

**Australian Historical Association conference paper, July 2017.**

**New Zealand Ecology, War and Women's Fashions to the 1930s**

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By the mid-1920s, the South-Island city of Dunedin was widely regarded as New Zealand's best dressed. During the winter 1925, a glance at any 'Woman's World' page of the local *Otago Daily Times* confirmed that fur was 'in'. In a report of a race meeting, the columnist provided an extensive list of spectators' outfits, detailing many fur coats, stoles and trims. 'As a general rule,' the author concluded, 'large coats or tailored suits and furs were worn, and in almost every case a small felt cloche completed the outfit. The total effect... in spite of its sameness, was decidedly chic...' <sup>1</sup> In the next column two winter weddings were described at which the brides' travelling costumes were topped, in one instance, by 'a handsome fur coat' and, in the other, 'a handsome marmot coat'. <sup>2</sup> Many similar reports confirmed that, despite being a remote outpost of the British Empire, Dunedin was completely in line with trends in women's fashion across Europe and North America. Perhaps influencing Dunedin's embrace of fur was its position as the centre of New Zealand's rabbit skin trade with local merchants buying millions of pelts per year from hunters and trappers. The export of skins and the import of garments, trims and hats also connected the city to the global fur trade. Indeed, few other industries could link places as disparate as New Zealand, Alaska and Siberia. But while fur's popularity was in keeping with the global trend, the fur trade and garment business in New Zealand was decidedly unusual. New Zealand has a history distinct from other fur trading centres in that the country has no native fur-bearing mammals. While the history of the Canadian, North American and European fur trades has been one largely of the exploitation of a native wildlife resource, often contributing to catastrophic declines in native animal populations, the New Zealand industry relied entirely on species

introduced to the islands in the nineteenth century and hunting was one of an array of pest-management strategies. The growth of the fur trade and garment business in New Zealand was also *ad hoc* and amateur, relying on the enterprise of a few entrepreneurs in the skin trade rather than on generations of indigenous, métis, European trappers, and skilled furriers as in Canada and Europe. Despite these features, the New Zealand market, along with Australia, became essential to the international coney (rabbit skin) trade by the early twentieth century, supplying furriers, hatters and glovers locally and around the world.

Just as New Zealand was an unusual place for a fur-trade centre, the Great War was an unusual moment for the blossoming of such an industry. I want to suggest that the 1914-18 war created circumstances that changed local and global fur trade and garment manufacturing in ways that advantaged New Zealand traders. These advantages buoyed the industry until 1940 when shipping restrictions imposed during World War Two virtually halted the importation of furs and garments to the country, and the export of skins was severely disrupted. I want to briefly remind you of NZ's unique ecology, then look at the Great War as a particular moment when fur consumption both rose and became more socially visible. And, third, I want to touch on New Zealanders' contact with furs in this period, especially as workers and wearers, suggesting that the democratisation of furs in New Zealand was not necessarily a result of higher wages as in Britain and North America, but of a more democratic hunting culture generally, bringing us back to the social effects of ecology.

### **New Zealand's unusual ecology, hunting and the skin trade**

New Zealand is unique in having only three native land mammals, all species of bat. All of the land mammals now found in New Zealand were introduced for reasons ranging

from developing farming stock (especially in the case of sheep and cattle) to acclimatising game animals for sport (as in the case of deer, chamois, Himalayan tahr and wapiti or elk).<sup>3</sup> By 1850, within a decade of large scale British colonisation, settlers introduced British rabbits to the country both accidentally (many mammals were unexpected cargo on the thousands of ships connecting New Zealand to the rest of the world) and deliberately to stimulate a meat and fur industry. At first rabbits failed to thrive, but as more land was cleared for agriculture, they found a more hospitable habitat. The benign climate and lack of predators – apart from domestic dogs and cats – ensured their survival and prosperity. By the 1870s rabbits were a desperate problem for pastoralists and farmers.<sup>4</sup>

