

Title

The role of department stores in the evolution of marketing: Primary source records from Australia

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to present historical research on marketing practices in department stores of the 1880-1930 period using primary source records from Australia.

Design/methodology/approach – The paper draws from primary records including retail trade journals, mass circulation newspapers, and other contemporary sources, but mainly from the archives of The Master Retailers' Association (MRA). The MRA was the dominant industry employers' organisation in Australia, and possibly the first retail association of its kind in the Western world. Secondary sources have also been used to supplement the primary records, and to provide context, and cross-cultural comparisons.

Findings – The findings demonstrate the antecedents of a range of marketing practices that today we presume are modern, including sales promotion, trade promotion, direct mail, destination retailing, advertising, and consumer segmentation. This supports other scholars' research into marketing's long history.

Originality/value – This paper contributes original knowledge to the neglected field of Australian marketing history and connects the pioneering practices of retailers to the broader field of marketing. While some outstanding retail histories exist for the USA, UK, and France, the Australian story has remained largely uncovered.

Keywords Marketing history, Retailing history, Department store history, Shopping history, Consumption history, Australia

Paper type Research paper

Introduction

This paper describes the establishment of marketing practices in early department stores using primary source records from Australia. The findings demonstrate the antecedents of a range of marketing practices that today we presume are modern, including sales promotion, trade promotion, direct mail, destination retailing, advertising, and consumer segmentation.

Although some outstanding retailing histories have been written in the US, UK, Canada, and France (Fraser 1981, Miller 1981, Monod 1996, Tedlow 1990), the Australian story has remained largely uncharted. Research on retail history in Australia has typically centred on specific topics, such as female labour (Ryan 1984), or on individual store hagiographies, for example, *The Model Store 1885-1985* (Brash 1985), *Gone to Gowings* (Gowing 1993), and *Prince of Merchants: the Story of Sir Norman Myer* (Warrender 1972). Other researchers have made significant contributions to retail scholarship, but from academic disciplines outside of marketing (Kingston 1994, Reekie 1993, Pollon 1989, Ville and Merrett 2000).

The dearth of work by marketing scholars in retailing history has meant that the interrelationships between retailing practices and their impact on marketing have been neglected. Hollander argued that, as a *sine qua non* of marketing theory, it is fundamental to understand “the way retailers have (acted) and do act as gatekeepers and consumption modifiers” (Hollander 1986, p. 10). Likewise, Hunt reasoned that because the study of marketing is the study of exchange behaviour, the institutional framework in which exchange takes place should be seen as “one of the fundamental explanada of marketing” (Hunt 1983, p. 13). This paper connects retailing practices to the broader field of marketing, and it contributes to the neglected field of Australian commercial history, a country with “a dismal record of (studying) business history” (Terwiel et al., 1998, p. 1).

The near invisibility of the role of retail institutions may be partly attributed to the difficulty of collecting data on mainly small and privately owned businesses. The idea of retailing as a “small business utopia” with comparative ease of entry and exit (Monod 1996), along with inconsistent definitions, and deficiencies in official government data (Layton 1981), have also hampered research on retail institutions, and these complaints are common in many countries. Samson states the reason that “retailing has never found a comfortable niche in business historiography...unlike the railroad or steel industries” is because retailing was “composed of tens of thousands of individual, unconnected and often ephemeral units” (Samson 1981, p. 26).

With the coming of department stores, however, record-keeping improved significantly because of statutory requirements on companies, new technologies such as adding machines and cash registers, which were “the computers of their day” (Friedman 1998), and the growth of “scientific” management. Department stores were indeed “pioneers in the utilization of thorough systems of control” (Copeland 1931, p. 300), and they bequeathed the first significant tranche of historical records from retailing.

Retailing in Australia closely echoed the developments taking place in other young Western nations, though at a laggard pace. Australian retailers imitated the world's leading stores and department store founders made regular pilgrimages to England and, after World War I, increasingly to the United States of America. To some extent then, the Australian experience provides a subset of and comparison with the developments that took place in the UK, USA, and elsewhere.

The 1880 to 1930 period spanned the heyday of Australian department stores, (a periodisation that lags other countries [1]), and this is the time span selected for the focus of this article. The evidence presented here is drawn from both secondary and primary records, and the latter include retail trade journals, mass circulation newspapers, and other contemporary sources, but mainly from the archives of The Master Retailers’ Association (MRA, renamed The Retail Trader’s Association of NSW in 1921 [RTA]). The word “Association” is used in this paper as substitute for either name).

The main classes of documents in the Association’s archive were annual reports, minutes, and its monthly journal [2]. The archive comprised continuous data for the 27.6 years period from May 1903 to December 1930, including 137 issues of the journal for the period July 1919 to December 1930. The 1930 termination year was chosen as a cut-off point because of the large volume of data already collected, and the onset of the Depression.

In the Association’s early years, minutes were issued every two to three weeks, but minutes had settled to a monthly frequency by the time the journal began publication in 1919. In contrast to the brevity of minutes, the journal, which was issued free to members, provided a fulsome commentary on the events of the time. The publication grew in both size and

circulation in the period under review, mirroring the growth taking place in retailing during that time. The number of pages quadrupled from 16 to 68 pages in the 1919-1929 period, the biggest increase coming in 1926, when 18 pages were added “to meet the demand for additional advertising and reading space” (*RTA Annual Report*, June 1926, p. 445). Circulation figures more than doubled in the same period, and the Association’s 1927 annual report pronounced the journal as “the recognised publication of the retail trade of New South Wales” (*RTA Annual Report*, June 1927, p. 19).

The news and feature content of the journal was centred on the Sydney city area, where large department stores congregated, although items about Newcastle were common, reflecting that city’s relatively large population. News coverage also favoured large-scale retailers so stories about small stores were rare. A large number of the feature articles were reprinted from overseas publications, including the *New Zealand Draper*, *The Draper’s Organiser* (UK), and by the 1920s, increasingly from American journals such as *The Dry Goods Economist*. Indeed, in a 1928 series of photographic portraits that ran on page one of each edition, the subjects were often American retailers.

Other retail trade publications that were distributed in Sydney in the same period included *The Draper of Australasia*, which catered to narrower interests in retailing: “drapery, men’s wear, boots and shoes, clothing and fancy goods trade”, and *The Storekeeper and Commercial Record*, which was dependent on cover sales, and tended towards sensationalism. In comparison with these rival newspapers then, the Association’s journal was relatively comprehensive in coverage, and conservative in tone.

