house should have an ample supply”.⁷¹ Alcohol advertisements associated with sport had the effect of establishing a legitimate space for the consumption of alcohol away from usual drinking locations such as hotels, private clubs and the home. It was advantageous for alcohol advertisers to display designated drinking spaces and activities associated with drinking. There was little else available which would have the wide recognition of, for example, lists of respiratory symptoms as seen in patent medicine advertising, to promote their product. The spaces where men could gather outside the home to drink alcohol offered an attractive alternative, they presented the prospect of companionship and common interests and, it could be argued, provided similar benefits to the hotels early settler males frequented. These spaces

⁶⁹ Advertisement Crown Champion Ale, *Press*, 20 September 1939, p. 12.

⁷⁰ A. Mackintosh, *The Patent Medicines Industry in Georgian England Constructing the Market by the Potency of Print*, pp. 262-263.

⁷¹ Advertisement - Hennessy’s Brandy, *NZG*, 1 January 1928, p. 19.

were used by advertisers to promote energy, relief from symptoms, promises of ongoing health, with the underlying possibility of companionship outside the domestic domain and, as stated above, to promote images of idealised, physical masculinity .

The domestic domain featured in inter-generational advice and images and these were used to highlight the message that products had been available for many years and continued to be both effective and sought after. A Wolfe's Schnapps advertisement showed a "fine old lady" surrounded by her family. Displaying three generations, the elderly woman shared the secret of her longevity - a little drink of schnapps when she was feeling unwell.⁷² The picture this advertisement presents is family knowledge and harmony. Knowledge of the efficacy of Wolfe's Schnapps as a curative agent and harmony, which in this instance is set in a well-appointed room with well-dressed people engaged in lively conversation. Tableaux such as this both included and excluded readers, depending on their social situation, while presenting an ideal setting over which some readers could linger.⁷³

While intergenerational knowledge in patent medicine was to be largely pushed aside by the words vitality and vitamins, references to vitamins were not widely used in alcohol advertising. However, they were occasionally employed by some brands. A Timaru Ale advertisement used the image of lifesavers in conjunction with the words, "brimful of vitamins".⁷⁴ And six years later a Waitemata beer advertisement, captioned "Good ale, in moderation, is a wholesome national beverage!", contained four images showing the wide appeal of beer. The largest showed two couples seated at a table playing cards, both men and one woman have glasses of beer, while the second woman has none. This interesting photographed scene indicates that beer is a suitable for both men and women and that a non-drinker can be included in a leisure activity where beer is involved. The other images are drawn - a man drinking a glass of beer while eating a meal, a tennis player in the process of playing a backhand shot, plus the quintessential image of a hand holding a glass of foaming beer. This advertisement, which included the phrase "the golden malt with its Vitamin B", encompassed alcohol, companionship, sport and a nationalistic message – the country was at war, but united by a national drink to be drunk by healthy, happy people.⁷⁵

⁷² Advertisement - Wolfe's Schnapps, *EP*, 2 June 1930, p. 17.

⁷³ G. Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 2nd ed, London, Sage, 2007, p. 12.

⁷⁴ Advertisement - Timaru Ale – *BOPT*, 14 February 1936, p. 4.

⁷⁵ Advertisement - Waitemata Beer, *EP*, 30 March 1942, p. 7.

While alcoholic beverages claiming medicinal properties could not use the appealing images of smiling babies and active children so widely used by patent medicine advertisers, the use of sporting and recreational images were powerful replacements. These advertisements showed energetic adults enjoying lives enhanced by alcoholic drinks which eased pain, replaced lost energy, calmed nerves, and kept systems cleansed and blood cooled. Appearing in a wide range of newspapers and magazines, an individual's selection of reading material would have made little difference to the type of advertisements they saw and, how often they were viewed. The four national newspapers, along with provincial and local papers plus magazines, carried advertisements for hotels and bottle stores selling alcohol, as well as advertisements for individual brands of spirits, tonic wine, beers, and ales. This spread of advertising resulted in product information reaching a wide reading audience. Readers, constantly bombarded with the possibilities of relief and cure, were presented with choices almost as endless as the claims of efficacy offered.

Advertising alcohol abruptly changed with the enactment of the Medical Advertisements Act 1942. Prohibiting any advertisements claiming to prevent, alleviate, treat, or cure ailments and disorders (of the human body) and banning testimonials "recounting the effect" of any drug or substance, the medicinal content in alcohol advertisements vanished.⁷⁶ The Act, introduced by the first Labour Government, dealt mainly with advertisements for patent medicine, other articles or services, and was introduced to end the exploitation of the public from advertisements offering cure and relief without providing any basis for such claims. While alcohol advertising was not discussed in the debates surrounding the Act, the wording of the Act was wide enough to include those claiming medicinal benefits. The liquor industry immediately complied, ceasing all advertising which contravened the Act. It could be argued that the liquor trade did not rely on advertisements offering relief and cure for continuing success and thus relinquishing these messages had no long-term detrimental effect on their trade. It did, however, offer some protection to the public who no longer read of the curative effect of alcohol. This withdrawal of information allowed the intention of the Act to be achieved - that is, the exploitation of the unwell seeking relief from pain was no longer claimed in alcohol advertising.

⁷⁶ Medical Advertisements Act 1942, No.11, pp. 62-63.

This chapter has shown how alcohol, at the beginning of the 20th century, was known as an ordinary household commodity and one used for treating illness and emergencies. The use of alcohol in the 1918 influenza pandemic has been described and Dr James Barr's table of recommended doses in the treatment of illnesses and situations, such as shock, show the varied nature of ailments treated by alcohol. Distinctive to alcohol advertising were references to overseas medical journals such as the *Lancet*, to medical institutions and members of royalty. Commonly described were rheumatic and urinary complaints, the cleansing of blood and the beneficial effect of Juniper berries. The combination of lifestyle with medicinal benefits in sports and leisure advertisements, was enhanced by alcohol claiming benefits such as those listed above and, including cleansing blood and cooling the system.

One theme used in both patent medicine and alcohol advertising was the image and voice of *mother*. However, mother in alcohol advertisements was presented in a different manner to that of the patent medicine mother who was nurse, grandmother and mother caring for her family, particularly the children. In alcohol advertising, mother was used in 1925 as a warning regarding the danger prohibition posed for managing illness and emergencies in the home. And Continuance advertising warned mothers of the danger families and the home faced, should prohibition be passed, for example: "Prohibition hits the home – takes away its privacy – renders it liable to search at any hour day or night - turns it into a government-controlled establishment – makes a mockery of the very word "home." ⁷⁷

The Quackery Act 1908, had no effect on alcohol or patent medicine advertising, and phrases such as "...cleanses the blood of impurities", "...most effective of all remedies", continued to be used with impunity and without censure.⁷⁹ This Act specifically states that it is an offence to publish, or cause to be published, reports intended to "...promote the sale of any article as a medicine, preparation or appliance for the prevention, alleviation or cure of any human ailment or physical defect, and which is false in any material particular relating to the ingredients, composition or structure, nature or operation of that article, or to the effects which have followed or may follow the use thereof".⁸⁰ Parliamentary debates concerning this Act highlighted the Medical profession's alarm regarding the manner in which the public were exploited by the Patent Medicine industry.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Advertisement – Continuance, *Press*, 10 October 1925, p. 19., 2 November 1925, p. 7.

⁷⁹ Advertisements Wolfe's Schnapps, *BOPT*, 18 December 1911, p. 1., Lane's Emulsion, *ODT*, 29 January 1924, p. 5.

⁸⁰ Quackery Prevention Act 1908, p. 177.

⁸¹ Quackery Prevention Bill, 1908, p. 21.

Conversely, the Medical Advertisements Act 1942, immediately impacted alcohol advertisements claiming medicinal benefits once it came into law. Alcohol advertising was instantly cleared of references to body organs, illness or conditions. The Act, which repealed the Quackery Act 1908, stated that medical advertisements were those where articles, substances, preparations, instruments, apparatus or methods were offered as those 'diagnosing, preventing, alleviating, treating, or curing any ailment, disorder, deformity, or defect of the human body.'⁸² The compliance of the alcohol advertisers was in direct contrast to that of the patent medicine industry.

But what did the actual advertisements tell the readers of newspapers and magazines and, more importantly, what did they mean to readers? A range of advertisements will be examined and discussed in the following chapter to clarify these questions.

⁸² Medical Advertisements Act 1942, *AJHR*, [1942, no. 11. p. 61.

Chapter Two

Dose or Tot? Unpacking alcoholic beverage advertisements offering medical properties and benefits

This chapter will examine a selection of advertisements for alcoholic beverages claiming medicinal properties and benefits. Developing some of the themes identified in the previous chapter, each advertisement will be unpacked for implicit and explicit meaning and themes such as illness and wellbeing, listing symptoms and disease, and medical voices and images, will be discussed. It should be noted that by the late 1930s and into the 1940s, the amount of advertising in general had diminished. Alcohol advertisements were fewer and smaller in number due to wartime restrictions affecting the supply of alcohol and newsprint. And contributing to these shortages was a reduction in skilled newspaper workers, with many serving in the armed forces.

One significant factor impacting the entire body of advertising researched, was legislation. In the case of alcohol claiming medicinal properties, the Medical Advertisements Act 1942 changed alcohol advertising far more comprehensively than it did patent medicine advertising. By 1943 all mention of health in alcohol advertisements vanished. The Act transformed alcoholic beverage advertising to messages of pleasure and simple statements of origin, such as a Dewar's Whisky advertisement displaying a thistle surrounded by the words "Distilled and Bottled in Scotland" and, a Dominion Breweries Waitemata beer advertisement simply stating "Beer at its best".¹

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, alcohol advertisements claiming medicinal benefits overflowed with information stating benefits, price, and place of purchase and well executed illustrations made these advertisements visually appealing. By the 1920's, the advertisements were less crowded and possibly easier to understand. For example, while lists of symptoms and illness continued to appear, more emphasis was placed on what Albrecht refers to as "selling the life the products might provide".² This is seen in a 1928 advertisement featuring a man in evening dress, with his head tipped back and drinking a glass of J.D.K.Z.

¹ Advertisement - Dewar's, NZH, 17 December 1942, p. 1., Waitemata Beer, *EP*, 12 April 1945, p. 9.

² K. Albrecht, *From Cure-alls to Calcium Tablets*, p. 137.

gin. The advertisement was headed “The Pleasant Way of Keeping Well”.³ Selling the life, resulted in advertising moving towards people and the lives they lived, with scenes such as the man in evening dress, images of a doctor’s rooms, men and women in a wet city street and a man playing golf. These advertisements all linked the advertised product with health.⁴

In the mid-1930s photographic illustrations began to appear and these effectively stimulated personal connections between readers and products by presenting real people in supposedly real situations. Although these scenes were created by the advertising industry, they appear more realistic than drawn illustrations.⁵ This can be seen in a Wolfe’s Schnapps advertisement featuring Alice who stays bright and well by taking Wolfe’s. In a coded message for menstrual distress, Alice is said to be well every day and “doesn’t suffer like other women”.⁶ Alice’s appearance is one of light and darkness, angles and texture, whereas the J.D.K.Z. advertisement below, featuring a drawn illustration, shows a one dimensional woman whose image has no depth and therefore, less reality.⁷



Figure 10.
NZWW, 7 May 1936, p. 20.



Figure 11.
EP, 3 January 1936, p.12.

³ Advertisement - J.D.K.Z. Gin, NZH, 19 September 1928, p. 7.

⁴ Advertisements - Wolfe's Schnapps, Press, 29 November 1929, p. 22., Hennessey's Brandy, Press, 29 August 1925, p. 16., J.D.K.Z. Gin, Press, 29 November 1938, p. 9.

⁵ Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, p. 16.

⁶ Advertisement - Wolfe's Schnapps, NZWW, 7 May 1936, p. 20.

⁷ Advertisement -J.D.K.Z., EP, 3 January 1936, p. 12.

The following examples present a range of advertisements outlining how their content fitted into the social context of the day. The change in cultural norms will be seen in the movement away from using institutions and well respected publications to promote alcohol in advertisements. These were, to a large extent, pushed aside by a move towards health and wellbeing. The word ‘doctor’ continued to be used, and was often accompanied by an illustration, but this was the employment of fictitious characters created solely for promotional purposes as seen in a J.D.K.Z. Gin advertisements, which included the phrase, “‘You’ve got to watch things now”, said the doctor’.⁹

Each example examined will be shown on the entire page on which it was advertised, followed by a close up of the actual advertisement under discussion. This allows for the actual placement of the advertisement to be seen alongside other advertisements and articles of the day.

⁹ Advertisement – J.D.K.Z. Gin, *EP*, 19 March 1940, p. 2.

1906 Wolfe's Aromatic Schiedam Schnapps

THE ALEXANDRIA HERALD

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 3, 1906

KEEP YOUR EYES OPEN!

... (text) ...

Take Your Alcohol

... (text) ...

WOLFE'S AROMATIC SCHIEDAM SCHNAPPS

... (text) ...

THE CRY OF A MARTYR.

... (text) ...

MOTHER SEIGEL'S SYRUP

... (text) ...

OUR NEW CATALOGUE IS NOW READY.

... (text) ...

Stewart Dawson & Co.

... (text) ...

IF you are in PAIN

... (text) ...

IF you are not in PAIN

... (text) ...

THE LONDON, OCEAN & PASSAGE CO.,
22 George Street, Darnley.

SPLENDID MEDICAL PREPARATIONS

... (text) ...

Johnston & Haditt,
15, MARK STREET, LONDON.

"BOSTON" VEHICLES

... (text) ...

WILLIAM F. BRYDLES & CO.,
10, MARKET STREET, BOSTON.

S. A. P. RABBIT POISON.

... (text) ...

S. A. P.
Solely by Messrs. ...

J. H. CAIRNS,
... (text) ...

GEO. FAUCH
... (text) ...

Woolf, Hunsay & Co.
... (text) ...

J. Richardson,
... (text) ...

WILSON & CO.,
... (text) ...

PAROID!
... (text) ...

Australian Alliance
... (text) ...

A. J. SULLIVAN,
... (text) ...

WINTER EGGS.
... (text) ...

PUBLIC TRUST OFFICE.
... (text) ...

The Public Trust
... (text) ...

Nelson
... (text) ...

Figure 10.

AH&COG, 3 January 1906. P. 6.

Take Your Alcohol

in patent medicines if you are a teetotaler. Temperance people take theirs in Wolfe's Schnapps—an article so PURE that the smallest quantity is beneficial. A little in summer drinks, for pleasure; a little at meals, for good digestion; a little at night, for sound sleep.

WOLFE'S
AROMATIC
SCHIEDAM
SCHNAPPS

Call it by its Full Name—
Wolfe's Schnapps—and take
nothing else.

Figure 10 a.

The bold heading of this small advertisement would have caught the eye of readers, whether they drank alcohol or not. Surrounded by advertisements for rabbit poison and patent medicines, this advertisement is strikingly unusual as it acknowledges the presence of alcohol in patent medicines with the words “Take your alcohol in patent medicines if you are a teetotaler”. Alcohol content was not disclosed by manufacturers of patent medicines on their labelling, although Ayer’s Cherry Pectoral for example, contained 44% alcohol compared to 40-68% in whisky and 20-49% in gin and schnapps, and Ayer’s was advertised on the same day as the above Wolfe’s advertisement under discussion.¹⁰ The above advertisement may have been an indirect notification to Prohibitionists that, willingly or not, they could be using preparations containing alcohol to relieve their various ailments.

The term “Temperance people” refers to those who drank in moderation, either for pleasure or for medicinal purposes. While readers who drank for pleasure are nominally acknowledged in this advertisement, the advertised alcoholic drink is medicalised by references

¹⁰ Advertisement - Ayer’s Cherry Pectoral, *ODT*, 3 January 190, p. 3.

to good digestion and sound sleep. Wolfe's had placed their product as a medicinal beverage from the time they began advertising in New Zealand newspapers from 1875, when it was advertised as a "safe and agreeable remedy". This continued through to 1900 when "Ladies who are in delicate health" were targeted and, to 1905, when a two-line advertisement advised that Wolfe's "Helps the Urinary Organs and Stomach".¹¹ The Prohibition and Temperance campaigns would have placed Wolfe's market under threat, especially during the period when the No-Licence campaign was active: the time when this advertisement appeared.¹² The purity of Wolfe's is emphasised, indicating that quality is more important than quantity, so even "the smallest quantity is beneficial". A little, this advertisement implies, is all that is needed, and that small amount would result in continuation of good health and would not lead to the horrors envisioned by the Prohibition movement. Disturbances to society by drunken behaviour, as outlined in the following 1901 report from the *ODT*, were emphasised by the Prohibitionists in their campaigning. Such reports would have raised concern in the liquor industry as their product was shown to cause societal disruption and was, therefore, demonised. Reports of a drunken woman, causing a disturbance in a shop, would have been abhorrent to a society aware of the problems caused by alcohol.¹³

Drunkenness.—Ellen M'Gee, who it will be remembered was given "another chance" on Tuesday, was sent to gaol for three months.—A first offender was fined 5s, with the usual alternative; and Margaret M'Nab, who got drunk and created a disturbance in a green-grocer's shop, was fined 10s, in default 48 hours imprisonment.

Figure 11.

ODT, 9 November 1900, p.6.

Wolfe's Schnapps advertising continued in New Zealand for many years. For example, in 1927 the words used were "As a medicinal beverage" it is "necessary to every household" - in 1935 it "Guards Your Health", with the last advertisements appearing in New Zealand in 1942 when it was described as "A Stimulant with Unique Medicinal Properties".

¹¹ Advertisements - Wolfe's Schnapps, *NZH*, 7 May 1875, p. 2., *Press*, 11 November 1900, p. 6., *Press*, 25 March 1905, p. 8.

¹² The No-Licence campaign was described as a 'partial prohibition' in Rev .J. Cocker, J.M. Murray, *Temperance and Prohibition in New Zealand*, London, Epworth Press, 1930., p. 79.

¹³ The further fate of Ellen McGee was reported *The ODT* on 11 November 1906, p. 7., when it was noted that she had made her 118th appearance at the Police Court for Drunkenness.

?
— Why Include —
?

Gout and Rheumatism

You favour Scotch Whisky because of its fine flavour: its stimulating action on appetite and mind—and rightly so. But a palate-pleasing flavour and an agreeable stimulation should not be considered the sole proofs of the integrity and wholesomeness of a spirit!

A Whisky whose immaturity is masked by sweetening is a menace to health. It disturbs and weakens the Digestive and Urinary Organs. It has an evil effect on Heart and Arteries. Gout, Rheumatism, and Diabetes are in its every glass.

You should pick a Whisky with care and discrimination. Only a sound, natural stimulant should satisfy a man of refined taste and good sense. Such a beverage can easily be obtained. It is that unique and beneficent spirit which is everywhere prescribed by Doctors and praised by Connoisseurs—

MACKIE'S

WHITE HORSE WHISKY

The Sugar-Free Whisky

DOCTORS WARMLY COMMEND "*White Horse*." Their long experience has proved its peculiar value for Heart, Digestive and Uric Acid troubles. They know, too, that "*White Horse*" is rich in Mellow Ethers and Higher Alcohols—the valuable constituents of Whisky for digestive and medicinal purposes.

IF YOU go about among the world's great Hospitals you will find that "*White Horse*" is the Whisky in greatest use.

FOR THE BEST part of two hundred years "*White Horse*" has been recognised as the highest standard of excellence in Whisky. This excellence is due to the superlative quality of the malt, perfect distilling, clever blending, and complete maturing.

WHEN "*White Horse*" awakes from its long sleep in sherry casks, it is a Whisky of generous age, absolute purity, exquisite bouquet and smooth, soft flavour.

*Adopt the Habit and Order
"White Horse Whisky" by name!*



*Most Healthful and Most
Satisfying Whisky on the market!*

Figure 14a.

Taking up nearly a quarter of the available space on the page, this advertisement for White Horse Whisky stands out from the remainder of the page due to the white area within the substantial borders of the advertisement and the surrounding areas. The frame adds an air of importance, almost mimicking a significant artwork, while the whiteness draws the eye up the page, allowing it to settle on the advertisement which, at first glance, appears to be two separate advertisements. The first states important information: Gout and Rheumatism can be caused by inferior whisky, and the second is, undeniably, an advertisement for Whisky. This advertisement is presented in an ordered manner and has a measured, almost detached approach

and although this advertisement is gender neutral, men were most likely to have been the target of the advertiser.

An anonymous authoritarian voice controls both sections of the advertisement, and in the first, an anti-competitive element warns of the dangers of impure whisky: “a menace to health”. This section, bookended by question marks at the top of this section, immediately places doubt in the readers mind, leaving it susceptible to the warnings which follow. The word *You* personalises the message by directly addressing the reader, but the friendly tone is quickly subdued with words such as menace and evil, and with the text stating, “Gout, Rheumatism, and Diabetes are in its [inferior whisky] every glass”. But the *you* addressed, becomes a person of discernment; one who would select a whisky with care, who would recognise an inferior and possibly dangerous product. And having been nominated as someone with good judgement and a degree of sophistication, it is implied that *you* would know where a product worthy of your purchase would be available, and would not need to be told to “beware of imitations”.

The lower half of this advertisement is split into two sections: one outlining the medical use and benefits of White Horse Whisky, the second stating its excellence as a drink. Taking the first, medical section, the whisky claims to be beneficial to health, having “particular value for Heart, Digestive and Uric Acid troubles”, but what these values and troubles are, is not disclosed.¹⁴ The reason for the product’s merit, the advertisement states, is that White Horse whisky contained “Mellow Ethers and Higher Alcohol” which are, “valuable constituents”, again no mention is made of why this is so. This section uses the word hospital and claims that this product is used among “the world’s great Hospitals”, also unnamed. The second half of the lower section is dedicated to the background of the product - distilling, blending, maturing, all leading to its overall excellence. This section ends with a paean-like description of the whisky, waking from its “long sleep in sherry casks” to emerge as an outstanding product.¹⁵ At the bottom of the whisky section are two small sentences, each contained in an oblong box. They appear to be placed under the wrong section, with the one referring to health placed directly beneath the story of White Horse superiority, while the other is beneath the section filled with medical terms. This, in effect, captures the attention of the reader, so no matter what area they are most interested in, they are prompted towards the other.

This advertisement centres around one word, ‘sugar’, which according to the advertisement is a health threat when added to whisky. But White Horse is named as the “Sugar

¹⁴ Advertisement – *ODT*, 2 January 1915, p. 12

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Free” Whisky and is, therefore, safe. Capturing one word and building an entire advertisement around it allowed White Horse to be transformed into a wholesome product worthy of medical recommendation. Words such as value, greatest use, warmly recommended, healthful, and, most telling, the world’s great Hospitals, draw the reader to the product by providing ‘evidence’ that this whisky is safe, satisfying, palatable and good value.

Endorsements like these imply that *you*, the reader, will enjoy the product, believe it is good for *you*, and will therefore benefit from its use. The justification for this belief, Preston argues, is that expert knowledge “is the basis for the endorsement”.¹⁶ That such recommendations come from unnamed doctors, connoisseurs and hospitals, mean that the information given is implied only, and this therefore invalidates the advice and praise. Further, the use of endorsements, authority figures and institutions, moves the emphasis of the advertisement away from the product and onto positive voices of promotion, that is, anonymous doctors and hospitals. And the use the pronoun *you* as seen in this advertisement, creates gender neutrality, as *you* could be either female or male. This allows the material to appeal equally to both sexes increasing the potential for sales.

¹⁶ I. Preston, *The tangled web they weave*, p. 42.



Figure 15a.