Easy to hunt and straightforward to process, rabbits quickly formed the backbone of the fledgling fur industry in New Zealand. Although trapping or shooting them was, overall, a very small part of controlling the declared ‘rabbit nuisance’, the hunting of skins offered piece-work for hunters, including children, and selling pelts boosted the incomes of many people.<sup>5</sup> The vast majority of millions of pelts came from packing houses in Dunedin and Bluff, both in the deep south of the South Island.<sup>6</sup>

Rabbits were not the only introduced species being hunted for their skins. Several other introduced species – hares and possums particularly – were also a small portion of the industry in this period. By the turn of the twentieth century then, New Zealand’s fur trade was in the unique position of being built entirely on introduced species, and particularly on rabbits, a major pest.

In addition, liberal game laws and the maintenance of large swathes of public land (albeit in many parts of the country, land confiscated from Maori) also encouraged a broad amateur and democratic hunting culture in New Zealand.<sup>7</sup> In contrast to Britain, a wide range of people hunted pigs, ducks, rabbits and hares, and even deer, and, as I have argued elsewhere, the hunting culture was one that could be described as ‘amateur’ in

that it fostered self-reliance rather than relying on professional guides as happened in other parts of the Empire.<sup>8</sup> (I can talk more about that in questions if people want me to expand on that idea)

A further quirk of NZ's unique ecology was that protectionist measures took a very different shape. From the 1890s, in response to concerns expressed about loss of species by a range of groups, many governments became attentive to the ecological consequences of hunting for native mammals. Laws protecting native game and gazetted national parks and wildlife reserves were passed in many countries. The New Zealand parliament moved to protect native birds, but other game laws were relaxed even further.<sup>9</sup> Legislation protecting fur-bearing wildlife became even more stringent in Canada, the United States, Australia and Africa in the interwar period,<sup>10</sup> but New Zealand's unique position of having no native mammals insulated the fur industry from the effects of any such legislation.

### **The effect of the Great War**

If New Zealand was an unusual place for a flourishing fur industry, 1914-18 was an unusual moment for that industry to grow. The Great War changed the global shape of the fur trade. The auction houses of London and Leipzig found themselves on opposite sides of the European fracture line, and the decades-old German expertise in tanning, dyeing and dressing was lost to the rest of the world. The major disruptions to traditional European skin and pelt supply lines caused by the conflict resulted in the rise to prominence of the 'new world' skin and fur exporters: Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand. Their remoteness from the various theatres of battle cushioned civilian populations from the worst of its effects, and the lack of mass conscription meant that rural workforces, while depleted, remained present.<sup>11</sup> In New

Zealand this meant that large scale trapping, shooting and harvesting of skins continued. Indeed, the increased importance of agriculture meant that controlling rabbits was more important than ever. The numbers of skins harvested did plateau during the war, however, but sprang back as soon as the war finished. Disruptions to the London auctions caused by the outbreak of the war also created unexpected demand for New Zealand furs in other countries. When the British Board of Trade suspended fur auctions in 1914, the Canadian Hudson's Bay Company, for example, ordered their traders to cease buying from local hunters in the winter of 1914-15.<sup>12</sup> As a result the Canadian fur garment industry was forced to import staple (lower quality) furs from other dominions, including importing over 12 million rabbit skins from New Zealand, in order to meet demand.<sup>13</sup>