In sum, despite the bias of the Association’s archive towards large Sydney-based department stores, the evidence provides a longitudinal history from the retailers’ point of view as perceived by the men who ran Sydney’s biggest department stores and the industry’s main Trade Association. The main value of this archive is, therefore, in its “official” industry-wide account of events.

The following section describes the Association and its powerful members. Next, a brief review of shopping before the arrival of department stores is provided, in order to better appreciate their impact. Subsequent sections provide evidence of the rise of marketing practices including direct mail, advertising, sales promotion, destination retailing, customer segmentation, and trade promotion.

The Master Retailers’ Association

The Master Retailers’ Association was founded in 1903, by a circle of Sydney’s most powerful department store founders, in response to the NSW Industrial Arbitration Act. The Act imposed compulsory arbitration by the court as the only method for dealing with disputes between employers and workers, and was seen at the time as “the ‘most radical arbitration law’ in the world” (Ryan 1984, p. 24).

Compulsory arbitration spurred the formation across all industries of workers’ unions and employers’ trade associations set up to oppose them, and four months after its commencement, 100 employer associations and 75 employees’ unions had registered with the Court (Ryan 1984, p. 25). Amongst the largest of these organisations were the New South Wales Shop Assistants’ Union, formed in 1902, and its counterpart, The Master Retailers’ Association (MRA), founded soon after in May 1903.

The 1903 formation of the MRA predated its counterparts in countries that pioneered in department store retailing. America’s trade organisation for department store employers, the

National Retail Dry Goods Association, was formed only in 1911 (Benson 1981), and in France it was not until 1919, that the first organisation representing department store employers was founded, the *Groupement D'Études de Grands Magasins* (Badel 1999, p. 301).

The founders of the MRA were all prominent and well-connected social figures, and many held knighthoods [3] and other upper-echelon titles in their involvement on the executive boards of other businesses, including notably those of major newspapers. Among them, and those who attended MRA meetings, were the men [4] who established Sydney's largest emporia, and the majority of Australia's greatest department stores. The stores represented in the MRA foundation included *Anthony Hordern & Sons*, *Buckingham's*, *David Jones*, *Edward Fay*, *Farmer & Co*, *Grace Bros*, *Hordern Bros* (run by a branch of the Hordern family), *Lassetter's*, *Marcus Clark & Co*, *Mark Foy's*, *McDowells*, *Murdoch's*, *Nock & Kirby*, *Messrs. Peapes & Co*, *Snows*, *Sweet Bros.*, and *W. T. Waters*. *Gowing Bros* obtained MRA membership soon after.

By 1930, six of the Association's founding stores were among Australia's top 100 companies by asset value: *Anthony Hordern & Sons* (26th), *David Jones* (42nd), *Farmer & Co* (43rd), *Marcus Clark* (48th), *Mark Foy's* (61st), and *Murdoch's* (98th) (Ville and Merrett, 2000), and the Association estimated that the total number of hands employed by its members was 40,000 (*The Journal of the RTA* (1931), "Annual Dinner of the RTA", June, p. 16).

In the eyes of the public, the great retailing dynasties these men built around them were important advertisements in promoting the idea of shopping as aspirational, and the department store as a family institution. Indeed, "the major Australian retailing families became sources of fashion and authorities on taste... (by the 1920s) they became a kind of surrogate aristocracy to the general public who followed their activities through the social pages of newspapers which also relied heavily on them for advertising" (Kingston 1994, p. 53).

Today, all of Australia's grand department stores have disappeared, except for *David Jones* and *Myer*. The death toll includes *Anthony Hordern & Sons* (Sydney), *Ball & Welch* (Melbourne), *Boans* (Perth), *Buckley & Nunn* (Melbourne), *Farmer & Co* (Sydney), *Finney Isles* (Brisbane), *Foy & Gibson* (Melbourne), *Georges* (Melbourne), *Gowing Bros* (Sydney), *Grace Bros* (Sydney), *Harris Scarfe* (Adelaide), *Lassetter's* (Sydney), *London Stores* (Melbourne), *McDowells* (Sydney), *McWhirters* (Brisbane), *Marcus Clark* (Sydney), *Mark Foy's* (Sydney), *Murdoch's* (Sydney), *Nock & Kirby* (Sydney), and *Peapes & Co* (Sydney).

Before the Arrival of Department Stores in Western Nations

Up until the arrival of department stores in the late 1850s, retailing had evolved little and slowly. As Cundiff wrote (1988, p. 149), buying took place through a mix of "basic retailing institutions that served consumer needs virtually unchanged for several millennia". The retailing mix in a typical Western city in the UK, US, Canada, and Australia consisted of open markets and fairs, door-to-door peddlers and street vendors, and small specialist shops, "in some cases little more than crates piled up outside a house" (Monod 1996, p. 30).

Before the department store, entering a shop involved an unspoken obligation to buy and browsing or "just looking" was not encouraged (Miller 1981). Moreover, "very few goods were available for the customer to touch" (Humphery 1998, p. 49). Goods were typically kept behind the counter, stacked on shelves that constituted both stock and display (Cummings and Lewandowska 2000, p. 63). Furthermore, fixed and marked prices were only just emerging, so purchasing inevitably involved haggling over price.

Most shops sold products that were produced by hand, and in small batches (Walsh 1999,

p. 57). Products were non-standardised, unlabelled, and of poor or even dangerous quality. In Australia, “serious adulteration” in confectionery, tea, and milk resulted in public outcry and the first legislation of its type in the world, *The Victorian Pure Food Act of 1905* (Farrer 1988, p. 113) [5]. Thus, until the emergence of consumer rights groups in the 1920s, shoppers occupied a *caveat emptor* position in the exchange transaction.

Davis wrote of the UK: “There were plenty of goods and plenty of shops, but using them was no simple, impersonal routine, like putting down sixpence for a tin of beans... Nothing, of course, was branded, or standardized, or guaranteed. No two manufactured articles could be relied on to be exactly alike. About their materials, their design, their workmanship, the buyer could only guess; he had to rely on the shopkeeper’s word as an expert” (Davis 1966, p. 182). Because of the difficulty and risks that shopping then entailed, nineteenth century customers were relatively loyal to their chosen stores. Apart from the uncertain quality of goods, the comparative absence of public and private transport impeded “shopping around”, keeping the majority of shoppers confined to their own neighbourhood stores. Customer loyalty was further entrenched by the retailers’ traditional role – up until the arrival of lending banks – as the main suppliers of consumer credit. In Australia, “the need for cash or the availability of credit often decided how and where householders in the spreading suburbs would shop” (Kingston 1994, p. 43), and both rich and poor customers used credit.

