The Wonderful World of the Department Store in Historical Perspective: A Comprehensive International Bibliography, Partially Annotated

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Note: The following short introduction to the department store was first written when this bibliographical project was initiated by the author in 2000. Since then, the introduction has been updated but is still incomplete. Over the past 10 years, new information sources on the department store have been found which makes it near impossible to summarize in this introduction the history of this retail institution which evolved over time along with the history of retailing. The wealth of information on the department store over the past 150 years is quite impressive especially since the 1970s when historical research in the social sciences became increasing popular among historians of all stripes but less so in academic marketing. A more complete introduction to the wonderful world of department store can be found in Tamilia (2003) and Tamilia and Reid (2007).

Abstract
The paper has two main objectives. The first is to provide a short summary of what the department store is all about. There is a need to discuss its historical role not only in marketing and retailing, but also in society and the world in general. The next objective is to provide social historians and other historical researchers with the most comprehensive and complete reference list on the department store ever compiled. Many references listed are annotated by the author and the comments made reflect the author’s reading and research interests. The department store was one of society’s most innovative and influential institutions of the late 19th century and contributed to the many ways to do business, notably from the mid 1800s to the 1930s. The department store contributed to the culture of consumption and even to the development of the modern shopping center with almost everything under one roof. It is hoped that this short introduction to the wonderful world of the department store will stimulate more research, especially among marketing scholars. The resource materials listed in the paper illustrate the tremendous contributions made by historians and other social researchers toward a better understanding of this great icon of consumer culture. Given that the study of the department store or that historical research is not part of mainstream academic marketing, it hoped that the paper will make academic marketers wonder why so many outside the marketing discipline have been studying the department store, a topic so much part of the evolution of the marketing discipline.

Key words
Department store, history, marketing, retailing, consumption, culture, innovation, merchant

Sommaire
Cet article poursuit deux objectifs. Le premier est d’introduire le lecteur au monde merveilleux des grands magasins du point de vue historique et internationale, et de situer l’importance du sujet non seulement dans la discipline du marketing et dans la société mais aussi l’impact que cette innovation a eu pour le monde entier. L’autre objectif est de fournir aux historiens-chercheurs la liste la plus complète de références existantes sur les grands magasins, avec des annotations dans de nombreux cas. Le grand magasin fut l’une des institutions les plus innovatrices et les plus importantes pour le monde des affaires en Occident surtout du milieu du 19e siècle jusqu’à 1930. Le grand magasin a donné naissance à la culture de la consommation et même au centre commercial moderne selon le principe «tout sous le même toit». Non seulement le marketing contemporain n’a pas encore découvert ce domaine de recherche, mais l’importance même des recherches historiques en marketing préoccupe que très peu de chercheurs. L’auteur espère que cette courte introduction stimulera d’autres recherches sur les grands magasins, surtout parmi les chercheurs en marketing. En effet, ce sont les autres sciences humaines et de gestion que proviennent la très grande majorité des écrits sur le sujet, et ce, depuis les trente dernières années. L’auteur formule le vœu que cet article amènera une conscientisation plus grande chez les gens de marketing face à un domaine de réflexion qui relève de la discipline même du marketing.
Mots clés
Grands magasins, histoire, marketing, commerce de détail, consommation, culture, innovation, marchands
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Up to now, the manufacturing sector and the government have been seen as the main primary generators of technological innovation within our economy. The bio-pharmaceutical, electronics and telecommunications industries, among others, are seen as the movers and shakers and the major contributors of new things to our economy. In general, such innovations are viewed as a means to bettering our society and increase the quality and quantity of life. That is why billions of dollars are spent each year in the hope that new products will make society more productive, wealthier and perhaps happier. However, my contention is too much attention is focused on the production side of the economy as the only sector that can bring about economic growth, productivity increases and prosperity. Other sectors of our economy, notably retailing or the distribution sector of the economy, also contribute significantly to technological innovation. Despite this contribution, however, over the centuries, retail merchants have been labeled as unproductive, responsible for high prices and at times, unresponsive to consumer needs. One need only look at the Wal-Mart effect to realize that even today retailers are often not perceived as contributors to the betterment of human kind (Lichtenstein 2006).

The retailing community, as member of our economic system, has been as innovative as any others. The technological and managerial contributions of the department store, as members of the consumption side of our economy are quite extraordinary. The rise of the department store from the 1850s to the end of 19th century and early part of the 20th c. was nothing short of a major revolution, not only for business but also for all of society. In fact, what the department store did for the economy and consumers was as dramatic and as far reaching as any other major innovation the world has ever known. No wonder we can safely say that the department store was marketing’s contribution to the Industrial Revolution.

The department store affected every facet of social and economic life through being a very entrepreneurial and innovative institution. The department store contributed directly and/or indirectly (as a major change agent) to the adoption of numerous new technological innovations. Its channel impact, both upstream and downstream the distribution chain, revolutionized the retail store itself, the shopping experience, availability and assortment of goods, credit policies, price awareness, media and promotional techniques, and was a major contributor to new managerial techniques from hiring practices to inventory control procedures (Savitt 1992, 1999). In fact, the
department store was perhaps the very first American business to use mechanical data processing equipment for sales analysis and other managerial needs (Forsell and Poole 1928). Some department stores through their catalogue divisions (Marshall Field, Eaton’s of Canada) brought the world of goods to rural areas and farmers, especially in the U.S. and Canada. Other retailers, such as Sears, began as catalogue retailers only and morphed into the department store business only later on. For Sears, it was only around 1925 when the first fixed store location was opened to the public. Whatever their origin, such retailers helped establish mail delivery and parcel post serving rural consumers. Most people in the 19th century lived in rural areas as farmers. The availability of such retailers to rural consumers accelerated modernization not only in household goods but in farming equipment as well which narrowed the cultural gap (i.e. life style) which has existed from time immemorial between those living in rural communities and those in living densely populated urban areas.

The sheer size of the department store required the use of new building materials, glass technology, new heating, cooling and lighting devices, and in-store people movement, which led to new store design, among other engineering and architectural innovations. The store layouts made shopping easier for consumers irrespective of their social or economic background. The department store also offered new customer services never before seen retail establishments such as restaurants, restrooms, reading and writing rooms, home delivery, wrapping services, health care services, art exhibitions, music appreciation, post office, travel services, funeral services, convenient store hours, new types of merchandise displays, and so forth. In other words, a one-stop shopping experience with everything under one roof.

The department store was one of society’s most democratic institutions and was a major force toward a more egalitarian society, especially for women. No wonder many social historians and feminist researchers firmly believe the department store liberated women and gave some women their rightful place in society. The department store made jobs available to women and opened new career opportunities, such as the professional fields, and even in politics. The department store changed society’s values in accepting that women could go and shop on their own without being accompanied by others. Before, very few places were available (such as a museum, the park, and certain leisure activities), where it was socially and morally acceptable for a woman to be seen in public on her own. It is no wonder that department store owners offered so many services to them so that they could shop at their leisure, eat, relax and even be entertained during their stay.
This department store as a social institution was also instrumental in the mass production and selling of ready to wear clothes (e.g. shirts, pants, underwear, dresses, and coats) and many household items, including appliances such as the bicycle, the refrigerator, and many small electric appliances ranging from the toaster, the curling iron and even the radio. The first radio broadcasts were done by department stores and the first to promote short songs other than just classical music. The department store was one of the first large businesses, if not the first, at least in North America, to make full use of the principles of vertical integration (i.e. backward integration from retailing to wholesaling and into manufacturing).

The department store evolved as the precursor of the modern shopping center with *everything under one roof*. Not only did the department store eventually give birth to the shopping center. The need to supply, control and manage water, heat, light, waste, and the movement of goods and people in such large numbers and in such huge buildings, forced engineers and architects to design the building using new materials and equipment. Thus, the department store of the mid to the late 1800s was in fact a contributing factor to the building of the modern skyscraper. Cities such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston became world famous and still are, and it no coincidence that the department store built in those cities were by far the most modern, the most luxurious and the biggest stores the world had ever seen (i.e. Macy’s, Marshall Field, A.T. Stewart, Wanamaker, Filene). No wonder they were called cathedrals and even palaces of consumption (Benson 1979, Crossick and Jaumain 1999). Even today, Macy’s in downtown New York still claims to be the biggest store in the world.

The department store democratized consumption and had a major influence on values and urban lifestyles. The use of credit was one reason why the department store rose to such a level of importance in society, from its modest beginnings in the 1850s to its golden age in the 1920s. For example, by the end of the 19th century, Georges Dufayel, a French credit merchant, had served up to 3 million customers and was affiliated with *La Samaritaine*, a large French department store established in 1870 by a former Bon Marché executive. This is not meant to imply that the French “invented” the consumer installment plan. In fact, the Singer Sewing Company was one of the first firms in America to offer installment credit back in 1856 (Jensen and Davidson 1984). It remains to be seen what role other French department stores, American, Canadian ones and other stores played in democratizing consumer credit by issuing credit cards and establishing a consumer credit culture.
The department store emerged at a time and place in history as a result of mass urbanization and industrialization occurring in major cities at the end of the 19th century not only in Paris and New York, but also in Boston, Montreal, Toronto, Chicago, Detroit and many other cities all over the world. The downtown area provided a huge concentration of people and industry in a centralized core, which at first evolved from a residential area, then to a wholesale district. The downtown area of many large cities specialized first in the wholesaling, such as Hamilton and Montreal, until later when manufacturing became more important than wholesale. Today, the CBDs of large cities are serve the financial and entertainment needs of the population with office buildings, restaurants, hotels, along with many other service-based businesses. Wholesaling and manufacturing establishments have long since departed the city core and have located outside due to costly land prices and the need for more space. Vertical expansion for factories or warehouses is no longer the trend as was the case then. Even department stores of today and retail stores in general forego vertical expansion. This raises an important issue related to the survival of the traditional department store located in the city’s downtown core. Consumers are no longer willing to go the 8th floor in search of merchandise. This explains in part why many department stores located downtown simply could not survive. Moreover, the growth of suburbs, especially after WW2, proved to be one more reason of the traditional department store’s downfall. But the department store is still with us! One need only look at any Wal-Mart or Target store to realize it has not disappeared.

The department store was from its inception innovative, progressive and ready to tackle new challenges. But over time, the department store lost its competitive edge to new forms of urban retailers, which were more specialized in product assortment. Madison (1976) explains it very clearly:

The competitive position of department stores weakened during the 1920s not only as a consequence of the emergence of the new retailers but also because of the changing structure of cities. The compact, centralized 19th century city with its mass transit lines converging on the downtown was a perfect environment for department store growth (page 103).

La Samaritaine closed its doors in Paris in 2003, similar to many other retail giants of the past located in Canada (Eaton’s, Woodward’s) and the U.S. (Lazarus, Hudson’s). The decline of the downtown department store is not a recent event. It actually dates back to the early part of the 1930s when the numerous services offered by such stores affected their profitability. The decline
of the department store reached a crisis stage, at least in Canada, the U.S., and in Europe in 1980s and beyond. Many traditional department stores simply disappeared from the retail landscape. Others joined large department store chains, some keeping their original names, while other adopting well known store names such as Macy’s.