In 1925, the liquor trade was again facing a Prohibition Referendum to be held in conjunction with the forthcoming General Election. The previous two referenda, 1919 and 1922, resulted in Prohibition being narrowly defeated, and in 1925 groups on both sides of the debate had much to lose. During 1925, advertising aiming both directly and indirectly at the referendum was displayed in newspapers. The liquor industry and the Continuance faction, whether acting in concert or building on each other's arguments, reinstated a theme first seen in the second decade of the new century. In the month prior to the 1911 General Election and Prohibition Referendum, Martell's ran anti-prohibition advertisements, highlighting the potential loss of brandy for medicinal purposes, by stating that brandy would only be available by doctor's prescription. Eight years later, a 1919 Martell's Brandy advertisement consolidated the theme of brandy in the house.¹⁷ This advertisement introduced the medicine chest (cupboard and cabinet) theme in alcohol advertising. However, as no indication was given of why brandy should have that status, it is not unreasonable to assume that such knowledge would have been

¹⁷ Advertisements - Martell's Brandy, *Press*, 8 November 1911, p. 9., *NZH*, 8 2 April, 1919, p. 10.

fixed in readers' cultural understanding of alcohol and its uses. Such knowledge or assumptions are, Goldman argues, "embedded" in advertisements.¹⁸

One month prior to the 1925 referendum, Martell's Brandy placed what could be described as a provocative advertisement. Headed "Awaiting the Emergency", it laid out the medical uses of brandy and brought to the attention of readers what would be lost if Prohibition were passed. The advertisement displays a large bottle of Martell's Brandy - "Here's a specialist on the spot", the advertisement declares, "In time of emergency, accident or collapse, don't stop to ring the nearest doctor - bring him out of the cupboard. Your readiest physician is Martell's Brandy".¹⁹ Martell's in effect, has the ability to become the reader's doctor. The brief text accompanying the illustration conveys a sense of urgency: the reader needs to be equipped for emergencies. Disasters, tragedies and times of crisis are ahead and the household should be prepared. A doctor may not be readily available - the householder is on their own. You cannot, this advertisement implies, rely on authority - you need to be prepared and equipped to face whatever the future brings. And what bigger emergency for a brandy drinker than the possibility that prohibition could be enforced in three weeks time if the forthcoming referendum was won by the Prohibition vote? This advertisement, published within weeks of the election, would have aroused feelings of apprehension, if not dread, among those in the community who drank alcohol - whether for pleasure, pain relief or because they were addicted to alcohol. John Berger notes that publicity images "stimulate the imagination by way of either memory or expectation".²⁰ The memory of past occasions where alcohol had been drunk for pleasure, relief or compulsion, and the expectation of loss should prohibition be carried, would have been a persuasive message conveyed by this advertisement.

In 1925, advertisements employing the medicine cupboard theme included those for schnapps and whisky as well as brandy. For example, a Wolfe's Schnapps advertisement described Wolfe's as "A Blessing to Humanity", and "That's why I keep a bottle in the house", and Dewar's declared that its whisky "should be in every medicine chest".²¹ The National Alliance advertisements were equally emotive and while not using the cupboard theme, they favoured advertisements featuring children and the dangers alcohol posed to their safety and future.²² Continuance and Prohibition messages intersected when they highlighted threats to

¹⁸ R. Goldman, *Reading Ads Socially*, p. 1.

¹⁹ Advertisement - Martell's Brandy, *ODT*, 12 December 1925, p. 2.

²⁰ J. Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, London, Penguin Books, 1972, p.129.

²¹ Advertisements - Wolfe's Schnapps, *NZH*, 4 July 1925, p. 17., Dewar's Imperial Whisky, *NZT*, 3 October 1925, p. 17.

²² Advertisements - National Alliance, *Press*, 31 October 1925, p. 6., *EG*, 3 November 1925, p. 6.

society and the outcome of these threats were presented as having potentially significant consequences for the entire electorate. While the dangers outlined contrasted dramatically, there was a area of similarity – safety in the home. Safety, on the Continuance side was a community allowed to purchase alcohol to use in the home for medicinal purposes. And the Alliance promoted alcohol-free homes providing safety and security for children and women and ultimately, the future.²³



Figure 16.

NZH, 7 December 1922, p. 4.

The Alliance advertisement above showcases the danger to drinkers, women and children and the words “Lead Us Not Into Temptation”, evoked the Lord’s prayer thus appealing to Christian voters of all denominations. In contrast a Continuance advertisement informed readers that “It will be a criminal offence to keep a bottle of brandy in your medicine chest if Prohibition

is carried”.²⁴ This advertisements contained three messages: the householder would be liable to prosecution, a potential loss of liberty and, alcohol would not be on hand for illness and emergencies.

The combination of advertisements from the liquor industry, the Prohibition and Continuance factions and, to a much lesser degree, State Control, would have created a collective mass of information which would have made it difficult for newspaper and magazine readers to ignore. The Martell’s “Awaiting the Emergency” advertisement above, the Continuance advertisements regarding brandy in the house, along with advertising promoting alcohol for use in sickness and convalescence would have created a sense of urgency in the community regarding the fate of alcohol.

The number and repetitive nature of medicine cupboard theme advertising and back-up advertisement highlighting alcohol use during convalescence, and showcasing alcohol as a pleasant drink, resulted in an accumulation of information.²⁷ The importance of advertisements showing pleasure in drinking was, it could be argued, crucial to the liquor industry’s advertising during the prohibition era. For example an advertisement showing a woman on her own, enjoying a cocktail, contains two important messages. Firstly, this displayed to all readers, what would be lost if the referendum were won by the prohibitionists: social occasions involving alcohol would be illegal.²⁸ Secondly, this young woman, with bobbed hair, short dress and holding a glass in hand, represented a community of young, modern, voting women who enjoyed more control over their lives than their predecessors. Freedom, once achieved by women, included the freedom to dress as they pleased and, to drink alcohol, and these may have been aspects of life in the 1920’s that women would not have wanted to lose to the prohibitionists.

²⁴ Advertisement - Continuance, *NZH*, 2 November 1925, p. 7.

²⁷ Advertisements – Martell’s Brandy, *NZT*, 14 November 1925, p. 11., Coate’s Plymouth Gin, *Press*, 3 September 1925, p. 3., Gilbey’s Dry Gin, *NZT*, 19 September 1925, p. 20.

²⁸ Advertisement – Gilbey’s Gin, *ODT*, 29 May 1925, p .5.



Figure 17.
ODT, 23 January 1925, p. 3.

An aggregate of advertisements, Pollay argues, creates a widespread influence intended to attract attention and impact readers' behaviour. He further states that this aggregation is due to the variety of advertising, the repetitive and constant nature of advertisements and importantly, that advertisements are seen by readers moving away from established "sources of cultural influences", such as churches.²⁹ Such an aggregation existed when Prohibition, Alliance and liquor trade advertising came together during the Prohibition Referenda years.

²⁹ R. Pollay, *The Distorted Mirror: Reflections on the Unintended Consequences of Advertising*, *Journal of Marketing*, Apr 1, 1986; 50, 2; pp. 18-36, p. 21.



“GOOD HONEST BEER”

FOR BODILY HEALTH

A glass or two of beer at the end of the day's work is almost a tradition with the English working man. It refreshes him after his labours: it builds strength for the morrow.

Here in New Zealand this age-old English custom also prevails, for "Beer is the Wine of the British Race." In Auckland the 5 o'clock reviver is "LION"—the wholesome product of an Auckland industry dating back to the year 1862.

The Khyber Pass Breweries not only constitute an important Auckland industry in themselves, but their products also give strength and energy to thousands of workers in other industries throughout the Province.

MADE BY
NEW ZEALAND
BREWERIES LTD.
KHYBER PASS

LION PALE ALE

Figure 18a.

A muscular man is depicted in this 1936 Lion Pale Ale advertisement. Wearing boots and chaps, shirt tied around waist, he holds a pickaxe in one hand while the other raises an oversized handle of foaming beer: “ ‘Good honest beer’ for bodily health”. This idealised and inspirational picture shows a strong healthy man dressed for the hard work of re-building the nation. A glass of beer after a day’s work is noted as being “almost a tradition with the English working man”, and this custom, the reader is told, continues in New Zealand.³⁰ The oversized glass of foaming beer is a prop joining the man and his work to the product. Goldman argues that where the function of the product is “supplemented” by an added value, the added value could be symbolic of what a reader may be wishing for and, this value could be as real as the product itself. After the depression, this may have been a wish for a more prosperous country

³⁰ Advertisement - Lion Pale Ale, *NZH*, 21 September 1936, p. 26.

in which to live and work.³¹ The working man is shown here as after a day of hard labour and his reward is a glass of Lion beer. This vital man is ready to be part of the country recovering from the depression - he is a symbol of liberation for men who were unemployed as well as a sign of hope for a prosperous future – in effect he is showcasing a patriotic message of recovery and expansion. On display also is the motif of strength and fitness which conveyed, Macdonald writes, “powerful currency in politics and culture”.³²

The image is stark: the working man, his equipment, his glass of beer. This is in complete contrast to the numerous alcoholic spirit advertisements showing men sitting in clubs, and engaging in various sports. This working man needs no companions or unnecessary props, such as sporting equipment, to state his case - the achievement of bodily health through Lion Pale Ale. Indirectly, he is re-building the country’s financial, physical and social health after a period of severe economic depression. While the working man motif was not used as frequently in alcohol advertising as that of middle, or upper class, non-labouring men, another example can be seen in a 1931 Timaru Table Ale advertisement featuring haymaking.³⁴

The mirroring of the health of citizens with economic health is apparent in the final section of the ad: “The Khyber Pass Breweries not only constitute an important Auckland industry in themselves, but their products also give strength and energy to thousands of workers in other industries throughout the Province”.³⁵ An important point here is that the breweries were providing employment, as well as energising thousands of workers in the Province after years of unemployment and hardship. The advertisement is not contained in a frame suggesting expansion of both the man, his family, and his country. There is also a strong element of sexual appeal in this advertisement. Post-depression, after years of hardship and poor diet, it is unlikely that many young men had the physique shown here. Such a muscled body may have been one that men aspired to and women and homosexual men found desirable. Men with overly chiselled upper bodies labouring in the quest of rebuilding the country and featuring in 1930’s advertisements were described by Tim Frank as “energetic breadwinners.” The images of male breadwinners, he maintains, were the leading examples “relating to masculinity and work in the first half of this [20th] century”.³⁶

³¹ R. Goldman, *Reading ads socially*, p. 5.

³² C. Macdonald, *Strong, Beautiful and Modern*, p. 169.

³⁴ Advertisement - Timaru Table Ale, *NZH*, 12 February 1931, p. 15.

³⁵ Advertisement - Lion Pale Ale, *NZH*, 21 September 1936, p.26.

³⁶ T. Frank, ‘Bread Queues and the Breadwinners: Gender in the 1930s,’ in C. Daley & D. Montgomerie (eds), *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1999, pp. 112-140, p. 112
Ibid. pp. 112-114.

The motif of a hand holding a glass of beer was used frequently in beer advertisements throughout the 1920's, 1930s and into the 1940s.³⁷ These images appeared to be an archetypal representation of New Zealand drinking habits and one many newspaper readers would know, and one they could readily identify with.

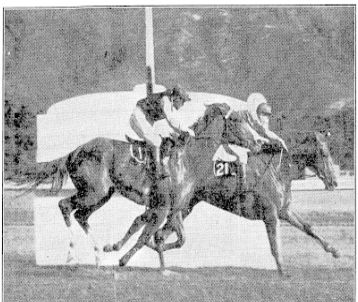
³⁷ Advertisements - Kaka Ale, *ML*, 26 April 1922, p. 5., Brown Jug Beer, *EP*, 10 October 1936, p. 13., Waitemata Beer, *EP*, 21 February 1942, p. 12.

1940 J.D.K.Z. Gin

OTAGO DAILY TIMES, TUESDAY, JANUARY 23, 1940.

TRENTHAM MEETING
BEAU VITE BEATS NORSEMAN
DOUBLE TO LADY TINKLE
NIGHT ERUPTION WINS SPORT

(Our Own Press Association)
WELLINGTON, Jan. 22.—The third and final day of the Wellington Handicap... The winner was Beau Vite...



AN OUTSIDER'S VICTORY
Lord Pack, the thirteenth favourite, leading the favourite, Sir Cruise, past the post in the finish of the Down Cup at Trentham.

WALLACEVILLE HIGH-WEIGHT HANDICAP
OF £200. One mile.
4-5-Lady Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)
1-3-The Ring, 90 lb. (W. J. Mather)

THE THAMES MEETING
OF £200. One mile and three furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)

ROPU HANDICAP
OF £200. One mile and two furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)

CITY HANDICAP
OF £200. One mile and two furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)

REARUM HANDICAP
OF £200. One mile and two furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)

NOTES ON THE RACING
NORSEMAN'S GOOD DEED
(From Our Special Reporter)
The Wellington Handicap meeting was continued in beautiful conditions...

FAREWELL HANDICAP
OF £200. Six furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)

ASHURST MEETING
NOTUM WINS THE CUP
OF £200. One mile and two furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)

FORNANIA HANDICAP
OF £200. One mile and two furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)

STEWARDS HANDICAP
OF £200. One mile and two furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)

LOUO CROWN MEMORIAL HANDICAP
OF £200. One mile and two furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)

FAREWELL HANDICAP
OF £200. Six furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)

TROTTER AT WANGANUI
DOUBLE WINNERS
SLIPPER SAM AND LLANVORON
(From Our Own Press Association)
WANGANUI, Jan. 22.—The Wanganui Trotting Club...

BOUGHOR HANDICAP
OF £200. One mile and two furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)

SUBERIAN HANDICAP
OF £200. One mile and two furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)

BALANCE HANDICAP
OF £200. One mile and two furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)

STEWARDS HANDICAP
OF £200. One mile and two furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)

FAREWELL HANDICAP
OF £200. Six furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)

ROUGHOR HANDICAP
OF £200. One mile and two furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)

SUBERIAN HANDICAP
OF £200. One mile and two furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)

BALANCE HANDICAP
OF £200. One mile and two furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)

STEWARDS HANDICAP
OF £200. One mile and two furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)

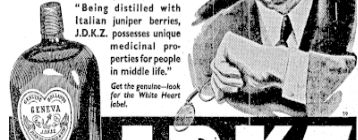
LOUO CROWN MEMORIAL HANDICAP
OF £200. One mile and two furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)

FAREWELL HANDICAP
OF £200. Six furlongs.
1-Beau Vite, 100 lb. (W. J. Mather)
2-Beau Vite, 95 lb. (W. J. Mather)



Thanks for the tip
De RESZKE
are so much better
CORK, IVORY, OR FILTER TIPS
THE ARISTOCRAT OF CIGARETTES

WHAT THE DOCTOR
TOLD M^r JENKINS—
(He was over Forty)
You've got for another forty years
if you take reasonable care. I suggest that you have a nightly tot of genuine J.D.K.Z. Gin to stimulate the kidneys and ward-off rheumatic complaints.



J.D.K.Z. GIN
The Genuine Holland's GIN
The Hawke's Bay and Nelson Second Trotting Cup was won by the late Mr. J. D. K. Z. Jenkins...

TROTTER NOTES
By Special
JANUARY 22—Arthur Park T.C.
JANUARY 23—Marathon T.C.
JANUARY 24—Wanganui T.C.

THANKS FOR THE TIP
THANKS FOR THE TIP
THANKS FOR THE TIP
THANKS FOR THE TIP

Figure 19.
ODT, 23 January 1940, p. 2.

Figure 19a.

J.D.K.Z. advertising, in 1940, concentrated on advising readers over the age of forty that they were entering the time when extra care was necessary if they wished to enjoy continuing good health. The advertisement above is an example of this style of advertising - a genial doctor figure looks directly from the page towards the reader. Unlike depictions of doctors in previous decades, he is not surrounded by medical equipment, such as stethoscope, nor is he shown writing a prescription.³⁸ The doctor figure has moved closer towards the reader and appears more approachable: the stern doctor visage has been abandoned, replaced by a more sympathetic figure.

The second J.D.K.Z. advertisement, where the doctor voice is again summoned, appears to be almost a twin to the first. But this second advertisement contains no doctor figure, but a woman saying, "My Doctor told me!" and once again referencing age.

³⁸ Advertisements - Carlton Tonic Stout, *NZH*, 6 August 1938, p. 21., Gilbey's Invalid Port, *ODT*, 13 December 1924, p. 4.

MY DOCTOR
told me!

After 40 both men and women need a safe, dependable stimulant to keep clear of rheumatism, gout, sciatica, kidney and liver troubles. Such a health-aid is J.D.K.Z. Gin. Distilled with precious Italian Juniper, it possesses unique medicinal properties. Keep a bottle in the home! Take a dose every night with hot water and lemon.

J.D.K.Z.
Geneva **GIN**

Look for the White Heart Label. In flasks, pints and quart bottles, at all Hotels and Bottle Stores.

Figure 20.
ODT, 12 March 1940, p. 2.

Both advertisements reference the curative agent of the gin as Italian Juniper, variously described as “Italian juniper berries” and “precious Italian Juniper”. The advice Mr Jones is given in the first advertisement, is that he should take a “nightly tot” which will stimulate his kidneys and “ward-off rheumatic complaints”. The advice given to the woman however, differs. The list of complaints has expanded to include gout, sciatica, and liver problems. Described as a “health-aid”, the woman is directed to take a “dose every night”.³⁹ While the J.D.K.Z. advertisers have cast their net wide by addressing both men and women, what is striking is how the dispensing, or the directions of how the drink should be taken, is framed: “tot” for men, and “dose” for women. The word “dose” further medicalises an advertisement already heavy with names of organs and illnesses.

There is third advertisement in this series which shows a doctor with a patient. Here the wording has changed with additional benefits claimed: “cleanse the blood stream” and “keep your system is good working order”.⁴⁰ How this would be achieved is not expanded on, apart from the continuing presence of, and praise for, Juniper berries. This third image shows a

³⁹ Advertisements - J.D.K.Z. Gin, *ODT*, 23 January 1940, p. 2., 12 March 1940, p. 2.

⁴⁰ Advertisement - J.D.K.Z. *Press*, 6 February 1940, p. 11.

doctor engaged with his patient, who in return appears to be paying close attention to what the doctor is saying. This face-to-face consultation shows a closer relationship between doctor and



Figure 21.

Press, 6 February 1940, p. 11.

patient than depicted in previous decades. For example, a 1929 Wolfe's Schnapps advertisement shows two scenarios - one contemporary and the other showing a doctor's rooms eighty years prior. In both the patient figures are sitting in positions slightly below the doctor, hats held in hands, as if asking humbly for favours.⁴¹

The 1940s advertisements showed significant difference as to how doctors in advertisements were shown in relation to patients. The tone of the J.D.K.Z. advertisements is friendlier: one-to-one conversations rather than the earlier distanced, slightly dictatorial approach used in advertisements showing doctor-patient exchanges. The Social Security Act 1938 had made doctors more readily available to the public and in response to this radical social change, J.D.K.Z. moved the doctor closer to his patient in both language and physical distance. It should be noted that prior to these 1940 advertisements, J.D.K.Z. had not used doctor images in their advertising and from 1941-1945 no J.D.K.Z. advertisements were seen in the

⁴¹ Advertisement - Wolfe's Schnapps, *Press*, 29 November 1929, p. 22.

newspapers and magazines researched. This may have been the result of an absence of an imported spirit, caused by shipping disruptions occurring during World War 2.

The full page containing the “What the Doctor told Mr Jenkins” advertisement (Figure 15.), illustrates an interesting point regarding J.D.K.Z. advertising. They did not use photographic images at a time when photographs were in use in alcoholic beverage advertising, as seen for example, in Wolfe’s Schnapps and Ward’s Amber Ale.⁴² This page shows a photograph of a woman holding a De Reszke cigarette, which when compared to the doctor image, highlights the impact of photographs and their ability to bring a different dimension to advertising.

The examples examined in this chapter have shown themes used by advertisers in alcoholic beverages claiming medicinal properties including the offers of relief and cure. Medical images, lists of symptoms and naming specific illnesses were employed and while the use of testimonials and naming institutions such as hospitals were less frequently used, they did occasionally appear.⁴³ The historical connection between alcohol and the alleviation of symptoms and pain is highlighted in the Martell’s advertisement where the continuing presence of brandy in the medicine cupboard was used to identify what the loss of available alcohol would mean for the treatment of ailments and emergencies in the community. Here the advertisers of spirits, such as brandy, promoted their products as long-established medical aids to further the Continuance cause in the 1925 Prohibition referendum and, to protect the future of the liquor industry. While photographic images were not prevalent in alcohol advertising, the full pages shown, allow for the emergence of photography to be seen. The manner of how an alcoholic product should be drunk presented an interesting anomaly in the J.D.K.Z. Gin examples - the words tot and dose, introduced a gender specific instruction of how gin should be drunk for health.

⁴² Advertisements - Wolfe’s Schnapps, NZWW, 7 May 1936, p. 20., Ward’s O.M. Invalid Stout, *Press*, 18 February 1938, p. 14., Waitemata Beer, *EP*, 21 February 1942, p. 12., 30 March 1942, p. 7.

⁴³ Advertisements - Boomerang Brandy, *Press*, 24 October 1901, p. 2., Lion Ale and Stout, *R&OT, W&KG*, 31 January 1934, p. 3.

Chapter Three

Health and happiness: Patent medicines containing alcohol and the medicalisation of tonic wines

In patent medicine advertisements, distressed children were held up for scrutiny, the elderly, the depressed and distraught, the unwell and the worried well, were paraded page after page in daily, weekly, and monthly publications. Testimonials from both satisfied users and the medical profession were common. Although alcohol was present in many patent medicines, consumers may have been unaware of this due to a lack of information on labels and packaging. While alcoholic drinks required no markers declaring their nature, alcohol content was not mentioned in patent medicine advertising and this exclusion was misleading. Take for example Lane's Emulsion: while fresh eggs and Cod Liver Oil were named as ingredients, the 7% brandy was not. What was mentioned repeatedly in these advertisements, was the beneficial effect both patent medicines and tonic wines had on health, and therefore, on happiness.

These two words, health and happiness, frequently featured in advertising for tonic wines, while the phrase "Happy because healthy" was used by Lane's Emulsion.¹ Equating health to happiness, or happiness to health, enabled the two states to appear attainable by newspaper and magazine readers. Health and happiness was available from over-the-counter proprietary medicines and by tonic wine (red wine infused with a variety of extracts including bark, beef and malt). Patent medicines and tonic wines were promoted by the advertising industry as being key to the resolution of many physical and psychological conditions. Most patent medicines did not display product content on bottles, packaging, or in advertising material, while the tonic wines overstated the importance of added extracts. The source of promised relief and cure in these products was not established. However, the alcohol content was the one ingredient which would have relieved pain and elevated mood - both of which could be construed as either pain relief or cure, or possibly as both. The importance of alcohol in these products was heightened when products containing coca were made illegal by the introduction of legislation. When coca was outlawed, alcohol provided some measure of relief for a variety of ailments.

¹ Advertisements - Wincarnis, *NZH* 27 November 1909, p. 6., Hall's Wine, *BOPT*, 16 June 1925, p. 8., Lane's Emulsion, *NZH*, 19 April 1941, p. 11.

This chapter will examine how the manufacturers and the advertising industry promoted these products - new conditions, such as bad breath, were defined and groups such as mothers and the depressed were targeted. Shoring up claims made in this advertising material were testimonials from satisfied users, and doctors and nurses. The medical testimonials were relentlessly anonymous and the number of recommending doctors seen in tonic wine advertising, for example 5,000, 17,000 and 20,000, appear not only implausible but impossible to verify.²

During the first part of the 20th century patent medicines were readily obtainable from chemist shops and grocery stores, both of which supplied goods by mail-order, and this service was possibly extended to telephone orders, as shown in a Bonnington's Irish Moss advertisement.³ Many patent medicines were marketed as being effective for several complaints: for example, Lane's Emulsion claimed it was a safe, reliable treatment for a variety of respiratory infections, as well as effective against "general weakness [and] nerve troubles".⁴ Woodward's "Gripe Water" was advertised as "a perfect" remedy for babies' stomach and teething problems and, "equally good" for "internal disorders of older children and adults".⁵

The advertisements presented the public with information offering cure and relief based on nothing other than manipulative text.⁹ Doctors in New Zealand, however, did not advertise their services and had no means, apart from reputation, for their expertise to be known. But advertisements offering relief from physical and psychological symptoms, frequently contained images of fictional nurses and doctors and these had the power to conjure up the presence and expertise of the healing professions.¹⁰ Such imagery promoted products suggesting respite was only a purchase away and these, combined with the presence of the advertised doctor's voice, had the effect of sanctioning the medicinal value of these products. Based on deceit, the advertisements moved the focus from the product, to anonymous and likely fabricated medical voices and images.¹¹

Many early advertisements for patent medicines ranged from soothing to shrill in tone, and from vaguely threatening to impossibly cheerful. Daniel Pope described such advertising

² Advertisements - Serravello's Tonic, *ODT*, 31 January 1913, p. 3., Wincarnis, *NZT*, 12 May 1927, p. 7., *Press*, 24 October 1933, p. 5.

³ Advertisement - Bonnington's Irish Moss, *EP*, 12 April 1938, p. 8.

⁴ Advertisement - Lane's Emulsion, *NZH*, 25 May 1925, p. 4.

⁵ Advertisement - Woodward's "Gripe Water", *NZH*, 15 May 1925, p. 14.

⁹ D. Dysktra, 'The Medical Profession and Patent and Proprietary Medicines during the Nineteenth Century', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, Vol 29, No.5 (September-October 1955), p. 401.

¹⁰ Advertisements - Wincarnis Tonic Wine, *ODT*, 6 February 1915, p. 6., Bostona Tonic Wine, *Press*, 4 August 1934, p. 2.