Prevailing social norms surrounding consumption hampered the development of retailing. During most of the nineteenth century, temperance and frugality were regarded as the traits of a “good” character. Shopping – and consumption in general – implied immodesty, and for “much of the Victorian era, shopping had often been denigrated as a wasteful, indulgent, immoral and possibly disorderly female pleasure” (Rappaport 1995, p. 131). Women were exhorted “to resist the tyranny of ornament and embellishment and the veil of extravagance in dress” (Reekie 1993, p. 20). The “profound ambivalence” towards shopping (Rappaport 1996, p. 66) – and women as consumers – was “also a debate over acceptable feminine spaces and behaviors outside the private home and family circle” (Rappaport 1996, p. 70).

The cultivation of a mass market, therefore, required the dissolution of the nineteenth-century disdain for materialism. To achieve this, consumption had to be “completely detached from necessity” (Humphery 1998, p. 25), and shopping “without shame or embarrassment” became the goal of department stores throughout the Western world (Spierings 1989, p. 55). Thus, the task faced by department store pioneers was to sell “not only merchandise but consumption itself” (Miller 1981, pp. 165–6). As Pasdermadjian observed in the UK, what was “lacking” in the nineteenth century was “the habit of spending. And it was here that the department store with its methods, especially its technique of window and interior display, its concentration of the buying opportunities and its use of sales promotion, played a major role in inducing, one may almost say educating, the public to buy” (Pasdermadjian 1954, pp. 29–30).

Department stores draped the physical site of shopping in glamour and decorum. The colossal multi-storey buildings that survive from those times, which architectural textbooks today regard as “ranking among the masterpieces of *fin-de-siècle* commercial building” (Artley 1976, p. 9), were imitation palaces – deliberate analogies to such aristocratic institutions as theatres and museums (Walsh 1999, p. 63). Rising from a shopping scene that had remained virtually unchanged for centuries, department stores were “cathedrals of consumption” (Crossick and Jaumain 1999). Consumers “were awed and flattered, and before they knew it they were influenced and persuaded” (Davis 1966, p. 292).

By the late 1850s, department stores had emerged in broad synchrony in France, England, and America. “One may say that in the course of a few decades the department store swept

across the Western world. Its success demonstrated that it represented a necessary form of enterprise. In fact, the department store can be considered as one of the most characteristic forms through which the new forces released by the industrial revolution sought expression" (Pasdermajian 1954, p. 7).

The world's first department store, the Paris-based *Bon Marché* (Miller 1981), became an archetype across the Western world, as indicated "by the number that adopted that name elsewhere, including in London, Liverpool, Southport, New York and Seattle" (Perkins and Freedman 1999, p. 144). In Australia, independent *Bon Marché* stores appeared in Sydney and Perth in 1896 and 1897 respectively, and in Melbourne around 1904.

A "critical" determinant of Australia's delayed development generally (Blainey 1966), and retail growth in particular, was the "chronic problem of size, density, and demand" (Todd 1995, p. 246). The major markets were spread across six capital cities that were roughly 600 miles (966 km) apart (Terwiel et al., 1999). Distance, combined with a lack of transport, and a small and scattered population meant that Australia lacked the critical mass that would have helped create an integrated national market. Australia's undeveloped manufacturing sector, and its consequent dependence on imports, resulted in a general shortage of goods, which delayed the growth of retailing in this country. In addition, the cultural ties that cemented Australians to the "Old Country" or a British way of life effectively quarantined this country - at least until after World War I - from other foreign influences. As Kingston wrote (1994, p. 52): "Many of the changes taking place in America might have translated easily into Australia, though it took longer for them to arrive via Britain or to displace the generally preferred British models". The following sections review the rise of various marketing practices, beginning with the advent of direct mail.

Direct Mail

The evolution of direct mail has its origins in the nineteenth century development of mail order catalogues, or "parcel post" as it was known in Australia. Department stores such as *Farmer & Co* used catalogues from at least the 1880s, and "nineteenth-century catalogues contained thousands of pages of extremely plain but very informative drawings of items available for purchase, ranging from fragile glassware and delicate underwear to windmills and saddles... From the 1920s department store catalogues, lavishly illustrated in colour, began to look like glossy magazines themselves" (Kingston 1994, p. 64).

Anthony Hordern & Sons was a major catalogue mailer and by 1924, its customers were "found in every part of Australia, and the islands of the Pacific", (*The Journal of the RTA* (1923), "The Evolution of a Great Business. Anthony Hordern & Sons, Ltd. 'While I live, I'll grow'", 4, 11, pp. 269-72). The establishment of the New South Wales Railway brought mail order trade into Australian country households, and:

Soon the annual Anthony Hordern Catalogue took its place beside the family Bible in the country homesteads. The firm of Marcus Clark was also to have a big influence on country buying and selling. Besides issuing seasonal catalogues it established a scheme of "visual buying" when it built sample rooms in the larger country towns, stocking them with samples of merchandise available for cash or on terms. This store termed itself "The Universal Distributor", and soon had 300 travelling salesmen scouring country areas for willing customers (Pollon 1989, p. 234).

Lassetter's produced perhaps the greatest mail order catalogues, however, and by 1911 *Lassetter's Commercial Review* consisted of 1,255 pages, selling everything from bedroom suites

and plumbing systems, to a full range of agricultural equipment (Anon 1976).

Catalogue selling by Sydney's big department stores "easily accounted for between 15 and 20 per cent of total turnover" (Wolfers 1980, p. 25). The percentage was probably greater for *Lassetter's*, *Anthony Hordern & Sons*, or *McDowells* ("The Big Mail Order House"), which targetted its mail order advertisements pointedly at "Mrs. Country Resident", and offered free delivery for parcels "to the value of 10/- and over" (Pollon 1989, p. 101). Yet mail order in Australia was a relatively small concern compared with America. The Chicago-based mail order giants *Sears, Roebuck & Co* (founded in 1886) and *Montgomery Ward & Co* (1872), for example, did not operate a single retail store until after the post-war slump in 1921.

Part of the success of mail order catalogue was in its ability to answer the customer's need for information. Whereas in-store products lacked adequate labels or advertising, mail order catalogues provided highly detailed product descriptions, for example bedding sheet data included "content, thread count, weight, breaking strength, per cent of sizing, character of hems, stitching, shrinkage, and reinforcement of sheets" (Dameron 1941, p. 389).