That demand for fur in the British market especially was sustained, and indeed increased, during the war was evident in the fur trade press, records of fur auctions, and other observations of changes to women's dress. Women's clothing was a topic of deep fascination to newspaper columnists and cartoonists, writers of letters to the editor, wartime factory inspectors and generally anyone with a rising sense of panic about the changes caused by the war.<sup>14</sup> Changes in fur consumption were driven largely by changes in work. In Britain, women's disposable incomes rose owing to new forms of work in factories, improved wages in traditional industries, and a change of attitude among young women who remained in domestic service that led them to claim better wages and conditions.<sup>15</sup> In America too, high levels of employment in wartime industries increased demand for furs.<sup>16</sup> Angela Woollacott, in her history of women munition workers, argued that clothing was a 'means by which women workers could assert their own cultural identity... [and] that women workers had their own codes and styles of dressing that their wartime incomes allowed them to express more fully'.<sup>17</sup> The social anxieties caused by expanding women's consumption were expressed in newspaper commentary on

working-class women's behavior during the war and in the fur trade press. The cultural meanings of wearing fur were clearly apparent during wartime and, next to silk stockings, fur coats were probably the item of clothing mentioned most in newspapers as a signal that the social order was being disrupted. Furs captured social anxieties about class mobility, especially the insistence that working-class women – usually munition workers – were buying furs. In an article in the London *Times* about 'war prosperity' in the mill region of Lancashire, evidence of higher wages was drawn from claims of 'abnormal sales of furs and boots in the neighbourhood of well-known mills'.<sup>18</sup> Reports of public holiday crowds also included references to the changing dress of working-class women, with a May crowd being described as mostly munition workers who had 'laid aside their furs and velveteens and high-laced boots' for summer dresses and blazers. ((The attire of the August Bank Holiday crowd a year later showed, the author suggested, that 'white fox furs fashionable from Belgravia to Bethnal Green, from Mayfair to Hampstead, proclaimed that there is a new equality in the expenditure of pin money'.))<sup>19</sup> New Zealand newspapers, too, carried the stories of extravagant British munition workers with regular references to the 'well-dressed munition worker' and 'workwomen in furs'.<sup>20</sup> Even in an article about British women exercising their vote for the first time – a topic of great interest to the already-enfranchised women of New Zealand – the slight was present in the quoting of, "Munition workers!" sniffed an East End woman as a group of electors with long fur stoles and out-size muffs came into a booth where she was voting'.<sup>21</sup>

Apocryphal as droves of fur-swathed munition workers pouring out of the factory gates may have been, other sources do point to increased consumption of furs among the working classes. In December 1918, the British trade publication *Fur World* signalled the end of profitable years when it greeted the end of the war with something

akin to regret, noting 'the sudden change from war to peace conditions has caused, of course, something of a shock'. The editor continued optimistically that once 'civil employers have completed their preparations for taking on hands, there will be lots of well-paid work again, although the days of the enormous earnings of munitioners and others have gone, probably for ever'.<sup>22</sup>

The availability of fur and the scarcity of other fabrics was another important influence on changes in wartime dress. Furs were exempt from the 'commandeer' economy under which governments guaranteed wholesale purchase of certain commodities. Wool was under commandeer arrangements in most countries, but fur was not, meaning it was available as raw material for garments while woolen fabric was in shorter supply.<sup>23</sup> Middle-class brides in New Zealand dressed in navy or khaki travelling suits during the war only partly out of patriotic sentiment: fabrics were generally in short supply, increasingly expensive and colours were certainly limited.<sup>24</sup> The price of staple furs may well have become more attractive in relation to woolen worsted and serge, which increased in price during the war.<sup>25</sup>

### **Making and Wearing Fur Garments**

Wartime circumstances were also a spur to local garment manufacturing. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there were only a handful of furriers and costumiers in the Dunedin region willing to make up furs into garments. Taxidermists and milliners already involved in making up bird skins into muffs, hats and trims occasionally worked with animal skins as well. Generally, however, New Zealand skins made the round trip from New Zealand as raw skins and back again as garments. From the outbreak of war in 1914, the local garment industry was encouraged by the economic

incentive of substantial wartime tariffs imposed on imported fur garments and accessories at a rate of 25-35 per cent, while raw skins attracted a much lower penalty.<sup>26</sup>