Reference Sources

The following list of references on department stores is interdisciplinary. It contains references from many fields, including architecture, construction and engineering, social history, retailing, urban planning, feminism, business and economic history, and so forth.

There were specific trade publications devoted almost entirely to merchandising practices and the department store. For example, The Dry Goods Economist started to publish articles on the department store around 1887. It was one of the first U.S. trade publications that reported on the department store industry not only in the U.S. but all over the world. It changed its name to the Department Store Economist in 1937. It then changed name again to the Department Store Manager in 1938. The Department Store Manager ceased publication in 1972 and changed its name to Retail Directions. There were also trade publications called Department Store Management (1968), Merchants Trade Journal, Department Store Buyer (1938) which had mix success and a short life cycle. Given all these names and the fact that these trade publications’ main focus was on the department store, it is impossible in this reference list to present all the articles ever written in them from 1897 until the latest issue of the Retail Directions. The National Retail Dry Goods Association published a Bulletin and it became more regular by 1925. The NRDGA established in 1911 with 37 members, which represented 10% of all U.S. department stores particularly the larger and medium sized ones. By late 1919 and early 1920, 1362 stores belonged, thanks in part to the yearly convention, and the support given to Lucinda Prince in 1913 (Benson 1986). The National Retail Merchants Association (NRMA) merged in 1990 with the American Retail Federation to form the world’s largest retail trade group, the National Retail Federation.

The Grey Advertising agency published a newsletter called Grey Matter from 1938. It had a special edition on the department store called Grey Matter, Department Store edition. However, it is not known when this department store edition began or when it ceased publication. There were also other trade publications that presented article on retail merchandising practices of the department store such as The Show Window, a trade publication founded by Frank Baum, the author of The Wizard of Oz. This trade magazine had a short history from 1897 to 1903. It changed its name in 1903 to Merchants Record and Show Window until 1938. A new trade journal appeared in 1922, called Display World and in 1938, the Merchants Record merged with
Display World published until 1974 to become today’s Visual Merchandising. There were also other trade publications such as the Dry Goods Chronicle and The Department Store.

Without a doubt, more non-business academic authors have discussed the topic of the department store than academics in business, and in particular in marketing. Most department stores researchers are either social or business historians, and very few, if any, are members of the mainstream academic marketing community.

The list also contains a large number of references written in the French language but not in other languages, which is unfortunate. The French were pioneers in the creation of the department store; but others also made contributions as well such as the British and Germans. However, my knowledge of languages other than French and English prevented me from adding such “foreign language” references.

Department stores first appeared in the mid-1800s in America and Europe, as mostly dry goods stores which later were organized by departments due to the increasing assortment of goods offered. Some believe that when a retail store became organized and managed by departments it gave birth to the department store as a new and innovative retail institution and some literature supports this contention. I do not for many reasons, as explained in my paper (Tamilia 2005). The creation of new retail institution cannot be based on just one innovative way of doing business but on a multiple factors. Still later in the late 1800s, department store added an even greater assortment of goods and services including furniture, carpets, kitchen goods, toys, and so forth, and soon evolved as the precursor of the modern shopping center with everything under one roof. They were thus quite revolutionary and they represented a major social innovation, not just a business one.

In fact, it is fair to say that the department store was a major force in creating a culture of consumption for the world, not only in America but in Europe, Asia, and elsewhere as well. They had systemic impact not only as part of the distribution sector of the economy with their innovative and modern management practices, but on society as well. After all, the department store was a major choice for most consumers who wanted to learn more about the world through the assortment of products the world offered, and through the art exhibits, concerts, and other entertainment avenues offered inside such stores at the time when world travel and transportation were out of reach to the average consumer. Consumers were exposed to new goods and services
and new art form as well. As a result, it would be rather myopic if only marketing/business references were included in this list, given the tremendous influence the department stores have had on the daily lives of so many people.

As a result, it is only natural to include references from cultural anthropology and sociology, among others. Moreover, those authors who deal with the study of material culture also need to be included. After all, what is material culture if not the acquisition of consumer goods sold through retail stores, notably department stores?

Department stores have had a major influence on values and urban lifestyles, because they democratized consumption. The store layouts were such that most consumers, irrespective of their social or economic background, would find something to their liking. They were free to enter the store and browse without any obligation on their part to buy more so in the USA and Canada but less so in Europe. This freedom to browse and even touch goods was most evident in U.S. stores and not in European ones. Even today, a U.S. or a Canadian consumer will have greater freedom to gain access to goods before buying than elsewhere in the world. Returned goods, for instance, are so commonplace in retailing here to the degree seldom seen in other parts of the world.

The term “window shopping” became a common expression for the masses. In fact, the term in French is rather more evocative and even sensual (lèche vitrine), implying that consumers would literally “lick” the display cases or plate glass. Truly, this is an indication of consumers’ love affair with material culture.

Over 150,000 people would shop at Macy’s in the early 1900. Some authors have actually stated that up to 200,000 people per day would shop at Marshall Field in Chicago in the early 1900s. Beauregard (1972) estimated that the Eaton store in downtown Montreal located on Ste. Catherine Street had on the average from 30,000 to 50,000 of shoppers per day and the largest one day total was 100,000.

Macy’s of New York had the largest square footage building in the United States with over one million square feet, larger that any industrial plants in existence at the time. The largest employers of the time were department stores and not manufacturers as is often assumed and their sales level far surpassed that of most industrial giants of the time. For e.g., IBM sales were less
than $50 million pre 1950, while sales at Macy’s in the 1920s or even A.T. Stewart in 1875 were much higher.

The spread of new technological household goods also benefited from department stores, as they were often the first ones (and the only ones in many cases) to offer such goods to a mass market. For example, Palmer (1934, page 47) reported sales in 1933 of 500,000 vacuum cleaners, 2 million electric clocks, 300,000 heating pads, 65,000 ironing machines, 2 million hand irons, 350,000 food mixers, 60,000 electric oil burners, 1 million electric fridges, 800,000 electric toasters, and one million washing machines.

Department stores created much excitement in the field of architecture due to their design and use of innovative building materials and styles. As a result, references on architecture and construction are included which makes this bibliography the very first one ever to include such information sources. Department stores were also very artistic and they were seen even as an art form. In fact, department stores and art form blended very well due to buyers bringing goods from all over the world and creating an in-store culture or country theme displays.

Some references are also added that discuss the role of World's fairs, also known as International Exhibitions, especially those from the 1850s to the mid 1930s. Such fairs held in such cities as Paris, London, Brussels, Chicago, New York, St Louis, San Francisco, and many others were a source of inspiration and ideas for owners of department stores. It gave them a chance to see new goods, as well as new ideas for store design, and new ways to display goods in their stores (i.e. visual merchandising). Many early department stores owners traveled all over the world to these international fairs and established buying offices. In fact, not only was department store one of the first, if not the first, in our economy to take advantage of vertically integration but also department store merchants were much involved in international business, mainly as importers, even before most manufacturers of the time.

Many department stores were the largest importers of goods such as A.T. Stewart, Marshall Field, Macy's, Eaton’s of Canada, among others. Stewart was in fact the USA’s largest importer in the 1860s. Many department stores had a large number of foreign buying offices (Stewart, Eaton's, Macy's, Marshall Field, Wanamaker). Moreover, the department store was a major source of employment for the population at that time. Macy’s and many other department stores were the nation’s largest employers, far surpassing those working in manufacturing.
Not only was the department store the largest importer or employer of the time but the department store was also the business that had the largest amount of sales. It has been estimated that A.T Stewart’s sales in 1865 were $50 million. Lossing (1884) says that in 1876, Stewart’s sales “in the two establishments are said to have amounted to $203,000,000 in three years” (p. 417). This means that Stewart’s total sales (both retail and wholesale) were, on the average, close to $70 million per year in the last 3 years.

These numbers make more sense when looking at population statistics. For example, New York City had a population of 900,000 in 1865, while Paris had close to 2 million people in 1886. The population of Chicago was quite modest in the mid to late 1800s but grew to over 3½ million by 1920. Let us not forget that the wave of immigrants that hit the USA from 1880 up to the 1920s proved to be a bonanza for department stores, with over 13 million immigrants coming to America in just the first 15 years of the 20th century alone. These new Americans settled mostly in large urban cities, such as New York, Philadelphia and Chicago.

Labor issues (hours of work, pay scale, fines to employees, holidays, workers’ health care, and pension plans) and the working conditions of employees, notably women, also need to be addressed. In fact, it would be fair to say that department stores were very innovative in the way they treated their employees (such a statement needs further research). However, it is also true, at least initially, the department store was notorious for the way it treated its employees. For example, if a worker was seen as sitting down during working hours, she was fined and the amount was deducted from her paycheck. Many department stores had a list of such offences (Lancaster 1995). The department store also demanded that its female workers be single. If she married during her employment or her employer discovered she was married, she would automatically be fired. The prevailing attitude at the time was that a woman should not take employment away from a man, given that he was the only breadwinner of the family. Of course, if a woman was abandoned by her husband or was widowed, a welfare system was non existent at the time, and she was left to fend on her own.

It is no surprise to learn that there were many prostitutes in the late 1800s in Paris, New York, Chicago, Toronto and Montreal, among other major cities. In fact, there is no doubt that many female workers in department stores were also prostitutes to supplement their low wages (Parent-Lardeur 1970, Williams 1982, Malino 1996, and Rappaport 1996). Needless to say, reference
material on how department stores affected the lives of workers, especially working women, are included in this list.

Since the late 1970s, numerous books have been published on the history of particular department stores, notably those in the U.S. Given the large number of such books ranging from Bloomingdale’s, Dillard’s, Hudson’s, Jordan Marsh, Burdine’s, Lord and Taylor, Beck’s, Hudson’s of Detroit, and so many others, it has become quite a challenge to study those books to see if any new insights can be gained by studying the origin, evolution, or the managerial and marketing techniques of such stores as they developed into successful businesses. Such books no doubt can provide an intriguing accumulation of facts as to why many have ceased operation, or what some stores are now doing in their attempt to redefine themselves in order to survive in today’s highly fragmented and competitive retail market which is now more global than ever.

A number of references are also included that discuss the so-called department store disease, called kleptomania, a disorder diagnosed in the mid 1800s as a psychiatric or psychological disease, affecting mostly women (Miller 1981, O’Brien 1983, Abelson 1989, Camhi 1993, and Spiekermann 1999). Today, we simply call such behavior not a disease but theft or shoplifting. In a sense, the department store, by its process of democratization, made people more aware of the existence of a wide range of consumers goods known previously mostly by the noble and the rich. The department store put these goods on display within reach for the world to see and of course to want.