Rural retailers in Australia resisted the "mail order evil", since there were "few large country variety stores which could compete with the range of merchandise and the service of the big stores" (Wolfers 1980, p. 19). Similarly, in America various retail trade associations attempted to secure national legislation to curb the growth of mail order business. In that country, however, mail order had "passed its peak" by 1929, owing to the spread of chain stores, and increasing consumer mobility (Nystrom 1930, p. 211).

In Australia, with its scattered and isolated population, and comparatively fettered access to goods, mail order proved more enduring, and catalogue selling "continued to retain a powerful influence throughout two world wars and the Depression" before its decline after World War II (Pollon 1989, p. 234).

Mass Advertising and Mass Media Promotion

Department stores were heavy users of newspaper advertising, and because they were such large volume advertisers, they have been closely linked with the development of advertising itself (Nystrom 1930). American department store founders Rowland Macy, and particularly John Wanamaker, are generally credited as being the "inventors" of modern newspaper display advertising.

For most of the nineteenth century, newspaper advertising had been rudimentary - single column, tiny typeface, no pictures, nor colour. In Britain, "not until the 1880s did papers like the *Daily News* begin to allow display advertisements to spread over more than one column, though the illustrated magazines were opening their pages to increasingly lavish pictorial advertisements". By the turn of the century, however, "advertising had become well established as an industry, and an ever-growing number of workers in the advertising industry were committed to its continued growth" (Fraser 1981, p. 138, 146). In America by 1910, department store retailers were following Wanamaker's innovation of "replacing 'cold print' with 'hot pictures'". Endowed with color, those images possessed carnivalesque properties" (Leach 1984, p. 329).

In the UK, Gordon Selfridge became the first London department store owner "to gain nearly full media support". Before the 1909 opening of *Selfridges* department store, Selfridge

Regularly wined and dined reporters and escorted them through his emporium. He regularly entertained editors and allowed journalists free use of telephones and other

store services. For the opening advertising campaign, which lasted a week, Selfridge filled ninety-seven pages of the daily and weekly press with richly illustrated advertisements drawn by some of the best-known British graphic artists... the first retailer to adopt such graphically compelling advertisements on such a grand scale. After the opening, the main promotional themes resurfaced in 'news articles' about the store in scores of English and foreign newspapers, journals, fashion magazines and trade papers... (Critics) complained that Selfridge 'bought his crowd' by 'buying' the newspaper press with his advertisements (Rappaport 1995, p. 135).

The growth of newspaper publishing in Australia mirrored the expansion that was taking place in retailing. Australian department stores boomed in the 1920s, coinciding with a rapid rise of tabloid press, and by 1923, there were 26 capital city dailies, a peak figure in Australian newspaper production (Osborne and Lewis 1995, p. 25). The evening and Sunday newspapers "were packed with retail ads" (Osborne and Lewis 1995, p. 47), and in Melbourne, "the standing joke that the Melbourne *Herald* was printed on the back of (leading store) *Myer* advertisements contained more than a grain of truth" (Kingston 1994, p. 66).

The interdependence of retailing and media was underlined by the fact that major retailers in Australia were heavily represented on the boards of directors of newspapers (Osborne and Lewis 1995, p. 26), reflecting the reliance of newspapers on retail advertising income. Increasingly, women were the targets of advertisers' dollars, and in Australia "throughout the 1920s and 1930s newspapers began actively to court female readers with special pages, features and even a new editorial slant because they were the real targets of their increasingly valuable advertising columns" (Kingston 1994, p. 66).

At the same time that newspapers were booming, the 1920s saw the launch of glossy magazines such as *The Home* "in which art and design were brought to the services of fashion and elegant living... Undoubtedly the fact that the art studio of Smith and Julius, and Catts Patterson's advertising agency were engaged in preparing the artwork and selling advertising for most of the elegant and expensive items appearing in the pages of *The Home* was significant. Its purpose was to discuss and photograph the social life founded on the most fashionable consumption" (Kingston 1994, p. 50). It was not until 1933, however, that the first Australia-wide magazine, the *Women's Weekly*, was launched (Kingston 1994, p. 68), after which time magazine advertising began to flourish.

Advertising began to be recognised as a discipline in Australia in the early twentieth century with new journals such as *The Reason Why*, established in 1908, which was devoted to the "science" of advertising. Department store retailers took "a prominent position within the fledgling Australian advertising industry from its outset: more than one-third of the delegates to the first Australasian Conference on Advertising held in 1918 were connected with the retail trade" (Reekie 1993, p. 50).

Early ad agencies worked more as "extensions of newspapers, rather than as independent agents serving the potential advertisers of goods" (Bell and Bell 1993, p. 66). By the second decade of the century, however, the attention of agencies had turned to serving advertisers. In 1918, for the launch of Mother's Day in Australia, for example, "The New South Wales Men's Advertising Institute joined with (leading department stores) Anthony Hordern & Sons, David Jones, Lassetter's, Marcus Clark, Snows and McCathies to introduce Mother's Day to Australia with a two-week campaign of newspaper advertisements, rubber stamps and window displays" (Reekie 1993, pp. 46-7).

In 1925, the Association staged a series of "lecturettes" for its retail members on such topics as "Turnover and its Relation to Profit", "Commercial Law", and "Advertising". The

advertising lecture, given by Charles Lloyd Jones (of *David Jones*), was remarkably contemporary in tone. Jones advised that advertising copy, contrary to the verbose style of the time with its “profusion and confusion of display types (which) makes it difficult to read and ineffective in result... must be as nearly alive as any dead thing can be... Sentences should be short, not longer than twenty-five words. Paragraphs should be short, not more than five lines. If people cannot read an advertisement at a glance, they will very likely not read it at all”. Calling for “truth in advertising”, Jones said:

Advertising is now only coming in to its own; like all new ideas it has been much abused and misunderstood. It was and still is misused by quack advertisers, such as those who desire to give something for nothing and those who desire to give nothing and get something; those who cure all the ills that flesh is heir to simply by buying a bottle of the elixir of life, by unscrupulous traders hoaxing the public with exaggerated and misleading statements (*The Journal of the RTA* (1925), “Lecture on Advertising”, July, 7, 1, pp. 11-22).

Five years later, in 1930, the Association’s advice on advertising had become increasingly refined. In a lecture delivered at Sydney University, the speaker laid out “simple and effective rules” that look much like the tenets of modern advertising today. Though the following excerpt is lengthy, it is significant for the relatively sophisticated knowledge that retailers had brought to the matter of advertising and persuasion by 1930.