Grace Menere advertised in Otago newspapers as early as 1915 as costumière Madame Menere. Her business was located north of Dunedin in the neighbouring province, but her services were offered widely through mail order and her travelling salon. By 1916, she was offering fur renovation and re-modelling, and was selling furs. Her advertisements in 1917 announced her willingness to buy raw skins as well.<sup>27</sup>

According to the firm's advertisements, Madame Menere's father, Samuel Garland, had been chambermaster for London-based court furrier George Nicholay.<sup>28</sup> Garland was now head of cutting at her Timaru rooms. Cutting was arguably the most skilled job in a furrier's workrooms: cutters had to excise damaged areas from the pelts, restitch and re-stretch them, before matching pelts into garment pieces in a way that looked uniform.<sup>29</sup> Garland's international caché – whether real or manufactured, as European associations often were – was important even in a market as small as New Zealand. By 1919 Madame Menere was promoting her cutter's connections, advertising that he received advanced style sheets from designers in London, and that her customers were wearing absolutely up-to-date fashions in the same season as their London contemporaries. Menere's was also laying claim to being the biggest importers of raw skins in New Zealand in these years.<sup>30</sup>

Menere's was soon one among many garment makers, but they continued to dominate the high-end in the 'fine fur' market; the proliferation of manufacturers occurred in the less expensive 'staple fur' market. Fur trader George Stewart established a fur dressing and tanning company, JK Mooney's & Co, with his father-in-law John Coombs in the early 1910s. By 1918 the firm was tanning local rabbit skins using wattle bark, and contracting local women to sew them into collars and cuffs. They took advantage of the government's rehabilitation schemes for returned soldiers to employ



Joe Ede, a tailor who re-trained as a fur cutter in Sydney. Mooney's had no experience in garment manufacture, they hired no specialist designers, cutters or furriers in the first decade, relying instead on the expertise of local women to supply local department stores.

In the early 1920s, however, Mooney's bought several fur sewing machines from Australia, and employed an Australian furrier in order to extend their range to stoles and coats.

From business directories, as well as advertising by department stores and drapers, it is clear that furs became even more popular in the 1920s and 30s.

Some showrooms opened in working-class areas and specifically catered to working women with evening opening hours. Miss MacGregor advertised 'Fur Coats, Stoles and Necklets of the latest models' assuring her customers that 'No Shop Rent means better prices for you'.<sup>31</sup>

Furs were an important part of Dunedin's working class economy in several ways. The fur houses themselves were places of highly skilled and stratified employment with Dunedin's houses employing as many as 60 staff. Larger firms tended to be skin traders as well, and so employed nailers (who blocked the dampened skins on boards), de-fleshers, tanners, graders and packers, as well as the cutters and machinists needed for a garment and trim industry.<sup>32</sup> Mooney's was sufficiently large to have cutters who specialised in one type of pelt only: they employed specialist musquash (or muskrat) cutters (indicating perhaps the volume of muskrat pelts Mooney's were buying in the late 20s and early 30s), and a specialist in skunk. Others were coney (rabbit) cutters. Working with the humble rabbit pelts took a particular skill, especially if the garment was going to be marketed as resembling a more expensive fur (called 'substitutes' in the trade).<sup>33</sup>

In every Dunedin newspaper, winter fashion columns were also increasingly promoting fur, even as the Great War still raged. In February 1918, when war weariness had well and truly set in, Dunedin fashion correspondent 'Marguerite' tried to cheer her readers by suggesting the coming winter would be 'a tremendous fur season'.

Advertising in Dunedin newspapers from the 1920s also increasingly depicted women wearing fur coats and capes and coats with fur trim rather than feather-trimmed hats and boas. Advertisements for booksellers, cars, beauty products, and 'health' products such as Ovaltine and Bonnington's Irish Moss cough tonic all began to use images of well-dressed women in furs to signify taste, leisure and luxury. Businesses emphasising the labour-saving nature of their goods stressed that women would have more time for visiting, and those leisure-rich women were increasingly depicted wrapped in furs.

