

The 'New Way' of Shopping: Farmers Trading Company Catalogues 1909 - 1938.

An Illustrated Commentary by
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In August this year Australasian retailers were informed of an approaching "Death Star"¹. The American online retail giant Amazon announced plans to open its first major Australian warehouse, what it called a 'fulfillment centre', in suburban Melbourne. In New Zealand retailers were reported as being "spooked by the 'Amazon Effect'" according to researchers at Massey University² who found that business confidence had fallen since 2016 and the global online retailer was being cited as the main reason for uncertainty. With the opening of the Australian warehouse it was estimated that Amazon could build a business with annual sales of \$915 million in this country in just five years.³ Over a century ago the New Zealand retail industry was shaken by another 'retail revolution', the mail order catalogue.

The development by Amazon of an Australian warehousing presence has a strong resonance more than a hundred years ago. In October 1909 a twenty-four year old hardware salesman, Robert Laidlaw, opened New Zealand's first mail order business. In his inaugural mail order catalogue he described his approach as the 'New Way'. His way was to sell only from a catalogue, "thus saving all travellers' and salesmen's wages and expenses"⁴. He also would accept cash only and would only serve out-of-town customers and thus not threaten urban retailers⁵.

The time was opportune for this initiative. Social and technological change had created conditions where Laidlaw's venture could succeed. There was growing prosperity with a consequent growth in consumerism and an increasingly literate community with the introduction of universal primary education from 1877. Postal services had much improved with rural delivery starting in 1905 and by 1909 motor lorries began to be used for the delivery of letters and parcels. Vitally, for the distribution of goods from Auckland, the North Island Main Trunk Railway was completed in 1908. These changes brought about a literate, accessible market.

Laidlaw's inspiration for a mail order business was the American entrepreneur Aaron Montgomery Ward who founded a company in his name in the transportation hub city of Chicago in 1872. Ward's basic business policies were adopted by Laidlaw. They can be summarized as: Buying and selling for cash, which eliminated interest charges in the purchase of goods and in financing credit to customers, thereby lowering prices. The unconditional guarantee of all merchandise sold and the use of advertising techniques that radiated friendliness and care beyond the consummation of the sale and offering through the catalogue a huge assortment of goods.

As with Ward, and later Sears Roebuck in the United States, Laidlaw's business grew rapidly. In its first year of operation turnover doubled each month. The business moved from its initial small two-story office in Fort Street, Auckland after only four months of trading. Five months later the company moved into larger premises yet again. Laidlaw's business was absorbed into the Farmers' Union Trading Company in 1918 but he emerged as the General Manager and the largest shareholder and consolidated the business as the Farmers' Trading Company in the early 1920s. The extensive yearly mail order catalogue was produced until 1938 when the costs of producing it and retail changes saw its demise.

This account looks at the mail order catalogues as media that tell us something of the age that produced them. The original wood



Figure 1. Cover of first Laidlaw Leeds Catalogue, issued 1909. Courtesy of Farmers' Trading Company and the Auckland War Memorial Museum.

OUR GUARANTEE MEANS WHAT IT SAYS. PAGE 7. 113



No. P4763—SAWS, KITCHEN.—For cutting bones in meat, etc.; a very handy article in any house.
Our Price 1/-

SCALES.—(See also under **BALANCES.**)



No. P4764 — SCALES, HOUSEHOLD.—For ordinary use; tin scoop; all complete, with a full set of weights.
Our Price, Complete .. 4/6

No. P4767 — SCALES, HOUSEHOLD.—(as illustrated).—These are very strongly made, swinging on knife pivots; well balanced; large tin scoop; a very useful scale for all household purposes; no weights go with this scale; weights from lbs. down to 1oz., 2/- per set extra.
Sizes .. 7lb. 14lb.
Prices .. 5/11 6/9

SCISSORS.—(See **CUTLERY DEPARTMENT.**)

No. P4768—SCREW HOOKS.—Japaned; very strongly made.
Sizes .. 10 12 14 16
Our Price, Per Doz. .. 5d. 8d. 11d. 1/3

No. P4770—SCREWS, IRON.—These are the ordinary screw, so commonly used; in packets of 1 gross. We quote the ordinary sizes, but will supply any other if desired.
Length. Fine. Medium. Stout.