Practical psychology is the heart and soul of successful advertising. To persuade people to act in any known way, it is essential to know how they think and why they act. No product or service can be successfully advertised if it is not backed by genuine quality and real worth. But it is not absolutely necessary that the article advertised should satisfy a known want. Many articles which people did not know they needed, have been successfully sold by advertising. A good example is the vacuum cleaner.

When is the time to advertise? It depends upon the product. For instance, liquor is advertised on a Friday night because of the prevailing habit of stocking up for the week-end. Bread and butter lines are usually advertised on Thursday night, since it is the night before pay day. Sunday papers are excellent media for luxury articles, because the family is together over the week-end, and the purchase of such things can be discussed...

Where should you advertise? Newspapers and magazines form the first line of offence and defence. The poster has reminder value, and the store display clinches the sale at the point of purchase... The selection of newspapers and magazines is dictated by the class of reader to whom the appeal is directed...

It is psychologically sound to make the general appeal of an advertisement one that will arouse emotion. Curiosity, pleasure, fear, greed – you will find examples of all these appeals in practically every publication you pick up to-day...

Length of copy again depends upon the type of product and its price class. For example, the quick-selling, low-priced article needs very little copy. The higher the price, the most reason why copy is needed, until the exclusive class is reached, when a minimum of copy – prestige copy – may be reverted to.

...When colour is used, it is well to remember that colours have definite psychological effects, and that certain combinations are far more visible than others (*The Journal of the RTA* (1930), “The Psychology of Advertising. Simple and Effective Rules”, November, pp. 15-16).

The role of mass media in promoting mass consumption was critical. In Australia, “all media, except the (government-owned) ABC, were committed to consumerism as a way of life... In the cities, advertising, retailing and publicity were the driving force behind the new consumer society, where community was defined in terms of consumption” (Osborne and Lewis 1995, pp. 46-47). The developments in mass media advertising during this time – aided by avid editorial support – helped to both stimulate and naturalise shopping desires.

Sales Promotion

While catalogues and newspapers were the main vehicles for department store advertising, window display was also a powerful tool in the promotion mix. The Association’s journal editorialised that an eye-catching window display was “one of the great forces of distribution”, and had:

Tremendous advertising value equivalent to the circulation of all the magazines multiplied by three. It has 100 per cent advertising value as against 5 per cent in the newspapers. It makes an individual impression and immediate action follows... it will stimulate production a great deal, because its interest is so much greater than we think it is. It influences people to dress with better taste, to improve the standards in the home, and to get the right ideas in colour schemes (*The Journal of the RTA* (1923), "Window Display", December, 5, 6, p. 165).

Lessons in the “art” of window dressing were frequently featured in the Association’s journal, as giant plate glass windows increasingly dominated the street fronts of downtown department stores. The window frontage of *Hordern Brothers* Sydney store, for example, quadrupled in size with the new facade installed in 1921, and the journal noted: “The general opinion is that these windows are distinctive, effective, and an appreciable improvement to Sydney’s shopping front” (*The Journal of the RTA* (1922), "Improved Display", December, 4, 6, p. 141). Another report noted how department store managers used their window displays as:

The means of cultivating public taste in many ways, besides carrying on educational campaigns of a definite character. It is quite a common thing for a whole department, or the arrays of wonderful windows to be devoted to some purely national object, having nothing of the purely domestic commercial aspect about it... (Window dressing) is practical education. No doubt it may seem unnecessary. Perhaps in a strictly limited business sense it is, but the fact is that these huge businesses (department stores) have got beyond that stage... They have grown to be national assets, and those who control them have learned to appreciate the influence they can exert on the community by... using their facilities for educating the public mind (*The Journal of the RTA* (1921), "Ideals in Business", August, 3, 2, pp. 404-7).

The Association championed the co-ordination of themed window displays across Sydney, and offered artist-designed posters and show cards for window displays “with a view to educating the public” (*RTA Annual Report*, 1926, June, p. 438), and because “anything that tends to suggest to the public to buy goods must be beneficial” (*RTA Annual Report*, 1928, June, p. 10).

These co-ordinated window campaigns were staged at least as early as 1912, for the “All-Australian Manufactures’ Week” (*The Journal of the MRA* (1919), "All-Australian Manufactures Week", August, 1, 2, p. 28), and from the mid-1920s for the rival “Empire Shopping Week”. The Association’s campaign for Empire Shopping Week in 1928 offered “splendid window displays and newspaper publicity” and had “undoubtedly done a great deal to inculcate into

the minds of the public how completely they can rely on the products of the British Empire" (*The Journal of the RTA*, 1928, 9, 9, pp. 3-4). Other "special stunts" were staged to mark annual shopping events, such as the Association's 1923 launch of a poster campaign urging shoppers to "Do your Christmas Shopping Early" (*The Journal of the RTA* (1924), "Do your Christmas Shopping Early. Poster to be Issued by the RTA", October, p. 120).

Destination Retailing

Storekeepers of a century ago understood the "modern" maxim that the longer the time spent in-store, the more likely that shoppers will part with their money. This is the rationale behind what is known today as the modern concept of "destination retailing" (Underhill 2000).

Department stores increasingly provided "many 'free' services" (Hower 1943), and gathered a wide array of leisure pursuits for the whole family, such as sport, dining, and grooming. This helped advance the new conception of shopping as recreation and amusement, and an escape from the "routine". At Sydney store *David Jones*, for example, "ladies" could browse the store's free public library, post office, and travel service, or enjoy free tuition in handicrafts and bridge, before dining at the in-store restaurant (Thompson 1980).

The Sydney-based emporium *Mick Simmons*, like its counterparts in other Western cities, practised destination retailing at least as early as 1924, in a building equipped with "all the latest devices" and a gamut of novelties, including a tennis court, and "a real sports ground":

Among the ground floor attractions is a soda fountain and confectionery counter of beautiful design. It is equipped with all the latest devices for quick, clean service. Above the fountain runs a mezzanine floor, on which drinks, ices etc., are served... The first floor has lent itself even more wonderfully than the ground to charming decorative effects. It consists of a light luncheon café, two luxurious lounges where one may read or write, or have coffee and a cigarette, and a hairdressing parlour... The hairdressing parlour is one of the finest in the Commonwealth. It is fitted with the latest adjustable porcelain-mounted chairs and sterilizers for the prevention of contagion.