In brief, the department store was not only an innovation for marketing and business as a new form of retail institution but an innovation for all of society. The department store affected every facet of social and economic life. That is why the list includes references from many sources and it is believed to be the only one of its kind ever prepared. Of course, not all references listed were read or studied by the author. That would be an impossible task given the vast amount of published material.

The author encountered many instances were references were incorrectly cited. The title was either incomplete or dates of publication were incorrect or pages were not cited. Many references date from the late 1800s to early 1900s. As a result, many libraries that were consulted did not have access to such material. Consequently, it was not possible for the author to verify their accuracy. We will need to accept them at face value for the time being. As stated early, the
references are mostly from English sources. However, a fair number are also from French sources (i.e. France and Canada). After all, Parisian department stores (Au Bon Marché, la Samaritaine, les Galleries Lafayette, Au Printemps, etc.) influenced the department store phenomenon in Europe (UK, Scotland, Ireland), and even in America and elsewhere (Australia and Asia).

A final note about the completeness of the reference list. The demise of Eaton’s of Canada in 1999, once the most important retailer in Canada, provided a unique opportunity for the business press. Journalists of all stripes produced a rather large number of short articles in magazines and columns in newspapers. Some of these references are included here, but many are not, for reason of economy. However, the author has compiled a list that deals exclusively with Eaton’s, the Canadian department store chain, and these references can be obtained by contacting the author.

**Mainstream Marketing and Marketing History**

It should be noted that from the early to mid-1970s and especially during the 1980s and beyond, the social sciences produced an impressive amount of historical studies pertinent to marketing. The topics range from the history of retailing, advertising, the birth of a culture of consumption, the relationship of people to goods over time, and numerous other fascinating topics dealing with the social history of consumers (Laermans 1993, Leach 1984, 1989).

The push toward historical research is easily seen by the large number of new journals and books published during that period. What is surprising is that this literature is largely unknown in mainstream academic marketing, even though some marketing scholars began to devote more attention to the topic. The bi-annual marketing history conference called CHARM, is an indication of the interest by some, albeit a small group of dedicated marketing scholars. Also the *Journal of Macromarketing* has accepted a steady stream of such articles since it first appeared in 1981. The birth of a new journal dedicated to historical research in marketing called *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* in 2009, is bound to publish articles on the department store and the history of retailing.

The historical wave that swept through all the social sciences had a rather small trickle effect in mainstream marketing with less than one hundred marketing-based scholars interested in furthering the development of this school of thought. The consequence on the marketing discipline has thus far been minimal, more of a ripple than a wave but growing. To paraphrase what the poet Ezra Pound once said “not with a bang but with a whimper.”
Marketing is still being plagued by an excessive focus on micromarketing, on consumer behavior and related topics as if the consumer was the center of the marketing world. Mainstream academic marketing still has a profound fixation on doing research on only those questions that lend themselves to be measured and thus amenable to powerful statistical analyses. In other words, the only research worth doing is that which espouses the scientific principles underlying the logical empiricist paradigm.

The core of marketing historians is small compared to other topics that preoccupy marketing scholars. Marketing is probably now the only area in business where historical research has yet to be accepted as a bona fide legitimate school of thought among its peers. Accounting now has three journals entirely devoted to historical research. Why this state of affairs exists in marketing is beyond our objective here to present a list of information sources on the history and current material on the department store.

**What Is a Department Store?**
A word of caution with respect to the use of the term "department store." There is a need to explain what exactly is a department store? Today we all seem to know what a department store means, more or less. But that was not the case a hundred or more years ago. The Bureau of the Census and Statistics Canada both now have very clear definitions of what constitutes a department store and these definitions have changed over time.

Notwithstanding such official definitions, we still have a problem today. Are discount stores department stores? When such discount stores made their way into retailing back in the 1950s, official definitions of them were not clear. As a result, the term “discount department stores” slowly entered into the retail trade vocabulary. Now, the department store industry tends to distinguish itself from the discount department stores even though the official (govt.) definitions do not make any clear distinction between the two. The terms “junior”, “discount” or “promotional” department stores are not official definitional terms recognized by Statistics Canada, the official census agency.

In the late 1800s when the department store had no official definition, it is easy to see that journalists, writers, academics and others used the term without a common understanding of what a department store was, especially from one country to another. One can see why the use of the
term over the last century may have had different meaning by different authors over time and space.

For instance, over the years, French writers have used the term *grands magasins*, often capitalized as *Grands Magasins*, as if to give them a special status. *Les magasins de nouveautés* have also been used in the past. These were the precursors of the French department store that came into being in the 1850s. Bouverete-Gauer (1997) provides more details about the evolution of such stores. *Les Trois Quartiers*, founded in 1829, was known as *magasin de nouveautés* ou *magasin de frivolités et de modes*, (i.e. fashion novelties) selling mostly fabrics and “articles de mode”, (i.e. fashionable goods for women), but certainly was not selling furniture, toys, jewelry, and other assortment of goods we tend to associate with a department store. Nor were such stores selling ready to wear clothes or other products.

The expression *Grands magasins de nouveautés* has also been used. According to Resseguie (1964), the A.T. Stewart's *Marble Palace*, which opened in New York City in 1846, was the cradle of the department store. But to what extent was Stewart’s store more like a *magasin de nouveautés* than the world’s first prototype of a department store?

It is interesting to note that a review of the department store literature has acknowledged that Aristide Boucicaut and his *Bon Marché* established in Paris in 1852 was the very first department store. Modern Europeans scholars still believe that today. Nystrom (1915) never questioned the historical origin of the department store accepting that France was indeed the country which gave the world its first department store, as discussed in his textbook, one of the first American textbooks on retailing. To Nystrom as well as many others, Boucicaut is without a doubt the founding father of the department store.

However, in the past forty years or more, some American historians, notably Resseguie (1962, 1964, 1965), have challenged this historical truism, especially due to the historical analysis of A.T. Stewart’s 1846 Marble Palace. The department store evolved over time as part of the changing nature of the retail landscape and it not suddenly appear in the form we are familiar with. There were precursors to the department store. For many reasons, I do not recognize Boucicaut as the first merchant who gave the world the first department store. That recognition goes to A.T. Stewart with his 1846 Marble Palace and his second store which opened in 1862 referred to as the Cast Iron Palace due to its unique use of this new construction material. For
those interested in knowing more about the origin of the department store can refer to Tamilia (2003, 2005) and Tamilia and Reid (2007).

It is worth noting that the village shop concept blossomed under William Whiteley, known as the “Universal Provider” (Richard 1938). He is known as one of England’s founding fathers of the department store. His many small shops, located in London’s Westbourne Grove, is one reason why the department store eventually evolved into the modern shopping center in the mid 1900s. It is no accident that most shopping centers had a department store as one of its major developers as well as its key tenant, until late in the 1970s and 1980s (Breckenfeld 1972). The department store census report published by Statistics Canada (1979) explains that the Canadian industry was slow at first in suburban shopping center development but accelerated its involvement in the 1970s due to department store branches located more in the suburbs and away from the downtown core.

Of course, who was first is really not all that important, as long as the debate leads to more fascinating historical studies on this important social and business topic. After all, the department store really changed marketing management practices that are still with us to this very day. The history of the department store also shows the extent to which marketing is a social process. The macromarketing implications of the department store are abundantly evident throughout its evolution. The department store helped transform the distributive sector (part of service sector) of the economy in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century and beyond not only in Europe and America but was also a globalizing cultural phenomenon (Nord 1986, Benson 1988, Leach 1993).

The more modern French expression is les magasins de grandes surfaces, les grandes surfaces, or simply la grande distribution. However, even now, such grandes surfaces are not to be confused with les hypermarchés or even large-scale supermarkets which are also grandes surfaces retail stores with their very large assortment of goods all under one roof. To be fair to French writers, some American writers have referred to department stores as Palaces of Consumption (Benson 1979) or even Cathedrals of Consumption (Crossick and Jauman 1999). One author has actually called the bazaar as a primitive department store and the village shop as a department store in miniature (Winstanley 1983).

Are the terms cited above all referring to what was a department store in the United States à la A.T. Stewart, Macy’s, Wannamaker, or a Marshal Field? It is debatable if such retail stores were actually the same type of retail institutions in France, Germany, Italy, or England, all selling an
assortment of goods that helped define the retailing establishment as a bona fide department store. After all, the Paris-based “Association internationale des grands magasins” was established only in 1928 (Chessel 1999). Thus, do we really know if a Parisian grand magasin, especially in the late 1800s, was really the same as an American, German or Canadian department store (Perrot 1981)? According to Statistics Canada’s official definition, a department store must sell at least three different commodity lines such as (1) clothing, (2) furniture, appliances, and home furnishings, and (3) others (i.e. cosmetics, jewelry, sporting goods, etc.). No one line can account for more than 50% of the store’s total sales and at least 10% of the store’s sales must come from the third (others) set of lines. It should be noted that the U.S. Department of Commerce definition does not correspond with the Canadian one (see Bergmann 1987).

A final note is that some of the references are annotated with the author’s own personal comments and explanations. These comments are meant to help the interested reader and future researcher understand the content of the references. Given the rather large number of department store references listed, it is impossible for the author to have read all of the material listed. The material is listed in alphabetic order only and not chronologically or under topical headings or subheadings.

Hopefully, these comments and the references themselves will make marketing researchers and others better appreciate the wealth of information available on the department store. This topic is a really a microcosm of the evolution of a capitalist market economy and the making of a modern consumer society. The department store presents so many fascinating stories and it is hoped that this author’s small contribution will wet the appetite of others and make the study of the department store and retail history a topic of research study in the marketing discipline.
Selected List of References on the Department Store: from Its Birth to the Present with Added References on the History of Retailing


Abelson, Elaine S. (1989), When Ladies Go A–Thievin g Middle Class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Store, NY: Oxford University Press. Reviewed by Arlene-Kaplan Daniels (1991) Contemporary Sociology, Vol. 20 (March No. 2), pp. 271-272. Also reviewed by Sally Simpson (1991), American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 96 (March No. 5), pp. 1282-1284. Also by Mary Gibson (1994), Women and Criminal Justice, Vol. 5 (No. 2), pp. 132-135. Also reviewed by Jack Katz (1990), New York Times Book Review, Vol. 95 8 (18 Feb.), 13. Numerous other articles listed below discuss kleptomania (see Miller 1981 or O’Brien 1983). The book is a lot more than on shoplifting. It’s a comprehensive history of the department store as well. She has done an amazing job and her work shows how tedious and meticulous one needs to be when researching and writing in this area. The set of notes is one of the most comprehensive I ever seen, from pp. 209 to 282. But similar to some social historians, she has a very nasty habit of quoting an incomplete reference in a footnote located at the end of the book for each chapter. She feels that it has been documented in previous chapters and it is therefore relatively easy to locate it. But that is not always the case. Most chapters have over 100 footnotes listed at the end of the book and trying to locate the full reference is often like trying to find a needle in a haystack. As a result, it makes good reading but is very frustrating, as a source of historical reference documents. There is no reference list or bibliography per se, and the index does not list the authors. I am still looking for some references she quoted...