	Per Packet.		Per Doz.	
1 in.	5d.	6d.	7d.	1d.
1 1/4 in.	7d.	8d.	9d.	1d.
1 1/2 in.	8d.	9d.	10d.	1d.
1 3/4 in.	9d.	10d.	11d.	1d.
2 in.	1/-	1/1	1/3	1d.
2 1/4 in.	1/2	1/5	1/8	2d.
2 1/2 in.	1/5	1/8	2/4	3d.
2 3/4 in.	1/9	2/3	2/11	3d.
3 in.	2/9	3/4	3/11	3/4d.

No. P4773—SKEWERS.—Strong, steel tin-rod, assorted, 5 to 16 inches.
Price .. 5d. Per Set

No. S4776—SLOP PAILS.—Strong galvanised, with good covers.
Small. Medium. Large.
Our Prices .. 3/3 3/9 4/5 each

No. P4779—SPIRIT STOVES.—The usual French, with wick and regulator; used everywhere. Extra wicks, 1d. each.
Price .. 1/3 each

No. P4782—SPIRIT STOVES.—Ideal; blue flame; wickless.
Price .. 10d. each

No. P4785—SPIRIT STOVE.—With cover; strong and durable.
Price .. 7d. each

No. T4788—SPOONS, BASTING.—For kitchen use; strongly made and well tin-rod. (See also **ENAMELWARE DEPARTMENT.**)
Sizes .. 10 12 14 16 inch
Prices .. 4d. 5d. 6d. 8d. each

No. S4791—SPOONS OR FORKS, TINNED.—For ordinary use; but we strongly recommend using our Dixon's nickel-silver. (See the **CUTLERY DEPARTMENT.**)
Size .. Tea. Dessert. Table
Prices .. 1d. 1 1/2d. 2d. each
10d. 1/3 1/6 Doz.

No. P4800—STAPLES, WIRE.—Slice cut, for fencing, netting, etc. These are all well galvanised, and guaranteed best quality procurable.
Size and Gauge—
1 x 1 1/4 in. 1 x 1 1/2 in. 1 1/2 x 1 1/4 in. 1 1/2 x 3/4 in. 1 1/2 x 3/8 in.
Price Per lb.—
4d. 3d. 2d. 2 1/2d. 2 1/2d.
Price Per Doz. lbs.—
3/6 2/8 2/4 2/2 2/2
Price Per Cwt. Keg—
25/- 18/6 16/6 15/6 15/6

No. P4803—STOVES, HEATING, or KEROSENE HEATERS.—(as illustrated).—These are wonderfully useful in any home, as they may be lit on a cold morning or evening for ordinary use; and then put out when the room is warm enough. They may be carried from room to room; no dirt or dust; no wood or chop; no fireplace to clean in the morning. Black Japaned frame, with leaded tin foot and No. 2 full size burner, using ordinary kerosene. We do not supply the small size, as we can afford to sell our large one at the same price.
25 inches high.
Our Price, Full Size Burner, 18/6



No. P4804—DOVER STOVES.—(as illustrated).—Made in the famous Bonnybridge Works, in Scotland; recognised everywhere as one of the finest stoves procurable; it has a good oven and plenty of room on top to accommodate a number of pots; it is portable, and needs no building in what-ever size 6 or 7 is usual, but we supply it as large as Number 8 for those who want a big stove.
Sizes .. 6 7 8
Prices .. 51/6 64/6 78/6

No. P4806—STOVE, BEATRICE.—With thick wick, tinned, and all complete; burns ordinary kerosene. This will boil a kettle in a very short time.
Our Price .. 4/5 each

No. P4809—STOVES, OPTIMUS AND PRIMUS.—Brass; strongly made; pumps up with air pump; starts by methylated spirits. These are absolutely wickless, and burn with a strong blue, hot flame.
Price—Optimus .. 12/6 each
Primus .. 13/9 each