In addition to the appearance of columns on buying furs and caring for them, there was also advice about discerning quality from inferior garments, and how to store furs over the warmer months. The use of staple furs and one's own sewing skills was also widely promoted. One weekly illustrated newspaper declared that 'almost any animal which has a skin capable of being used as fur is being made use of. Rat and mole fur are being worked up into various devices, while the humble bunny reappears under a dozen different aliases'. The columnist then urged those women with the time to make 'the very latest trimming for your new winter frock'. The advice continued:

Cut the best pieces of fur into tiny circles, sew them up into balls, 'cup' them with braid, and sew them on the frock in some chosen design. This was the trimming on one of the imported models worn recently at one of the mannequin parades...<sup>34</sup>

Two other advertising trends in New Zealand confirm that women of modest means were equally considered potential consumers in the New Zealand fur market. First was the service advertised by the likes of Madame Menere to ‘renovate’ and remodel existing furs. Women who could not afford to buy new furs, could have an older coat remodelled into a more fashionable style, especially given that earlier models of coats tended to be larger styles, with an increasingly tailored look becoming more desirable from the 1920s. (Indeed, by 1940, trade magazines were actively battling against the idea that fur coats were baggy, ‘could never be slimming’, and they were promoting new, more tailored patterns.<sup>35</sup>) Second was the New Zealand Fur Company decision to remain open on Friday evenings and to advertise that ‘client’s own fur skins [could be] made up’.<sup>36</sup> This decision recognised how widespread the practice of skin-hunting was in New Zealand, but also that hunters could be well-paid. By 1918, rabbit skins alone were more valuable than whole carcasses, with the price rising to £2 10s per 100 skins by May. One newspaper reported that earning £20 per week was becoming common in the industry at a time when skilled working men could expect a weekly wage of between two and three pounds.<sup>37</sup> While such prices were not sustained, there was nonetheless a good supplementary living still to be made through skins into the 1920s and 1930s. Offering to make up skins already owned by clients was a shrewd bid for the lower end of the market, and indicates the depth of the consumer base for furs in New Zealand.

## **Conclusion**

When environmental historians have turned their gaze on the Great War – and very few of them have – it has been to examine the immediate effects of battle on landscape, and to understand the environments in which soldiers found themselves living and fighting. Dress historians have generally been interested in notions of patriotism and loyalty as

displayed through costume,<sup>38</sup> while those few concerned with the fur trade in this period (and they are literally a handful) have concentrated on the economic changes of the industry.<sup>39</sup> The Great War was a time of change in the global fur trade, but the specifics of local ecologies meant those changes cannot be generalised. The democratisation of staple furs, encouraged by changes in wage-earning and women's attitudes and self-perception, was only possible because of the new world suppliers. The NZ fur and garment industries were affected directly by British and North American munition workers' wages: it was part of a global network of raw materials, garment design and contentious debate about young working-class women wearing furs. While the local press was attentive to debates about women's 'extravagance' in wartime Britain, New Zealand women escaped such criticism. Indeed, through providing a range of small and inexpensive products, convenient retail hours and making up skins harvested by customers, garment-makers and retailers specially catered to women of lesser means. New Zealand's unique ecology, its entrepreneurial fur traders, and the economic circumstances of the war all converged to make fur garments and trim as available to machinists as to society matrons. It is a useful reminder that ecologies have social effects that can be global as well as local.

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<sup>1</sup> 'Woman's World', *Otago Daily Times*, 5 June 1925, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> 'Woman's World', *Otago Daily Times*, 5 June 1925, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> See Kate Hunter, *Hunting: A New Zealand History*, (Auckland, 2009).

<sup>4</sup> Robert Peden and Peter Holland, 'Settlers Transforming the open Country' in Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking eds, *Making a New Land: New Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2013), pp. 102-04.