¹¹ V. Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders*, London, Longmans, 1957, p. 75.

as containing “extravagant promises,” “irrational appeals to hopes and fears” and implied “threats.”¹² Advertisements were also created to inspire trust: they spoke directly to the reader in language in which suffering was acknowledged, and assistance and support were offered in readily obtainable over-the-counter remedies.

The voices used in advertisements designed to medicalise patent medicines and tonic wine, were not confined to the medical and nursing professions. Pharmacists and scientific figures were also employed as seen in a 1929 Bonnington’s advertisement which featured a man holding a test tube and the words “As if made to your own prescription. Carefully compounded by skilled pharmacists.” The use of the words “your own prescription” had the effect of moving Bonnington’s from a generic preparation to one personally formulated for an individual’s use.¹³ This personalisation, and, the expertise of the person preparing the mixture, had the effect of increasing the value of the product. A similar theme appears in a 1941 Lane’s advertisement where a white-coated man peers down a microscope, accompanied by the words “There’s more good in Lane’s Emulsion.”¹⁴ However, there was no explanation of what these words meant, or what the product was being compared to. These examples show how advertisers used words such as pharmacist and prescription, displayed scientific equipment and in doing so created an illusion of medical authority which gave patent medicines an aura of legitimacy and efficacy.

The importance of words is also seen in the advertising of patent medicines produced and sold by local chemist shops.¹⁵ Like national and international brands, none mentioned how the proposed cure and relief would be realised. There were two exceptions overall: Lane’s Emulsion and Bonnington’s Irish Moss. Bonnington’s advertising relied heavily on the promotion of oxymel and carrageen, described in one advertisement as “the pectoral Oxymel of Carrageen”. Bonnington’s, a mixture of honey, vinegar, and seaweed extract, used the word *pectoral* to reference the chest.¹⁶ Lane’s Emulsion advertisements refer to fresh eggs and Cod Liver Oil as being the ingredients which promoted health. Cod Liver Oil, containing vitamins A & D, became increasingly important in Lane’s advertising after the discovery of vitamins.¹⁷

¹² D. Pope, *The making of modern advertising*. p. 249.

¹³ Advertisement - Bonnington's Irish Moss, *NZT*, 5 September 1929, p. 14.

¹⁴ Advertisement - Lanes Emulsion, *Press*, 13 August 1941, p. 4.

¹⁵ Advertisements - Bettle’s “Extra Strength” Cough Cure, *Press*, 2 June 1945, p. 5., Brittain’s Cough Balsam, *NZT*, 28 October 1922, p. 8., Lamb Chemist, Kof-No-More, *NZH*, 16 July 1913, p. 2., Bain’s Influenza Remedy, *ODT*, 14 June 1945, p. 8.

¹⁶ Advertisement – Bonnington’s Irish Moss, *EP*, 13 July 1945, p. 8.

¹⁷ Advertisement – Lane’s Emulsion, *NZH*, 30 July 1945, p. 3.

Other mainstream and well-advertised remedies included Chamberlain's Cough Remedy, Hearn's Bronchitis Cure and Wood's Great Peppermint Cure. These products and those made by local chemists, shared many similarities. While they contained alcohol, other ingredients remain unknown, the word "doctor" featured in advertising and the product names frequently included words such as "cure" and "remedy". The precision with which words were used provided a declaration of a products effectiveness and when this illusion of cure and remedy was bolstered by testimonials from medical professionals and satisfied users, the urge to purchase patent medicines to provide relief from unpleasant symptoms would have been strong.

Testimonials were commonly used in patent medicine and tonic wine advertising. For example, the following advertisement for Hearn's Bronchitis Cure contained eleven letters sent to the manufacturer.¹⁸ Each letter was headed by a specific ailment, such as asthma, and each

HEARNE'S BRONCHITIS CURE

**THE FAMOUS REMEDY FOR
COUGHS, BRONCHITIS, ASTHMA, AND CONSUMPTION,
HAS THE LARGEST SALE OF ANY CHEST MEDICINE IN THE WORLD.**

Those who have taken this medicine are amazed at its wonderful influence. Sufferers from any form of Bronchitis, Cough, Difficulty of Breathing, Hoarseness, Pain or Soreness in the Chest, experience delightful and immediate relief; and to those who are subject to Colds on the Chest it is invaluable, as it effects a Complete Cure. It is most comforting in allaying irritation in the throat and giving strength to the voice, and it neither allows a Cough or Asthma to become chronic, nor Consumption to develop. Consumption has never been known to exist where "Coughs" have been properly treated with this medicine. No house should be without it, as, taken at the beginning, a dose is generally sufficient, and a Complete Cure is certain.

BEWARE OF COUGHS! REMEMBER THAT EVERY DISEASE HAS ITS COMMENCEMENT, AND CONSUMPTION IS NO EXCEPTION TO THIS RULE.

<p>BRONCHITIS AND ASTHMA. A Sydney Resident Suffered for Over Sixty Years. So bad he dared not stir. Relieved in a few minutes by Hearne's Bronchitis Cure. Would give £50 for the same benefit rather than suffer.</p> <p>Mr. W. G. Hearne, Dear Friend.—Chronic Bronchitis I had from birth, and I am now 66 years old. Some time back I contracted Asthma, and for months I was so bad that only remedy that had previously relieved smothering was of no use to me. I was so bad that I dared not stir, and spent the winter night I ever had. When in a conversation, Mr. March, J.P., of Broken, Sydney, kindly told me that a friend of his was using your Bronchitis Cure, and that it was good. So my sister bought me a bottle of it, and in a few minutes after taking the first dose I could breathe a little. The next day I was better, and kept getting better every day. Today I am better than I have been for the last seven years. I took the medicine as directed, six bottles, and it took me less than £4. I would give £50 for the same benefit rather than suffer as I did. Please make what use of this letter you think fit. If by so doing it would only come one to get rid of this fearful complaint.—Yours faithfully, WILLIAM CANNHAM, 26 Curtis Road, Belmont, Sydney.</p>	<p>BRONCHITIS. A Sydney Stock and Share Broker expresses Gratitude and Appreciation of Hearne's Bronchitis Cure. It Proved a Most Effective Remedy for a Severe Attack of Bronchitis.</p> <p>Mr. W. G. Hearne, Dear Sir,—I lately had a severe attack of Bronchitis, and, acting on the advice of a friend, obtained a supply of your Bronchitis Cure. I am pleased to inform you it has proved a most effective remedy, causing me to feel grateful to you for furnishing such a valuable medicine to the public. May you meet with the success you so well deserve. I place this communication at your service, and remain Dear Sir, yours faithfully, HENRY FRONCI, Stock and Share Broker, 55 Pitt-st., Sydney.</p>	<p>NINE MONTHS SUFFERING. Relieved by one dose of Hearne's Bronchitis Cure, and cured by two bottles.</p> <p>Mr. Hearne, Dear Sir,—I wish to add my testimony to the wonderful effect of your Bronchitis Cure. I suffered for nine months and the cough was so distressing I had at nights I was obliged to get up and sit by the fire. I had medical advice, and tried other remedies, without avail. I tried yours, and never had a fit of coughing after taking the first dose, and though I have had but two bottles, I feel I am a different man, and the cough has vanished. You may depend upon my making known the efficacy of your wonderful remedy to anyone I see afflicted.—Yours faithfully, JAMES ANTONIOV, Dargaholm, Victoria.</p>	<p>BRONCHITIS. An English Lady so ill that the Doctor held out no hope. Was given Hearne's Bronchitis Cure, and it effected a Complete Recovery.</p> <p>Mr. Hearne, Dear Sir.—No long time I had occasion to visit the old country, and before leaving Melbourne purchased a bottle of Hearne's Bronchitis Cure, which I took with me. I arrived in Leeds, I found that my niece, Miss L. Matthews, was suffering from a very severe attack of Bronchitis, in fact, she was so bad that the family doctor held out no hope for her recovery. She was then given Hearne's Bronchitis Cure, according to the direction on the label, and I am very pleased to say that it effected a complete cure. R. J. MATTHEWS, 6/o Allan & Co., Collins-st., Melbourne.</p>
<p>HEARNE'S BRONCHITIS CURE. Its Efficacy in Chest Complaints Testified to by a Grateful Victorian.</p> <p>Mr. W. G. Hearne, Dear Sir,—I have much pleasure in adding my testimony in praise of your invaluable Bronchitis Cure. I have used it for the last three or four years, and its efficacy I have fully proved in common colds, severe colds, croupy coughs, and other similar chest complaints. I have given it to infants a few weeks old, young children and adults of all ages, and have never known it to fail in relieving at once, and rapidly effecting a cure with a few doses. I have recommended it to many of my friends, and they have fully proved its wonderful curative properties. I feel very grateful to you for a chest medicine so valuable, and cheap enough to be available to anyone. Trusting its present popularity and sales will be doubled, I am, yours very gratefully, EDWARD JONES, Mount Bruno, Mokean, via Geelong, Vic.</p>	<p>ASTHMA 25 YEARS. Immediately relieved by Hearne's Bronchitis Cure.</p> <p>Mr. W. G. Hearne, Dear Sir,—I have been a martyr to Asthma for about 25 years, and have tried almost all known remedies for the complaint and have been under the treatment of leading physicians throughout the Australian States. I determined to try one more, but let nature take its course. Two years ago I was asked to try your Asthma Cure, but I laughed at the idea. However, by the persuasion of a very old friend, 3 weeks ago I commenced the first bottle of your treatment. Almost immediately I found that I had made a mistake by not taking it first, and so much do I feel relieved that I take this opportunity of sending this testimonial long for you to make whatever use you may think fit. I intend to purchase a second bottle, and I trust that before I have finished the third bottle I shall be able to write to you that I am perfectly cured. I am pleased to see the success of your wonderful medicine. Yours very gratefully, PHIL HANN, 37 Camden St., Balclutha, Victoria.</p>	<p>ASTHMA. A Sufferer 73 Years of Age Cured by Hearne's Bronchitis Cure.</p> <p>Mr. Hearne, Dear Sir,—I am thankful to say that the medicine you sent for Asthma has had a wonderful effect. I have not taken all the Bronchitis Cure, as I did not need it; therefore I send you my hearty good wishes for your future success. I should be well, for the benefit of others, make it known to all I know. I am 73 years of age.—Yours truly, JOHN BRAY, Alliance-street, Clunes, Victoria.</p>	<p>CONSUMPTION. Patient Recovering.</p> <p>Mr. W. G. Hearne, Dear Sir.—We purchased some time ago 12 bottles of your Bronchitis Cure, and can unhesitatingly say that it has given great relief from the intolerable throat irritation that my daughter experienced. Previous to using the Bronchitis Cure she would have two or three attacks nightly, but now she can sleep through the night, and on waking simple clear snot drops from phlegm she had a slight attack of Consumption, but seems to be recovering, though of course slowly. Yours gratefully, G. MACKIE, Kilmuir, Taranaki, New Zealand.</p>
<p>HAY ASTHMA. A Severe Attack Relieved in Ten Minutes by Hearne's Bronchitis Cure. The effect was wonderful.</p> <p>Mr. W. G. Hearne, Dear Sir.—About three weeks ago, while in the vicinity of muddy chaff, I gradually felt a difficulty to breathe. My nose began to run, and all appearances I was developing a severe attack of Bronchitis or Asthma. As last I could stand it no longer. I then tried your Bronchitis Cure, and its effect was wonderful. In less than ten minutes I was all right again. Such a result, and so quick, astounded me. This is no exaggeration, I am pleased to say.—Yours truly, S. H. MAYO, J.P., Meredith, Victoria.</p>			
<p>BRONCHO-PNEUMONIA. Two Severe Cases cured by One Bottle of Hearne's Bronchitis Cure.</p> <p>Mr. W. G. Hearne, Dear Sir,—Kindly forward without delay another small bottle of your Bronchitis Cure. The bottle I had from you has cured two of my children, but I do not feel safe without it in the house. I have also recommended it to my friends. I lost a fine little girl, three years of age, from Influenza and Broncho-pneumonia. I truly believe that I had had your medicine my child would not have died, for the other two, a boy five years old, and a baby eight months old, were suffering exactly in the same way, and it acted like magic on them; in fact, a small horrid cure, both of them; so trusting you will forward it without delay.—I am, yours, most gratefully, (Mrs.) E. D. WARD, Castilla, via Swift's Creek, Gippsland, Vic.</p>			

Small Size, 2/6; Large Size, 4/5. Sold by Chemists and Medicine Vendors, and by the Proprietor.

W. G. HEARNE, CHEMIST, GEELONG, VICTORIA.

FORWARDED BY POST TO ANY ADDRESS WHEN NOT OBTAINABLE LOCALLY.
New Zealand Branch Office: No. 11, First Floor, Hearn's Buildings, Willis Street, Wellington.

Figure 22.
AH&COG, 2 August 1911, p. 3.

¹⁸ Advertisement - Hearn's Bronchitis Cure, AH&COG, 4 March 1908, p. 3.

detailed how the product had helped the writer, or their family. While the writers of such testimonials were not known to the reader, they would have been instantly familiar as many readers would have known, for example, the distress of loved ones struggling for breath, or knowing someone suffering from bronchitis or consumption. Recognition of illnesses and identification with others would have been influential in making decisions on purchasing patent medicines for symptom relief or longed-for-cure. The experience of reading testimonials of recuperation and recovery displayed situations readers could identify with and this, when joined by face-to-face accounts of recovery from family or friends, reinforced advertised messages. Oral endorsements of the merits of patent medicine which, when played in concert with a barrage of newspaper and magazine advertisements, would have produced potent aural-visual messages which not only supported the advertisers' claims, but reinforced ongoing views of illness and cure. However, written testimonials from satisfied users were fundamentally dishonest as no dissenting voice was ever heard and readers had no way to determine the veracity of the writers. Furthermore, testimonials financially benefited the manufacturers and advertising industry and were used solely to entice new buyers and keep current users engaged with the product.¹⁹

The combination of written and word-of-mouth testimonials, when backed by a community history of use, would have made the attraction of seemingly instant cures irresistible. In a Woodward's advertisement, where "Granny told Mother and Mother told me," intergenerational knowledge is portrayed and generously passed on.²⁰ The theme, mother knows best, was frequently seen in patent medicine advertisements and this conveyed a sense of trust, authority, expertise and comfort. New mothers, possibly in unfamiliar environments, may have had no maternal figure with whom to discuss difficulties in managing a baby - and advertisements filled this gap. However, whether it was memory of a person such as mother, a physical place, or a specific situation, what these advertisements offered were illusions, and the onus was on the consumer to turn such illusions into reality.²¹ And it could be argued that if a product should fail to deliver the expected relief, the purchaser would see that they, not the product, were at fault.

While identification with the writers of testimonials would have been important, status also played a vital role. Not only was the word of medical and allied professionals powerful,

¹⁹ D. Pope, *The making of modern advertising*, p. 249.

²⁰ Advertisement - Woodward's "Gripe Water", *ODT*, 3 June 1924, p. 5.

²¹ C. O'Carroll, 'Cold Beer, warm hearts': Community, Belonging and Desire in Irish Pubs in Berlin', in T. Wilson (ed.) *Drinking cultures: Alcohol and Identity*, Oxford, Berg, 2004, p. 52.

endorsements from key members of the community added to a product's prestige. On the first day of the new century, J. Blizzard, J.P., and Town Clerk [Picton], recommended Chamberlain's Cough Remedy, advising that there was always a bottle in his house. However, while Blizzard states what this product has done for him, ("...breaks up a cough or cold"), he does not elaborate on his credentials for such a recommendation.²² Nevertheless, his occupation as Town Clerk and position as a Justice of the Peace were seen by the advertiser as having the power to inspire trust.

New disorders requiring medical attention were created by the advertising industry and Gillian Dyer describes this practice as being solely for the purpose of selling more products. She notes that patent medicines advertising offered treatments for possibly every known ill and for "...hitherto unknown conditions ...," were foisted on the public by the patent medicine industry.²³ "It acts like magic, and it cannot do any harm," an advertisement for Woodward's claimed, before further stating that this preparation is for "all the hundred-and-one ailments to which baby is heir", including, in a list of baby bothers, peevishness which is classed in this advertisement as an ailment, rather than a baby simply being fractious.²⁴ Marchland notes that the 1920s saw advertisers introducing previously unknown conditions, and he describes illness as a "democracy of afflictions: available to all and from which no one is excluded."²⁵ Newspapers and magazine readers were warned of the imminent risk of new ailments, including summer sluggishness, night starvation and tell-tale tongue, all described in embellished advertisements filled with unproven claims.²⁶ High on the list of such conditions were those related to blood, and the connection of blood and substances with corrective products had historical precedence: Schivelbusch writes that in the 1700s, coffee was touted as a blood purifier, and that tea "cleanses the vital fluids."²⁷ An emphasis on blood can be seen in the 20th century where blood continued to be a popular target for cures. For example, Lane's Emulsion advertisements referenced blood in 1907 by stating its use would assist in "...making it [blood] rich, red and pure," and decades later in 1941, where Lane's "...enriches the blood."²⁸

²² Advertisement - Chamberlain's Cough Remedy, *Press*, 1 January 1900, p. 5.

²³ G. Dyer, *Advertising as Communication*, p. 46.

²⁴ Advertisement - Woodward's "Gripe Water", *NZH*, 1 October 1926, p. 16.

²⁵ R. Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, pp. 340, 218.

²⁶ G. Dyer, *Advertising as Communication*, London, Methuen, 1982, p. 46.

²⁷ W. Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise*, translated by D. Jacobson, New York, Pantheon, 1992, pp. 19-84.

²⁸ Advertisements - Lane's Emulsion, *ODT*, 2 July 1907, p. 7., *NZH*, 19 April 1941, p. 11.

Notions of suffering, such as that caused by defective blood, were neatly-packaged by advertisers into maladies for which they offered relief and cure. These conditions could be prevented, treated, or alleviated by the very product in which the implied condition was first seen by an unwell reader. This experience is described by William Leiss, Stephen Kline & Sut Jhally as advertising having the power to generate imagined needs in readers.²⁹ Production of fabricated needs results in generating false hope for ailments, real or imagined. Pamela Pennock writes that in the 1920s, a consumer culture focused on pleasure emerged as advertisements encouraged spending.³⁰ It could be argued that patent medicine and tonic wine advertising encouraged illness by naming symptoms, offering solutions and in doing so, motivated some readers to join an illness culture. Mackintosh notes that reading information on patent medicines allowed the product to become more effective than the actual content of the product warranted, creating a placebo effect and this, he contends, was a function of the power of the imagination to create illness as well as wellness.³¹ Advertisements for patent medicines gave the reader opportunities to visualise real or imagined physical and psychological problems and presented a means by which they could remedy their distress. In “The Distorted Mirror: Reflections on the Unintended Consequences of Advertising,” Richard Pollay quotes Howard Gossage who argues that moving personal matters such as bad breath, into those becoming social taboos requiring attention, demonstrates the success of advertising.³² This can be seen in a Bonnington’s advertisement displaying a man working outdoors, a situation where workers are susceptible to catching a chill. If a worker “catches a bit of temp”, the advertisement recommends keeping a bottle of Bonnington’s, containing 6% alcohol, in his [the worker’s] hip-pocket. Dispensing with spoons, the worker is encouraged to “sip, sip, sip”, directly from the bottle rather than going home and keeping warm. Working out of doors, “subject to all weathers” is one of Gossage’s “personal matters,” and one requiring protective clothing.³³ The description of carrying on working, catching a chill and resorting to a patent medicine, would have attracted the attention of those workers who could not afford lost wages through illness, and likening a bottle of cough syrup kept in a hip-pocket, to a hip

²⁹ Leiss, et. el, *Social Communication in Advertising*. p. 26.

³⁰ P. A. Pennock, *Advertising Sin and Sickness: the politics of alcohol and tobacco marketing, 1950-1990*, Illinois, Northern Illinois University Press, 2007, p. 6.

³¹ A. Mackintosh, *The Patent Medicines Industry in Georgian England Constructing the Market by the Potency of Print*, p. 223.

³² H. Gossage, ‘The Gilded Brough: Magic and Advertising: in the *Human Dialogue: Perspectives on Communication*, Floyd W. Matson and Ashley Montague, (eds) New York, Free Press, 1967, cited in, R. Pollay, *The Distorted Mirror: Reflections on the Unintended Consequences of Advertising*, p. 24.

³³ Advertisement - Bonnington’s Irish Moss, *EP*, 19 26 August 1943, p. 7.

flask (usually filled with an alcoholic spirit), conjures up the warmth and comfort provided by an alcoholic drink. Naming an ailment, or in this case designating working outdoors as a situation requiring specific attention, suggests to the reader that something special, or additional, is needed. In this instance outdoor work is nominated as potentially dangerous, and one requiring knowledge of a patent medicine to stay safe and continue working. The wording of such advertisements and the variety of ailments displayed, may have reinforced concepts of illness in the minds of newspaper and magazine readers. At various times, many people feel more, or less, distressed, and during periods of such suffering, lists of named complaints provide readers with opportunities to name misery and match vague symptoms to disease thus allowing a remedy to be sought and administered.

Identification with advertised symptoms would have validated the use of patent medicines and tonic wines by providing readers with a reason for their suffering and offering a ready access to relief or cure. However, few details of these products were given in advertisements: what was being promoted were implied benefits and, as such, may have relied more on faith than reality. An advertisement for Congreve's Elixir illustrates this. Containing a testimonial from a Methodist Minister and offering the inducement of a free booklet on the treatment of consumption, the only reference to the actual product is the statement "For 87 years the standard remedy for lung and bronchial complaints."³⁴ No details were provided on the product's various ingredients, which included 28.5% alcohol, or of the Minister's expertise to make this claim.

While these advertisements were first and foremost for the benefit of the advertiser, there is an argument that they could be read as health messages urging people to use their products to ward off influenza (Bonnington's), or if ill recuperate quickly (Lane's) or to target specific areas (Congreve's).³⁵ The Bonnington's example gives specific advice including the patient going and staying in bed, watching their temperature and guidance on diet. Information on patent medicines disseminated knowledge through advertisements in newspapers and magazines and this information enabled many people in the community to maintain, or believe they could maintain, some control over their own health without the intervention of medical professionals whose services may not have been affordable, accessible or desired.

To keep readers and therefore, potential purchasers of patent medicines engaged, advertisements responded to and reflected the culture in which they were published. Changes

³⁴ Advertisement - Congreve's Elixir, *ODT*, 21 April 1914, p. 2.

³⁵ Advertisements - Bonnington's Irish Moss, *NZT*, 15 April 1922, p. 3., Lane's Emulsion, *NZH*, 29 April 1936, p. 20., Congreve's Elixir, *Press*, 23 May 1914, p. 7.

in society can be seen in the language and images used in advertisements. This shift is illustrated in two Bonnington's Irish Moss advertisements, published two decades apart. The first in 1925, shows two silhouettes - a moustached man and a child, possibly a boy. While the man is spooning Bonnington's into the child's mouth, the text of this advertisement (concentrating on palatability, various diseases, and symptom relief) appears strangely remote from the shadowy image of the man and child. This advertisement is unusual in that it features a man giving medicine to a child: an image uncommon during the 1920s and this may have been the reason the silhouetted figures were used. However, the male input was sanctioned as the advertisement contained the message that "mother knows the value of Bonnington's", thus maintaining mother's place as guardian of family health while extending this role to a father figure. Two decades later: a mother holds a spoonful of Bonnington's towards her son. Both she and the child are smiling and the text reads "OK Mum, It's not too bad!" (says Willie)" and in this case the problem is a "wretched cold". While symptoms and relief are mentioned, the text is more personal, with the mother being referred to as *mother, she, and her*. The adult image here has been rendered as a cheerful mother, confident her child will soon be well, and the illustration shows connection between mother and child and the text engages with the images. The words "mother knows", have morphed into "Yes, Mum knows", reflecting the changing nature of society – women's roles had been transformed during the war years, which were, in April 1945, entering their final stages, and the general outlook was more positive for both world peace and Willie's cold.³⁶

Patent medicine advertising in New Zealand portrayed a society where no one needed to be unwell or unhappy, as help was not only on hand but constantly displayed in newspapers and magazines. Pollay describes advertisements as being repetitive in their wording with the same language continually in use.³⁷ Such relentless reinforcement, asserting that purchase equals improvement in health and outlook, was likely to have been influential as readers saw and identified with advertisements showing well, happy people displaying the type of life they may have been striving towards. The style and emotive nature of patent medicine advertising made anything seem possible - respite was available for the entire family from chemist and grocery stores. So called cures were not only readily available, they were marketed in varying sizes allowing potential long-term users the opportunity to trial small amounts for efficacy and purchase by smaller households. Those under financial constraints may not have been able to

³⁶ Advertisements – Bonnington's Irish Moss, *NZT*, 13 June 1925, p .7., *ODT*, 13 April 1945, p. 8.