No. P4810—STOVES, WICKLESS, BLUE FLAME COOKER.—With steel frame. Japaned black, burns kerosene; a very handy stove.
Price .. 18/6

No. P4815—STRAINERS, TEA.—To fit spoon or cup; at the same price; as shown
Price .. 1d. each

No. P4821—SYRINGE, GARDEN.—Strongly made, in zinc, with good plunger; 18 x 1 1/2 inch.
P4815, Price .. 1/9 each

No. P4824—SYRINGE, GARDEN.—All brass; very strongly made, sure to give you every satisfaction. Remember, any goods purchased from us may be returned if you are not more than satisfied.
Sizes .. 15 x 1 1/2 in. 15 x 1 1/4 in.
Prices .. 3/3 4/3 each
Prices, Heavy .. 6/11 each

No. P4827—SYRINGE.—Double action, patent, for syringing or spraying trees, etc. Strongly made in brass.
Price .. 17/6 each

No. P4828—TACKS.—Ordinary blue or tin-rod.
Price .. 1d. Per Box; 9d. Per Doz.

No. P4830—TACKS.—In paper packets, 1,000 in each. This is by far the best and cheapest way to buy tacks. Tinned or blue, as preferred.
Sizes .. 1 1/2 inch 2 inch 2 1/2 inch
Prices .. 2d. 2 1/2d. 2 1/2d. 2 1/2d. 2 1/2d. Pkt.

No. P4833—TACKS, CARPET.—In packets.
Price .. 2d. Per Packet

P4836.
No. P4836—TAPS, WOOD.—With metal plug, for beer, etc.; as illustrated.
Size .. 6 7 inch
Price .. 6d. 7d. each

No. P4839—TAPS, ALL WOOD.—With wood plug, for vinegar, etc.
Size .. 7 8 inch
Price .. 8d. 9d. each

No. P4842—TIN OPENERS.—With cork-screw combined (as illustrated); a very special line.
Price .. 5d. each

No. S4845—TRAYS, STEEL, OVAL.—Japaned black; for ordinary use.
Sizes .. 20 22 inch
Prices .. 1/4 1/3 each
Sizes .. 24 26 inch
Prices .. 2/2 2/3 each

P4842.
TENTS AND FLYS.—Look up General Index.

TINWARE.—(See **TINWARE DEPARTMENT.**)

TOOLS.—(See **Separate, TOOL DEPARTMENT.**)

THE DAY OF BIG PROFITS IS PAST.

Figure 2. Sample page from the Laidlaw Leeds Catalogue of 1909. Courtesy of Farmers' Trading Company and the Auckland War Memorial Museum.

Figure 3. Cover of Farmers' Trading Company Catalogue No. 10, 1929. Courtesy of Farmers' Trading Company and the Auckland War Memorial Museum.

cut black and white illustrations (see Figure 2 for example) which later gave way to half tone and then colour printing (see Figure 7) were supplemented with homilies and text⁶ which sought to reinforce the integrity of the owner and convey a kind of friendliness and care for the relationship with the customer that go beyond the mere requirements of a sale. It was important that if the consumer was to pay cash in advance for goods out of a catalogue that there was considerable trust in the company providing the service.

Robert Laidlaw brought to his business his Presbyterian morality and he was also strongly influenced by the cooperative movement. He prided himself on the relationship of trust he built with customers and they in turn dressed and furnished their homes with the retailer's goods. There are a number of cultural stories that could be told from the catalogues but this account focuses on how they reflected changing norms when addressing the female audience.

The 29 years from 1909 to 1938 saw an expansion of socially acceptable roles that women could play in New Zealand society – at least that part of it which had the disposable income to purchase products available by mail order – alongside an increased permissiveness in its depiction of women's bodies, and expectations that married women at least would remain responsible for the running of households and the clothing and nurture of their families⁷.