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<sup>5</sup> The first Rabbit Nuisance Act was passed in 1867. For more on controlling rabbits through poison in the 1890s and biological controls in the mid-twentieth century see: KA Wodzicki, *Introduced Mammals of New Zealand*, Department of Scientific and Industrial Research Bulletin, no.98, 1950, pp. 107-141; and Robert Peden, 'Rabbits', *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 23-Nov-15. Available from: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/rabbits> [Accessed 8 December 2015].

<sup>6</sup> DW Stewart, 'From Fur to Fashion: The Background Story to the Establishment of the New Zealand Fur Industry', self-published, Dunedin, 1991, Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL), pp. 9-10.

<sup>7</sup> On Maori land loss, see Richard Hill, 'Maori and State Policy' in Giselle Byrnes ed, *The New Oxford History of New Zealand* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009). On the development of a democratic hunting culture, see KM Hunter, 'New Zealand Hunters in Africa: At the Edges of the Empire of Nature', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 40, 3 (2012), pp. 483-501; Hunter, *Hunting*.

<sup>8</sup> See Hunter, 'New Zealand Hunters in Africa'.

<sup>9</sup> Hunter, *Hunting*; Kate Hunter, 'A Bird in the Hand: Hunting, Fashion and Colonial Culture', *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, no.12, 2011, pp.91-105.

<sup>10</sup> See for example Tina Loo, *States of Nature: Conserving Canada's Wildlife in the Twentieth Century*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006); Louis S Warren, *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Robert Paddle, *The Last Tasmanian Tiger: The History and Extinction of the Thylacine*, (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2002); William Beinart and Peter Coates, *Environment and History: The Taming of Nature in the USA and South Africa*, (New York: Routledge, 1995).

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<sup>11</sup> Conscription was introduced in New Zealand in August 1916 and Canada in March 1918, but these Military Service Acts did not constitute mass conscription along the lines of European armies.

<sup>12</sup> Arthur Ray, *The Canadian Fur Trade in the Industrial Age* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), p. 98.

<sup>13</sup> Stewart, 'From Fur to Fashion', pp. 9-10.

<sup>14</sup> See Angela Woollacott, *On Her Their Lives Depend: Munitions Workers in the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 124-126, 128-133. For a nineteenth-century discussion of many of the concerns about women's clothes, class and sexuality see Mariana Valverde, 'The Love of Finery: Fashion and the Fallen Woman in Nineteenth-Century Social Discourse', *Victorian Studies*, XXXII, no.2 (Winter, 1989), pp. 168-188.

<sup>15</sup> On changes to women's work, factory work and domestic service see Woollacott, *On Her Their Lives Depend*; and Deborah Thom, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls: Women Workers in World War One* (London: IB Tauris, 1998).

<sup>16</sup> Ray, *The Canadian Fur Trade*, p. 98.

<sup>17</sup> Woollacott, *On Her Their Lives Depend*, p. 132.

<sup>18</sup> 'War Prosperity', *Times* (London), 4 February 1916, p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> 'Sunny holiday', *Times*, 29 May 1917, p. 3; 'On Hampstead Heath', *Times*, 6 August 1918, p. 7.

<sup>20</sup> See for example 'Ostrich plumes and fur sets', *Pukekoe and Waiuku Times*, 19 May 1916, p. 2; and 'Workwomen in furs', *Sun* (Christchurch), 21 February 1917, p. 8.

<sup>21</sup> 'Britain's women go to the poll', *Bruce Herald*, 10 March 1919, p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Editor, 'Pessimism and Fur', *Fur World*, December 1918 cited in Evan Tosh, 'Fur to furriers in Dunedin, New Zealand to 1940', *Masters of Consumer & Applied Science*, University of Otago, 2005, p. 92.

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<sup>23</sup> By 1919, newspapers were reporting shortages of woollen goods after years of war production. See Kate Hunter and Kirstie Ross, *Holding on to Home: New Zealand Objects and Stories of the First World War*, Wellington, 2014, p.82.