Adams, Samuel Hopkins (1897), “The Department Store,” Scribner’s Magazine, Vol. 21 (January), pp. 1-27. This article provides an excellent description of department stores in the 1890s with over 20 illustrations. It is interesting to note that this article was the first one of a series on "The Conduct of Great Businesses" to counter the emphasis devoted to manufacturing.

Adburgham, Alison (1964), Shops and Shopping, 1880-1914: Where and in What Matter the Well-Dressed Englishwoman Bought Her Clothes, London: Allen and Unwin. The second edition published in 1981 by London: Barrie and Jenkins. Definition of a department store can be found on page 137, according to Geist (1983, p. 52). Adburgham (as reported by Geist on p. 52), stated that shops in Manchester and Newcastle in the 1830s and 1840s must be termed department
stores because they were run according to the principles of a fixed price, a lack of pressure on the shopper, and the law of greatest exchange—low prices and large selection (i.e. 4 criteria).

Adburgham, Alison (1969), Yesterday Shopping: The Army and Navy Stores Catalogue, 1907. Devon: David and Charles Reprints. For some these stores were the precursors of the department store at least in England/Europe (see Hood and Yamey 1957).


Adburgham, Alison (1979), Shopping in Style London from the Restoration to Edwardian Elegance, Over Wallop, Hampshire, GB: BAS Printers Limited. The book discusses retailing as it existed in London, mostly in the 17 and 18th c. She presents material from Samuel Pepys and Daniel Defoe. Chapter 13 is on the department store “Growth of the Department Stores,” pp. 138-154. But the department store is discussed here and there throughout the book. The book contains 174 illustrations and discusses the evolution of retail shops in London, mostly from the late 17th c and 18th c. to the early 20th c. with pages on Selfridges, William Whiteley, and other shops of the period. On page 82, she says that the shop Harding, Howell & Co. was Europe’s first department store from around 1796 (see Hughes 1958). The shop had a number of rooms (i.e. departments). The author seems to believe that a shop is a department store when it has many rooms within the same retail shop. The book has many facts of importance to the history of the department store. She mentions white sales, the first crude escalator installed at Harrod’s in 1898, the pneumatic tube, and other information. Some discussion on fixed location such as arcades (Burlington) and market halls (Royal Exchange and Westminster), as the next level of retail evolution after fairs, which were temporary structures. The book has less detailed information on some of the identical material she presented in her 1964 book.


Aiken, Charlotte Rankin (1918), The Millinery Department, NY: The Ronald Press Company.


Alt, Richard (1949), “The Internal Organization of the Firm and Price Formation: An Illustrative Case,” Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. 63 (February), pp. 92-110. On page 95, the author cites a letter received from an economist of Macy’s that says “Macy’s carries over “400,000 separate and distinct items, not counting colors and sizes.” This information comes from a letter he received from Q. Forrest Walker, a Macy’s economist. We have to assume it was dated in the late 1940s. The larger the store the more likely it will use one-price policy, full cost pricing, price lining and leader pricing.

Alt, Richard (1949), “Competition Among Types of Retailers in Selling the Same Commodity,” Journal of Marketing, Vol. 14 (October No. 3), pp. 441-447. The article states that Macy sold 400k separate and distinct items, not counting colors and sizes. See also Alt (1949, p. 95). It also states that Macy’s was selling Crosley automobiles and Gamble-Skomo also sold autos as of 1948. Department stores were selling prefabricated houses and frozen foods.

Altman, Bruce L. (1939), The History and Policies of the Department Stores of Cleveland, OH. Cleveland Public Library HF5465.USH351939X.

Alspaugh, Ralph (1933), Consumers’ Reactions to Special Sales in Columbus Department Stores, Columbus, OH: Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State University.


Annett, F. A. (1960), *Elevators Electric and Electrohydraulic Elevators, Escalators, Moving Sidewalks, and Ramps*, 3rd edition NY: McGraw-Hill. The first edition was published in 1927, the second in 1935 under the title *Electric Elevators*. This new edition is very weak on escalators, ramps, and moving sidewalks. It has no history of the vertical transportation and is 99% technical. Nevertheless, there are a few pages worth reading, notably on the load traffic of elevators (Chapter 10). This is a very important point for customer service in department stores because shoppers do not want to wait too long. Also a neat escalator is discussed called the Travolators (pp. 374-75), as well as escalators for ten story buildings.


Appel, Joseph (1940), *Growing up with Advertising*, NY: Business Bourse. The author was associated with Wanamaker from 1899-1936. This autobiography features much information on Wanamaker (see his 1930 biography on Wanamaker). Appel credits Powers for his influence to retail advertising when Powers worked for Wanamaker from 1877 to 1886. After Powers coma Manly Gillan, from 1886-1894, then Appel. Wanamaker invented the single column ad.


Arnold, Stanley (1968), Tale of the Blue Horse and Other Million Dollar Adventures, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. The book presents success stories in PR and sales promotion by an ex-Young and Rubicam executive, on such firms as Macy’s, Ford, NCR, UA, and others.


Artley, Alexandra ed. (1975), The Golden Age of Shop Design: European Shop Interiors 1880-1939, London: The Architectural Press. The book is mostly illustrations of merchandise displays in department stores as well as other more specialized stores. Some of the illustrations are truly spectacular, never before seen anywhere else, but they are all in B&W.

Artz, Georgeanne and Kenneth Stone (2006), “Analyzing the Impact of Wal-Mart Supercenters on Local Food Store Sales,” American Journal of Agricultural Economics, Vol. 88 (5), pp. 1296-1303. Wal-Mart is the modern version of a department store of the past. From the 1880s to the 1930s, the department store was subject to many accusations, of hurting small business and preventing them from earning a living wage and profits. Many attempts were made to restrict their growth, to limit the assortment of merchandise they could carry and even to pass tax laws that only applied to department stores. This study is a modern attempt at looking at the consequences of Wal-Mart’s supercenters on local store food sales and of course, it found that local food stores sell less now as a result of their presence. Yet Wal-Mart is a consumer choice. Wal-Mart brings economies of scale and scope along with vertical integration in transportation, storage, delivery, order taking, assortment of goods, financing, etc. that are simply not possible for small local food stores. In other words, Wal-Mart is more productive and efficient. We seldom question when a factory is outdated and needs to close being unable to compete with more efficient producers who have access to more modern equipment, technology and people. Yet in this 21st century, we still adhere to the quaint notion that small retailers are part of our nostalgic past and heritage and need protection from retail giants like Wal-Mart to survive as this study suggest. This is not to say that the Wal-Mart effect is all positive. There are, of course, unintended negative consequences of a Wal-Mart presence in any market. However, this study did not look at such unforeseen effects but mainly the effect on sales of local food stores, which was highly predictable. Why would Wal-Mart enter a market and invest large sums of money if not to take market share from existing local food retailers?

“A Scene at Stewart’s” (1869), US Economist and Dry Goods Reporter, June 22, p. 2.

Ascoli, Pete M. (2006), Julius Rosenwald The Man Who Built Sears, Roebuck and Advanced the Cause of Black Education in the American South, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Ashley, Edward E. Jr. (1929), "Mechanical Equipment of the Department Store," The Architectural Forum, Vol. 50 (June No. 6), pp. 921-934. The author discusses vertical transportation, heating and ventilating, conveyors and pneumatic tubes, lighting and electrical work and other mechanical equipment needed to operate such large stores in the late 1920s.

Asher, Louis and Edith Neal (1942), *Send No Money*, Chicago: Argus Books. The story of Sears Roebuck from its beginning to the time Richard Sears resigned on November 21, 1908. Asher was the advertising manager and a close associate to Richard Sears. The book is not too deep in historical analyses and reads more like a tribute to Richard Sears as an advertising genius and his merchandising skills. Nevertheless, much can be learned from this book such as branding (Seroco), loyalty plans (p. 66, 69; 68 for B2B), segmentation (A customer, p. 56), B2B channels relationships (p. 108), employee benefits, vertical integration (factory owned by Sears or having stock ownership), logistics, pricing issues, internal politics, branch opening (TX in 1906), catalogue printing, first as a spin off then returned, ethics (electric belt, p. 62, ED/ND p. 62), grocery selling (pp. 85-86), channel conflict, lowaizing—rewarding customers to seek new ones, and so forth. Sears had sales of $53m in 1907, the largest in the USA, and all were mail order sales. This shows that Chandler and company at Harvard, with their fixation on the manufacturing sector missed the important point that Sears actually contributed to the growth of the manufacturing sector (see p. 24, 28, 29; stoves–100k in 1903, sewing machines, bicycles, hats, guns, shoes, etc.). I was hoping to get more information on the restructuring of the shipping of orders, with orders coming in at a rate of up to 100k per day with many returns! After reading Chandler’s (1962) *Strategy and Structure* in which he cited this book, I thought much information on this issue was in this book. However, Chandler was incorrect when he said it was established in 1906 while Drucker said it was in 1903. One had to read carefully what Asher was saying. In early 1906, the business was moved to a new 40 acre plant, which implies that the new system of shipping had to be operational prior to that period (p. 119). “O.C. Doering and his assistant, John Meier evolved an organized shipping schedule. Mixed orders were the chief problem (p. 123). “In 1906, Doering and John Meir worked out a system of assembling, packing, and shipping orders on an exact time schedule that cleared the shipping room of its unholy mess. The department was given a 15 minute period of grace to get the merchandise down. If it was not received by that time, the order went forward and the balance was shipped later. When the shipping schedule was inaugurated, Sears addressed the meeting of department managers assembled to hear the new regulations. He told them that the 15 minutes schedule was arbitrary and meant just exactly 15 minutes and no more and no less. He said when the New York Central’s Twentieth Century is scheduled to leave at 1:45 it doesn’t mean 1:44 and it doesn’t mean 1:46. Frank Case, manager of the Shoe Department spoke up and said: Well, supposing my shoes aren’t there on time? Sears replied: In that event, Mr. Case, your shoes will have to be forwarded later express prepaid at the expense of your department. This became the policy. The department was penalized, not the customer” (p. 124). The plan had to have been tested much earlier before it was policy in 1906. Drucker’s assertion that Henry Ford may have visited Sears and got the idea, and so Sears may have been the real inventor of the assembly line concept. The department of returned goods needed 50k of space. A new invention called the spiral chute (p. 126) avoided delays of freight elevators. I was also able to conclude that Sears did invent a new crating design to ship stoves, a heavy good (p. 112) which became the standard for all stove manufacturers.