The initial audience for these mail-order catalogues was the rural family, isolated from opportunities in urban areas to 'shop around', and eager to get a reliable and convenient alternative to the local store - but with cheaper goods. In the 1913 catalogue, Robert Laidlaw acknowledges that "our great progress and our present prosperity are tributes to the intelligence of New Zealand farmers and their wives"⁸ Prior to the merger with the Farmers Union Trading Company in 1917, the latter's catalogue also makes it clear that male farmers are the primary audience, but exhorts them to "Study the interests of your wives and children"⁹. The extent to which women themselves were characterised as purchasers by the company is not made explicit, and they may have been making room for the possibility of differences between families depending on the customs of the household, and perhaps the power dynamics between the couple.

Alongside the continuing advertisements for farm and workshop equipment, are domestic products such as furniture, appliances, carpeting, sewing machines, fabric and haberdashery as well as clothing for all the family. Until 1921 there are few women featured in the images accompanying these, but they begin to appear in that issue. A couple are depicted shopping for woven grass flooring¹⁰, and a young woman is posed using a vacuum cleaner¹¹, suggesting perhaps that they may be involved in these sorts of purchases, but also that the domestic is primarily a woman's domain. There is also a large image of a woman and child using a hand-operated milk separator¹², reflecting the labour women but also children put into the work of the farm.

Nevertheless, the word 'women' is rarely used; ubiquitous instead is the then more polite term 'ladies', and the main arenas where 'ladies' are depicted and addressed throughout the period are in personal products, particularly women's clothing.¹³ Again, vocabulary gives a clue to contemporary characterisations of the women being addressed by the catalogues. In 1909 fabrics are "well and stoutly woven"; "will give even longer wear and better service"; "will make up nicely and wear well" and are "all of British make", or "of best Home make". Even 'tussore silk', a luxury fabric, is "of known quality, and very dependable wear".¹⁴ Clothes may be "stylish"¹⁵ or "very pretty"¹⁶ but references to quality, durability and value for money dominate, and there are few references to fashion at all. Of course, fabrics made in Britain still denote quality - and 'Home' is still the United Kingdom. The vocabulary suggests that in 1909, women customers are responsible for sewing, knitting and selecting hard-wearing clothing, while being frugal, prudent - and patriotic.



Figure 4. Advertisement for a milk separator, p.164 of the 1921 Catalogue. Courtesy of Farmers' Trading Company and the Auckland War Memorial Museum.



Figure 5. Advertisement for corset, p.50. of the 1909 Catalogue. Courtesy of Farmers' Trading Company and the Auckland War Memorial Museum.

Of particular interest for what they depict of changing attitudes to the female body are the corset advertisements throughout all the catalogues. Corsets themselves, of course, are designed to 'control' the body and literally to make it 'conform'. Scholars have discussed the significance of this actual, as well as symbolic, manifestation of the constraints imposed by the narrow range of acceptable body-shapes and also roles for women.¹⁷ Nevertheless, opinion about the tight-lacing of corsets was divided, even at the time. Doctors in the 19th century considered it caused a range of physical problems – most of which have been debunked today – and were aware of its effects on the spine¹⁸. The 1909 catalogue advertises corsets designed for tight-lacing (see Figure 5). They are described as “unbreakably strengthened”, for example, but customers are reassured that they have been also “recommended by the Medical Faculty”.¹⁹

The images tell another story – of the 'S' figure they were designed to produce, with its tiny waist and emphasised hips and bosom. That shape now appears an exaggeration of the sexualised female figure – but in the catalogues such a thing cannot be spoken of; the text alongside the images reaffirm women customers as practical and prudent, even while they are wearing a clearly impractical and probably uncomfortable garment. It is not surprising that feminists of the era had a great interest in 'rational dress', which resisted the

meanings inherent in this distortion of the female form. In 1893, Alice Burns had written in *The New Zealand Graphic* that such clothes for women were “the swaddling clothes of a sex that has not yet asserted its right to perfect freedom.”²⁰ Nevertheless, the audience of the catalogues is not at the forefront of social change, and dressing up still means a tight corset, even if photographs of contemporary women engaged in all manner of sports and work suggest they were not always worn²¹.