³⁷ R. Pollay, *The Distorted Mirror: Reflections on the Unintended Consequences of Advertising*, p. 26.

purchase their remedy of choice, however readers had recourse to a wide range of similar products should a first choice disappoint or be unavailable.³⁸

While medical themes were common in patent medicine advertising throughout the period 1900-1942, they did not remain static. A 1907 Bonnington's advertisement, showing a nurse holding a spoon and bottle in her hands while she leant over a man in a hospital bed, claimed the product would "cure chest complaints." The importance of this message was strengthened by a testimonial from Mr John Findlay of Hawera telling of the relief he received from Bonnington's.³⁹ This medical theme shifted slightly in 1926, when a movement away from illness emerged. Addressing a more specific audience in the *Ladies' Mirror*, Lane's offered a free Health Book. The medical motif continued but was offered in a conciliatory manner. Lane's wanted readers to be well with or without their product and the advertisement emphasised the free book covered "general health, out-door living and the care of consumptives", it was "not just a 'patent medicine booklet,' full of exaggerated claims".⁴⁰ Health, this advertisement stressed, meant happiness and although the emphasis was on health, medical content was used to legitimise this claim. Prompted by the discovery of vitamins, Lane's advertising continued to move from the principles of symptoms and relief towards a more optimistic and healthy future, and by the 1940s these advertisements appeared to take on a more positive attitude. In an advertisement on 1 August 1940, Lane's children were "bright eyed with rosy cheeks and sturdy limbs."⁴¹ While the emphasis was moving towards health, sickness remained at play with Lane's protecting themselves from losing the illness market by continuing to name diseases and stating how protection from these could be achieved. In an advertisement covering the entire family and headlined "Good for the Young – Good for the Aged, Lane's played both hands by declaring it had "...strength building goodness," and was "A Shield Against Coughs and Bronchitis."⁴²

Keeping the nation's families well appeared to be a full-time occupation for patent medicine advertisers and parents. While both parents were addressed in advertisements for

³⁸ The variety of preparations available for respiratory illness would have presented readers with wide and possibly confusing choices. In August 1917, for example, the four national newspapers advertised all the cough preparations examined in this study, plus many others products such as Loasby's 'Stop-It' *Press* 27 August 1917, p. 10., Nazol, *ODT*, 18 August 1917, p. 8., Tussicura, *NZH*, 2 August 1917, p. 5., Peps, *EP*, 16 August 1917, p. 4.,

³⁹ Advertisement - Bonnington's Irish Moss, *NZH*, 10 May 1910, p. 8.

⁴⁰ Advertisement - Lane's Emulsion, *LM*, 1 October 1926, p. 72.

⁴¹ Advertisement - Lane's Emulsion, *NZH*, 1 August 1940, p. 6.

⁴² Advertisement - Lane's Emulsion, *Press*, 31 October 1940, p. 4.

products concerning children's health, mother was the main target and thus was highly visible in patent medicine advertising. In these advertisements, mothers were displayed as defenders of the family and it was a role the advertising mothers took on with aplomb. Adrian Bingham argues that during the inter-war period women were seen by the advertising industry as spending the bulk of the family income, and accordingly many advertisements were aimed directly at this potential source of revenue.⁴³ However, advertising for patent medicines over the entire period under study was largely directed at women and the messages these advertisements broadcast to mothers would have been compelling. The lack of effective remedies for illness and infections required constant vigilance as a simple cough could herald a significant illness resulting in death rather than recovery.

While the mother theme saw mother-figures variously presented as Hearn's goddess-like figure and Chamberlain's alert granny, mothers were usually portrayed as the ordinary woman who maintained household wellbeing - the woman who knew how to care for her family and protect it from danger.⁴⁴ And advertisers made women very aware of the many dangers facing their families. Young women were portrayed as being distressed over a cold. Children required protection from "...weakening infection and dread disease", and men were shown being in danger if they went out in bad weather.⁴⁵ Direct appeals to women were commonplace and advertisers promoted women as guardians of family health. Consequently, the newspapers and magazines were flooded with advertisements urging women to be alert for signs of sickness, and to be aware that specific types of curative products could prevent, alleviate or cure ailments that might strike. The warnings mothers faced ranged from the stark, "When baby wakes screaming and you don't know what is wrong," to the breezy "Mum's very good pal." These advertisements played on fear; fear that children and therefore, the entire family, were in danger, and also provided reassurance that a product could avert disaster as shown by Mum's "very good pal".⁴⁶ Two Bonnington's advertisements illustrate how this was accomplished. Four years apart, each advertisement shows a mother with a child or children. Both mothers are pictured spooning cough syrup into a child's mouth. In the first advertisement, mother is warned that troubles, such as whooping cough, croup and colds could

⁴³ A. Bingham, *Gender, Modernity and the Popular Press in Inter-war Britain*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004. p. 31.

⁴⁴ Advertisements - Hearn's Bronchitis Cure, *Press*, 2 October 1915, p. 16., Chamberlains Cough Remedy, *Press*, 23 July 1919, p. 3.

⁴⁵ Advertisements - Bonnington's Irish Moss, *EP*, 13 July 1945, p. 8., Lane's Emulsion, *ODT*, 18 September 1937, p. 2., Bonnington's Irish Moss, *Press*, 18 April 1934, p. 15.

⁴⁶ Advertisements - Woodward's "Gripe Water", *EP*, 21 October 1926, p. 17., Bonnington's Irish Moss, *ODT*, 6 August 1942, p. 3.

visit the household. In the second warning are given that unless Bonnington's is given to the children, other family members could catch a cold.⁴⁷

Advertisements which played on parental emotions are what Goldman refers to as "seeking legitimacy by joining cherished values and social relations to products."⁴⁸ The sentiments these advertisements play on are the very foundations of family life, raising healthy children plus the belief of being, and been seen as, caring, competent parents. Warning parents of the dangers of colds, croup and whooping cough raised flags of fear. Whooping cough, a much-dreaded childhood disease which, at the beginning of the 20th century, repeatedly appeared along with measles, scarlet fever and diphtheria epidemics, was thought to be spread by overcrowded schools.⁴⁹ An advertisement mentioning whooping cough and showing a small boy, cap on head, school books under arm, would have played on such fears.⁵⁰ Health was also high on the agenda in Lane's advertising, with this focus evolving over the years. In 1903, Lane's claimed to "heal diseased lungs, to cure colds, to strengthen frail bodies," and was described as a "Medicine & food combined." By 1915 this description expanded to "...an antiseptic medical food," and in 1925 Lane's was labelled as "a pure and wholesome medicine." However, in 1929 a reversal occurred when Lane's was declared to be "...not so much a medicine as a food" and again a year later when Lane's was termed as "...not 'just a medicine' but really and truly a food".⁵¹

Advertisements highlighting family, and intergenerational advice and images, were used to emphasise the message that a product had been available for many years and continued to be both effective and sought after.⁵² However, while the patent medicine industry promised relief in advertisements and indicated the longevity of their products, the alcohol content of these products was never stated. Ascertaining alcohol content in the patent medicines discussed in this thesis was straightforward, with one exception, Hearn's Bronchitis Cure. However, in email correspondence with the Cotter Medical History Trust's Claire Le Couteur, Ms Le

⁴⁷ Bonnington's Irish Moss, *Press*, 30 June 1925, p. 4., 2 September 1926, p. 7, 26 June 1930, p. 3.

⁴⁸ R. Goldman, *Reading ads Socially*, p. 85.

⁴⁹ M. Tenant, *Children's Health, The Nation's Wealth*, Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 1994, p. 27.

⁵⁰ Advertisement - Bonnington's Irish Moss, *Press*, 30 June 1925, p. 4.

⁵¹ Advertisements - Lane's Emulsion, *Press*, 11 June 1903, p. 3., *GRA*, 29 July 1915, p. 7., *Press*, 17 June 1925, p. 5., *Press*, 11 May 1929, p. 3., *NZT*, 24 April 1930, p. 3.

⁵² Advertisements - Bonnington's Irish Moss, *NZT*, 29 April 1922, p. 6., *NZH*, 19 March 1941, p. 12.

Couteur reported speaking to a retired pharmacist regarding Hearne's Bronchitis Cure and whether it would have contained alcohol. He responded that one component, squill, would be in tincture form containing alcohol. Also, many of the inactive ingredients would have come from an alcoholic extract. He estimated Hearn's Bronchitis Cure may have contained 5-7% alcohol.

The following table shows the range of alcohol in some of the preparations discussed in this study.

Table 4.

Product	% alcohol	Years available in New Zealand
Ayer's Cherry Pectoral	44 %	1883-1922
Baxter's Lung Preserver	1 %	1896-1945
Bonnington's Irish Moss	6 %	1888-1945
Congreve's Balsamic Elixir	28.5 %	1914 only
Hearne's Bronchitis Cure	5.7 % Est.	1901-1941
Lane's Emulsion	7 %	1899-1945
Woods Great Peppermint Cure	7.5 %	1895-1945
Woodward's "Gripe Water"	3.6 %	1924-43

Patent Medicine alcohol content, and years products available in New Zealand

The question of whether alcohol content in many patent medicines was exploitative is complex. Considering the convenient access most of the population had to patent medicines, and the paucity of medical cure or relief, these preparations could provide symptom relief which may have appeared to effect a cure. Such cure may have been the result of an illness or complaint with a variety of symptoms, some of which could have been addressed by whatever patent preparation was used. It may have been that any improvement in health was the result of the ebb and flow of illness and had little to do with any intervention. While the promise of relief or cure could be interpreted as manipulation on the part of the manufacturer, the addition of alcohol provided relief for some ailments, such as the relentless pain suffered in many arthritic conditions. Symptom relief and 'cure', may also have resulted from a placebo effect as discussed above.⁵³

⁵³Refer F/N 31, A. Mackintosh view on imagining wellness

The availability of reliable pain relief was highlighted when products containing coca and similar ingredients were banned, leaving many sufferers without access to reliable analgesics. One effective and safe preparation available was Acetylsalicylic Acid or Aspirin, first advertised (in the newspapers under review), in the *EP* on May 5 1919, under the brand name “Nicholas’ “Aspro.”⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ Aspirin was, and remains, a valuable analgesic and anticoagulant, but in 1919 this new product had no history of use and therefore no community knowledge of efficacy. Aspro advertising contained messages of safety, international success, testimonials and warnings of imitations.⁵⁶ However, the comparatively small amount of advertising Aspro produced could scarcely compete with the flood of products advertised in newspapers and magazines, as shown in the following table. Also advertised but not included in this table, were alcoholic beverages, including tonic wines, offering symptom relief.

Table 5.

Year	Aspro	Baxter’s	Bonnington’s	Lane’s Emulsion	Wood’s
1920	282	1443	421	4	97
1925	137	1133	201	60	45
1930	170	785	189	198	236
1935	190	893	62	734	14
1940	140	32	50	420	2
1945	126	12	30	4	5
Total ads	1045	4298	953	1420	399
Total Beyer’s	1045				
Total others	7070				

Number of Beyer’s Aspro advertisements, compared with four patent medicines, 1920-1945, in New Zealand newspapers.

Apart from family and community knowledge regarding patent medicines, other factors were important in maintaining these as effective analgesics. They were convenient, readily available and well priced. It is worth noting that the cost of medical attention could have made

⁵⁴ Advertisement - Nicholas’ “Aspro”, *NZH*, 5 May 1919, p. 3.

⁵⁵ Nicholas Aspro was manufactured in Australia during World War 1, when supplies of German manufactured Beyer Asprin were interrupted. The name Nicholas referenced the Australian manufacturer’s surname and this along with the word Aspro was registered as a trademark to differentiate it from Beyer Asprin. – Source <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/nicholas-alfred-michael-7836> accessed 31 March 2019.

⁵⁶ G. Rice, *Black November*, writes that Aspirin was recommended and used in the 1918 Influenza epidemic pp. 116, 122, 163. He also states that the amount of Asprin type medication used prior to 1918, and the availability of these are unknown, p. 40. My research found no advertisements for Acetylsalicylic Acid products prior to 1919.

orthodox medical treatment unavailable to some sectors of society, thus leaving them vulnerable to promises seen in patent medicine advertising. In the *EP*, 28 February 1910, in a letter to the Editor, a correspondent, *WEKA*, wrote concerning doctor's fees. *WEKA* compared a labourer or artisan's day wages of eight to eleven shillings with a doctor receiving 7/6 to 10/- for a five-minute consultation. "Thousands," *WEKA* wrote, "are either prevented from consulting a medical man at all, or, in time, with the result that many of them suffer life-long pain, disease or deformity".⁵⁷ Medical attention would have been out of reach for many. Working people were "suspicious of doctors", Sandra Coney reports, seeing them as expensive and thus only for those who could afford their services.⁵⁸ In the same month *WEKA*'s letter appeared, bottles of Lane's Emulsion could be purchased for 4/6 and 2/6, (J.D.K.Z. Gin was priced at 4/6 and 5/6 and Hennessy's Brandy, 6/6 and 8/6.)⁵⁹ Lane's, other patent medicines as well as alcoholic beverages, may have bought relief to the unwell without the cost of doctor's fees and chemist's charges, both of which may have been difficult to justify in some households. That unwell people should seek relief for their ailments by using patent medicines was encouraged by advertisers. Chamberlain's, for example, used the expense of doctors' visits as a selling point in the following advertisement where a neighbour's recommendation for the product, avoided the cost of a doctor's visit.

⁵⁷ Letter to the Editor, *EP*, 28 February 1910, p. 2.

⁵⁸ S. Coney, *Standing in the Sunshine*, p. 94.

⁵⁹ Advertisements - Lane's Emulsion, *GRA*, 15 February 1910, p. 4., Clyde Quay Hotel Bottle Store, *NZT*, 26 February 1910, p. 2.

When influenza first attacked father we had only been married a few months and I cannot tell you how I worried. It was a bad attack too, and you have no idea the physical and mental suffering it caused him or how it defied treatment. In those days the expense of a doctor's visit meant a lot to us and I was at a loss to know just what to do. Then a neighbour told me of Granny Chamberlain and

Chamberlain's Cough Remedy

It was wonderful what prompt relief it gave him, how quick the pain in the chest disappeared, the fever subsided, and how it enabled him to rest comfortably. Since then I have often had occasion to use Chamberlain's Cough Remedy for influenza and have never known it to fail or any bad after effects when it was used. Now you can understand why I say it is my best friend and your best friend.

"Now be sure you get Chamberlain's"

A Grateful Mother

Figure 23.

NZH, 13 October 1917, p. 6. (Supplement)

Potent words and actual or written recommendations would have had the effect of drawing customers into chemist shops to purchase remedies and seek advice, and it could be argued that chemists were in fact, acting informally as medical practitioners. The possible lack of access to doctors, the cost of treatment, plus the convenience of chemist shops near public transport and, routine visits to chemists for advice, were factors put forward by Tony Pensabene as why chemists provided an additional medical service in colonial Victoria.⁶⁰ It seems possible that these reasons could be equally valid in New Zealand in the first half of the

⁶⁰ T.S. Pensabene, *The rise of the medical practitioner in Victoria*, Health Research Project, Research Monograph 2, The Australian National University, Canberra 1980, pp. 8-9.

20th century. It is also acknowledged that many chemists offered a mail-order service for their products, often post-free, and this expanded the geographical range of their customers and allowed readers the opportunity to source proprietary medicines, and other products sold by chemist, shops away from the gaze of their local community.⁶¹ This allowed readers with little access to medical attention or, living in remote areas without a local chemist shop, to treat their ailments at home.

When Kazimierz (Casimir) Funk discovered vitamins in 1912, this new knowledge of understanding health and illness, flowed into the world of patent medicine advertising.⁶² Previously, advertisements used intergenerational images and messages offering experience and long-held knowledge to sell over-the-counter remedies. However, this wisdom was challenged when themes of vitality, vitamins and sunshine came to the fore. In 1915 the New Zealand public were alerted to the discovery of vitamins when the *NZH* ran a small article called “Dietetics and the War.” This article described a lecture, held in Melbourne, by Professor W.A. Osborne, on the discovery of vitamins and how these “chemical substances” had a “remarkable bearing upon the health and growth in human beings”.⁶³ In the newspapers and magazines reviewed, there were a growing number of articles concerning vitamins. For example, an article in the *Otago Daily Times* outlined the three known vitamins (A, B, C), their benefits, and diseases such as scurvy, caused by their absence in diets.⁶⁴

The marketing potential of vitamins was quickly recognised and soon incorporated into food and medicinal advertising. In August 1924, just nine years after the *NZH* report, Lane’s responded to the new discovery by running an advertisement which carried a simple explanation of what vitamins were and why they were essential. Entitled “Good for Children” (a phrase repeated three times), “mysterious little-known substances,” vitamins, were likened to oil necessary for keeping an engine running smoothly.⁶⁵ The advertisement acknowledged Vitamins B and C were found in readily available foods such as eggs and green vegetables,

⁶¹ Advertisements - Hearn’s Pharmacy Wanganui, *NZT*, 11 December 1920, p.4., A. Eccles Chemist, *NZH*, 13 July 1935, p. 7., Bettle’s Chemist, *ODT*, 17 December 1945, p. 3.

⁶² S. Berger, “Kazimierz (Casimir) Funk - Pioneer in Vitaminology - 101 Anniversary of His Discovery - Special Note,” *Polish Journal of Food and Nutritional Sciences*, Vol.63. Iss.4. December 2013, pp. 201-2055.

⁶³ Comments - Dietetics and the War, *New Zealand Herald*, 25 November 1915, p.6.

⁶⁴ Life-Giving Vitamins - Revelation of Science, *Otago Daily Times*, 9 April 1921, p.13.

⁶⁵ Pollay notes that repeated phrases such as “Good for Children” are used in advertisements to attract readers attention and impact their behaviour. *The Distorted Mirror*: p. 21.

however the best supply of Vitamin A was Cod Liver Oil, found in Lane's and which "the little ones will like, and will take it gladly".⁶⁶ Considering that vitamins were discovered in 1912, New Zealand advertisers rapidly and wholeheartedly incorporated them into patent medicine advertising.

The year immediately following Lane's first vitamin advertisement, Lane's featured a sunray image in an advertisement describing their product as a "pure and wholesome medicine," and this advertisement listed illness, including rickets.⁶⁷ Between 1922 and 1925, the four metropolitan newspapers ran articles on the causes of rickets, with headlines including 'New Curative Rays,' 'Sunlight and Health,' 'The Sun Cure,' and 'New Light on Rickets.'⁶⁸ This information would have resulted in the general population becoming conscious of the importance of sunlight and Vitamin D for health. The emphasis Lane's placed on health, as well as illness, rose from many quarters including the new knowledge of vitamins, the Plunket Society (established 1907) with its ongoing promotion of healthy babies, and the creation of health camps in 1919 for malnourished children.

The health of all New Zealanders was highlighted when The Physical Welfare and Fitness Act 1937, was passed. Designed for the "Development of facilities for, and the Encouragement of Physical training, Exercise, Sport and Recreation...", this act was intended to provide New Zealanders with opportunities to become fitter and more active in physical recreation.⁶⁹ Macdonald notes that while the Labour Government was in step with Britain, Australia and Canada regarding national fitness schemes, New Zealand's Physical Welfare and Fitness Act 1937, combined with other Government initiatives, such as the 40 hour working week, was working towards a "...a major commitment to social security" where a good life was available to all New Zealanders.⁷⁰ Lane's ran an advertisement in the four national New Zealand papers in 1939 which was headed "Let's build a nation". The body of this advertisement featured a map of New Zealand with the words "Lane's Emulsion is essential for building a stronger and fitter nation".⁷¹ Not all patent medicine advertising reflected the intent of the Physical Welfare and Recreation Act 1937 but there was enough movement in the content of some advertisements, especially regarding children's health, to indicate a response

⁶⁶ Advertisement - Lanes Emulsion, *ODT*, 15 August 1924, p. 8.

⁶⁷ Advertisement - Lane's Emulsion, *Press*, 15 July 1925, p. 7.

⁶⁸ Articles - New Curative Rays, *NZH*, 10 April 1924, p.9., Sunlight and Health, *EP*, 22 June 1925, p. 11., The Sun Cure, *Press*, 29 May 1923, p. 11., Medical Notes, *NZH*, 30 September 1922, p. 3. (Supplement).

⁶⁹ Physical Welfare and Recreation Act 1937, p. 53.

⁷⁰ C. Macdonald, *Strong, Beautiful and Modern*, p. 165.

⁷¹ Advertisements - Lane's Emulsion, *EP*, 31 May 1939 p. 17, *ODT*, 17 August 1939, p3.p.3., *NZH*, 14 June 1939 p. 2., *Press*, 8 June 1939, p. 15. (Supplement).

from the advertising industry. Illness had been pushed back by images and words referring to health, as in a Lane's advertisement featuring a small boy, in which the readers were exhorted to "Give them Vitality Now. It will be theirs for life. Lane's Emulsion will build healthy bodies, strong firm limbs – the finest inheritance you can give your children".⁷² Macdonald argues that manufacturers of well-known products in Britain and the "white Dominions" used sport and physical fitness in their advertising to embrace the new national fitness schemes and, by doing so, profit from them.⁷³ And Lane's, manufactured in New Zealand, was sold in Australia, England, and the Pacific Basin.⁷⁴

In 1938, with the express wish to develop the welfare of New Zealanders, the Minister of Finance, Walter Nash, spoke in Parliament during the debates on the proposed Social Security Bill. "Public Hospital treatment is to be entirely free, as are the general-practitioner services" he stated, and, "In addition to the general-practitioner service, there will be the right to receive all drugs and appliances that are prescribed by a qualified general-practitioner".⁷⁵ The subsequent Social Security Act 1938, arising from those debates, contained provisions which provided New Zealanders, as Nash had stated, with medical, pharmaceutical and hospital benefits previously unavailable. This allowed many people access to medical care and medication which had been, due to financial reasons, previously out of their reach.⁷⁶ That the entire population had the ability to visit a nominated, or chosen, General Practitioner for advice on illnesses, may have resulted in a movement away from purchasing patent medicines (and alcohol) to relieve various ailments. However, this would be difficult to establish as during the period from the inception of this Act until September 1945, the makeup of New Zealand's population was skewed due to the number of men and women serving overseas and the reduced amount of imported alcoholic products available, due to shipping disruptions.

However, the culmination of these Government actions can be seen in the following examples. At the New Zealand Centennial Exhibition (November 1939 - May 1940), a talking robot named "Dr Well & Strong" focusing on family health and happy homes, featured in the Health Department's exhibit. Welcoming visitors with the words "Welcome to the "Highway of Health and Happiness", Dr Well and Strong covered topics including health at play and

⁷² Advertisement - Lane's Emulsion, *NZH*, 19 October 1940, p. 8.

⁷³ C. Macdonald, *Strong, Beautiful and Modern*, p. 156.

⁷⁴ C. Searle, North Otago Museum, Victorian Heritage Celebrations and the Story of Lane's Emulsion.

<https://culturewaitaki.org.nz/north-otago-museum/blog/victorian-heritage-celebrations-and-story-lanes-emulsion> accessed 19 November 2019.

⁷⁵ Hansards, Parliamentary Debates. v, 252 1938, Social Welfare Bill, August 16, 1938, p. 333.

⁷⁶ J. Carylton, 'Friendly Societies 1842-1938', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Oct. 1998, Vol. 32. (2), p. 124.

work, at school and at home. Also available from the Health Department's exhibit was a section providing information of the new Social Security Department along with printed material on health and welfare.⁷⁷ The second example, a 1941 Lane's advertisement, features a laughing girl vaulting over a smaller boy. The children are robust and well dressed, symbolising a caring, stable environment.⁷⁸ The illustration of rays and the text promotes health and strength, and the intent of this advertisement is the presentation of health and happiness which is entirely achievable by regular doses of exercise, and of Lane's. This advertisement reflects good social welfare provision, entirely in line with Government policies.



Figure 24.

EP 14 June 1941, p. 14.

In the period 1940-45, Lane's advertising used both photographic and drawn illustrations of healthy, happy children as shown above. The illness advertisements continued but were considerably fewer. Lane's, it seemed, were intent on providing positive messages rather than images of sick children, text filled with symptoms and the possibility of dire outcomes. This may have to some extent been due to World War II. Newspapers were filled

⁷⁷ J. Martin, 'The Highway to Health and Happiness in the Government Court', in W. Renwick, *Creating a National Spirit: Celebrating New Zealand's Centennial*, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2004, pp. 59-60.

⁷⁸ Advertisement - Lane's Emulsion, *EP* 14 June 1941, p. 14.

with war news and lists of casualties. Many women were alone in charge of households and children with little support. Lists of illnesses and the possibility of death would not have encouraged the purchase of a product. Rather pictures of robust laughing children would have engendered feelings of positivity and hope for a better, peaceful future.