<sup>24</sup> Navy blue travelling outfits became fashionable from 1915 and remained so throughout the war. Hundreds of examples appeared in provincial newspapers: the Ford-Noedl wedding, *Manawatu Times*, 7 April 1915, p. 5; Tomlinson-McKeague wedding, *Nelson Evening Mail*, 13 October 1916, p. 4; Chaafe-Harrison wedding, *Hastings Standard*, 4 September 1918, p. 2. For similar fabric shortages during the Second World War in New Zealand and women's adaptation to them see Deborah Montgomerie, 'Dressing for War: Glamour and Duty in Women's Lives During the Second World War' in Bronwyn Labrum, Fiona McKergow and Stephanie Gibson (eds), *Looking Flash: Clothing in Aotearoa New Zealand*, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2007).

<sup>25</sup> New Zealand advertisers referred to 'shortages' constantly in advertisements after 1916. See also coverage of the New South Wales Necessary Commodities Commission reports in *New Zealand Truth*, 25 September 1920, p. 1. The Commission reported that the price of fancy worsted cloth rose from 5s 8d per yard in 1914 to 16s 7d in 1919; serge increased dramatically from 4s 10d in 1914 to 27s in 1919. For cost-of-living demonstrations in Melbourne in 1917, see Judith Smart, 'Feminists, Food and the Fair Price: The Cost of Living Demonstrations in Melbourne, August-September 1917', *Labour History*, L, May 1986, pp. 113-31.

<sup>26</sup> Tariffs on fur products are discussed in Tosh, 'Fur to furriers'.

<sup>27</sup> See advertisements in *Timaru Herald*, 25 August 1915, p. 6, 30 March 1916, p. 7, 30 May 1917, p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> According to the *Times*, Nicholays was still a court furrier in the late 1890s, but no more recent mention of the firm was made in the newspaper. *Times*, 4 December, 1897, p. 17.

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<sup>29</sup> A slip of paper in George Stewart's copy of an American pattern book shows pay rates for cutters well above those of other workers: cutters averaged 5 shillings nine-pence per hour, fur machinists 3 shillings nine-pence, liners 3 shilling sixpence and backing machinists 3 shillings three-pence per hour. Records relating to the history of JK Mooney & Co, MS-3282/069, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

<sup>30</sup> See for example Press (Christchurch), 3 April 1919, p. 8.

<sup>31</sup> Otago Daily Times, 4 May 1925, p. 8.

<sup>32</sup> For details on firms see Tosh, 'Furs to furriers', pp. 267-77.

<sup>33</sup> Tosh, 'Furs to Furriers', p. 267.

<sup>34</sup> New Zealand Truth, 22 April 1926, p. 18.

<sup>35</sup> See British Fur Trade, March 1940, cited in Tosh, 'Fur to Furriers', pp. 31-2.

<sup>36</sup> New Zealand Fur Co. advertisement, Otago Daily Times, 2 August 1927, p. 11.

<sup>37</sup> Otago Daily Times, 27 May 1918, p. 4. An example of men's wages is Wellington Woollen Mills workers receiving £2 8s (or 48s) per week in 1914, while women at the same mill earned 27s per week.

<sup>38</sup> See for example Special Issue of Journal of Design on uniforms in design history, xxiv, issue 2 (2011); Laura Ugolini, 'Consumers to Combatants? British Uniforms and Identities, 1914-1918', Fashion Theory, xiv, issue 2 (2010), pp. 159-182; Cheryl Buckley, "'De-humanised Females and Amazonians': British Wartime Fashion and its Representation in Home Chat 1914-1918', Gender and History, xiv, issue 3 (2002), pp. 516-536; Stephen Gapps, 'World War I Dazzle Art and Fashion: "A Crazy Dream from Alice in Wonderland"', Signals: Magazine of the Australian National Maritime Museum, no.110 (June 2015), pp. 16-23.

<sup>39</sup> Ray, The Canadian Fur Trade.