By the last catalogue, in 1938, the types of corsets had changed, and also perhaps their functions. The drawings are of fuller figure models, and texts such as that for the “G6543 'Corselette'” in “tea rose batiste”, may feature “a strong underbelt” designed for the “abdominal figure”²² (see Figure 6). The adult female body still required to be moulded into a shape approaching the ideal for the day, and also, perhaps, to control any public display of fleshy curves underneath. There is less emphasis on the 'bust' and hips, again exemplifying a change in what the fashionable figure was like. By the 30s 'talkies' had arrived, Hollywood films were widely viewed, and popular actresses like Katharine Hepburn and Joan Crawford were slim and willowy, embodying that change.



Figure 6. 1938 Catalogue advertisement for corsets. Courtesy of Farmers' Trading Company and the Auckland War Memorial Museum.

In the catalogues for the 20s and 30s there are few references to the activities of labouring women, although we know there was increasing female employment in a range of occupations, and “farm work of various kinds, such as milking cows, tending crops, and assisting with shearing, occupied many women”²³. Much greater prominence is given to clothing, which no longer has to be durable and sensible. Fashion takes precedence, and the tone has changed from a sober appeal to practicality, to the enthusiastic familiarity we are more familiar with today. The 1938 edition includes an advertisement for “stockings for the business girl ... (in) ... pure silk hose”²⁴ and full colour pages of fashionable garments entitled “Lovely Summer Fashions” in which “you’ll look slim and, Oh! so smart!”.

Although tight-lacing was gone, “and modesty was still regarded as a female virtue, young women were now encouraged to put their bodies forward for assessment. Some young and single women paraded in bathing costumes in beach beauty contests, while others sought their moment of fame in film clips shown to cinema audiences who voted for the woman whose appearance pleased them the most”²⁵. It is therefore unsurprising that “alluring” bathing suits “for your share of fun and sun”²⁶ are included – relatively brief affairs after the greater modesty earlier in the century (see Figure 7). In addition, while prior to the thirties, there was no makeup advertised at all in the catalogues, by 1932 there were perfumes, rouge, face powders, “eyebrow shades” – and lipstick under the brand name ‘Kissproof’²⁷. So while many women worked for a wage, particularly prior to marriage²⁸, direct references to women at work, particularly farm work, are rare. However, there are products for women with disposable income (including from employment outside the home) and a desire to follow the latest trends in adornment. By the thirties, use of makeup has become normalised.

Another aspect of the changing expectations of women over the period of the catalogues is the increasing ‘professionalisation’ of housework. The role of ‘household germs’ in common illnesses, particularly threatening the health of children, was widely known by 1920²⁹ and in 1932 New Zealand acquired an affordable women’s magazine, *The New Zealand Woman’s Weekly*³⁰, which focused on domestic matters such as hygiene, and included advertising which encouraged spending on cleaning products and household goods. For the middle class home, which had previously been used to at least one servant to do the ‘heavy work’ like laundry, servants had become rare, so it was now the role of the women of even middle class households to perform housework of all kinds. Classes for girls

SPORTS TOGS
for Carefree Days

G4020—Tennis Suit—All-white Suit in cool Cotton Pique with floral Bolero Jacket to slip on after the game. White only. P.S.S.W., S.S.W., S.W. Price—29 6

G4027—South Sea Beach Suit—In all the colours of Summer. Tailored shorts, snappy sun top and swing-time Beach Coat. Buy them separately and wear them together. Ground shades: Blue, Red, Navy, Green. S.S.W., S.W. and W. Sun Top . . . 4 6 Shorts . . . 2 11 Coat . . . 7 11

G4028—Palm Beach Sports Suit—In crease-resisting Lines. Featuring action sports shirt, pleated shorts and swing skirt. White and Green. S.S.W., S.W. and W. Shirt . . . 5 6 Shorts . . . 7 11 Skirt . . . 6 11

G4025—Play Shorts—Styled right in fast-colour Cottons. White, Navy, Green, Lido, Brown. S.S.W., S.W., W. 4 11

“Cooltex” Beach Shirts—In White, Green, Yellow, Red and Blue. S.W. and W. Price—2 11

G4019—Feel grand—and look it—in this Playtime Suit in gayest of Summer Cottons. Sand, Red, Blues. Navy. S.S.W., S.W. and W. 8 11