Tonic Wines

Over the counter and mail-order service offered by chemist shops allowed for the discreet purchase of tonic wines. These were advertised extensively and the messages they sent to the community were remarkably like those of the patent medicine industry - cure and relief were readily available. The main target of tonic wine advertisements were women, often portrayed as frail, unhappy and helpless. The unwell depressed male, while featuring less often, was not ignored. In an advertisement for Serravallo's Tonic (Bark and Iron Wine), "Business Men" were addressed, along with women and convalescents, and not only were Serravallo's restorative properties praised, this product claimed to stimulate, strengthen, and regenerate various bodily systems without offering any evidence other than stating it was a "Palatable Preparation of Bark and Iron with Choice Rich Wine."⁷⁹

Hands argues that claims for tonic wines, "based on flimsy medical evidence," made drinking for health popular, and resulted in alcohol being medicalised for profit. The use of the words "invalid" and "tonic" she maintains, resulted in increased sales as it gave the customer unspoken permission to purchase an alcoholic product. These two words circumvented community and principled objections to females, in particular, drinking, as the need to recover from an illness and to maintain health, could have unconsciously overridden any such judgments. She further contends that marketing an alcoholic beverage as a health aid was "one way to reach consumers and boost sales during a period when the drink trade faced moral and political hostility".⁸⁰ While Hands' comments relate to the British market, tonic wines in New Zealand were sold not only in bottle stores, but also in grocery stores and chemist shops, along with a variety of patent medicines, thus reinforcing the idea they were medicinal products and

⁷⁹ Advertisement - Serravallo's *ODT*, 31 January 1913, p. 3.

⁸⁰ T. Hands, *Drinking in Victorian & Edwardian Britain*, pp. 113-115, p. 162.

therefore above moral reproach and beyond censure. The word tonic allowed people to drink, or be seen drinking, for health rather than pleasure.

While tonic wine advertising followed themes seen in patent medicine advertising, there were some striking differences. Tonic wine advertising was primarily aimed at women suffering from psychological illnesses such as depression and anxiety. While these advertisements appeared in the first two decades of the 20th century, they underwent a significant change in the 1920s and 1930s when tonic wines rose in popularity. The two most widely advertised brands, Hall's (The Wine of Life) and Wincarnis (The Supreme Tonic Restorative), advertised during these years with well-illustrative emotive copy. While medical imagery remained, a new theme was introduced in the 1920s - women advising women. This was not however, intergenerational knowledge: this advice passed from peer to peer. Younger women were shown as having the power to advise contemporaries on matters of health and recovery. These were messages of female solidarity: recovery was in the hands of the unwell and those who cared for them, rather than under the auspices of the medical profession. The doctor image remained, but it was a much smaller presence and the illness messages remained constant, with the use of familiar words such as "dose, thin blood, starved nerves" and "flagging system."⁸¹

⁸¹ Advertisement - Hall's Wine, *LM*, 1 May 1924, p. 57.



**“You will be Stronger and Brighter
—from To-day”**

Here is a picture of what is happening everywhere. Those who know the good Hall's Wine does take it to friends who are weak and exhausted through illness. There is nothing like Hall's Wine.

The First Dose Does You Good

Hall's Wine puts energy into you *at once*; every drop of Hall's Wine contains nourishment for thin blood, food for starved nerves, vitality for a flagging system, and the good it does simply must begin at the first dose.

Hall's Wine

THE SUPREME TONIC RESTORATIVE

Large Size 9/6 Smaller Size 5/6 Obtainable of all Chemists

Wholesale Agents for N.Z.
H. C. SMART LTD. 314 Victoria Arcade AUCKLAND

Figure 25.

LM, 1 May 1924, p. 57.

The woman-to-woman theme disappeared in the 1930s, replaced by images of women, and occasionally men, alone and suffering. There were many text-only advertisements with frightening headings including “So weak you could cry” and “Men don’t like anaemic girls”, “Are you the girl he married?”⁸² Advertisements with photographic images appeared and these too had alarming messages such as “He had to make excuses for me,” “Tiredness shut her out of happiness”, and “We were gradually drifting apart.”⁸³ These advertisements shifted the power from younger women advising their peers, as seen in the 1920s, returning it to the

⁸² Advertisements - Wincarnis Tonic Wine, *Press*, 7 October 1933, p. 5., *Press*, 2 January 1935, p. 5., *NZH*, 3 June 1933, p. 6.

⁸³ Advertisements - Hall's Wine, *NZH*, 4 May 1935, p. 12. (Supplement)., 18 May 1935, p. 13. (Supplement).

medical world and to a world when men held power and single women were seen as failures if they did not marry, as shown in the following Hall's advertisement.



“My turn never comes...”

TIREDFNESS shuts her out of happiness

The trouble with most women, doctors say, is that they let themselves get **TIREDF-OUT**. They don't have a chance to be attractive.

“MARRIED BEFORE ME”

“I'll be 26 next November,” writes a girl who suffered this way—“Two years ago when my younger sister got married before me I thought I'd die. My turn never seemed to come . . .

“Last Christmas my aunt, who's a nurse, came to stay with us. ‘You don't give yourself a chance,’ she said. She told me that hard-worked nurses take Hall's Wine to keep full of ‘go.’ . . . I found Hall's Wine delicious to take. Within a month after building up my strength I had more men friends than

ever before in my life. Geoffrey and I have been engaged for six months now and it won't be long before we have our own little home.”

Prepared from the formula of a well-known doctor, Hall's Wine has a quick and lasting effect no other tonic can give you. Start today! From all Wine Merchants, License Grocers and Chemists. Prices everywhere. Large size 10/6. Small size 6/-. Staples Smith & Company Ltd., Bow, London, E.3 England. Agents: Sharland & Co., Auckland and Wellington.

Quick, new strength after illness

After Influenza, Nerve Troubles, Bronchitis, Wasting Illness, Operations or Confinements—doctors and nurses recommend Hall's Wine for quick, safe convalescence.

How different things are for this girl—

<p>ANN'S SO LOVELY AND LIGHT AND RAYE. I WANT SHE!</p>	<p>PETER RANDALL PROMISED TO MARRY MARY—HE'S A DOING—BUT HE DOESN'T REALLY WANT MARY TO KEEP A WIFE.</p>	<p>IT'S ALL YOUR FAULT! DRAGGING MARY! YOU KNOW HOW TIREDF-LOOKING AND UNPOPULAR I WAS BEFORE YOU STARTED ME ON HALL'S WINE.</p>
<p>LOOK AT ME! SHE'S UP! SHE'S UP! SHE'S UP! SHE'S UP! SHE'S UP! SHE'S UP! SHE'S UP! SHE'S UP!</p>	<p>LUCKY GIRL YOU ARE TO BE ABLE TO PICK AND CHOOSE!</p>	

HALL'S WINE

STRENGTHENS YOU IF TIRED OR RUN DOWN

Figure 26.

NZH, 31 January 1936, p. 16.

Hall's and Wincarnis wines employed different advertising methods. Hall's used three styles when they advertised their product: the sombre faced doctor dispensing good advice, the bright young woman shown as capable of caring for herself, and ill women being advised by other women as described above.⁸⁴ Each of these formats was designed to capture slightly different audiences. The (always) male doctor would have appealed to those people who, in good faith, took the words in the advertisement as stated, that is, “After long experience of Hall's Wine I still continue to prescribe it...” The powerful image of a “famous doctor”, pen in hand, in the act of writing a prescription, validates the product and creates an opportunity for the reader to obtain a preparation which may bring relief without the cost, inconvenience

⁸⁴ Advertisements - Hall's Wine, *Press*, 8 May 1922, p. 15., *LM.*, 1 November 1923, p. 31., *EP*, 24 April 1927, p. 28.

or possible embarrassment of visiting a doctor.⁸⁵ This may have been important to some women as explaining feelings of depression or relaying symptoms of gynaecological problems to a male doctor may have caused considerable embarrassment. The woman alone, and the women-to-woman advertisements, displayed the changing role of women: they felt empowered to act on their own behalf or to help their contemporaries without resort to medical advice.

The second product, Wincarnis, focused on depleted blood and depression. One Wincarnis advertisement posed the question “Are you Anaemic?” and then supplied the answer and remedy: insufficient red blood corpuscles, and the results of this deficiency? Dull eyes, white face and weariness, which would be remedied by the effectiveness of Wincarnis, resulting in sparkling eyes, rosy cheeks and renewed vigour and vitality.⁸⁶ Depressed women were shown to be suffering from “nerve troubles,” being “Weak, nervy and run down,” and unable to sleep through “ragged nerves”.



Figure 27.
EP, 22 April 1933, p. 19.

And the remedy for these disorders were immediate and regular amounts of Wincarnis or, in the case of the advertisement referencing lack of sleep, readers were advised to “take a course of Wincarnis.”⁸⁷ The words “take a course,” suggest a prescribed regimen of conventional medical treatment, and this medicalises a product consisting solely of wine, beef and malt extracts. Wincarnis aimed for maximising medical connections and expertise with an advertisement using the phrase “Be guided by the incorruptible testimony of the Medical

⁸⁵ Advertisement - Hall’s Wine, *Press*, 6 May 1922, p. 5.

⁸⁶ Advertisement - Wincarnis, *EP*, 29 October 1915, p. 3.

⁸⁷ Advertisements - Wincarnis, *ODT*, 3 July 1915, p. 15., *NZH*, 9 May 1931, p. 8. (Supplement), *EP*, 22 April 1933, p. 19,

Profession”, while warning of imitations.⁸⁸ Using the strategy of alerting buyers to the possibilities of purchasing imitation products, was a tactic described by Pope as anti-opposition.⁸⁹

Wincarnis departed from focusing on blood and depression with an advertisement indicating coughs, influenza and other respiratory could be avoided by taking “...a wineglassful three times a day.” This would ensure “... you had fortified your system” and by doing so would “win health and strength.” Added to these benefits was the assurance that Wincarnis had been recommended and prescribed by over 10,000 doctors.⁹⁰ However, this legion of anonymous doctors neither recommended or prescribed Wincarnis. Rather, Hands reports, this number represented doctors who requested a sample of the product and the manufacturers elected to nominate these requests as recommendations.⁹¹ Although the beef and malt extracts would provide the body with some vitamins and minerals, the main ingredient in Wincarnis was red wine, therefore the nutritional benefit of a tonic wine was insignificant, but the alcohol content, may have eased the pain and produced feelings of well-being.

A New Zealand product, Corban wine’s Bostona Tonic Wine, appeared in 1930 and was advertised through to September 1934 in the newspapers and periodicals selected for this thesis. Corban’s Bostona advertisements were bleak, stating the product “helps you from weary convalescence to glorious health,” and “from black despair to sparkling health.”⁹² This product was advertised as available only in chemist shops, and this added to its curative properties and again, provided legitimacy for those who would not wish to be seen patronising the liquor trade. This short-lived advising campaign used medical and nursing images which appear to mimic images from advertisements of the previous decade, as shown below. It is interesting to note that in tonic wine advertising, images of nurses appeared kindly and benevolent, while the doctor images were stern and appeared less available.

⁸⁸ Advertisement - Wincarnis, *ODT*, 25 January 1905, p. 7.

⁸⁹ D. Pope, *The making of Modern Advertising*, p. 88.

⁹⁰ Advertisement - Wincarnis, *NZT*, 26 August 1926, p. 5.

⁹¹ T. Hands, *Drinking in Victorian & Edwardian Britain*, p. 117.

⁹² Advertisement - Bostona Tonic Wine, *NZH*, 15 October 1934, p. 19.

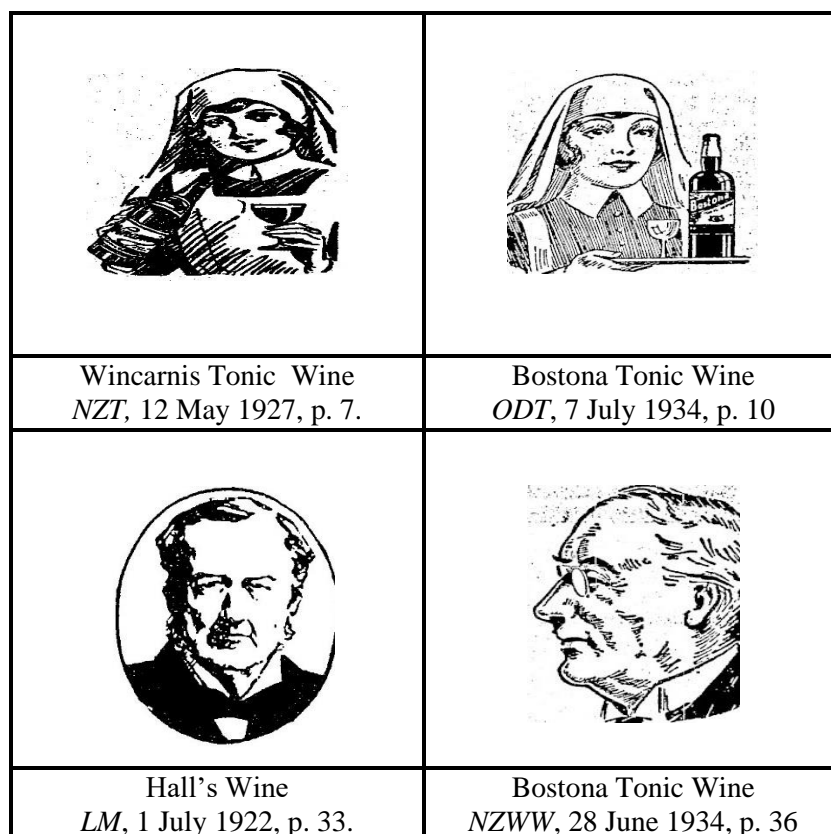


Figure 28.


Cropped images from tonic wine advertisements

Overall, the language in tonic wine advertisements contained lists of complaints and were overlaid with misery. By the last quarter of 1938, tonic wine advertising was in decline, with only fourteen tonic wine advertisements in the papers under review, all for Wincarnis and including references to vitality and vitamins. Wincarnis advertisements at this time presented women as alone and fearful of ageing, or completely at the end of their tether, threatening, for example, to throw a meal at a complaining husband.⁹³ One of this group, in an almost Hollywoodesque scenario, stated “Rich, red restoring Wincarnis, the tonic wine with nourishment and vitality in it, and active vitamins...to prove to you that life is for living and, marriage a rhapsody”.⁹⁴ This was one of a series of advertisements created to heighten fears that women, overworked, overwhelmed, or overwrought, may be jeopardising their marriages by their continuing lethargy. Reddened lips and cheeks and sparkling eyes were used to highlight the supposed allure women required to be successfully married. While vitamins and

⁹³ Advertisement - Wincarnis, *NZH*, 23 September 1938, p. 18., *Press*, 22 September 1938, p. 8.

⁹⁴ Advertisement - Wincarnis, *NZH*, 18 October 1938, p. 3.

THE WINE OF LIFE *would change all that*



For the wife whose husband no longer comes in every night demanding to be kissed . . . take Wincarnis. Reviving Wincarnis . . . to put an end to those days, and weeks, and months when the most companionable thing in the house is the radio. Strengthening Wincarnis . . . to tint your cheeks, and redden your lips, and light up your eyes. Rich, red, restoring Wincarnis, the tonic wine with nourishment and vitality in it, and active vitamins . . . to prove to you that life is for living, and marriage a rhapsody.

WINCARNIS **THE WINE OF LIFE**
must do you good

Figure 29.
NZH, 18 October 1938, p .3.

vitality featured in these advertisements they appear to be afterthoughts. The main themes were fear and loss, both of which could be overcome by a product with seemingly mysterious powers which would restore women and their lives back to a state where happiness prevailed.

Although tonic wines were initially on sale in chemists, grocery stores and wine merchants, there was some dissension regarding where they could be legitimately sold without contravening the Licensing Act 1908.⁹⁵ Advertisements suggest this anomaly was overcome as places of purchase were variously described as, “all Wine Merchants, Chemists and Licensed Stores” and “Wine Merchants or Licensed Chemist or Grocer”. Others showed no such designated places or, simply used the words “On Sale Everywhere”, and “Available at all Chemists”.⁹⁶ However by the early 1930s all mention of where tonic wines could be purchased had vanished from advertisements. Constant throughout the tonic wine advertising

⁹⁵ Quinine Wines, *NZT*, 23 April 1910, p. 4.

⁹⁶ Advertisements - Wincarnis, *ODT*, 17 October 1914, p. 3., *NZH*, 10 November 1928. p. 20. (Supplement)., Hall’s Wine, *LM*, 1 January 1923, p. 41., *EP*, 2 April 1927, p. 28.

was the sanctioned use of alcohol for women and consequently this advertising made tonic wine primarily a woman's drink, marked by its use by gendered advertising.

Legislation

The Quackery Act 1908 and other legislation was discussed in the introduction to this thesis and that information will not be reproduced here. However, it is worth noting that while there appears to be little difference in how patent medicines were advertised after the Social Security Act 1938, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the sales of patent medicines and tonic wine would have decreased. Rather than buying products which would alleviate symptoms, a doctor's visit could result in a prescription written for medication to relieve whatever condition had brought the patient to the doctor. Such personalised prescriptions could be filled at a chemist shop at no cost to the patient. Free doctors' visits and prescription charges, rather than reliance on patent medicines and alcohol for the alleviation of symptoms, would result in more money available for other necessities, such as food and housing. As a result, this could have lifted the general well-being of the community. Paradoxically, any surplus income may possibly have been spent on alcohol by those who relied on alcohol and who had previously camouflaged its purchase as a medical aid or, spent on patent medicines and tonics not previously affordable. However, the continuing advertising of patent medicines suggests that the public retained faith in these preparations and continued to purchase them.

The Medical Advertisements Act 1942 radically changed the nature of both patent medicine and tonic wine advertising. Wincarnis and Hall's Wine disappeared from New Zealand newspapers and magazines by the end of 1938, however, tonic wines continued advertising after 1942 but the copy simply used the words "tonic wines" with no product named. A series of advertisements appeared in 1943 aiming at encouraging people to purchase goods from their Chemist, included tonics, health salts and tonic wines along with "... Vitamin tablets and all toilet and medicinal needs". No mention was made of any item improving health, but readers were advised to "Take advantage of his [chemist's] professional knowledge."⁹⁷

Patent medicine such as Baxter's Lung Preserver continued to advertise using carefully chosen phrases such as "deals effectively with coughs, colds, sore throats and bronchial

⁹⁷ Advertisement - Go to your chemist, *BOP*, 17 November 1943, p.4.

troubles". Bonnington's Irish Moss used the "... sip, sip, sip" approach to "combat a chill", while Woodward's "Gripe Water" was listed, without any description of its uses, along with grocery and household items such as vinegar, ginger, preserving jars and paraffin oil.⁹⁸ Although Lane's Emulsion advertisements did not advertise 1943-1944, by 1945, their advertising had moved to promoting health, particularly children's health. The following two advertisements show how advertisers subtly coupled their product with contemporary issues as well as responding to proposed new legislation. Each advertisement used the word *benefit* at a time when Family Benefit was being debated in Parliament. The end of World War II appeared close and the emphasis of these advertisements was on building strong, healthy children who, in turn, would lead to a strong, healthier nation. Weak children would become strong, and healthy children would remain fit and robust. At a time when food was rationed and when many men were returning from overseas war service physically and mentally depleted, these advertisements painted the picture of a brighter, stronger future for both the children and the country, and they related the product to major themes in public policy. What was omitted in all the patent medicine advertising above was the alcohol content, which in the case of Lane's was the 7% brandy.




In the future New Zealand must take the greatest care of its young people. We need a bigger population — and a **FITTER** population. Lane's Emulsion is a national benefit, because it makes weak children strong and keeps healthy children fit and sturdy.

Lane's Emulsion — a palatable preparation of Cod Liver Oil — is the greatest known health-builder and lung-healer. A shield against disease — rejuvenates, strengthens, vitalises. Lane's Emulsion never fails to do good.

The Lane Medicine Co. Ltd., Oamaru.

Lane's EMULSION

Figure 30.
NZH 1 June 1945, p. 4.



The Great Body-Builder and Lung-Healer

Lane's Emulsion is designed to build strength and protection. It is composed of valuable health-building ingredients — the finest Cod Liver Oil, with its vitamins A and D, iodine, and other natural properties—Crescote, the enemy of germs—Lime and Soda, for teeth and bones. All emulsified and made palatable with Fresh Eggs, and combined by Lane's special formula.

All Children Benefit from Lane's Emulsion

All young people, especially those who catch colds easily, need this protective food-medicine to fortify them against infection and chills. Lane's Emulsion keeps healthy children fit and strong.

The Lane Medicine Co. Ltd., Oamaru.

Lane's EMULSION

Figure 31.
EP 13 June 1945, p. 4.

⁹⁸ Advertisements - Baxter's Lung Preserver, *AH&COG*, 29 September 1943, p. 3., Bonnington's Irish Moss, *NZH*, 21 February 1945, p. 3., Hall's Service Store, *RH&T and KG*, 8 March 1944, p. 5.

This chapter has shown how patent medicine and tonic wine advertisers targeted purchasers in the years 1900-1945 by focusing on ailments both physical and psychological. The use of medical and allied professions suggesting relief and possible cure was examined, as was the discovery of vitamins and, more briefly, the impact of legislation on both types of products. The propensity of the advertising industry to both invent new ailments and promote cures was discussed and this was succinctly summed up by Ivan Preston in the following statement. “If you’re selling something that can be perceived as a solution”, he wrote, “the thing you need is a problem for it to solve”.⁹⁹ Given these advertisements were aimed at such a disparate group of readers and that many of the health issues addressed occurred within all groups, the success of advertising relied on the message being understood by all readers. However, to achieve maximum coverage for their products, advertisers carefully targeted specific sectors of the community such as mothers and individuals suffering from depression.

Individual examples of both patent medicines and tonic wines will be examined in the following chapter to establish and targeted groups will be examined. Progress in advertising methods will also be explored as each advertisement is unpacked for context and meaning.

⁹⁹ I. Preston, *The tangled web they weave*, p. 87.

Chapter four

The Health Builders: Unpacking patent medicine and tonic wine advertisements

In this chapter a selection of advertisements for patent medicines and tonic wines will be examined for both explicit and implicit meanings. Themes discussed in the previous chapter will be noted including illness and wellness, the discovery of vitamins, mothers, intergenerational advice, and the impact of legislation.

During the 1900s and 1910s, patent medicine advertisements overflowed with information. Alan Mackintosh argues that print in itself, was an “essential raw material” for the patent medicine industry. Print had, he maintains, the ability to provide remedial benefits and was the one common feature shared by all successful patent medicines, and this assertion could be extended to tonic wine advertising.¹ Well-illustrated advertisements provided readers with an enormous amount of information, but the sheer volume of this advertising may have made choosing any one product difficult as information on illness and cure was replicated across brands. Early text in these advertisements could be seen to be both patronising and sermonising, an example of what Marchand referred to as “secular sermons” promising “fulfilment through the consumption of material goods”.² This is seen in a 1910 Lane’s advertisement suggesting relief from lung and throat problems: the fulfilment being “strong lungs and throat”.³

However, these early patent medicine and tonic wine advertisements were also authoritative and caring. Repetition of symptom information, and the similarity of illustrations across products, made it imperative that brand recognition was instant, and the constant recurrence of the product name and image (along with supporting players, such as ill children, nurses and doctors), were vital for continuing sales. As stated previously, this aggregate of advertisements was seen by Pollay as being pervasive as the reader was consistently presented with similar words and images.⁴ Specific images were repeated in a variety of these products.

¹ A. Mackintosh, *The Patent Medicines Industry in Georgian England Constructing the Market by the Potency of Print*, p. 263.

² R. Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, p. 264.

³ Advertisement - Lane’s Emulsion, *GRA*, 6 January 1910, p. 1.

⁴ Pollay, R., ‘On the Value of Reflections on the Values in ‘The Distorted Mirror’’, *Journal of Marketing*: Jul 1, 1987: 51, 3; p. 108.