Special provision has been made for children by the installation of model motor cars, racehorses, and other novelties, and ladies have also been catered for in the form of a private saloon. Perhaps the greatest novelty of all is a sports ground in the heart of the city. A real sports ground, with provision for tennis on a full-sized court, for golf practise and tuition, for shooting, for 'circlos', and other pastimes (*The Journal of the RTA* (1924), "Mick Simmons Ltd.", 6, pp. 40-43).

In America, by 1920 "the department store was a zoo (*Bloomingdale's* and *Wanamaker's* in New York had enormous pet stores), a botanical garden (floral shops, miniature conservatories, roof gardens), a restaurant (some of the major stores had lavish restaurants bigger than any other in their cities), a barber shop, a butcher shop, a museum (gift and art shops, art exhibits), a world's fair, a library, a post office, a beauty parlor" (Leach 1984, p. 326). Department stores also provided brand new reasons for consumers to visit their stores. A series of "purchase opportunity events" were invented to help stimulate consumption, including "Sales" and "fashion shows", which were immediately popular (Leach 1984, p. 328), Mother's Day, Father's Day, the "All-Australian Manufactures' Week", "Empire Week", and in the suburbs, a "Local Shopping Week" ("Why Not a Local Shopping Week? Parramatta's Excellent Example and Its Success". *The Storekeeper and Country Trader*. October 18. 1912. pp. 3-4). This prompted one retailer to remark: "If the number of weeks devoted to some special object

continues, the calendar will have to be enlarged to meet the demand" (*The Journal of the RTA* (1925), "Here's a Novel Week", January, p. 218).

Along with new shopping events, and "all the latest devices", Sydney department stores also staged theatrical shows, and "free entertainments in many and varied forms" (*The Journal of the RTA* (1930), "Selling the Child", December, pp. 13-16). Indeed, the job of retailing was often compared to "showmanship", and the "best" type of retailer was "a born showman" (*The Journal of the RTA* (1930), "Showmanship is Salesmanship", February, p. 27). By the Christmas of 1930 (one year after the Wall Street crash and the onset of the Depression), in-store entertainment in Sydney's department stores had reached circus-like proportions. In a feature story tellingly titled "Selling the Child", the Association's journal reported, "The hardness on the part of the public grew more marked as Xmas approached, and the necessity arose of getting purchasers into the store". Banking on the appeal of the exotic, *Anthony Hordern & Sons* installed foreign lands, and enchanted gardens complete with a lake and fairy castle, while *Grace Bros* staged the "Tiny Town Circus - one of the most elaborate working-model exhibitions seen in Sydney". The *pièce de resistance* of 1930 Christmas shows, however, was hosted at *Farmer & Co*, which boasted a "World Tour" through American, Dutch and Egyptian landscapes, to Japan and the snow of the Arctic on "nothing less than a steam-driven miniature railway, a locomotive and carriages capable of holding 24 children... Admission was by presentation of a sales docket from the toy department".

Nock & Kirby's 1930 Christmas pantomime ("Dick Whittington") may have been dull by comparison, but at the Sydney Harbour-side store the show was staged:

twice daily before an average house of 500, and lasted about an hour. There was no charge for admission, but visitors were lucky to get out without buying something... At the conclusion of the show, which happened at 12.30 p.m. and 3.30 p.m. - significant times - an announcement was made that the toy department was on the floor below, but that a magnificent view of the Harbour Bridge (which was nearing completion) was obtainable from the roof. The view of the Bridge was there all right - so was the refreshment room and the time opportune (*The Journal of the RTA* (1930), "Selling the Child", December, pp. 13-16).

Such was the success of free entertainment in department stores that in 1931 theatre owners made deputations to the Chief Secretary's Department complaining that "Christmas pantomimes in stores were detrimental 'to all sections of the theatrical industry'" (Wolfers 1980, p. 23).

Consumer Behaviour

In the period 1880 to 1930, relationships between shop owners and shoppers changed in significant ways, and the evidence shows retailers' growing awareness of the need to study their markets, and the first tentative steps towards customer segmentation on demographic, geographic, psychographic, and behavioural bases.

In the nineteenth century, men made up the visible majority of shoppers, owing to social compunctions about consumption, and about women traipsing the city stores. Apart from household servants, "the only women to be seen in the streets were assumed to be convicts or prostitutes" (Kingston 1994, p. 20). "Ladies" who could afford their own horse-drawn transport - the lucrative "carriage trade" - were driven directly to and from the drapery door, and whisked away home again. Department store retailers deployed a range of means to cloak the act of consumption in respectability and tempt women into the store:

The attraction of society women to late 19th-century department stores depended not only on the sale of exquisite goods or deft and helpful service, but on presenting an image of such stores as *respectable* places of public assembly at which unaccompanied women could congregate without damage to their fragile reputations... (The use of building materials that were) all too visibly above suspicion was therefore one way in which the proprietors of department stores could make it plain that however commercially novel their establishments, they were not overheated dens of vice into which society women... need fear to trust themselves (Artley 1976 p. 8, italics in original).

Similarly in Sydney in 1880 a contemporary writer lauded emporium *Farmer & Co* for “the domestic felicity which ensues from an unqualified permission on the part of paterfamilies to the lady members of their family to visit and make all suitable and necessary purchases in the way of summer or winter clothing, or any article which may be acceptable to, and desired by ladies generally” (Franklyn 1881). Drapery stores (and the emerging “tea shop”) thus provided safe havens for women in a cityscape dominated by male enclaves, and immorality (Rappaport 2000). Contradicting this exclusive appeal, however, was the fact that department stores also “deliberately courted a mass trade” (Reekie 1993, p. 41) in their drive to accelerate turnover. The drive for volume sales was based on the department store principle of stock-turn velocity, or the number of times goods can be sold during the year (and thus the number of times in which a retail profit could be made). With faster turnover of goods, retail prices, and the retailer’s risk of being left with out-of-fashion goods, could be reduced. Faster turnover depended on appealing to the widest possible market, however, and on diluting the class-based distinctions between shoppers:

As centrally located public institutions to which admission was not only free but actively encouraged, men and especially women of all classes could enter and browse in the big city stores. A working-class woman might buy cheaper goods in smaller quantities, and buy less frequently, than her wealthier sister, but she was nevertheless an equally valued customer (Reekie 1993, p. 39).

A growing interest in the segmentation of shoppers came about because of some broad changes around the turn of the century. The first was the increasingly impersonal nature of shopping, the inevitable outcome of the growth of larger and yet larger stores. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, as with most types of retail formats “not only did the grocer deliver, but ... importantly too the grocer was a familiar face and knew each customer by name” (Humphery 1998, p. 40). As shops began to expand in size, however, the personal relationships that had existed between owners and customers began to give way to impersonal transactions with unknown shop assistants. This was because of the widespread disappearance of owners from behind counters, as their focus switched from front-of-store selling to back-room management of their spreading enterprises. By 1930, in most Western nations, “faceless” chain stores had appeared, in which shoppers could make their selection totally unsupervised by a shop assistant, and without ever meeting a storeowner.