“A Sketch of the Greatest Business Man of America-How He Rules His Army of Clerks and Subordinates-The Grand System of His Business” (1875), *Cincinnati Gazette*, September 16 (column headed New York Sept. 15 1875), reprinted in *Posthumous Relatives of the Late Alex. T.*


Atherton, Lewis (1949), The Southern Country Store, 1800-1860, Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press. It has a good discussion on ready to wear clothes prior to the 1850s, on pp. 83-86. Also on p. 40 is a good discussion on the first U.S. census taking on trade, commerce, and the difficulty in separating a wholesale from a retail business. For e.g. a shoemaker may be a manufacturer but he also sold at retail and wholesale, so where to classify his business? On page 165, he footnotes a reference by Commons (1918) who discusses the system of higgling for each transaction. He also says on p. 135 that merchants in the 1840s were delivering handbills to homes even handing them to servants who were presumably illiterates. So direct marketing was alive in the 1840s. On page 197, he cites a large number of published articles from the 1840-50s in De Bow’s Review or Hunt’s Merchants’ Magazine about the virtue of commerce, salesmanship and the prejudice against it.


Atkinson, Frank (1909), “The Selfridge Store, London,” The Architectural Review, Vol. 25 (June), pp. 292-301. An account of the store as a building by its London architect. It has lots of interesting facts about the store. The store has four floors for sales. The fourth floor also has the restaurant and the fifth floor has a roof garden. Unfortunately, the article is short on text with seven store illustrations and four pages of store plans. Nevertheless, it is the only article (I think) showing pictures of the store.


Auerbach, Jeffrey A. (1999), The Great Exhibition of 1851 A Nation on Display, New Haven, CT Yale University Press. See p. 235 note #41 and p. 246 note #127 (Fay 1951, p. 91; Richards 1990, p. 17). These two last references state that the Crystal Palace Exhibition was indeed the first department store. Of course that is nonsense, according to my research. Moreover, the author argues that following the closing ceremony, the Crystal Palace was opened for a few extra days with up to 30 to 40k entered: “The Crystal Palace was indeed a shopping mall and a department store, dispersing its goods throughout the world,” (p. 121). He added that “the goods displayed did not just cater to middle-class taste, they helped form that taste, educating people not only about what to consume, but to consume in the first place. The Great Exhibition taught British men and women to want things and to buy things, new things and better things” (p. 121). These last comments cannot for now be accepted until more confirmation is found.

Auscher, René (1923), La législation fiscale applicable aux grands magasins et maisons à succursales multiples, Paris. This is the author’s 231-page thesis from the law faculty listed in the Ministère de L’éducation Catalogue de thèses (1964), Kraus Reprint Ltd., 40th fascicule année scolaire 1923, No 144.


Avery, F. H. (1926), “America’s First Chain Store System,” Printers’ Ink, Vol. 137 (November 11), page 42. This reference was obtained in a marketing textbook; all issues of volumes 137 and 138 were verified but the article was not found.

“A Welcome Innovation” (1900), The Buyer and Dry Goods Chronicle, Vol. 30 (27 October No. 17), p. 13. Reference from Benson (1986, p. 69). A short article on the escalator in department stores. It is a very short article of the escalator installed at Simpson, Crawford and Simpson in NYC. The article does not say if the retailer is a department store but it states that it could carry 10k passengers per hour and it will soon be universal.

Axt, George and Louis Axt (1929), “Store Fixtures and Interior Equipment,” The Architectural Forum, Vol. 50 (June No. 6), pp. 935-940. The authors discuss displays, wall fixtures and other equipment needed to present merchandise in department stores in the late 1920s, with numerous illustrations.


Azémard, Guy-Patrick and Michèle de La Pradelle (1981), "Une histoire de marché," Les Annales de la recherche urbaine, No. 12 (Octobre), pp. 70-102. The article is not at all on the department store but the following comments are important enough to be included. According to the authors, the department store introduced a distribution system separate from manufacturing, a specialized sales staff, fixed prices, and all other retail shops that modernized as a result with their sale of manufactured goods and goods obtained from distant places (see p. 89).

Babeau, Albert (1885), La vie rurale dans l’ancienne France, second edition (deuxième édition revue et augmentée), Librairie Académique Didier, Paris : Émile Perrin Libraire-Editeur. The first edition was published in 1883. A delightful book to read describing the standard of living of rural French citizens before the Revolution using numerous sources of data, from deceased people’s
inventory, observations, past authors’ reports who travelled all over France and reported their findings in published in books. He is able to provide useful information from the mid 15th c. to the late 17th c. on how these people lived based on detailed discussion of the type of homes they had. Few had glass windows; many had their houses adjoining with the barn resulting in sickness and unsanitary conditions. Clothing was also much discussed as well as household possessions. The most important furniture was the bed and it was an item specifically included in wills. Chapter 4 (pp. 87-97) is on Les Colporteurs from whom these peasant were able to acquire many of their goods. These petty peddlers travelled rural areas of France in search of customers. The author then discusses what these people ate, their leisure habits, the type of work they had (les gentilhommes, les professions libérales, i.e., services they provided to rural people), the family, religion, etc. In brief the author provides a good snap shot of the French people living in rural areas before the Revolution.

“Back to the future (Sears) the department store chain is breaking with its past, for fear of having no future,” (1993), The Economist, Vol. 329 (October 9 No. 7832), p. 74.


Baird, D. G. (1938), “Decentralization of Store Control Proves Successful with Sears,” Chain Store Age, Vol. 14 (July No. 7), pp. 21-23. By 1938, Sears had 332 stores in 45 states. From 1925 to 1928, stores were controlled by Chicago. Then slowly zone managers were created, while making store managers act independently. This system was put in place by General Robert Woods.


Baker, Harry Givens (1953), Rich's of Atlanta: The Story of a Store Since 1867, Atlanta, Georgia: Division of Research, School of Business Administration, University of Georgia. A 1907 newspaper article describes wonderful details of the Rich’s new building. Morris Rich, 1847-1928. The book was also published by Foote and Davis.


Balchen, Audrey (1986), *Department Store Sales Fairchild Fact File*, Market Research Division, NY: Fairchild Publication. Definition of a department store. “SIC Manual defines department store as establishments normally employing 25 people or more, having combined sales of apparel and soft goods amounting to 20% or more of the total sales, and selling each of the following lines of merchandise (1) furniture, home furnishings, appliances, radios and TV sets, (2) A general line of apparel for the family, (3) household linens and dry goods.” (p. 1).


BAK, a blogger created *The Department Store Museum* containing detailed information on about 44 dept stores in Canada and the USA. “The on-line museum of America and Canada's late, lamented independent department stores. The museum is repository for all sorts of information about classic department stores which either no longer exist, or no longer aspire to the greatness they attained at their apex.” It has lots of pictures and some unique information on some department stores, such as Marshall Field had store branches as early as September of 1928, and more branches were added as Chicago’s population grew. But there are no references. We can assume that the blogger had access from other bloggers who supplied him with some proprietary information. It makes sense given the rather unusual and sometimes spectacular set of pictures. He seems to have stopped adding information in November 2110. Available at: http://departmentstoremuseum.blogspot.com/2010_05_01_archive.html


Barker, Clare Wright and Melvin Anshen (1939), *Modern Marketing*, NY: McGraw-Hill. Chapter 9 “Large-Scale Retailing,” pp. 128-153. A department store definition is provided on page 129 footnote 1. It was taken from C. W. Barker and I. D. Anderson (1935), *Principles of Retailing*, NY: McGraw-Hill Book, p. 17. Then on page 137, footnote 2, the department store chain is also defined with some interesting comments that such stores “do not provide for customers all the services commonly given by typical department store,” and that “the merchandising emphasis is not placed on fashionable wearing apparel to the extent that it is in typical department stores.” Teele (1935?, p. 7), was the source of these comments.


Barmash, Isadore (1983), “Strategies for Increasing or at Least, Not Losing Market Share,” *Stores*, Vol. 65 March, pp. 24-29. Reprinted in Barry Berman and Joel Evans eds. (1984), *Readings in Marketing Management*, NY: Wiley, pp. 292–301. An article on the department store as well as other types of stores. Private branding, product assortments are emphasized. Direct import via group buying is more important. May Merchandising Corp and May Department Store International have 300 people in 13 offices around the world. Store size 200k sq ft median. Private brands are on the increase now 15% for some stores, up to 40% as a goal. AMC, the largest store owned merchandising research buying office, was still around with 28 members. Wanamaker, Gimbel’s, May, etc. all were still around.


Barmash, Isadore (1989), *Macy's for Sale*, NY: Weidenfeld & Nicolson. Chapter 2 (pp. 22-35) is a short history of Macy’s. On page 29, Barmash provides a list of first about the Herald Square store, most are wrong. There is a rare picture of the store on page 88.


Baron, Ava and Susan Klepp (1984), “‘If I Didn’t Have My Sewing Machine…’ Women and Sewing and Sewing Machine Technology,” in Joan Jensen and Sue Davidson eds. A Needle, A Bobbin, A Strike Women Needleworkers in America, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, pp. 20-59. This article is essential if one wants to understand why department stores were so successful. The article provides numerous pre-department store reasons and on going factors, which all contributed to the rise of importance of such stores in the later half of the 19th c.

Baroux, Claude (1990), «Le souvenir de Trujillo», LSA, No. 1236/1237 décembre, pp. 107-108. The man who trained many Frenchmen to imitate the American distribution revolution that had occurred 20 to 30 years earlier. He called him ‘le pape de la distribution”. The short text includes a picture of Trujillo who died of a heart attack in 1971 in Bogota at the age of 51. It seems he had already retired.


Barth, Gunther (1980), "The Department Store," in City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America, NY: Oxford University Press. Chapter 4, pp. 110-147. An excellent chapter on the history of the department store but from an American perspective. The author is able to capture in less than thirty pages a very insightful and surprisingly detailed analysis of the social implications of the rise of the department store at the end of the 19th c. The author has condensed a tremendous amount of historical information and is able to present succinctly what the department store did for women and for society in general. This article is a must read for those interested in the macromarketing impact of the rise of the department store in the US. Moreover, the references on pp. 247-253 and pp. 271-272 are unique. He also has a short but informative discussion on William Whiteley and his London village shops (pp. 118-120). A. T. Lane (1983) reviewed the book Urban History Yearbook 1983, Leicester University Press, pp. 172-173.


Bates, Albert (1976), “The Troubled Future of Retailing,” Business Horizons, Vol. 19. Reprinted in Richard Wendel ed. (1979), Readings in Marketing 79/80, Annual Editions, Guilford, CT: Dushkin Publishing, pp. 200-206. The article discusses the troubled rate of profit performance in the retail sector. Managerial complexities involved in retail diversification have created pressures to move away from innovation toward more operations and control of core business. He list a number of food retail innovations since 1960. The list is rather impressive (high rise freezers, stamp dispensers, bottle return systems, specialized fixtures, etc.). Many can also be applied to department store.

Baudier (1913), Les Grands Magasins à Paris: leur organisation commerciale, Paris. This reference is from Bonnet (1929), page 420.