For example, the pouring of patent medicines from bottle to spoon, or spoon to mouth was popular and continued from the early 1900s through to 1945.⁵

In 1904, Chamberlain's ran a small advertisement headed "Children Poisoned" stating the dangers to children of preparations containing opiates, then declaring their product safe, and "officially declared free from all poisons."⁶ Illustrating the emotional range of early advertisements this featured both fear and concern to capture reader's attention. Both patent medicine and tonic wine advertising, while occasionally using recreational scenes such as Hall's showing a woman cycling while holding a tennis racquet, rarely strayed from the domestic sphere.⁷ For example, in 1926, Bonnington's featured a small girl hand-in-hand with her father outside a chemist shop where she urged him not to forget his Bonnington's. The domestic theme continued into the 1930s and 1940s. A 1936 Lane's advertisement featured a young girl sitting up in bed while the advertisement stated that all ages would benefit from Lane's. Two years later - a family meeting discussing mother's illness - the solution provided a son who had successfully recovered from a nervous breakdown caused by his exams, by taking Wincarnis. In 1941 Bonnington's advised readers that their product was a "family friend," and Lane's refers to robust health, vitalizing, and healing. However, while illness words such as coughs, colds, catarrh, and possible lung troubles continued, the language of patent medicine and tonic wine advertising had become more subtle as the importance of health overtook long descriptive messages of fear.⁸

While the Medical Advertisements Act should have ended the use of of medical terms and promises of relief or cure in the patent medicine advertising discussed in this thesis, this was not entirely successful. The format of some advertisements appeared similar to pre-1943, but while the illustrations remained similar, a subtle change in the text can be seen. A 1944 Bonnington's advertisement urging readers to sip, sip, sip the preparation, used the words respiratory, congestion and bronchitis but stopped short of offering cure using instead, words such as ease, soothing and placate.⁹ Lane's, in 1943, featured an advertisement which said "Good Health" is above wealth Be Rich!!! Take....Lane's Emulsion for Coughs Colds and

⁵ Advertisements - Ayer's Cherry Pectoral, *EP*, 6 November 1907, p. 4., Bonnington's Irish Moss, *Press*, 2 September 1926, p. 7., Wood's Great Peppermint Cure, *ODT*, 29 June 1939, p. 10., Bonnington's Irish Moss, *EP*, 26 July 1944, p. 7.

⁶ Advertisement - Chamberlain's Cough Remedy, *EP*, 20 June 1904, p. 2.

⁷ Advertisements - Woods Great Peppermint Cure, *ODT*, 8 July 1913, p. 8., Hall's Wine, *LM*, 1 January 1924, p. 37.

⁸ Advertisements - Bonnington's Irish Moss, *NZT*, 9 September 1926, p. 10., Wincarnis, *Press*, 14 April 1938, p. 17., Bonnington's Irish Moss, *NZH*, 19 March 1941, p. 12.

⁹ Advertisement - Bonnington's Irish Moss, *ODT*, 8 August 1944, p. 3.

General Debility.”¹⁰ Again, no promise of relief – instead, a strong suggestion that the product would ensure good health. And yet again, Lane’s with the phrase “...reaped a harvest of health and happiness”, after declaring the product was “a health builder of unique properties”.¹¹ Advertisements such as these show the patent medicine industry was operating within the confines of the Act, but adherence was minimal at best with only one aspect of the Act being addressed. Testimonials, real or fictional, vanished from patent medicine advertising and anonymous letters and those signed with initials were replaced with non-specific substitutes including a Bonnington’s advertisement featuring a drawn illustration of a man and woman with the words “...Oh! John, don’t forget – for your Bronchitis – a bottle of Bonnington’s...”.¹²

A full page view of the newspaper page where each advertisement was displayed will be shown. This displays the range of consumer goods available at the time and, in some cases, articles and news stories. For example, the Ayer’s Cherry Pectoral full page has advertisements for cocoa, iron bedsteads, salt, port and other goods, as well as the results of an egg-laying competition and an inquiry into a ship fire. In the 1930s Hearn’s full page, a photographic image is seen and this along with the Lane’s full page show vivid portrayals of both people and goods. In the 1940 Lane’s full page, photographic images appear in advertisements for baby prams and Lifebuoy soap along with, sports results, changes in the lineup for Canterbury Representative Rugby teams, and a report on the St. Bede’s Old Boys Annual Ball.

¹⁰ Advertisement - Lane’s Emulsion, *Press*, 29 November 1943, p .6.

¹¹ Advertisement - Lanes Emulsion, *EP*, 16 October 1945, p. 4.

¹² Advertisements – Lane’s Emulsion, *NZT*, 3 July 1930, p. 12., *Press*, 8 May 1935, p. 9., Bonnington’s Irish Moss, *EP*, 26 July 1945, p. 9.F

This elder brother evidently knows how to play doctor, in real earnest. He knows about Ayer's Cherry Pectoral. His mother told him. Her mother told her, and her grandmother's mother told her mother. It's the one standard cough medicine for children.



Ayer's Cherry Pectoral

is entirely free from narcotics or poison of any kind. It is the great remedy the world over for colds, coughs, croup, whooping-cough, influenza, la grippe, and all bronchial complaints.

Accept no substitute or cheap and worthless imitation. Be sure you get Ayer's Cherry Pectoral.

Put up in large and small bottles.

Prepared by Dr. J. C. Ayer & Co., Lowell, Mass., U.S.A.

The illustration in this small advertisement focuses on the relationship between a brother and his younger sibling. The brother "knows to play doctor" and is pictured spooning Ayer's into the younger child's mouth.¹³ Their clothing suggests a comfortable home. Both wear shoes and the younger child is holding a pull-along toy. This setting immediately places the children in a household where they are well provided for: they have adequate clothing, toys, and access to cough syrup, in a time where many children would have been deprived of such items. The disc shape behind the upper half of the children pulls the children together, encasing them in a circle-like embrace, implying close family ties. These ties are strengthened when the advertisement explains that the older child knows the value of Ayer, as he heard this from his mother, who in turn learnt it from her mother, who had learnt it from her grandmother, making the product one which has been in use for several generations. The implication of inter-generational knowledge, reinforces the idea that

Figure 32a.

¹³ Advertisement - Ayer's Cher Pectoral, ODT, 30 October 1907, p. 3.

Ayer's continues to be of value: its effectiveness has not been challenged by newer products. The potency of such knowledge is that information is held and valued within the safety of the family circle. No outsiders are needed, no additional expense, such as a doctor's visit, are required. Family lore and the experience of successful use of a product, plus the reinforcing of advertising, strengthens loyalty to a specific brand.

While the word *doctor* is used once only, and in relation to the child, it is boosted when followed by "in real earnest". In effect this is saying the preparation is of good medical value to use in the home. This implication, when followed by, "It's the one standard cough medicine for children", makes a strong case for the product. If it is safe enough for an older child to give to a younger member of the family, it must be trustworthy. These messages of safety and efficacy are followed by a list of ailments including coughs, whooping-cough, influenza and the comprehensive "all bronchial complaints". And while the preparation is called the 'one standard cough medicine for children,' it is also hailed as the "great cough remedy the world over."


The phrase that the product is "entirely free from narcotics or poison of any kinds" is incorrect.¹⁴ The product contained alcohol plus a small amount of opium, and although this may have been less than prescribed by doctors during that period, it remained a danger in households where children had access to the preparation and unwittingly drank it or been overdosed by an enthusiastic sibling. Children accidentally overdosing on cough syrups was not uncommon. For example, the death of nine-year-old Mabel Ralph was reported in 1902. Mabel died suddenly at Denniston on 29 September after drinking a bottle of cough mixture. Despite being given an emetic, the child died the following morning. Her death was ruled by the Coroner as Death by Misadventure.¹⁵

Advertisements containing warnings of imitations, such as seen in this example, served a particular purpose. Using words such as "substitute, cheap, and worthless", do more than damage competitors' products. These words instantly pronounce the advertised product as genuine, worth-while and efficient without providing evidence to demonstrate such claims apart from, in this case, the citing of intergenerational use, which may have been anecdotal or fabricated. Two years after this advertisement, another Ayer's advertisement featuring two brothers appeared in the *ODT*. Echoing the first advertisement, the words brother, remedy,

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Casualties, *ODT*, 30 September 1902, p. 5. However, accidental poisonings were not confined to children. In 1904 a Waipawa man, Mr Saltrup, accidentally drank carbolic sheep dip thinking it was rum which he had been taking to 'cure' influenza. In the dark, he mistook the bottle of carbolic for the rum and despite emetics being administered he died within an hour. Accidental Poisoning, *EP*, 20 June 1904, p. 6.

coughs, colds were repeated. It continued the family theme by picturing one child, kept awake at night by his brother's coughing¹⁶.



Poor little fellow! He coughs so hard he cannot sleep. That makes him weak and sickly all the next day. His brother thinks this coughing is terrible. So do we, for we know that just a few doses of

Ayer's
Cherry Pectoral

will stop the cough. For sixty years it has been the standard remedy with men, women, and children for colds, coughs, and all throat and lung diseases. It contains no narcotic or poison of any kind. Be sure that you get Ayer's Cherry Pectoral. Accept no cheap and worthless substitute.

Prepared by Dr. J. C. Ayer & Co., Lowell, Mass., U.S.A.

Figure 33.
ODT, 28 July 1909, p.3.

The words "...just a few doses of Ayer's Cherry Pectoral will stop the cough" contravene the Quackery Prevention Act 1908, showing that both Ayer's distributors in New Zealand, and New Zealand authorities, were indifferent to the new legislation.

This second advertisement continued to promote Ayer's as a remedy for respiratory ailments, repeated the theme of anti-opposition, and added a statement declaring the preparation was free of narcotics and poison, despite the opium content. Ayer's continued to be advertised in New Zealand newspapers until 1922 and those ongoing advertisements repeatedly listed respiratory infections, severe lung disease and influenza, while making reference to remedy, medicine treatment and symptom relief, including one in 1923 stating the use of Ayer's Cherry Pectoral could mean the "difference between life and death".¹⁸ On

¹⁶ Advertisement - Ayer's Cherry Pectoral, ODT, 28 July 1909, p.3.

¹⁸ Advertisements - Ayers Cherry Pectoral, NZH, 20 January 1915, p. 4., 15 September 1922, p. 3., 19 December 1923, p. 18.

reviewing the AJHR, Annual Police Force Reports, for the years 1909-1945, it appears that no convictions under the Quackery Prevention Act 1908 were recorded.

1915 Chamberlain's Cough Remedy

THE EVENING STAR, WASHINGTON, JULY 24, 1915.

Don't Take Chances
WATER
BLACK

FRUIT LATIVE FOR MAMA, DAD, BABY, "CALIFORNIA STRIP OF FIGS."

WATER
BLACK

TAPS

WATER
BLACK

LARSEN'S HEALTH FOOD

"My Best Advertisement"

Chamberlain's Cough Remedy

DO YOU KNOW THE SYMPTOMS OF KIDNEY DISEASE

De WITT'S Kidney and Bladder **PILLS**

THE BUSHMAN

THE BUSHMAN

THE BUSHMAN

THE BUSHMAN

THE BUSHMAN

THE BUSHMAN

THE BUSHMAN

THE BUSHMAN

SHAVE YOURSELF

FOR THE BLOOD IN THE LIFE

Your Blood Wants Purifying

Clarke's Blood Mixture

Clarke's Blood Mixture

Rheumatism

Rheumatism

Kruschen Salts

SYMINGTON'S Coffee Condensed

INSURANCE

INSURANCE

INSURANCE

INSURANCE

INSURANCE

INSURANCE

INSURANCE

INSURANCE

Figure 34.
 EP, 24 July 1915, p. 16.



“My Best Advertisement

is a mother who has once used Chamberlain's Cough Remedy for she makes a point of telling other mothers about it, who in turn pass the news on. It is this alone that has made Chamberlain's Cough Remedy a household word throughout the world. Just ask some mother in your community what she thinks of Chamberlain's Cough Remedy—she will tell you that it enables her to get her children through the winter without coughs, colds or croup, and that at the first approach of a cold she herself takes

**CHAMBERLAIN'S
COUGH REMEDY**

She will tell you that it is as thoroughly reliable for the youngest child as the oldest member of the family. You can give it to the baby, the children going to school, or take it yourself, always with the same result—a quick cure.”

Yours for Health—Granny Chamberlain

**GRANNY CHAMBERLAIN
(CORPORATED)**

Figure 34a.

A character called Granny Chamberlain frequently featured in Chamberlain's Cough Remedy advertisements. This fictitious, somewhat fairy-tale-like, grandmother was always pictured

entering a space - a sickroom, living room or in one advertisement, a space surrounded on two sides of illustrations of “...Big, Strong, Strapping Kiddies!”¹⁹ In the above advertisement, words demonstrating the power of mothers’ are used. “My Best Advertisement is a mother...”²⁰ Mothers passing on the news, spreading the word through the community about the effectiveness of this remedy, would provide a strong motive for purchase. Mothers’ recommendations, the advertising implied, cannot be faulted. Mother has been at the forefront of childhood ailments and knew what worked. In this advertisement, mothers are shown taking positive action in protecting themselves and their children. In effect, mothers were authority figures and agents of change. For example, the knowledge of mothers as shown above is repeated in advertisements for other products in future decades - in 1935 a Bonnington’s advertisement where “Mother always keeps it, it’s her favourite nursery-aid”, and in 1941 where “Thousands of New Zealand mothers are enthusiastic about Lane’s Emulsion, and depend on it to keep their children free from coughs and colds”.²¹

The use of multi-generational figures, such as an elderly grandmother encouraging the use of a remedy she had as a child, was joined by the message that the product was just as effective as in the past and, remained palatable and safe for children. Referencing the past could be both nostalgic and romantic: hardship and discomfort receded resulting in happy but possibly inaccurate memories. When older people talk of how things used to be, the implicit meaning of these conversations frequently was, *when things were better*, and some things such as patent medicines could not be improved. Older men were not forgotten in advertising’s inter-generational family settings: in 1905 an older man was pictured carefully spooning Ayer’s into a small girl’s mouth, while the reader was informed that “Grandfather used it over 60 years ago”.²²

This above picture presents a pleasant, happy setting. Seated around the table, two women (mothers), one receiving a bottle of Chamberlain’s from the other. At one side two well-dressed children, one carrying a book. The book represents a household where knowledge is important, implying that the mother knows the value of books and, therefore, the value of the product in her hand. The room itself, with comfortable seating, a picture on the wall, and curtains at the open windows show an idealised image of early 20th century home life, one

¹⁹ Advertisement - Chamberlain’s Cough Remedy, *NZH*, 12 July 1915, p. 8.

²⁰ Advertisement - Chamberlain’s Cough Remedy, *EP*, 24 July 1915, p. 16.

²¹ Advertisements - Bonnington’s Irish Moss, *NZWW*, 12 September 1935, p. 54., Lane’s Emulsion, *ODT*, 20 May 1941, p. 2.

²² Advertisements - Hearn’s Bronchitis Cure, *ODT*, 27 April 1938, p. 8., Ayer’s Cherry’s Pectoral, *Press*, 20 February 1905, p. 5.

which possibly those living in less desirable conditions may have aspired to. Leiss et. al, argued that advertisements transformed goods into ‘...limitless ideas, images and symbols’. This can be seen in the above advertisement: an ideal room, presumably in a well-appointed house with well-behaved, healthy children and a room where friends can be entertained, enables the reader to form a strong emotional attachment to both setting and product, and they are then able to transport themselves to that room and indulge in a *perfect life* fantasy. The setting could also act as an attempt towards upward social mobility, achievable by purchasing the product. Such a transformation would be particularly powerful where the idealisation of family was involved. Leiss et. al. further argue that while a product may be showcased in a background which has no relevance to the product, the feelings aroused by a background can be transported to the product. This idea of transference, where “reality and fantasy” merge, is described by them as “creating a “magic show””.²³

What is missing from this advertisement is an adult male figure. However, the unwell male was not forgotten by Chamberlains. In 1917 two advertisements appeared showing Granny Chamberlain attending adult males: “Wet weather caused Phil’s bad cough” and “When influenza first attacked father”.²⁴ In these two advertisements, while the image of Granny Chamberlain, bag in hand, is present, her voice is absent. The advertisements are presented by the pronoun *I* and the images show women surrounding unwell men, helped by Granny Chamberlain who offers father a glass of cough remedy and, escorts Phil back home to his family, while holding a bottle of Chamberlain’s Cough Remedy in her hand,

The fictitious Granny Chamberlain has taken on the persona of the traditional older woman, one with knowledge and access to curative agents. She is, moreover, a quasi-doctor figure in a time when female doctors were not used in advertising. She is the village wise woman called on to dispense herbs and potions to relieve distress her fellow villagers may have been suffering. She is the main character in these advertisements and is shown guiding women in keeping their families in good health, by acting as the catalyst in moving illness to wellness.

²³ W. Leiss, et. el., *Social Communication in Advertising*, p. 32.

²⁴ Advertisements - Chamberlain’s Cough Remedy, *ODT*, 27 April 1917, p .3., *NZH*, 23 October 1917, p. 6. (Supplement).

1924 Hall's Wine

LARGE CHOICE OF ALL THE
NEWEST GOODS
SATISFACTION FOR THE COMING
SEASON NOW SHOWING AT
CHARLES HAINES LTD.
THE LEADING DRAPER,
Phone 125 TAURANGA

A Unique Investigation
of Interest to
Advertisers.

**95 per cent Prefer
Newspapers!**

IT IS OUR POLICY AND DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN LEADERSHIP IN THIS FIELD OF ADVERTISING, AND TO THIS END WE ARE CONSTANTLY MAKING FABRICATING INVESTIGATIONS THROUGHOUT NEW ZEALAND, AS TO THE RELATIVE VALUES OF DIFFERENT MEDIA, ACCORDING TO THE ACTUAL EXPERIENCES OF SUBSTANTIAL ADVERTISERS.

AS A RESULT, WE LEARNED THAT PER CENT OF NEW ZEALAND PUBLISHERS PREFER NEWSPAPERS ABOVE ALL OTHER METHODS OF ADVERTISING. IN THAT NUMBER, 80 PER CENT PREFER DAILY NEWSPAPERS.

WE ALSO ASKED WHETHER LARGE ADVERTISEMENTS WITH OCCASIONAL APPEARANCES, OR SMALL ADVERTISEMENTS WITH FREQUENT APPEARANCES, WERE FOUND MOST EFFECTIVE. OUR FRIENDS WERE DIVIDED 50-50 ON THIS POINT.

THE ABOVE CONCLUSIONS STRONGLY SUPPORT THE PRINCIPLE WE HAVE DISCOVERED FOR ADVERTISERS.

THE REPLIES TO OUR QUESTIONS HAVE ALSO BEEN OF INTEREST TO US, AND WE CORDIALLY THANK ALL THOSE FIRMS THAT HAVE KINDLY REPLIED TO OUR RECENT QUESTIONNAIRE.

IN CONCLUSION, WE WOULD POINT OUT THAT ALTHOUGH EXPERIENCED BUSINESS LEADERS KNOW THAT NEWSPAPERS CONSTITUTE THE BEST AND MOST ECONOMICAL APPROACH TO THE PUBLIC, YET IT IS WHAT YOU SAY AND HOW YOU SAY IT THAT FINALLY CONVINCES THE CONSUMER AND INDUCES SALES FOR YOUR PRODUCT.

THE CHARLES HAINES ADVERTISING AGENCY LTD. HEAD OFFICE WELLINGTON
BRANCHES: AUCKLAND, CHRISTCHURCH AND DUNEDIN
CHARLES HAINES, WILL APPLETON, Directors.

LANE'S must be good

It is composed of nothing but health-giving, body-building, nerve, muscle and flesh-strengthening properties. There is not an organ in the body—no a fibre—but what is better for your taking this grand food-medicine.

LANE'S EMULSION
For sale 4/6 at all Chemists and Grocers.



YOU will shortly be thinking of your seeds, Turnips, Rape and farm seeds for this spring sowing. Make up your mind to have seeds of the highest germination, as proved by the Department of Agriculture, and double dressed by our special machinery, the highest standard and best value obtainable. We must, as far as possible, keep our seeds in our own hands—no middlemen know we can do with it all. Our seeds are obtainable in packets and in bulk from many of the principal merchants or stores in almost every town. If you have any difficulty in procuring our seeds, write to us direct. Most pellets but finally, on having Cooper's Seeds, the "Seeds of Success" (Obtainable from progressive merchants and stores all over New Zealand.)

F. COOPER LTD.,
DIXON STREET, WELLINGTON
(We have a reputation of over 40 years faithful service to seed sowers.)

KODAK £500 COMPETITION
(Confined to N.Z. only.)
Open to users of Kodak, Brownie, Super 8 or Graflex Cameras.
SENIOR & JUNIOR SECTIONS.
£10 10/- in Prizes each Month.
Prizes awarded for Pictorial, not technical excellence.
FULL PARTICULARS AND ENTRY FORM FROM
A. J. MERRITT, Chemist,
A. G. Fallwell, Chemist,
Local Kodak Dealers

PAINTING
PINK AT CNER
By Expert Hands

Just have your order and we will carry it out in a way that will meet your approval.

S. W. COLLARD
STRAND.

MAIL NOTICES

Auckland and Thames, per steamer, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, 6.30 p.m.

Auckland and stations South of Frankton Junction, Monday, Wednesday and Friday, at 7.15 a.m., Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, 5 a.m.

Rotorua district, Waikā, Athetene, Kaitaki, Aongatete, Omakoroa, Te Papa, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, 5 a.m.

Mount Maungauā, and Mount Beach, daily at 8.30 a.m.

Matata and Pongakawa, Monday, 7.15 a.m., Wednesday and Friday, 1.45 p.m., Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, 5.15 a.m.

Gate Pa (letters only) by postman daily at 8.30 a.m.

Waipā, Ngawero, and Gate Pa, Tuesday and Friday at 7.15 a.m.

Omanawa Falls and Tauroko, Tuesday and Saturday, 12 noon, and Tauroko (only) Friday, 3 p.m.

Papanoa, Te Puke and Papanoa daily at 7.15 a.m.

Whakarewa and Opotahi, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, 6.15 a.m.

Kaimai rural, Friday, 11.30 a.m.

THE BAY OF PLENTY TIMES, TAURANGA, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1924

SPORTING

FIXTURES.

Oct. 2—Kororo J.C. Spring.
Oct. 4—Palorua Hunt.
Oct. 1, 2, 8 and 11—Australasian J.C. Spring.
Oct. 5—Birchwood Hunt Annual.
Oct. 10 and 11—Masteron J.C.
Oct. 10 and 18—Whangarei R.C.
Oct. 17 and 18—Kororo J.C. Spring.
Oct. 18—Carton R.C. Annual.
Oct. 21 and 27—Wollington R.C.
Oct. 27—Waikato Hunt.
Oct. 27—North Canterbury R.C. Annual.
Oct. 27—Waipara County R.C. Annual.
Oct. 27 and 28—Gore R.C. Spring.
Oct. 27—Waverley R.C. Jubilee.
Oct. 30 and Nov. 1—Poverty Bay Turf Club Spring.
Nov. 1—Upper Otahā R.C. Annual.
Nov. 1 and 3—Auckland Racing Club New Zealand Cup.
Nov. 8 and 10—Hamilton Racing Club.
Nov. 8, 10, 12 and 15—Canterbury J.C. Metropolitan.
Nov. 21 and 22—South Canterbury J.C. Spring.

HAWKE'S BAY MEETING.

(Per Press Association.)
The Hawke's Bay Jockey Club's meeting opened today in glorious weather. The track was in perfect order. There was a large attendance. Results:—
Tombura Handicap—Crown Coll. 1, Tea Tana 2, Merry Bells 3. Scratched: Juvial. Won by a length, two lengths between second and third. Time 2m 46.2-58.
Trial Stakes—Tutankhamun 1, Mariona 2, Hawaii 3. All started. Won by three lengths. Time 1m 2.2-5.
Hawke's Bay Guineas—Mount Martha 1, Lady Joyce 2, Subjection 3. Scratched: Kilmoney, Rosyth gelding, Phoenix Park. Won by a neck. Time 1m 43s.
Spring Handicap—Tanadog 1, Merry Singer 2, Fostive 3. Scratched: Master Black. Won by a head. Time 2m 8.2-56.
Nursery Handicap—Shirley 1, Standard 2, Taradiddle 3. All started. Won by three quarters of a length. Time 1m 5s.
Glensay Handicap—Gaze 1, Kiloit 2, Master Black 3. Scratched: Sweet Heather, Cook. Won by half-a-length. Time 1m 4.1-54.
Fluxus Handicap—Sylvia 1, Maratona 2, White Ensign 3. Scratched: Mount Martha. Won by a nose. Time 1m 15.3-54.
Flying Handicap—First Salute 1, Avenida 2, Civilform 3. Also started: Wessell, Master Beckwith. Time 1m 14.3-54.
The totalisator handily £19,901.

NEW ZEALAND HORSES SCRATCHED.

By Tel.—Press Assn. Copyright.
Aust. N.Z. Cattle Assoc.
Melbourne, Sept 30
Nigger Minstrel has been scratched for the Caulfield Guineas at Derby. Father's Voice for the Victorian Derby.

NOTES.

Genoise changed hands at the Geraldine meeting, and will do his future racing in the colours of Mr H. Mounting.
It is reported from the south that General Advance looks as if he will stand another preparation, although his present work is merely pottering about.
M. McCarton was married recently in Sydney. His wife is a sister to Mrs G. Young, who is at present in Sydney with her husband, now well known in both Australia and New Zealand as Gloomings' pilot. Both Young and McCarton were apprenticed together to F. Tilly, at Porehā, who is an equally successful in training pockeys as horses.
A. J. Stoenish has taken over George Poir's old stable at Awarua, lately vacated by J. Adams, who has removed to Otaki.
The new motorist, Royal Dispatch and his mare, Alfonso are in steady work at Riccarton.
Darling Light may be sent South for the Dunedin Guineas. Let's the dual winner at Ashburton, is also down to contest that race. The Dunedin Club's classic event promises to be more interesting than usual.
A Southern writer states that Argentine, winner of the Debutante Stakes at Wanganui, will contest the M'Lean Stakes at Wanganui.
At the first signs of the "Flu," see Nasal very freely.