The growing autonomy of consumers by the 1920s meant a lessening of their former dependence on retailers as the chief arbiters of consumption. This was accelerated by the advent of pre-packaged proprietary products and mass advertising, which helped shoppers to make their purchase decisions without the need for the storekeeper’s advice. Consumer independence was also expedited by the arrival in the 1920s of formal credit institutions, and lay-by and hire purchase schemes, which meant that the local store was no longer the only available line of credit for shoppers. By the post-war 1920s, as well, the supply of goods, shops, and transport had increased significantly over pre-war conditions. This meant increasing choice for consumers about where, how, and what they purchased, and retailers

became aware of the need to understand their market, and cultivate goodwill. The comparatively sophisticated shopper of the 1920s “was no longer ‘a searcher but a chooser’, more prone to exercise independent judgment than simply to accept what stores featured” (Benson 1986, p. 102). These new ideas about the need to study consumers were important because they recast shoppers “as the agents, not subjects, of consumption” (Rappaport 1996, p. 73).

An early attempt at psychographic segmentation can be seen in the Study of Types by Australian department store *Bright & Hitchcocks*: “Three general types (of customer) – the Sanguine, Nervous and Phlegmatic – were supplemented by the ‘special’ types: the calmly indifferent, over-careful, grumpy, overbearing, argumentative, frigid, procrastinating, prejudiced, logical or emotional types of customer” (Reekie 1993, p. 53). By 1930, the Association’s journal carried articles distinguishing “bad” from “good” customers, and the idea of *relative* profitability of segments, which was a significant shift away from “The Customer is Always Right” attitude of a decade earlier. A 1930 article delineated the types within the “bad” customers segment as:

The woman who goes into a shop and does not know what she wants;

The customer who refuses to speak to the assistant after she has asked for what she wants;

The woman who cannot be made to concentrate on what the assistant is saying to her, but who wanders up and down the counter turning things over in a vague sort of way;

The customer who says she will come back in half an hour but who never returns; and

The daughter who goes shopping with her mother... The daughter usually has very fixed ideas as to what she wants... The mother, in nine cases out of ten, is equally determined that her daughter shall have what mother likes. So things usually result in a squabble between the two, with the poor assistant trying to keep the peace and please them both...

(It was agreed) that the masculine type of woman was one of the easiest with which to deal. She always knew exactly what she wanted, and her attitude was invariably, ‘If you haven’t got it, say so, and let me go. (*The Journal of the RTA* (1930), “Customers – Good and Bad As Seen From the Counter”, September, pp. 53-54.)

Consumer segmentation was also being attempted on the basis of actual behaviour. A 1930 report showed retailers were developing targetted proposals for individual customers, using (pre-computerised) direct marketing databases. The Association’s journal reported:

The breaking down of these customer lists has enabled the company to obtain the utmost efficiency in the use of direct mail advertising. As quickly as a new name appears on these tissue triplicates, these new customers receive a letter of thanks from the store showing appreciation of the customer’s patronage. When scanning these lists from time to time, the clerks are able quickly to compile a list of those who have not made a purchase recently, and these receive a letter of inquiry asking if any purchase has been unsatisfactory... These file cards also indicate the size of suit worn by the customer, the size of shoes, shirt and other apparel or furnishings. From time to time the store may accumulate footwear or hats in small or odd sizes. Reference is then made to these lists of buyers in any particular department and a small list is easily compiled of customers who are prospective purchasers of this type of merchandise, with the result that a very satisfactory consumer response is attained in this manner. (*The Journal of the RTA* (1930), “Keeping Track of the Cash Customer”, April, pp. 67-

68.)

Although naive by today's standards, these reports show retailers' emerging awareness of consumer behaviour, and the historical origins of customer segmentation, the outcome of increasing competition.

Trade Promotion

By the mid-1920s, with growing competition on the supply side, manufacturers became aware of the need to secure retailers' co-operation in promoting - not merely re-selling - their products. This was evident in a notable increase of complaints by manufacturers that "retailers do not give them adequate support", and about "the lack of co-operation between the retailer and the proprietor of branded goods" (*The Journal of the RTA* (1924), "Price-fixing and Branded Goods", March, 5, 9, pp. 248-50).

Increasing competition for retailer support gave rise to the beginnings of trade promotion, a system of fees and other incentives provided to retailers to "rent" shelf space, and secure favourable exposure for products. The first recorded evidence of trade promotion appeared in the Association's journal in 1927, when "a certain hosiery firm" in Australia began offering prizes to sales assistants for selling their brand (*The Journal of the RTA* (1927), "Boosting Proprietary Brands by Prizes to Shop Assistants", June, 8, 12, p. 37). In America, trade promotion was in evidence at least by the second decade of the century, although as *The Dry Goods Economist* reported:

The effort to influence the retail salespeople, so that they would push the products of certain manufacturers, had a brief and stormy career, largely through the publicity given to its true inwardness by *The Dry Goods Economist*. In article after article, we pointed out that the scheme, if generally adopted, would take control of his salespeople out of the merchant's hands and therefore was seriously inimical to his interest. Ere long, some of those manufacturers who had the plan in force saw the light, and the funeral services quickly followed. (*The Journal of the RTA* (1923), "Manufacturers Sometimes Make Mistakes", December, 5, 6, pp. 160-1).

By the late 1920s, rising land values had become a sharply increasing overhead, and property values in Sydney's CBD were "soaring", with "phenomenal" prices paid on properties in Market and Pitt Streets (*The Journal of the RTA* (1928) "Sydney City Property £4,000 a Foot for Land", August, 10, 2, p. 53). The increasing cost of floor space gave rise to the new idea that manufacturers should contribute to the store's "rent" expense. The Association argued in 1929:

Today, when each showcase and counter is expected to earn its keep, and the practice of debiting the floor with a certain proportion of the general overheads has come into operation, the £. s. d. (pounds, shillings, and pence) of space is a serious matter. There is still another factor in the calculation of the £. s. d. of space. What is the publicity value in hard cash of a showcase that occupies so many square feet of floor in a busy department? (*The Journal of the RTA* (1929), "Floor Space", November, 11. 5. pp. 55-57).