BBDO (1954-56), Department store staff presentation, 3 volumes, NY: Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn.

Beach, Moses Yale (1845), Wealth and Biography of the Wealthy Citizens of New York City, 5th edition NY: Sun Office. On page 27 he has a short biography of AT Stewart that says “The celebrated Dry Good Merchant of Broadway, whose shop is the grand resort of the fashionables. He has lately bought Washington Hall, which he intends to fit up for stores. He married a Miss Mitchell, a lady of some property”. His assets are evaluated at $400,000. The 12th edition published in 1855 also has Stewart on page 69. His assets are now $2 million. The biography says he bought the land after the Washington Hotel burnt down and “built upon it a part of the magnificent building which extends from Read to Chambers street. Here with his partners, he now carries on the largest retail trade in the city, besides an extensive wholesale trade. He has combined every branch of business which could consistently be united with the dry goods. “Both editions have been reproduced in one book by Arno Press 1973 as The Wealthy Citizens of New York.


Beaumont, Constance (1997), Better Models for Superstores, Washington, DC: National Trust for Historic Preservation. The book is about the preservation of buildings and one article entitled “Target Recycles a Department Store in Pasadena,” pp. 11-15, shows to what extent an old department store building (that housed the 164,000-square-foot J. W. Robinson’s, built in 1957) can be restored without tearing it down. The National Trust for Historic Preservation has its head office in Washington with, regional offices all over the US. It publishes the Preservation magazine Historic Preservation Forum, and Forum News. It has a computer data bank called Preserve Link, a system designed for the preservation community.

Beauregard, Ludger ed. (1972), Montréal Guide d'excursions/Field Guide, 22nd International Geographical Congress, Montréal : Les Presses de l’Université de Montréal. All articles and text of the 197-page Proceedings of this Conference are published in both languages, side by side. This type of presentation has not been done often before or since. Some of the papers presented are very pertinent to marketing. The last chapter written by the editor predicted that Montreal would become a megalopolis with a population of 6.7 million by the year 2000 (p. 193). He also predicted that Montreal would become even more bilingual. In his article entitled “The City Centre,” pp. 65-77, he says on page 73, that the Eaton store in downtown Montreal on the average had 30,000 to 50,000 shoppers per day, and the one day record was 100,000 shoppers. He also says that Eaton had plans to build two 34-story towers on Ste. Catherine Street, which were never built. Another one of his articles in this book is his “Metropolitan Activities,” pp. 116-24, which describes the wholesaling sector of Montreal and highlights not only the importance of the Central Market for fruit and vegetables, opened since 1960, and Place Bonaventure (1967) but also of Montreal being a fashion center where a sizable number of clothing manufacturers are located which makes Montreal a major distribution centre of such goods and many others such as tobacco, alcohol, petroleum, and pharmaceuticals. Of course since 1972, many changes have occurred in such markets and in Quebec as well.
Becker, Boris and Carl Larson (1987), "Lives in Retailing: A Bibliography of American Retail Merchants in Books," *Journal of Marketing Education*, Vol. 9 (Fall), pp. 64-71. The article provides a bibliography of American retailing, including the department store. The list is useful for retailing history. Some of the references are on retail merchants not previously seen.


Beckley, Donald (1952), *Executive Training in Department Stores*, Boston: Simmons College.


Beckman, Theodore, Harold Maynard, and William Davidson (1957), *Principles of Marketing*, 6th edition, NY: The Ronald Press, chapter 9 “Department Stores,” pp. 171-188. The first time that a whole chapter is devoted to the department store. This is due to Davidson’s influence, given that his 1951 dissertation was in the area and Beckman was his dissertation advisor. See also Maynard and Beckman (1946), Maynard, Weidler and Beckman (1927).

Beckman, Theodore and William Davidson (1962), *Marketing*, 7th edition, NY: The Ronald Press, chapter 9 “Department Stores,” pp. 179-197. The amount of pages devoted to the department store is the largest ever in all of the textbook’s editions. This is surprising because the department store was declining in importance as a retailing institution. Note that the book’s title changed for the first time since 1927.

Beckman, Theodore and William Davidson, with the assistance of James Engel (1967), *Marketing*, 8th edition, NY: The Ronald Press, pp. 276-284. The whole chapter devoted to the department store has been eliminated and the topic is now discussed along with the chain store and other retailing institutions. This is similar to the book’s first edition in 1927.


Beckman, Theodore and Herman Nolan (1938), *The Chain Store Problem*, McGraw-Hill. A survey and data analysis done by the authors on the role and competitive power of the chain store in relation to other retail formats, including the department store. Wanamaker is discussed in the book.


Bell, Carolyn Shaw (1967), *Consumer Choice in the American Economy*, NY: Random House. Chapter 5 discusses the merchandising revolution in America, including a discussion on the evolution of the department store.

Bell, Marion (1977), *Crusade in the City: Revivalism in 19th c. Philadelphia*, Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses. Marion Bell’s doctoral dissertation from Temple University discusses Wanamaker’s religious activities and gives insights into his character and personality. Wanamaker’s religious side is well documented. He was first a clerk at the newly established YMCA when he was only 19. Soon after, he showed his talent for organization making the Y well funded. His affiliation persisted throughout his career.


Bell, Martin (1957), “Edward A. Filene’s Cooperative Department Store a Saga of Modern Marketing,” in Robert Buzzell ed. (1957), *Adaptive Behavior in Marketing*, Proceedings of the Winter Conference American Marketing Association, Columbus, OH: Modern Art Company, pp. 199-207. This very interesting story of the famed Edward A. Filene (who died in 1937). Filene became enthralled with the idea of establishing a chain of cooperative department stores. A big chunk of his fortune was spent attempting to realize his dream of establishing a cooperative scheme. He honestly believed there was too much waste in distribution and his new stores would be more efficient. He also felt at the time that his new venture would reduce unemployment, which was rampant at the time. His venture was named Consumer Distribution Corporation or CDC, which stands today for something much different. The article is based on his PhD dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate school of Arts and Science called, “an economic analysis of the attempt to establish a chain of cooperative department stores as visualized by Edward A. Filene.” The exact title is as above. See also Peck (1900), Brown (1937), Bell (1958, 1961), and Cary (1977).


Bender, Thomas and William Taylor (1987), “Culture and Architecture: Some Aesthetic Tensions in the Shaping of Modern New York City,” in William Sharpe and Leonard Wallock eds. *Visions of the Modern City, Essays in History, Art, and Literature*, second edition NY: The John Hopkins University Press, pp.189-219. The article has information on elevators not known before. It also has a number of pages devoted to the department store, especially the Haughwout store, called in the article as the Haughwout building. The authors even provide a picture of the building taken in 1952 (page 199). This revised article was first published in the 1983 first edition of the book (published by the Heyman Center for the Humanities, Columbia University), with Bender as the sole author.

Benhamou, Laurence (2003, “Chic factor,” *National Post*, August 9, p. PT3. A short article on Les Galleries Lafayette and other Parisian department stores. The author says the founders of Lafayette opened the initial store in 1893. The new addition was once completed will have 66k sq meters store and it will the world’s biggest department store. Le Printemps plans to open “the biggest beauty products department in the world, a 4k sq meter addition, or 60% bigger that its current cosmetics department. Le Printemps store was bough by in 1991 by Pinault-Printemps Redoute. La Samaritaine was once the Paris biggest store and its first store was opened in 1865. La Samaritaine was bought by LVMH in 2001. Unfortunately, most of the dates do not correspond to the date in the literature, adding more confusion.


Bennett, Tony (1995), *The Birth of the Museum*, London: Routledge. The link between museums, amusement parks and World’s fairs is presented. In addition, the author also alludes to the same link with the department store. Only a few pages discuss the link. According to the author, Fairs promoted civility and such behavior was transferred to the department store (and museums) as large crowds became accustomed to see displays of goods, without the need to steal (i.e. act in a civil manner). Of course, he did not discuss shoplifting (or then known as kleptomania). Order was the rule, the store educated people, just like museums and Fairs did. He said what other social historians have alluded to is that people went to fairs to look and be looked/noticed, similar to the behavior manifested in museums and department stores. Is it not a bit farfetched to think that department stores were once considered place to be seen and to look as to who else was there was considered cool? Perhaps, the higher floors in such stores also acted like sightseeing for people to look down at shoppers below?


Benson, John and Gareth Shaw eds. (1999), *Retailing History*, 3 volumes UK: J.B. Tauris. Also NY: St Martin’s Press. A set of 3 volumes that covers retailing from its beginning to today.

Benson, John and Gareth Shaw eds. (1992), *The Evolution of Retail Systems, 1800-1914*, Leicester: Leicester University Press. A collection of essays comparing retailing in Europe and the US. It has three articles on Canadian retailing by John Benson. German and British retailing is emphasized.


Benson, John and Laura Ugolini eds. (2003), *A Nation of Shopkeepers Five Centuries of British Retailing*, London: I. B. Tauris. The book is a set of readings discussing the history of consumption and retail history in Britain. The book “examines the complex relationship between retailing development and the consuming environment”. The department store is frequently mentioned and discussed but there are no individual articles devoted to the subject matter. But the book present an interesting hypothesis that “large scale retailing played a far lesser role in the growth of the modern city than is generally thought and how the success of department stores was determined less by entrepreneurial ‘spirit’ and more by the unforeseen consequences of legislation.” Retail history is by definition multidisciplinary à la macromarketing, but at the same time specialized areas of study are also de rigueur. For example, we can say that consumption history (i.e. consumption historians) is a bone fide subdiscipline of retail history, which is also part of marketing history.


Bergmann, Joan (1987), “What is a department store? Why does it matter?,” Stores, Vol. 69 July, pp. 12, 81. This is an editorial written by the editor discussing the criteria used by the US Department definition of a department store (SIC 531). It should be noted that the US definition is not the same as the one used by Statistics Canada, its US counterpart.


Bernard, Joseph and Louis Hoffmann (1911), “Le petit commerce et les grands magasins,” La Réforme sociale, Vol. 61 (Janvier-Juin), pp. 293-303. The article was presented at the meeting on March 1st. The article discusses the department store's influence on small shops and asks if the department store will eventually reach a stage that its operating costs will be high enough to benefit small shops (cost ineffective).


Bingham, Wheelock and David Yunich (1965), “Retail Reorganization” Harvard Business Review, Vol. 43 (July-August), pp. 129-132, 135-139, 141-146. Reprinted in John Ryans, James Donnelly and John Ivancevitch eds. (1970), New Dimensions in Retailing, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, pp. 72-94. Much discussion on the organization of a department store, notably Macy’s. The authors have a nice quote from a McNair speech on the history of the department store in which he credited “Wanamaker as the greatest protagonist of this innovation in America,” p. 73.


Birmingham, Nan Tillson (1991), Gump's since 1861: a San Francisco legend, SF: Chronicle Books. “A history of one of the world's fine specialty department stores, its focus is on oriental and classical western art and crafts.”