FREE! to all Smokers of the

"THREE CASTLES" CIGARETTES—

A Gift Photogravure of the 1924

"ALL BLACKS" Football Team

All you have to do is to send
20 "THREE CASTLES" Packet Fronts or
10 "THREE CASTLES" 20's Tins or
4 "THREE CASTLES" lids off 50's Tins
together with your Name
and Address to—
"THREE CASTLES,"
Dept F, G.P.O. Box 763,
Wellington, N.Z.

and you will receive, post free, a beautiful Photogravure of the "ALL BLACKS" Team printed on heavy quality paper for framing. **START SAVING NOW!**

COMING EVENTS

Oct. 8—Monthly meeting of Tauranga Borough Council.
Oct. 8—Monthly meeting of Plunket Society Committee, at 2.45 p.m., Borough Council Chambers.
Oct. 10—Monthly meeting of Tauranga County Council.
Oct. 16—Monthly meeting of Tauranga Hospital Board.
Nov. 6—Monthly meeting of Tauranga Harbour Board.

NEWS IN BRIEF

A factory for the manufacture of gramophone records is to be set up in Wellington at an early date. We have landed a full assortment of motor chains, and can offer motorists exceptional prices.—P. N. Christian and Co.
The land market in the Stratford district seems to be fairly satisfactory at present, and it is understood that several properties have recently changed hands at from £50 to £100 an acre.
Rubberware, brushware, and other accessories for the milking machine and dairy are stocked in great variety by Messrs Guinness Bros.—See advt. page 7.*
Through the services of Admiral Sir John Halsey and Sir James Allen (status an exchange) some of the tank from the battleship New Zealand is being sent out to the Waitaki Boys' High School, to be used in the fittings of the Memorial Hall.
Thousands during the great influenza epidemic realize the wonderful protective power which the free use of Nasal gave them over influenza infection.
Mentamins in the neighbourhood of Hollywood, California, have been "adorned with the largest electrical sign ever constructed." This consists of the word "Hollywoodland" in letters 45ft high, the whole being quarter of a mile in length. Four thousand lamps are used.
The genus of eels, eelgrass and influenza are having a great time—fight them with Nasal.
A New Zealander who has just returned from the United States, says "I can't New York the City of Tears and Bent Minneapolis—the competition is so fierce and the automobiles are so thick."
Create an atmosphere of Nasal about you as it prevents infection from cough, cold, and influenza germs.



The Best of all Health Builders

THIS is the deliberate judgment of Doctors on Hall's Wine—the great British Tonic for Health and Strength.
When you are run-down, depressed, and fit for nothing, through ill-health or overwork, and you long for the surest Health builder you can buy, let these most important words of well-known British doctors be your guide.
"I consider Hall's Wine one of the finest tonics."
"I know nothing which so quickly restores vitality in run-down conditions."
"Hall's Wine as a tonic invigorates is, in my judgment unrivalled."
"I know nothing which so quickly restores vitality in run-down conditions."
"Hall's Wine as a tonic invigorates is, in my judgment unrivalled."
"I know nothing which so quickly restores vitality in run-down conditions."
"Hall's Wine as a tonic invigorates is, in my judgment unrivalled."

Hall's Wine

THE SUPREME TONIC RESTORATIVE
Hall's Wine is the prescription of a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, England, and no other wine, tonic or beverage, contains the same nutrients, the same power to lift up, build up, and sustain the weak.
For over thirty years Hall's Wine has proved its worth in all cases of weakness—Nervous Break-down, Depression, Fatigue, Neurasthenia, Stomachicness, Neuralgia, Constipation, Debility, all run-down conditions etc.
Large Size Bottle 9/6. Smaller 5/6.
On Sale Everywhere.
Wholesale Agents: H. C. SMART LTD., 314, Victoria Arcade, Queen Street, Auckland.
See Preparation: Stephen Smith & Co. Ltd. Saw. London, Eng.

THIS IS THE SAUSAGE SEASON

If you want to know how really good a pork sausage can be, your next pound from

J. W. Christmas
DEVONPORT ROAD.

Advertising has stabilised prices. The advertiser knows his price—the same rate—the scope of whose business advertisement is no merchant-who-else advertising has not greatly widened.

THE FIRST "A"

To find a record of the first "A" we would have to trace the mists of antiquity, or prop in the twilight of fable. Possibly Adam realized the value of the "want ad." for having lost a rib, he secured his nature by Eve. A "want ad." in the BAY OF PLENTY TIMES is a quick method of getting results.

Figure 35.
BOPT, 2 October 1924, p. 3.



**The Best of
all Health
Builders**

**Hall's
Wine**

THIS is the deliberate judgment of Doctors on Hall's Wine—the great British Tonic for Health and Strength.

When you are run-down, depressed, and fit for nothing, through ill-health or overwork, and you long for the surest Health builder you can buy, let these most important words of well-known British doctors be your guide.

"I consider Hall's Wine one of the finest tonics."
(Extract from doctor's letter)

"I know nothing which so quickly arouses vitality in run-down conditions."
(Extract from doctor's letter)

"Hall's Wine as a tonic vitalizer is, in my judgment unrivalled."
(Extract from doctor's letter)

Hall's Wine

THE SUPREME TONIC RESTORATIVE

Hall's Wine is the prescription of a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, England, and no other wine, tonic or otherwise, contains the same nutrients, the same power to lift up, build up, and sustain the weak.

For over thirty years Hall's Wine has proved its worth in all cases of weakness—Nervous Breakdown, Depression, Fatigue, Neurasthenia, Sleeplessness, Neuralgia, Convalescence, Debility, all run-down conditions etc.

Large Size Bottle 9/6. Smaller 5/6.
On Sale Everywhere.

Wholesale Agents: H. C. SMART LTD.
314, Victoria Arcade, Queen Street, Auckland.
Sole Proprietors: Stephen Smith & Co. Ltd. Bow, London, Eng. 54

Figure 35a.

The smiling young woman in this advertisement points towards a box containing Hall's Wine, "The Best of all Health Builders". In the 1920s, tonic wine advertisements featured illustrations of often cheerful women on their own, or young women advising friends.²⁵ While this group of advertisements presented a veneer of female strength and of unity, they did contain medical images and lists of ailments, with two exceptions appearing in the *Ladies' Mirror*.²⁶ These may have been Hall's targeting the readers of the *Ladies' Mirror* by portraying women as capable of engaging with their own health issues without the scrutiny of male doctors.

²⁵ Advertisements - Hall's Wine, *NZH*, 14 March 1927, p. 5., *EP*, 2 April 1927, p. 28., 21 October 1925, p. 2., *Wincarnis, Press*, 28 October 1925, p. 2.

²⁶ Advertisements - Hall's Wine, *LM*, 1 May 1924, p. 57., 2 June 1924, p. 44.

The image above is typical of tonic wine advertising during this decade. Despite showing a woman who appears capable of choosing a tonic of her own, and therefore being in control of her life, this advertisement uses many of the strategies employed by tonic wine advertisers in previous years such as listing symptoms and illnesses and, containing an intrusive medical presence. The reader is asked if they are "...run-down, depressed, and fit for nothing, through ill-health or overwork". The two scenarios for feeling unwell are presented as being the result of illness or overwork. This allows readers not be suffering an obvious "illness," to default to the option of overwork for feeling below par. Either way, the advertisement has the solution: Hall's, which has the "... power to lift up, build up, and sustain the weak". While the restorative ingredients are not described, other tonics or wines are said not to contain the "...same nutrients, the same power". Apart from unnamed nutrients, the source of this potency remains unknown. What are named are conditions and situations where Hall's has been successfully used; including depression, nervous breakdown, insomnia, nerve pain and the all-encompassing "run-down" conditions.²⁷

In this advertisement the medical voice is unmistakably evident. There are three extracts from doctors' letters, all praising the restorative nature of the product without expanding exactly what this is. Hall's Wine is described variously as a fine tonic, one which arouses vitality and, an unrivalled tonic vitalizer. All three voices are anonymous and therefore, unreliable. A further anonymous voice is also present, one relying on membership of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, England, to validate claims made. The doctor image in this advertisement is one appearing in many of Hall's advertisements during the 1920s. This ongoing image of medical authority created an illusion of continuing care under the guidance of a well-established medical presence.

The young women in the advertisement is diminished by the lists of illness, symptoms, the overwhelming, anonymous medical voices, and the presence of Hall's constant doctor image. However, she is more than a superfluous prop, she had the ability to attract young unmarried women, her left hand being bare of rings. She could be described as bait to hook young women, possibly unwell or unhappy, to become purchasers of an alcoholic drink which, being "On Sale Everywhere", could be purchased from chemists and grocery stores without question, and therefore without reproach.²⁸

²⁷ Advertisement - Hall's Wine, *BOPT*, 2 October 1924, p. 3.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

1931 Hearne's Bronchitis Cure

OTAGO DAILY TIMES, MONDAY, JULY 20 1931.

11

STEWART DAWSON'S LATEST ALARM WATCH

For the Pocket and Bedside
A STRONG AND RELIABLE TIMEKEEPER.

Special Value 20/-

This Alarm Watch is a new reliable timepiece, with a face polished with a fine enamel finish. Full guarantee. Price 20/-.

BUY FROM THE FIRM WITH A WORLD-WIDE REPUTATION. CORNER PRINCES AND DOWLING STREETS, DUNEDIN.

Here's the Handy Pint Bottle -

Those who always believe in keeping a bottle of J.J.D.K.Z. Gin in the house will find this home-size supply most convenient. A nighty "top" of J.J.D.K.Z. helps the kidneys in their work, clears the blood-stream, keeps you fit and well. Invaluable to men and women of middle-age.

Get genuine J.J.D.K.Z. Gin distilled with the berries of *Jolida Juniper*.

LOOK FOR THE WHITE HEART LABEL.

J.J.D.K.Z. GIN

Send Your Parcels by Rail.

Save Money and Time and Avoid Worry.

Specimens of Cheap Parcel Rates -

Weight	30 miles	50 miles	100 miles	200 miles	300 miles	Over 300 miles
5 lbs	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
7 1/2	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
10	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
12 1/2	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
15	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
17 1/2	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
20	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
22 1/2	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
25	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6

64 additional ensures prompt delivery on arrival at main center.

Easy Inter-island Booking System!

UNLATCH THE DOOR-TURN ON THE CHEERFUL CUP OF

A REAL cup of Coffee - anytime and everywhere - quality assured - and made in a moment.

SYMINGTON'S COFFEE & CHOCOLATE ESSENCE

This beverage is Co. Ltd., Edinburgh and London.

Eyeglass and Efficiency

Without good eyesight keen concentration is impossible. Lose your ability to concentrate and you lose efficiency.

Are you losing in efficiency through uncorrected eyesight? The only way to be sure is to have your eyes carefully and scientifically examined. Consult the

Fairmaid Optical Co. Ltd
Queen's Building, Prince Street, Dunedin.
A. H. FAIRMARD, Registered Optician.

AMUSEMENTS

OCTAGON THEATRE

The principal feature of the world's greatest "For the Deaf" with William Powell in the leading role. The opening scenes of the picture are most interesting and the story is of the highest order. The picture is a masterpiece of dramatic art and is a must for all who have the privilege of seeing it. The picture is a masterpiece of dramatic art and is a must for all who have the privilege of seeing it.

PRINCESS THEATRE

The nationally high standard of entertainment which the Princess Theatre during the past few months is a worthy tribute to the management and the artistic talent which has been assembled. The picture is a masterpiece of dramatic art and is a must for all who have the privilege of seeing it.

STRAND THEATRE

"The Man" which leads the current list of the Strand Theatre. The picture is a masterpiece of dramatic art and is a must for all who have the privilege of seeing it.

RECENT THEATRE

"The Man" which leads the current list of the Strand Theatre. The picture is a masterpiece of dramatic art and is a must for all who have the privilege of seeing it.

KING EDWARD THEATRE

The new programme which is presented at the King Edward Theatre during the past few months is a worthy tribute to the management and the artistic talent which has been assembled.

Robert was in "The Love Parade" at the Theatre Royal, London. The picture is a masterpiece of dramatic art and is a must for all who have the privilege of seeing it.

CHARLES CHAMBERS ON

Warner Oland, the actor who was found dead in the Victoria Hotel in London. The picture is a masterpiece of dramatic art and is a must for all who have the privilege of seeing it.

EMPIRE THEATRE

Flora Lind has the leading female role in the picture "The Love Parade" at the Empire Theatre. The picture is a masterpiece of dramatic art and is a must for all who have the privilege of seeing it.

If you're a Colonic

there's only one Remedy

Do you suffer from headache, insomnia, heart-burn, listlessness, chronic biliousness? If you do, you are Colonic. The root of your trouble is constipation. Chamberlain's Tablets clean out the intestines - rid the system of intestinal poisons - induce natural bowel action.

CHAMBERLAIN'S TABLETS

Another of... the new designs at -

SCOLLAR & CHISHOLM Ltd.

147-149, Rattray Street, Dunedin. Also at Invercargill.

PROTECTS the Workers

Do you suffer from headache, insomnia, heart-burn, listlessness, chronic biliousness? If you do, you are Colonic. The root of your trouble is constipation. Chamberlain's Tablets clean out the intestines - rid the system of intestinal poisons - induce natural bowel action.

HEARNE'S for COUGHS

First Aid to the Injured! OIL OF SALT. Stops Bleeding, guards against Blood Poisoning, WOUNDS, CUTS, and LACERATIONS. Subdues Pain and Heals Bruises, Sprains, Blisters, Burns, Scalds, etc.

SORE THROAT?

The start of colds—or worse!

MOST colds start in the "soft palate" of the throat and in the nose—both closely related to each other. A most wise precaution is the systematic daily use of Listerine, the safe antiseptic. The antiseptic that, without danger to the delicate membranes of the throat, will nip infections in the bud and thus ward off sore throat and the many more serious ills that so often follow.

Be on the safe side during sore throat days. Use Listerine regularly as a mouth wash and gargle. *Also, then, you will be on the positive side with regard to that insidious condition, diphtheria (pink eye throat).*

Your druggist sells Listerine in three sizes: 3 ounce, 1 1/2 ounce, 3/4 ounce; 5¢, 14¢, 25¢. Buy the large size for economy—Lambert's Pharmaceutical Company (N.Z.) Ltd., of Gloucester Street, Wellington.

LISTERINE

-nips sore throat in the bud

Figure 36. ODT, 20 July 1931, p.11.

PROTECTS
the
WORKERS

Coughs and colds cost the workers of New Zealand an immense amount of working time and wages. How unnecessary! because HEARNE'S BRONCHITIS CURE quickly banishes Coughs, Colds, Bronchitis, Influenza, and other Lung Affections. Keep yourself — and family — fit and free from coughs and colds.

At all Chemists and Stores — 1/6, 2/6 and 4/6.
Get a bottle!

HEARNE'S
for
COUGHS

COLDS. CROUP. FLU. ETC.

Famous for 30 years

HEARNE'S BRONCHITIS CURE — MADE IN NEW ZEALAND

Figure 36a.

From the second decade of the 20th century, Hearne's Bronchitis Cure advertisements featured heroic characters displaying armour, swords and breastplates, and the above image continued that tradition. However, by 1931, the advertisements had moved to include more relevant images reflecting the social milieu of the 1930s. In this example, two women are

featured – one at home washing sheets and one in an office typing. Two men are shown in work situations - an office setting and, working with machinery. The message of this advertisement is two-fold. The images provide an illusion that the country was doing well. Skilled workers, in this instance both male and female, present patriotic messages encouraging the nation's growth. The woman, busy with washing, symbolises prosperity - she has a washing wringer and tub and her dress, grooming and demeanour suggest care and pride in her domestic arrangements. This advertisement showcases a movement towards economic recovery, not dissimilar to the *P* advertisement shown on p.63, in which recovery is depicted as underway. Secondly, the text carries this message by stating that respiratory infections cause loss of working hours and wages, which in turn will affect both public and domestic economic growth and recovery. The medicinal message of Hearn's is that relief is readily available from coughs and colds and is suitable for the entire family, but the emphasis is on progress and working towards the future.

This advertisement shows how Hearn's modified their advertising to suit current conditions and while the Hearne's heroic warrior continues carrying his raised sword and shield, other elements of earlier advertising are missing. For example, Hearn's heroic figures fought goblin-like creatures labelled with names of respiratory infections and diseases. The portrayals of symptoms and disease as creatures was powerful and gave readers the opportunity to visualise attacking forces. It could be argued that these images allowed readers imaginations to be stimulated so protection from respiratory illness would seem entirely credible, especially to those with limited reading skills, who may have been more open to images rather than words. Showing adaptation throughout the decades, the knight featured in 1911 wielding his sword, then in 1920 he fired doses of Hearn's Bronchitis Cure from an aeroplane, and two years later he held a machine gun in lieu of a sword.²⁹ In these three examples he is aiming his weapon at the illness creatures. But in 1931 images of people working in the home, the office and industry had more relevance. However, these small illness creatures reappeared in 1941, the heroic knight once again battling with his sword with the creatures in retreat. The following image, run during the Second World War, portrayed a picture of triumph - the victor and a retreating army.³⁰

²⁹ Advertisements -Hearne's Bronchitis Cure, *Press* 2 October 1920, p. 4., *NZH*, 15 July 1922, p. 11. (Supplement).

³⁰ Advertisement — Hearne's Bronchitis Cure, *ODT*, 8 September 1941, p. 2.

**HEARNE'S
BRONCHITIS CURE**

*Best by Test
for the Chest*

LET HEARNE'S deal with these "imps" of mischief and misery. HEARNE'S is a definitely aggressive scientific formula proved during 60 years, that goes right to the affected membrane and exercises a strong local curative and strengthening influence.

For Coughs, Chest Colds, Croup, Raw Throat, Sore Chests, etc., take HEARNE'S Bronchitis Cure

2/6 and 4/6 everywhere

W. G. HEARNE & CO. LTD., GEELONG

BRONCHITIS

CROUP COUGHS COLDS

The illustration depicts a tall, armored knight figure standing on a pedestal. The knight holds a sword aloft in his right hand and a shield in his left. The shield features the letters 'HBC'. Radiating lines emanate from the knight's head. To the right of the knight is a box of 'HEARNE'S BRONCHITIS CURE'. At the base of the knight, several small, mischievous-looking figures are shown, labeled 'CROUP', 'COUGHS', and 'COLDS'. The knight appears to be vanquishing these figures. The background is dark with radiating lines.

Figure 337.
ODT, 8 September 1941, p. 2.

Hearne's also used female heroic images – the tall goddess-like figure in long flowing robes, carrying an olive branch bearing an emblem with the markings HBC and wearing a H shaped headdress from which radiating beams streaming outwards as seen in the illustration below.³¹ These figures presented a gentle kindness, bringing healing and relief from pain and suffering, while the knight figures were shown battling illness and protecting the weak from harm.

³¹ Advertisement - Hearne's Bronchitis Cure, ODT, 2 October 1915, p. 14.

There is Nothing Better than

HEARNE'S BRONCHITIS CURE

for CROUPY CHILDREN.

This Medicine can be given with PERFECT SAFETY and the UTMOST CONFIDENCE to the YOUNGEST CHILD, as it does NOT contain, and has NEVER contained, any poison or harmful drugs. It is very pleasant to take, and children take it readily—even CLAMOR for it. HEARNE'S BRONCHITIS CURE is prepared by our MR. W. G. HEARNE who is a REGISTERED CHEMIST with nearly 40 years' experience. The REPUTATION of and the DEMAND for HEARNE'S BRONCHITIS CURE are GREATER now than ever.

It's just the Finest Remedy in the World for
COUGHS, CROUP, and COLDS on the CHEST

The REMEDY with the REPUTATION

Price 2/6 & 4/6 (double size)

The BEST is always the CHEAPEST in the long run.

From all CHEMISTS and STORES

If not obtainable in your district send direct to

W. G. HEARNE & CO. LTD.,
GEE LONG, VICTORIA.

Branch Offices at
SYDNEY, N.S.W. WELLINGTON, N.Z.

12.

W. G. Branch Office: Kennedy's Buildings, Onda street, Wellington.

Figure 38.
ODT, 2 October 1915, p. 4.

Hearne's earliest advertising contained strong messages regarding drugs. For example, "... it [Hearne's] does **NOT** and **NEVER** contained any Poison or Harmful Drugs". And "**NOTICE.** – Hearne's Bronchitis Cure No. 1^A does NOT contain any poison within the meaning of the Act".³² The act referred to is not stated; however, it may have been the Sale of Poisons Act 1900 or, the Poisons Act 1908. Or, as Hearne's Bronchitis Cure was imported from Australia, this advertisement could have originated in Australia and the Act referred to may have been Australian. Such strident disclaimers were not uncommon and were included to mollify readers, especially when a product was promoted for children. Hearn's Bronchitis Cure continued advertising until the 1938 when two advertisements appeared, one showing a

³² Advertisements - Hearne's Bronchitis Cure, NZH, 6 June 1914, p .9. (supplement)., *Press*, 25 February 1908, p. 4.

smiling “grandmother” who talked of symptoms and cure, and the other a “chemist” who promoted the product as being popular with his customers for respiratory illnesses. Both these advertisements contravened the Quackery Act 1908 by promoted Hearn’s as a medicine, but again no action was taken against the Australian company or the New Zealand agents .³³

Some patent medicines specifically used the words ‘contains no alcohol’ in their advertising³⁴. This suggests there was a market for alcohol free tonics and cough mixtures in the years 1900-1945. However, a non-alcohol disclosure was discovered in a patent medicine discussed in this thesis. Imported from the USA, Ayer’s Cherry Pectoral, sporadically used disclaimers in advertisements in New Zealand newspapers (1908-1915), claiming no alcohol and/or opiate content. The origin of these products suggests that advertisements used in the USA were reused in New Zealand, as the years in which these advertisements appeared, the prohibition debate featured in USA politics.³⁵ New Zealand patent medicines such as Clements Tonic and Dr William’s Pink Pills also used this disclaimer. ³⁶

³³ Advertisements - Hearne’s Bronchitis Cure, *ODT*, 27 April 1938, p. 8., 12 September 1938, p. 4.

³⁴ Advertisements -Tussicura, *NZH*, 3 July 1918, p.5. Clements Tonic, *Press*, 5 February 1927, p.5., Bidomax, *Press*, 19 February 1940 p.5.

³⁵ Of 2260 advertisements (1914-1920) for Chamberlain’s Cough Remedy, 31 carried a no alcohol disclaimer. Ayer’s Cherry Pectoral (1908-1915) of 810 advertisements, 193 claimed no alcohol, and/or narcotics/poison, content.

³⁶ Advertisements - Dr William’s Pink Pills, *EDT*, 19 August 1920., Clements Tonic, *NZT*, 12 February 1923, p. 12.

1940s Lane' Emulsion

16 THE TIMES WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 14, 1940

BARGAINS
BARGAINS
BARGAINS!

Shoppers Surprised!
The Most-Cheered-Most-Cool
Clearance of the Season.
Another Rack Full of
COATS
TO GO AT
29'6

They were 78s, 85s, and 95s. Most sizes and many styles and lengths. Come to the final clear-away.

Glassons' Warehouse
96 LICHFIELD STREET

THE FARMERS'
the perfect perambulator for the tram!

RAVEN TEA
3/6

LANE'S EMULSION
Radiant Health

"See New Zealand First"
Knowledge Strengthens Patriotism

INFLAMED EYES
FLU
KLONDYKE

MAKE A FRESH START TOMORROW
with
NEW Super-milled LIFEBUOY

Figure 39.
Press, 14 August 1940, p.16.

Radiant Health-

Boys and girls grow healthy and strong on Lane's Emulsion. There is nothing else so good. Be sure you get **LANE'S** for your children!

2/9 and 4/9, all Chemists and Stores

The cod-liver oil used in Lane's is richest in the growth-vitamin A and sunshine-vitamin B.

Lane's
EMULSION

Figure 39a.