Further evidence of the beginnings of trade promotion appeared in the lead editorial in the Association's February 1930 journal, "Special Demonstrations. Why not Charge for the Use of Retailers' Premises?":

The Council should formulate a set of charges to be made on all those manufacturers of specialties and proprietary lines for the privilege of demonstrating their

merchandise, for which practice there is an ever-growing demand throughout the world... Retailers give up these demonstrators valuable floor space for which they charge no rent, provide electric light, and in the case of mechanical appliances, electric power, also without charge, and give excessive prominence where thousands pass it daily – all without any contribution to the cost from the Vendor... It costs him nothing for advertising – the retailer does all that in the publicity of the many thousands they provide to see the demonstrations... Why, therefore, should not the retailer make some charge to the Vendor? If members of the RTA Council are in favour of this proposal, it is suggested that Retailers should enter into an agreement that the charges so fixed will be rigidly observed (*The Journal of the RTA* (1930), "Special Demonstrations. Why not Charge for the Use of Retailers' Premises?", February, Editorial, pp. 13-14).

One month later in March 1930, with the Depression in swing, the Association recommended the blanket introduction of discounts off the net list price of all goods sold through product demonstrations in stores (*The Journal of the RTA* (1930), March, p. 16).

Nowadays, trade promotion is the most crippling constraint on the retail industry, because it limits new product entries, and therefore product variety in general, to large manufacturers who can afford it. Given its financial and social impact, scholarly research is surprisingly limited, but invariably trade promotion is viewed as a recent phenomenon, which started in supermarkets in the 1980s. This research shows its history is much longer than typically indicated.

Conclusion

This paper reviews historical evidence from the the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on the rise of modern marketing practices as pioneered by department store retailers. Long before television or radio existed, department stores introduced modern techniques of marketing, and they used window displays and print advertising, imaginatively and increasingly, to sell the aspirations of consumerism and the pleasures of shopping. As Miller wrote of the world's first department store "the picture of the proper household, the correct attire, the bourgeois good life were all, to a degree, *Bon Marché* creations" (Miller 1981, p. 182).

At a time when consumers were comparatively unprotected by law, department stores paved the way for "safe" mass consumption through such innovations as fixed and marked prices, money-back guarantees, and returns and exchanges. At *David Jones* "from the earliest days, the customer was given the protection of the 'money back if not satisfied' guarantee" ("The History of David Jones Limited by Sir Charles Lloyd-Jones", Undated, Business Archives Council of Australia. 1.1. 1-10). Department stores provided access to goods and information, with confidence and convenience that had never before been available. For the first time, shoppers were able to openly inspect goods laid out on tables and displays, with prices clearly marked.

On top of risk-free buying, department stores adopted a wide range of innovations to break down nineteenth century barriers of income, social class, and geographic isolation from the store, in their drive to capture the mass market and faster stock-turn. Both interiors and exteriors of these giant stores were transformed into "a kind of permanent exhibition" (Pasdermajian 1954, p. 32), elevating shopping and consumption into a spacious new domain that broke through the veneer of Victorian propriety. The physical change in retail stores at this time was the most tangible sign of a profound gentrification and glamorisation

of consumption that was taking place in Western nations.

Like their counterparts abroad, the founders of big department stores in Australia, “with the aid of advertisers and sales experts, began deliberately to cultivate a mass market after 1905. During the next twenty years they increasingly adopted, refined and articulated a theory of marketing that embraced window dressing, interior displays, advertising, and store promotions” (Reekie 1988, p. 38).

The societal view of consumption shifted radically during the period under review, from pervasive public values that eschewed materialism to the emergence of a discernible consuming culture. By the 1920s, in most Western nations, a “new culture of spending” had emerged and shopping was coming to be viewed as a woman’s “duty” (Monod 1996, p. 128), and a “full-time pre-occupation” that readily filled the day (Miller 1981, p. 186). Commercial media were eager accomplices in promoting bourgeois consumerism, and by the 1920s in most Western cities, a woman “carrying a package wrapped in the well-known manner of the city’s most prestigious store, or in front of whose house that store’s truck often stopped, gained in estimation of those who calculated status by patterns of consumption” (Benson 1986, p. 94). In sum, the turn-of-the-century department store was perhaps the most significant influence in the making of “the consumer society”, and it pioneered the path towards the entirely new concept of obsolescence, “that goods ought to be replaced when they are outdated rather than when they are outgrown” (Davis 1966, p. 292). While the department store did not “alone lead to the appearance of the consumer society, it did stand at the centre of the phenomenon... a vehicle for the construction of a modern culture of mass consumption” (Humphery 1998, p. 25).

The evidence in this paper shows that marketing has a long heritage. Yet with few exceptions, particularly Stanley Hollander’s research, and the output of this journal, the anti-historical assumptions that pervade marketing “knowledge” have cut us off from our past. While other writers have supported the argument for a much longer-run history of marketing, (Dixon 1995, Fullerton 1988, Savitt 1988), the evidence from Australia has remained largely buried. This paper documents a range of marketing techniques practised by Australian department store retailers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This adds to the primary source evidence for marketing’s long pedigree, while also expanding substantially on the underdeveloped historical research from Australia.

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1 Alexander and Akehurst (1998, pp. 5–6) point to an established form of periodisation in retail research of 1875-1914 as the time when “modern” mass volume retailing arose in other countries.

2 In this paper, the titles of *The Journal of the The Master Retailers' Association*, and (as it was renamed in 1921) *The Journal of the Retail Traders' Association of NSW*, have been shortened to *The Journal of the MRA*, or *The Journal of the RTA* respectively.

3 For example, Sir Samuel Hordern of *Anthony Hordern & Sons*, Sir Charles Lloyd Jones of *David Jones*, Sir William Farmer of *Farmer's*, Sir Sydney Snow of *Snow's*, and Sir James Murdoch of *Murdoch's*.

4 There are very few references to female entrepreneurs in the extant research on retailing in Australia. One “clever businesswoman” was Ann Hordern, the wife of Anthony Hordern I, whose giant retail interests grew from Ann’s bonnet shop (Pollon 1989). Kingston (1994) mentions Mrs. Caroline Farmer, whose bonnet shop formed the genesis of *Farmers*, and also Mrs. Driver of the ironmongery and crockery store in Castlereagh Street. Ryan (1984) refers to Mrs McCathie, who founded the drapery store *McCathies*.

5 In America, the “Pure Food and Drugs Act” was passed in 1906. Accessed 1 May 2013. <http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/mma/timeline/#1900>