Blake, Peter (1966), “Shopping Streets Under Roofs of Glass.” *Architectural Review*, Vol. 124 (Jan/Feb), pp. 68-75. A pictorial view of various arcades (see Geist 1979). According to Artley (1970), the article illustrates the interior of Pomerantsev’s GUM department store in Moscow, together with a variety of mid-19th century European shopping arcades. The reference was misquoted as being published in *Architectural Forum*.


Blaszczyk, Regina Lee (2000), *Imagining Consumers: Design and Innovation from Wedgwood to Corning*, Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press. The book is more on the development of the ceramic and glass industries during the period 1860-1930, than on distribution. In fact, the author mentions that Macy’s had the first a crockery department in the 19th c. but does not elaborate on the role played by the dept store or retailers in their role in expanding this industry for the middle class. To her credit, she does elaborate on the role played by specific people in understanding consumer tastes before market surveys became to norm for obtaining such information. The book was reviewed by Katherine Grier (2001), *Enterprise and Society*, Vol. 2 (June No. 2), pp. 402-404.

Bliss, Michael (1974), *A Living Profit Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business, 1883-1911* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. A compact book that discusses the dilemma of Canadian business: Limit competition in the country by the adoption of the National Policy in 1879 (i.e. tariff), and form associations, trade groups, etc. to fix price in order to tame competition and earn a living profit. The department store is mentioned numerous times in the book, especially on pp. 38-39 when the “Retail Merchants’ Association of Canada (RMAC) sponsored a successful suit against T. Eaton Company for fraudulent advertising. The RMAC lobbied for discriminatory taxes on department stores (say assessing a separate tax on each department in a store), tighter controls on transient traders, and the general institution of RPM. As its final solution to the problem of stabilizing trade and nullifying the effect of the department stores, the Association proposed that it would be “greatly in the interest of all laboring, manufacturing, commercial and purchasing classes of the Dominion to have all lines of goods belonging to each trade defined in groups by mutual consent of the Merchants, and a record of them placed upon the Statute books of the Province, and that power be asked to regulate and control by license or otherwise all such groups or lines of trade in cities having a population of 30,000 or more.” The Association managed to prohibit the use of trading stamps in the early 1900s. The anti-department store movement of the late 1800s was alive not only in the US, France, Germany, UK but also in Canada.

Bliss, Michael (1978), *A Canadian Millionaire the Life and Business Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle, Bart. 1858-1939*, Toronto: Macmillan of Canada. Many pages devoted to Eaton’s and the retailing in Canada. However, he often does not document his sources or the dates. For e.g. on page 63, he
says Simpson’s had a six-story steel-frame building with a pneumatic tube but no dates given or source.


Bloomfield & Bloomfield (1921), Methods of compensation for department store employees; a survey by Industrial relations, Bloomfield's labor digest. Boston.


Bloomingdale, E. W. (1915), "The Inner Workings of a Department Store 1- The Value of Welfare Work," *The Outlook*, Vol. 111 (June 2), pp. 278-280. The rebuttal by Josephine Goldmark (1915) “11-Another View,” pp. 280-282. Bloomingdale was the counsel for the Retail Dry Goods Association of New York while Goldmark represented *The National Consumer League*. These are two short but poignant articles debating the technological and managerial advancements made by department stores in the early 1900s in assuring workers’ health and comfort. Note that a consumer league existed then as well as the RDGA of NY. See also Emerson (1915). Emerson’s article was the first one, followed by the others.

“Bloomingdale’s Transformed” (1931), *Architecture and Building*, Vol. 63 (June No. 6), page 113.


Blumin, Stuart (1989), *The Emergence of the Middle Class Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900*, NY: Cambridge University Press. The book is a mixture of marketing, sociology and economics. The author discusses white-collar occupations, when such occupations took place in society, the wages earned, the inventory of goods such workers had, the social organizations their belonged to, all in the hope of clarifying his hypothesis of the social and economic factors that fostered the establishment of a USA middle class. Of course, he talks about shopping and the department store including AT Stewart and others are discussed, notably in chapter 3, pp. 66-107. The chapter has neat illustrations that are also in his 1985 article. He also discusses retail buildings and some worthwhile comments are made about retail structures in the 18th c. (i.e., pp. 23-24, and in chapter 3). Joseph Cooke’s Folly, built a commercial building in Philadelphia completed in 1794 (81ft long x 26 ft), seven stories high, including 2 underground levels and the ground floor having full display windows, with shops located there as well on the second floor. It was similar in concept to the elegant shops of London’s West End. But his commercial venture was a failure and he could not even sell the building; eventually it was demolished. Given the vast difference in population in London vs. Philadelphia, the long commercial tradition in London and people’s values, the non-existence of a market to support such a commercial endeavor, (lack of a middle class, limited disposable income), it’s no wonder the commercial venture failed. He discusses the 1850 Dr. Jayne’s eight-story office building, which towered 130 ft above ground, high enough to be called a skyscraper, a term he uses (p. 98). We see from his discussion that large retail stores with palatial decor existed in Boston Philadelphia and NY, among other places. Such stores had many features that Stewart had (rotunda, exquisite décor, mahogany counters, plate glass windows, displays, high ceiling, and attractive storefronts. It was also a time 1830s/40s that Greek Revival storefronts proliferated.
The marble Palace was part of this Greek Revival movement. The Greek movement is also discussed in Reynolds (1984).


Böhme, Margarete (1912), *The Department Store: A Novel of Today*, translated by Ethel Coburn Mayne, NY: Appleton and Company. Her name has also been spelled as Bohme or *Boehman*, perhaps due to her German surname. Her novel is à la Émile Zola but less known.


Bonnet, Pierre (1920), *La commercialisation de la vie française du Premier Empire à nos jours*, Paris: Librarie Plon. Only a few pages of the book discuss the department store (e.g. pp. 173-174; 268-271; 377-378), which is rather surprising. We find out though that Paris had a population of nearly 2 million in 1866 (page 155), which explains the success of le *Bon Marché* and other Parisian department stores. After all, the department store emerged in large populated cities as part of the changing urban landscape (e.g. NY, Paris, London, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Toronto).


Boorstin, Daniel (1973), The Americans The Democratic Experience, NY: Random House. Chapter 10, pp. 101-109. A short but succinct discussion on department stores. He discusses AT Stewart and the architectural innovations of such stores saying that Stewart’s second store had 8 stories, was reputed to be the largest retail store in the world, was the largest iron building of its day, one of the largest of any kind. He stated that Otis installed the first ‘safety ‘elevator in the Haughwout department store in 1857. But the Haughwout store was not really a department store according to Reynolds (1984, p. 131), but an elegant emporium selling "cut-glass, silverware, clocks, and chandeliers." The architect was JP Gaynor and was one of Daniel Badger’s masterpieces in cast-iron buildings, located on Broome and Broadway.


Bossen, Marianne (1972), L'utilisation de la main d'oeuvre dans les grands magasins du Canada, Ottawa: Information Canada. This 124-page monograph published by the Canadian government is also available in English, and it takes some legal aspects of the workers’ condition.

Bottomley, William Lawrence (1924), "The Architecture of Retail Stores," The Architectural Forum, Vol. 40 (June No. 6), pp. 233-238. A discussion (with illustrations) of many retail stores in New York City, but little on department stores per se.


Boudet, Jacques et al (1952), Le Monde des affaires en France de 1830 à nos jours, Paris: Société d’Édition de dictionnaires et Encyclopédies. The chapter on the department store (chapter 11, “Les Grands Magasins,” pp. 400-409) is quite well done. It discusses all French department stores including la Belle Jardiniere, le Louvre, au Bon Marché, la Samaritaine, et les Galleries Lafayette. Dominique Gillet is presumably the author of this chapter because the name appears at the end of the chapter on page 409. However, the list of contributors to the book at the beginning, spelled the name “Dominique Guillet,” so we do not know what the correct spelling is. Of course, we are assuming the author is the same. Then on pp. 612-616, the author discusses Aristide Boucicaut, the founding father of the French department store. Anecdotal information is provided that state Boucicaut knew about some the successful management techniques used by A.T Stewart in NY. It is amusing that the author misspelled Stewart’s name. Finally, other topics are also presented in the book that are of interest to marketing historians (advertising, insurance, commerce), and the book has a number of interesting illustrations.


Bourienne, Véronique (1989), “Boucicaut, Chauchard et les autres. Fondateurs et fondation des premiers grands magasins parisiens,” in Paris et Ile-de-France Mémoires published by la Fédération des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l’Ile-de-France, Tome 40, Nogent-Le-Rotrou, Imprimerie Daupeley-Gouverneur, pp. 257-335. This article has an overview of the entrepreneurs who founded many of the department stores in France (pp. 257-273). Then from page 274, the author provides a detailed biography of each of the founders included Aristide Boucicaut (Au Bon Marché), Hippolyte François Chauchard (Au Louvre), Théodore Cognacq (La Samaritaine), Charles Armand Gallois (Aux Trois Quartiers), Charles Hériot (Au Louvre), Jules Jaluzot (Au Printemps), Charles Meunier (Grande Maison de blanc), Pierre Jean François Parissot (La Belle Jardinière) and Denis Parissot, Romain Anthénon Renouard (Le Coin de rue), Xavier François Ruel (Bazar de l’Hôtel de Ville). This article was reprinted in part in Bourienne (1997 but without the extensive biographies, see below).


Bowlby, Rachel (1985), Just Looking: Consumer Culture in Dreiser, Gissing, and Zola, NY: Methuen. Theodore Dreiser was a writer in Chicago whose books were popular at the time (e.g. his 1900 Sister Carrie). Dreiser managed to show in his stories (i.e. The Titans, the degradation and corruption brought on by the new materialism). Emile Zola was a similar critic who examined the new materialism in Paris, especially the Bon Marché department store. Each author comes from a different country presumably to be at a comparable stage of economic development. Each writer
represents a distinct view to early consumer society (roughly 1880-1920). The book was reviewed by Diana Knight (1987), Poetics Today, Vol. 8 (1), pp. 196-199. This book is very expensive to buy even used, in the 3 figure range. Yet it is only 188 pages.

Bowlby, Rachel (1997), “Supermarket Futures,” in Pasi Falk and Colin Campbell eds. The Shopping Experience, London: Sage, pp. 92-110. The article discusses the historical development of the supermarket and its link with the rise of department store in the late 19th c. The author speculates on potential future developments and transformations. Characteristics of the supermarket and the department store are compared. The supermarket of the future is described.


Boyer, M. Christine (1985), Manhattan Manners: Architecture and Style, 1850-1900, NY: Rizzoli. The author discusses New York’s shopping district in the late 19th c. including the department store, from pp. 86-129. Also, there is much discussion on A. T Stewart’s life and his stores (pp. 32, 42, 59, 60, 63, 67, etc.).