G4024—Gayest Blouses of American Cotton Prints. Fast colours. Red, Blues, Greens. S.S.W., S.W. and W. Price—7 11

G4021—Tailored Slacks in Chalk Stripe Flannel. Grey only. S.S.W., S.W. and W. Price—17 11

G4022—Similar style in fine Flannel—Grey, Navy. S.S.W., S.W., W. and O.S. Price—21 6

G4023—Wide leg, sailor bottoms, in “Windsor” Cloth. Navy, Lido, Brown, Bottle, Black. S.S.W., S.W., W. and O.S. 8 11

G4018—Swiss Peasant “Dinaal” with matching “Babuska,” in American Cotton Prints. Wear it over your swim suit—for lounging—or to tend to your garden. Cherry, Tan, Blue, Green. S.S.W. and S.W. Price—21 6

16

Figure 7. Advertisements for sportswear from the 1938 Catalogue, p.218. Courtesy of Farmers’ Trading Company and the Auckland War Memorial Museum.

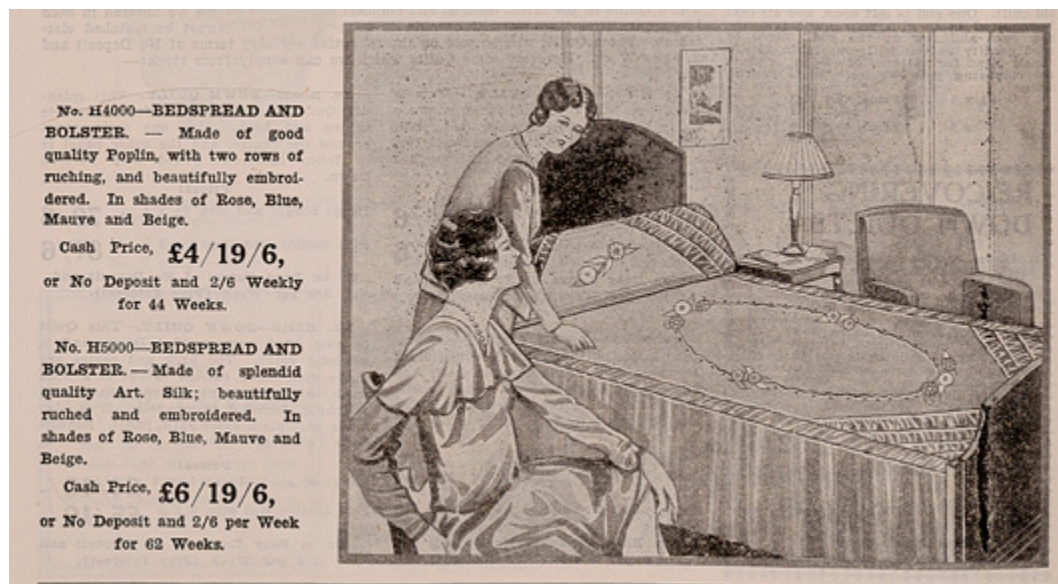


Figure 8. Advertisement for bedspreads from the 1932 Catalogue, p.486.
 Courtesy of Farmers' Trading Company and the Auckland War Memorial Museum.

in cooking and sewing were included in the school curriculum by 1929 under the titles 'home craft', and later 'home economics'³¹ reflecting the 'scientific' approach which raised its status. In New Zealand, as in the United States, being an excellent wife and mother now included being skilled in 'household management'³².

The catalogue images of women involved in domestic work and purchases for the home suggest the increasing status of such matters as they devolved to middle class wives and mothers. They also demonstrate how household goods were a way of embodying family aspirations to social cachet – even during the Great Economic Depression which held poorer New Zealanders in its grip for much of the early 1930s (the catalogues themselves were not published at all for the years 1933 to 1935). Figure 8 is from the 1932 catalogue, and is an advertisement for bedspreads, with the caption "today, in the smartest sleeping rooms, one sees beautiful Bedspreads ... the very latest idea ... besides being stylish, (they make) it so easy to effect delightful colour harmonies ... (and give) ... a touch of distinctiveness"³³. The elevated tone of the language, especially the use of 'delightful' and 'distinctiveness' echoes the situation in the image, where one woman is showing off her classy bedspread to the other.