Lane's advertisements in the early 1940s relied heavily on images of smiling, healthy children, both drawn and photographed, however the photographs resulted in more realistic depictions of a well child, as shown above. This smiling, slightly hesitant, boy faces the reader; most noticeable is the sun image directly behind him, giving the impression of a halo and rendering him almost angelic. The heading, "Radiant Health" reinforces this, so the radiant boy figure could be interpreted as one evoking religious imagery or, as Marchand wrote, one with a "mysterious heavenly source".³⁷ The use of rays was one Lane's employed after the discovery of vitamins. In one iconic Lane's image, a bare-chested man, has one hand pictured resting on a box containing Lane's, while the other is raised towards a radiant beam moving upwards from him. The beam, representing vitality available from the sun's rays, also has the appearance of an ascension, where the man and the product are raised above all others.³⁸

³⁷ R. Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, p. 218.

³⁸ Advertisement - Lane's Emulsion, *NZT*, 29 May 1930, p. 3.

KEEP FIT!

Perhaps you thought that only children and sick people took Lane's? That's wrong! Lane's is for all who want to be fit and keep fit. It's not only a wonderful medicine but it's a food as well—rich in vitamins and proteins.

Lane's EMULSION

THE LANE WAY TO HEALTH

The Lane Way is the straightest and casiest road in the world.

Lane's Emulsion drives away disease from the sick—gives energy to the weak—nourishes the thin—gives vitality to the old.

Lane's Emulsion is supreme for coughs, colds asthma, bronchitis, catarrh, incipient consumption and all lung troubles.

"It's famous because it's good."

Price 2/6 and 4/6 at all Chemists and Stores.
Manufactured by The Lane Medicine Co. Ltd.
(E. G. Lane, Graduate Chemist), Oamaru, N.Z.

Figure 40.

NZT, 29 May 1930, p.3.

Some Lane's text-only advertisements used the beam image which Marchand refers to as one that "... had become a secularized image without entirely losing its spiritual overtone"³⁹ These images, he maintains, could "...signify celestial favour"⁴⁰ Lane's use of such images and language resulted from, Macdonald writes, an emphasis on ..."vitality, strength and light" during the 1920s and 1930s.⁴¹

³⁹ Advertisements - Lanes Emulsion, *NZH*, 28 June 1940, p .4., *ODT*, 14 May 1930, p. 15.

⁴⁰ R. Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, p. 279.

⁴¹ C. Macdonald, *Strong, Beautiful and Modern*, p. 158.

The photo of a child, rather than a drawn illustration, would attract parents, and the text referring both to boys and girls would consolidate that attraction. The small insert of a fishing boat reminded readers that Vitamins A and B, found in cod-liver oil, were present in Lane's, and that Lane's had marketed the value of cod-liver oil for many years. The inclusion of this image builds on past campaigns.

While this advertisement is sparse, the message is strong. This product produces healthy children. In 1940, World War II had been underway for one year. Men were leaving the country to serve overseas, and women's roles were in transition. Mothers were frequently left at home with children and, with husbands away serving their country, women would not have wanted to read advertisements filled with symptoms, illness, on-going ill health, or possible death. The emphasis in this and other Lane's advertisements of this era had moved to health and vitality - hence the continued use of the sun ray images. Wellness had overtaken illness.

During the 1940's, much of Lane's advertising was centred around children who appeared to be bursting with health. One advertisement showed a photo of a small boy licking his lips, suggesting this preparation was pleasant to take, while the text urged the reader to "Cheer Up", because Lane's will keep the child well.⁴² These advertisements played on the fears of parents and were not so subtle reminders that rationing had begun in the United Kingdom and in other European countries.⁴³ The possibility of food rationing would have raised anxiety in the community and the knowledge that the most vulnerable - the elderly, ill, and children - would need to be sufficiently robust to withstand any future shortfalls which could impact on their health.⁴⁴

The Medical Advertisements Act 1942 saw a change in direction for Lane's advertising with adults and the elderly mainly absent. While images and text regarding children and their health prevailed, as did alarmist advertisements warning of health dangers. However, it could be argued that some of these advertisements were operating on the border of the Act. Take, for example, the advertisement below. Using the words "take a dose", in conjunction with "coughs" and "colds" medicalises the product and places it in breach of the Act.⁴⁵

⁴² Advertisement - Lanes Emulsion, *ODT*, 23 April 1940, p. 13.

⁴³ See for example - British Food Rationing - *NZH*, 30 December 1939, p. 6., Food Rationing, p. 7.

⁴⁴ Food Rationing was introduced into New Zealand in April 1942 with sugar becoming a rationed commodity.

⁴⁵ Advertisement - Lane's Emulsion, *ODT*, 13 April 1945, p. 10.

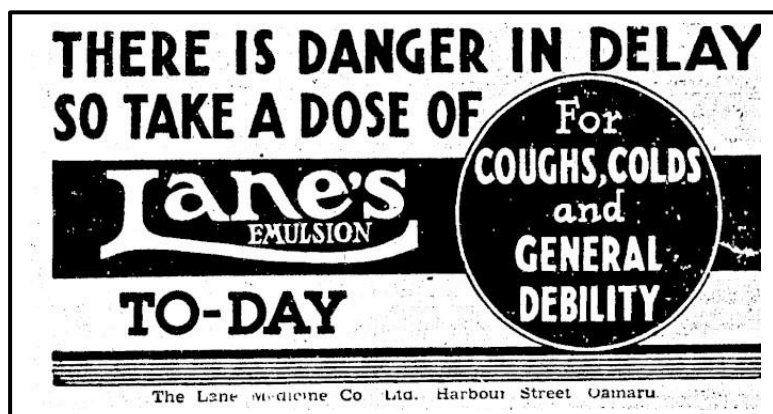


Figure 41.
ODT, 13 April 1945, p. 10.

The phrases “Lung-Healer” and “Health-Builder”,⁴⁶ both used in Lane’s advertising, also appear to contravene the Act. As with the Quackery Act 1908, and the Ayer’s small advertisements of two brothers discussed on pages 106-108, it appears that neither Lane’s or authorities saw it necessary to temper claims made in Lane’s advertising three years after the Medical Advertisements Act 1942 came into law.⁴⁸

This chapter has shown how the advertising of patent medicines and tonic wine altered during the period 1900-45. Such changes resulted from progress in technology, including the discovery of vitamins and advances in printing methods. The move from hand-drawn illustrations, which presented a more abstract dimension of the well/unwell, to the use of photographic images, allowed a stronger connection between product and reader as readers were more able to associate themselves, their families and the situations they were in, with real faces and real scenes depicted in advertisements.

At the beginning of the 20th century, advertisements played on readers’ fears regarding disease and chronic illness, raising hope of either relief or cure for ailments continuously displayed in newspapers and magazines. The rhetoric changed from talking down to the reader to become personalised with greater use of pronouns such as *you* and *I*. The use of unrealistic figures as seen in advertisements offering protection and, restoration of health, were presented

⁴⁶ Advertisements -Lane’s Emulsion, *NZH*, 18 April 1945, p. 5., 30 July 1945, p. 3.

⁴⁸ Advertisement - Ayer’s Cherry Pectoral, *ODT*, 28 July 1909, p. 3.

in ways outside of the reader/patient's control, arising rather from powerful external sources.⁴⁹ The power, in these advertisements, was with the bearer of the product and that power was offered in a mystical manner to readers. The sense of a supernatural power, in a time when church attendance was high and growing, would have made the possibility of divine intervention in matters of health, seem entirely possible.⁵⁰

Table 6.

Provincial District.	Number of Persons usually Present at Largest-attended Service of Day.		Percentages of Persons attending Service to Accommodation.	
	1911.*	1916.	1911.	1916.
*See "Placed of Worship, by Denomination"				
Auckland	55,883	60,474	54.03	46.02
Hawke's Bay	11,666	12,553	58.60	51.71
Taranaki	10,208	11,606	58.60	45.60
Wellington	42,706	38,953	55.06	46.80
Marlborough	3,697	4,759	57.48	54.94
Nelson	10,673	10,802	51.07	28.20
Westland	5,057	4,460	69.70	37.22
Canterbury	40,460	46,908	55.86	55.42
Otago	40,740	37,358	51.20	51.64
Southland	13,904	15,151	58.41	52.51
Totals	234,994	243,024	54.77	49.27

Places of worship by Province, 1916 Census, Section VI, Chapter 43.

From the 1930s on, symptoms and disease were acknowledged, but not dwelt on, the emphasis having moved to health, vitality and well-being as seen in a 1941 Lane's advertisement where a leap-frogging girl appears to almost jump off the pages as well as over

⁴⁹ Advertisements - Wincarnis, *NZH*, 27 November 1909, p.6. (Supplement)., Hearne's Bronchitis Cure, *GRA*, 24 October 1914. p. 2.

⁵⁰ Report on the Results of a Census of the Population of the Dominion of New Zealand Taken for the Night of the 15th October 1916. Section VI – Religious, Chapter 43. Places of Worship by Province.

her small companion.⁵¹ The sheer exuberance of this illustration invites the reader into the text, which, while talking of nourishment, strength and intergenerational knowledge, continues to mention childhood and respiratory diseases. The image of two healthy children engaged in a vigorous activity also offers readers a possible future of their children becoming as healthy and as energetic, as the two pictured.

The Medical Advertisements Act 1942 had the potential to radically change the marketing of patent medicines by prohibiting claims of treatment and cure placed restrictions on how these advertisements were worded. The following example of a Lane's advertisement, however, shows how Lane's in this instance, appears to be only operating just within the bounds of the new legislation.

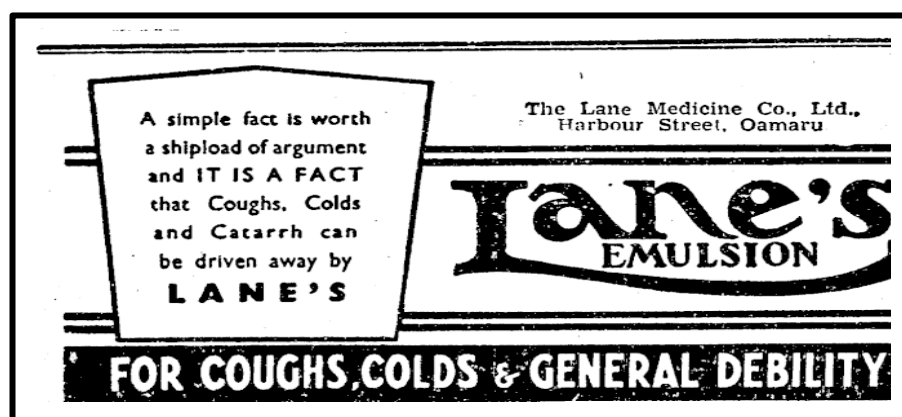


Figure 42.
ODT, 16 September 1944, p. 2.

The scope and effectiveness of advertising 1900-45 was tested by a series of legislative changes. The impact of these acts on advertising patent medicines containing alcohol in New Zealand, and the response of manufacturers and advertisers to these changes, has been described previously.

⁵¹ Advertisement - Lane's Emulsion, *Press*, 7 April 1941, p. 5.

Conclusion

“The intent of advertising, especially in the aggregate, is to preoccupy society with material concerns, seeing commercially available goods or services as the path to happiness and the solution to virtually all problems and needs”¹

This study has endeavoured to discover what factors influenced the advertising of two commodities: alcohol claiming medical properties and patent medicines containing alcohol. A spot of gin at the nineteenth hole, and a thick syrup taken to ease incessant coughing, appear to have very different purposes and purchasers.² However, the historical use of alcohol for physical and mental ailments merged pleasure and relief and resulted in advertising which offered confusing and conflicting information. For example, what would be the best remedy for feeling run-down and nervy? The solutions offered included port, tonic wine, and patent medicines, and likewise for respiratory illness where whisky and patent medicines promised alleviation from coughs to consumption.³

The images and text of advertisements for these products confirm how alcohol was promoted as an enjoyable drink - but also as one which could serve as a medical remedy. Alcohol's medicinal use in patent medicine and alcohol beverage advertising, in New Zealand, c.1900-1945, has been widely demonstrated in this thesis. These advertisements made relief and possible recovery seem entirely likely for complaints including rheumatic and respiratory conditions and others causing misery in the community. And the ambiguous nature of alcohol was clearly demonstrated in an advertisement stating “The host of discrimination keeps it on his sideboard, the medicine cupboard holds it for emergency”.⁴

The advertising of these two groups shared many similarities. Testimonials and endorsements arising from anonymous sources, or from people with no expertise other than their personal experience of a product, were frequently used. Doctors featured in testimonials and some manufacturers claimed large numbers of medical doctors, such as 10,000 or 17,000, had used their product.⁵ The use of anonymous medical voices and of seemingly satisfied customers cannot go unchallenged. From examining advertisements containing testimonials,

¹ R. Pollay, *The Distorted Mirror*: p. 21.

² Advertisements - Bonnington's Irish Moss, *Press*, 13 October 1932, p.14., J.D.K.Z. Gin, *NZH* 5 December 1928, p. 6.9,

³ Advertisements - Lane's Emulsion, *Press*, 14 September 1900, p.3., Gilbey's Invalid Port, *ODT*, 7 May 1921, p. 4., Wincarnis, *NZH*, 9 May 1931, p. 8, (Supplement)., 33 April 1944, p. 19., DCL Whisky, *Press*, 15 August 1939, p. 12., Bonnington's Irish Moss, *NZH*, 27 July 1938, p. 5.

⁴ Advertisement - Dunville's VR Whisky, *NZH*, 20 October, 1917, p. 6. (Supplement).

⁵ Advertisements - Wincarnis, *LM*, 1 May 1924, p. 33., *NZT*, 21 April 1927, p. 10.

it appears that much medical as well as non-medical testimony would be unverifiable, such as advice given by an anonymous "... trained nurse and certified midwife".⁶ But testimonials and endorsements had a powerful allure in an era when readers had few resources to check facts in advertisements. The words of someone who found relief, and testimony from medical personnel, was a powerful method of sanctioning products. Testimonials were used by both alcohol and patent medicine advertisers and many were aimed at target groups.

Two groups heavily targeted by written and implied testimony were women, particularly mothers, and those suffering from depression. Gilbey's Invalid Port, for example, aimed at both groups using headlines such as "Broken down in Health & Spirit" and "Of extreme value to the nursing mother".⁷ What was being described was a fortified wine, typically containing 20% alcohol and conferring the benefits of relaxation and possibly an elevation in mood. The first advertisement contains a recommendation by Doctors and Nurses (anonymous), and the product is described as possessing "natural powers". Powers, a strong word, suggesting authority, energy and, the ability to effect change, when added to the word natural, indicates a benign and effective product.

The success of any product advertised in the period under review was not necessarily due to its efficacy; rather it depended on effective advertising. Target audiences, as shown above in the Gilbey's Invalid Port examples were selected, and relentlessly pursued. A wide range of relief and cure advertisements covered other groups, including those involved in sport, business and working men, babies and children through to the middle aged and elderly. The key to the success of advertising was the wide range of the population shown in advertisements and the selection of publications these appeared in. These ranged from daily newspapers, local and national, and special interest magazines such as *The Ladies' Mirror*, *New Zealand Woman's Weekly*, *Quick March* and *New Zealand Golf Illustrated*. Wide circulation of advertisements allowed for maximum readership, potentially exciting interest, and subsequent sales. The number of advertisements in these publications ensured readers were constantly presented with what products were available as shown in Table 2. Themes claiming medicinal properties and benefits have been outlined including images of doctors, testimonials, and words describing both illness and wellness. A variety of strategies were used including tableaux featuring family groups, friends drinking together, sporting occasions, special holidays, smiling babies and people fearful for their health. This often resulted in a mixing of fantasy and reality

⁶ Advertisement - Woodward's "Gripe Water", *EP*, 21 October 1926, p. 17.

⁷ Advertisements - Gilbey's Invalid Port, *ODT*, 7 May 1921, p.4., *Press*, 18 May 1925, p. 4.

creating what Leiss et. al., referred to as a “magic show”.⁸ And Bernard writes of the necessity for some people to “believe in a therapeutic miracle”, when conventional medicine cannot deliver what they require.⁹

The real magic show in advertising these products occurred with the discovery of vitamins: elements that could not be seen, smelled, or touched - invisible yet powerful. It could be argued that the association of the radiant beam image with vitamins can be interpreted two-fold. As previously discussed, the beam image suggests ascension: a word with religious association and potentially attractive to groups with religious beliefs. And secondly, the invisible, yet powerful, essence of vitamins is almost mystical to the non-scientific reader. Vitamins had an aura of magic and it was this discovery which effected a great change in the advertising of patent medicines, and to a lesser degree in alcohol. When this change occurred, the focus of advertising patent medicines and alcohol claiming medicinal benefits, noticeably moved from sickness to health. And this move was backed up in the newspapers under review with articles, advice and letters to newspapers discussing vitamins and, with a Department of Health advertisement, as shown below.¹⁰ Vitamins were acknowledged as vital to health and the reading material available showed that this knowledge would have been available to the public and the information would have shown the potential of vitamins to heal, strengthen and prevent illnesses.

⁸ W. Leiss, et. el, p. 32.

⁹ V. Bernard, Why people become the victims of medical quackery., A paper was presented at a panel on "Health Education Against Quackery" of the Second National Congress on Medical Quackery, sponsored by the American Medical Association and the Food and Drug Administration, Washington, D. C., October 25-26, 1963., pp. 1142-1147.

¹⁰ See, Vitamins for lunch, *ODT*, 24 June 1927, p.14., Letter to the Editor – What shall we eat? 18 September 1940, p11p. 11., ‘Trend of Modern Cooking, *NZT*, 13 February 1930, p. 20., You’ve Simple Simply Got To Earn that Stream Lined Figure, *BOPT*, 29 July 1940., p. 6., Dept. of Health, *ODT*, 19 February 1945, p. 8.

ISSUED BY THE  DEPT. OF HEALTH



**“WHAT’S ALL THIS FUSS
ABOUT VITAMINS?**

Why should I bother with vitamins and minerals and things—I want a square meal’

There’s no need to ‘bother’ with the essential food elements. Eat a diet as balanced as you can get and the vitamins and minerals and all the rest will be there.

A square meal is not one that gives you that ‘full’ feeling, but one that gives your body what it needs for full health.

Here’s your ideal food programme:

MILK: Two glasses daily for each adult; 3-4 for each child. Take simply as milk, or in the form of hot drinks, soups, puddings and sauces. *Dried Skim Milk* may be used for cooking purposes and to reduce expense.

EGGS: Three or four a week—one a day, if possible, for the children. When not available use more *dried peas, beans and lentils*.

MEATS: Rationed or unrationed, or **FISH OR CHEESE DISHES**—one helping at least each day.

POTATO: One or more helpings every day, with **TWO OTHER VEGETABLES**, one of which should be green or yellow.

FRUITS: Two fruits, one of which should be a citrus fruit or a tomato, or black currants or gooseberries (raw or bottled). The other fruit may be raw or cooked, fresh or dried.

FATS: The butter ration is sufficient, together with meat fat and the fat used in cooking.

BREADS, CEREALS, FLOURS: At least *half* should be wholegrain.

Eat anything else you like but plan your diet on the above basis. And don’t forget to use **IODISED SALT**. And remember the daily dose of **COD LIVER OIL** in winter.

The nearer you get to this programme, the better will be your health.

FOR A HEALTHIER NATION

Figure 43.
ODT, 19 February 1945, p. 8.

Another well-developed group of advertisements were those surrounding Prohibition referenda. The threat of prohibition in New Zealand resulted in a body of advertising material emanating from the Continuance and Prohibition lobbies and the alcohol industry. This study has examined those advertisements and has established the alcohol industry responded to the threat posed by Prohibition and, that the theme of the family medicine cupboard, was identified as influential in the 1925 Prohibition Referendum. These advertisements relied on images and words to highlight the medicine cupboard as the rightful place for alcohol to be kept in the home for medicinal purposes. This had the effect of bringing the possibility of a specific outcome of prohibition into the home: no reviving alcohol in the sickroom. Alcohol, these advertisements stated both overtly and covertly, would be denied to the public as a legitimate,

safe, and commonly used treatment for a variety of health conditions. While the New Zealand Alliance advertising portrayed the dangers of alcohol in the community, the Continuance faction and the alcohol industry came together (by accident or purpose) and used a common commodity as a political tool. Showing one outcome of prohibition as being the removal of alcohol as a medicinal aid, advertisements displayed medicine cupboards containing bottles of alcohol. And importantly, these featured women managing the contents of these cupboards just as they were depicted controlling patent medicines held in medicine cupboards.¹⁷ This mixing of alcohol, women and relief from illness, provided the ingredients to create an emotional response from readers.

Women, and therefore the family, were shown in the New Zealand Alliance advertising as under threat from the continuing presence of alcohol. However, the potential removal of alcohol from the home would eliminate a long-established remedy used by women in caring for their families when illness struck. If prohibition was passed, women stood to lose power in the domestic realm: the removal of alcohol from the medicine cupboard undermined their ability to care for the unwell in times of crises. And if passed, Prohibition would outlaw an important disinhibiting agent leading to the potential fracture of social cohesion.

Crises of different natures propelled legislation to be passed to stop the spread of opium and to eliminate quackery in New Zealand. These attempts were seen in the Opium Act 1902 and Quackery Prevention Act, 1908. Both these Acts failed as discussed in Chapter 1. Further legislation, the Physical Welfare and Recreation Act, 1937 and the Social Security Act 1938, effected some change to the advertising under discussion, but the major change to patent medicine and alcohol advertising occurred with the advent of the Medical Advertisements Act 1942 which made it illegal to advertise claims of preventing, curing or relieving illnesses. This Act was immediately adhered to by alcohol advertisers, however, the patent medicine industry, while ceasing to use testimonials, did not fully comply and continued to use words and images linking their products to relief and cure.¹⁸

The examination of the advertisements under review made it clear that many words appeared in both patent medicine and alcohol advertisements and this replication of words, it could be argued, had the effect of blurring the contents of the advertisements. There were often few distinguishing features to differentiate between the claims of patent medicines and those of alcohol. For example, the words cough, colds and chills were present in advertisements

¹⁷ Advertisement - Bonnington's Irish Moss, *Press*, 18 November 1934, p. 8.

¹⁸ Advertisements - Bonnington's Irish Moss, *EP*, 8 September 1942, p. 7., *NZH*, 29 November 1944, p.

for brandy, tonic wine, and patent medicines. The following table lists commonly used words in both types of advertising and this indicates the cross-over effect that occurred. The word Doctor appeared in advertisements for brandy, whisky, gin, tonic wine, gripe water and cough remedies, creating confusion but providing motivation for readers to purchase a product.

Table 6.

Products	Hennessy's	White Horse	JDKZ	Halls	Timaru	Ayer's	Lane's	Bonnington's	Woodward's
Years advertised	1901-40	1900-38	1901-40	1920-36	1930-45	1901-13	1904-45	1902-45	1924-43
Descriptor									
Colds, coughs, chills	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Influenza						✓	✓	✓	
Anaemia/blood				✓	✓	✓	✓		
Nerves/Depression			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Doctors	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Stimulant	✓	✓	✓						
Tonic			✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
Medicine (al)			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	
Restorative	✓			✓	✓		✓		
Healthy (y)		✓	✓		✓		✓		✓
Sickness/illness	✓			✓		✓	✓		
Men / Women/ Family	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table of words used in selected advertisements under review

The aim of this thesis has been to establish what factors shaped the advertising of alcohol claiming medicinal benefits and patent medicines containing alcohol in New Zealand c.1900-45. Three main areas were identified as being strongly influential: successful and failed attempts at legislation, Prohibition Referenda advertising and the focus of placing alcoholic beverages in the household medicine cupboard, and the discovery of vitamins leading to the promotion of health over illness in patent medicine advertising.. Each of these generated change in an industry which, by its very nature, responds to change. New ideas, fashions and techniques were embraced as the worlds of newspapers and magazine readers transformed over the forty-five years under review. Cohen's quote at the beginning of this thesis - "A great deal of advertising sustains, nourishes or inspires a train of fantasy",¹⁹ - provides a succinct analogy

¹⁹ J. Cohen, *Psychology and Philosophy in Advertising*, p. 12.

for the world of advertising under review. The train was provided by the manufacturers of alcohol and patent medicines, the fuel supplied by the advertisements and the passengers, newspaper and magazine readers, climbed on board armed with abundant material to imagine cure and relief.

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Ellesmere Guardian (1900-1945)

Evening Post (1900-1945)

The Press (1900-1945)

Grey River Argus (1900-1920)

Home and Country the Magazine of the New Zealand Women's Institutes (1940)

Kai Tiaki (1908-1929)

Ladies Mirror (1922-1926)

Maoriland Worker (1910-1924)

New Zealand Golf Illustrated (1928-1945)

New Zealand Herald (1900-1945)

New Zealand Truth (1906-1930)

North Canterbury Gazette (1932-1939)

Opunake Times (1900-1945)

Otago Daily Times (1900-1945)

Quick March (1919-1922)

Rodney Otamatea Times, Waitemata & Kaipara Gazette (1901-1945)

The Fishing & Shooting Gazette New Zealand (1930- 1941)

The Plunket Magazine (1915)

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