The years 1909 to 1938 saw significant changes in the ways New Zealand women were characterised in texts such as the catalogues, reflecting increasing liberty of movement not only in their dress, but also in the range of roles they could engage in, especially the normalising of employment prior to marriage. However, many obstacles to full participation in the economic life of the country remained, and arguably there was an increase in the amount of labour married women were expected to carry out in the home, despite the increasing availability of labour-saving devices such as the sewing machine. The relative dourness of the woman suggested in the 1909 catalogue has been replaced by a woman with just as many domestic responsibilities, but with the additional onus on her to be not just 'stylish', but 'alluring'.

The mail order catalogue business which Robert Laidlaw introduced to New Zealand in the early 20th century, brought more choice and cheaper goods for the rural, and later urban, consumer. However, there were social deficits such as the potential loss of interaction that took place at the local store which was often the hub of a rural community. Retailers then, and with online shopping today, would argue the advantages of seeing the article in the store and having the advice of the experienced store owner. Yet, also analogous with contemporary events, infrastructural and technological changes would have in any event had a profound effect on the *modus operandi* of the retail sector. At the beginning of the 20th century in New Zealand with motorized road transport and improved road, rail and postal communications; at the beginning of the 21st century with the Internet. The mail order catalogues of the past and the online sites of today hold a mirror up to the culture of the time and provide valuable insights into the look and feel of the world of consumers and their communities.

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- 3 Pullar-Strecker, Tom. (2017). NZ Business needs to prepare for Amazon. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/business/industries/95167337/nz-business-needs-to-prepare-for-amazon> (Accessed 27 September, 2017).
- 4 Laidlaw, Robert (1909) 'Opening Statement', p.2. Laidlaw, Leeds & Co. Catalogue No.1. 1910 (Issued 1909).
- 5 The major mail order businesses in the United States, Montgomery Ward and Sears Roebuck, on which Laidlaw had modelled his company, were the subject of "persistent and virulent" opposition from local retail merchants. See the introduction to the

- Montgomery, Ward & Co. *1895 Catalogue and Buyers Guide*. Unabridged Facsimile Edition. (New York: Dover Publications, 1969), p.vii.
- 6 At the foot of the page in Figure 2 there is the phrase "The day of big profits is past". An institutional advertisement or homily was placed on almost every page to create a verbal camaraderie with the reader and also to attempt to reassure them that although they were a new enterprise they had old traditions and were a reliable company. See also Laidlaw's use of a classical facade on the cover of his first catalogue (Figure 1).
 - 7 See Barbara Brooke, (2016). *A History of New Zealand Women*, p.242.
 - 8 Laidlaw, Robert. 'To Our 20,000 Customers', *Laidlaw Leeds Catalogue*, 1913, inside front cover.
 - 9 *Farmers Union Trading Company Catalogue*, (1917) p.113. A single example of how the language has changed with changed ideas about appropriate roles for women. The term 'farmer' is now used, as least formally, as denoting either female or male.

10 Ibid, 1921, p.464.

11 Ibid, p.465.

12 Ibid, p.164.

13 There are many pages devoted to men's clothing too - of note, a large range of styles of hat.

14 *Laidlaw Leeds Catalogue*, 1909, p.39.

15 Ibid, p.41.

16 Ibid,, p.45.

17 For example, Fields, Jill. "Fighting the Corsetless Evil: Shaping Corsets and Culture, 1900-1930"

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19 *Laidlaw Leeds Catalogue*, 1909, p.50.

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22 *Farmers Trading Company Catalogue*, 1938, p.19.

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24 *Farmers Trading Company Catalogue*, 1938, p.220.

25 Brookes, Barbara (2016) *A History of New Zealand Women*, p. 230.

26 Ibid p.9 - 27.

27 *Farmers Trading Company Catalogue*, 1932, p. 513.

28 See Brookes, chapter 8.

29 <http://ocp.hul.harvard.edu/contagion/germ-theory.html>. Accessed 25 October, 2017.

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