Bradford, Barbara Taylor (2006), A Woman of Substance, NY: St Martin’s Griffin. First edition for St Martin’s but was published in 1979. “A young and impoverished. Emma Harte embarks on a journey first of survival, then of unimaginable achievement. Driven to succeed, the iron-willed Emma parleys a small shop into the world's greatest department store and an international business empire” (fiction).

Bradley, Patricia (1998), “John Wanamaker’s ‘Temple of Patriotism’ Defines Early 20th c. Advertising and Brochures,” American Journalism, Vol. 15 (No. 2), pp. 15-35. An article that discusses the link between culture and consumption as influenced by Wanamaker’s use of advertising. She states that ‘the technique of single-column advertising became the Wanamaker store hallmark’ (p. 27). Bradley reports that the “elite daily newspaper in the 1870s was the Ledger” (p. 25). It had a circulation of 75k, which grew to 80k by the end of the century, but by then, more dailies were available.


“Branch Store Operation” (1951), Retail Control, Vol. 20 December), entire issue.


“Branch Store Panel Discussion,” (1952), Retail Control, Vol. 21 (March), pp. 40-47.


Breckenfeld, Gurney (1972), “‘Downtown’ Has Fled to the Suburbs,” *Fortune*, Vol. 86 (October 4), pp. 80-87, 156, 158, 162. The flight of the department store to the suburbs and into shopping centers. This article is very informative. The author seems to know history (p. 82) where he compares today’s shopping centers with shopping done in the past (Roman times). The article has lots of information on the behavior of department store and shopping centers. Department store preempted shopping center development by building stores and then selling the land to developers with special deals. These arrangements gave them low square footage fees vs. other retailers (up to 3 or 4 times rental cost) to the point that the FTC lodged a complaint against their privileged position. The author discusses the 2 department store partnership, the shopping center becoming a city/lifestyle center, the fact that many department stores are leaving CBD and retail is gravitating toward the suburbs. By the time the article was written only 2 new department stores in CBD had been built in the US with many being closed. See also Saunders (1951), *Business Week* (1951, 1955), *Fortune* (1953), Breckenfeld (1972), Rich (1957), Talbott (1956), Leinberger (2004, 2005).


Brewer, Frank N. (1902), "Child Labor in the Department Store", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 20 (July), pp. 165-177. The article is more about the training and education of young people working in such stores than a discussion on the exploitation of children by the department store industry. Brewer was the General Manager of the Wanamaker store in Philadelphia.


Brewer, John and Roy Porter eds. (1993), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, London: Routledge. The paperback edition was published in 1994. See their “Introduction,” pp. 1-15. The book is collection of 25 articles from a 3-year project of the “Center from Seventeenth and Eighteen Century Studies” and the Clark Library at UCLA on Culture and Consumption in the Seventeenth and Eighteen Centuries. We can see that the culture of consumption did not originate in the 19th c. but was alive earlier. The book demonstrates that the desire to shop and to own goods pre-dates the modern era. The book is weak on retail history per se and focuses its attention on consumption. Yet retail shops were the ones that were actively involved in stimulating demand. The book has to be read in conjunction with books on retailing history during that period. See Hui and Hui (1989), Davis (1966), Jefferys (1954), among others, and numerous articles too many to cite here. Some of articles can us better understand the role the department store played in fostering even more the culture of consumption due to its large scale and its more aggressive demand stimulation activities.
Briggs, Asa (1956), *Friends of the People: The Centenary History of Lewis's*, London: B. T. Batsford. The history of Lewis’s department store. The history of the department store is briefly outlined but no mention of Stewart. It gives credit to Europe for the development of the department store. Some interesting facts are presented and there’s a very neat picture of The Bon Marché in Liverpool. Briggs discusses the evolution of the department store in reference to the growth of mass retailing (in Chapter 7, pp. 167-193). The arguments are weak incomplete and rather superficial. But they do provide insights from a British perspective. On page 44,000 shoppers visited the store on opening day on Sept 1885.


Bronner, Simon J. ed. (1989), *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880-1920*, NY: W. W. Norton. A collection of essays many of which are listed in this bibliography, not only because they deal with the history of department stores but are of interest to marketing history. This book is also available in a paperback edition. “Different scholars writing about the emergence of a consumer culture that placed emphasis on accumulation and display of goods in public and private spaces as a symbol of social and economic status and development. The authors employ a material culture approach to examine the acts, customs, and institutions that created and reflected the new culture of consumption. Individual essays examine the rise of the department store and retail display, changes in interior design, museum collections, rural consumption, and the increasing importance of "style," among other topics. The collection, along with the extensive references included with each essay, makes this a valuable resource for the study of material aspects of consumer culture.”

Bronner, Simon J. (1989), "Object Lessons: The Work of Ethnological Museum and Collections," in Simon Bronner ed. *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880-1920*, NY: W. W. Norton, pp. 227-254. This essay is mostly about the fascinating life history of Stewart Culin (from page 227), who once was director of archeology and paleontology at the University Museum in Philadelphia. Stewart Culin had contacts with Wanamaker. He was involved in toy history as well as in packaging design, and he wrote numerous articles on department stores and on other marketing topics.


Brown, Percy (1937), “An Appraisal of the Future of Consumer Cooperatives,” in Consumer and Industrial Marketing Series C.M. 22 NY: American Management Association, pp. 25-34. The author is an associate of Edward A. Filene, and the secretary-treasurer of the Consumer Distribution Corporation. Filene created the Consumer Distribution Corporation to act as department store owned by consumers with set objectives such as a return of not more than 5%, among other such constraints. See also Peck (1900), Bell (1958, 1961) and Cary (1977). 

Brown, Thomas Jr. (1893), “The American Passenger Elevator,” Engineering Magazine, Vol. 5 (June), pp. 333-348. This article is not on the department store but given the link between this new technology and the department store, it is included. It has great information of the design of this vertical transportation invention. 

Brown, William (1948), “Mass Merchandising in Latin America: Sears, Roebuck & Co.,” Journal of Marketing, Vol. 13 (July), pp. 73-77. Sears opened its first department store in Mexico City in February 1947. Sears had already opened a small store in Havana, Cuba in 1942, but it was too small to be considered a department store. See also Truitt (1984) and Wood and Keyser (1953).


Browne, Junius Henry (1869), The Great Metropolis: A Mirror of New York, Hartford. Chapter 32 is on Stewart and his commercial ventures.


Bryant, James (1977), Department Store Disease, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.


BSRIA Staff, Supermarkets and Department Stores, LB-21-86, State Mutual Book.


Buckley, Jim (1953), The Drama of Display, NY:Pellegrini and Cudahy.


Bucklin, Louis (1972), Competition and Evolution in the Distributive Trades, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. See pp.55-60 “Vertically Integrated Markets, The Department Store.” His views of the department store are incomplete, based mainly on much older retail books and not on more current retail history material such as Ressgue (1962, 1964, and 1965). He also did not know about Stewart’s 1846 store. Nevertheless, these few pages show that Bucklin acknowledged the department store’s numerous innovations (as part of the service sector and economy) such as a VMS, advertising, etc. but he also attaches too much importance to the managerial responsibilities delegated at the departmental level as the key to the birth of this new retail institution. It is more a combination of factors.


Bucklin, Louis (1983), “Patterns of Change in Retail Institutions in the United States with Special Attention to the Traditional Department Store,” International Journal of Physical Distribution and

Buck-Morss, Susan (1986), “The Flaneur, the Sandwichman, and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering,” New German Critique, No. 39 (Fall), pp. 99-140. The article is on the writings of Walter Benjamin (as is the whole issue), than on the department store. There are few paragraphs devoted to the department store but insufficient for the numerous referencing this article has received by other department store researchers, notably those involved in gender studies.


Bulletin of the National Retail Dry Goods Association (1938), Vol. 20 (April). It has many articles on AC, electricity, etc. In fact the April issue (pp. 74-113), has an historical review of electricity related to selling electrical consumer goods in department stores.


Bulletin of the National Retail Dry Goods Association (1938), Vol. 20 (June), pp. 33-122ff. The June issue is a manual on Receiving Department Operations. It is full of technical information on how the operations of a department store uses technology.


Bureau of Business Management (1960), What’s Wrong with Department Stores? University of Illinois Bulletin, Bureau of Business Management, College of Commerce and Business Administration, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois.


Burman, David (1979), “Downtown Core Areas: Can They Be Saved?,” Retail Control, Vol. 47 (March), pp. 36-64. On page 43 “one of the first malls built in 1954, was Cross County Shopping Center in Yonkers, New York, which contained Gimble Brothers at one end and John Wanamaker at the other.”


Burnham, Alan (1956), “Last Look at a Structural Landmark,” Architectural Record, Vol. 120 (September No. 3), pp. 273-279. An article devoted to the A. T Stewart store, just after its demolition in 1956. The store had been the former Wanamaker building and it caught fire on July 14, 1956. The cast iron faced store was a structural landmark and it was the worse fire in thirty years in New York City. This is Stewart’s Cast Iron Palace.


Burns, David and Dale Rayman (1996), “Retailing in Canada and the United States: Historical Comparisons,” in Gary Akehurst and Nicholas Alexander eds. The Internationalization of Retailing, London: Frank Cass, pp. 164-176. Only a few pages are devoted to the department stores. Eaton’s was established in 1883. Timothy Eaton opened his first store in 1869 and it was in 1883 that his first store was built, the first Canadian department store. But the department store was already in operation in the U.S., France, and elsewhere.


Burrows, Edwin and Michael Wallace (1999), Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898, NY: Oxford University Press. Many pages discuss the department store, AT Stewart, dry goods market and other aspects of consumption and social life in NYC. The book has a short discussion on the Crystal Palace, London and NY. In particular, pp. 666-673, 945-946, 968-969-970, 1000, 1062, 1066, 1145, 1177. There’s a section on women and prostitution. The book is massive and won a Pulitzer Prize. The reference list is simply amazing. I haven’t had the time to check the hundreds of refs listed.


Business Week (1933), “The Cheapy Thrives,” February 8, pp. 11-12. The article discusses the beginning of the supermarket and asks if it is a new form of retail operation? Low price outlets
thrived in other trades as well due to the hard times. In December 1932, Big Bear (Mike Cullen) had a 50k sq. ft store.


Business Week (1955), “Downtown Needs a Lesson From the Suburbs, No. 1364 (October 22), pp. 64-65, 68. An interview with Victor Gruen, who was the key architect of the famed Northland shopping center in Columbus, Ohio. See also Saunders (1951), Business Week (1951), Fortune (1953), Breckenfeld (1972), Department Store Economist (1968).


Business Week (1966), “Hudson’s Bay Mushes along the Urban Trail,” September 3, pp. 64-68. The Bay is being forced to change its image toward price and fashion.


Butcher, Benjamin C. (1965), "The Development of Large-Scale Retail Price-Cutting Institutions in the United States Since 1870", unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois, Urbana. The dissertation revealed that price-cutting developed among mass retail organizations not only in the department store business but among many other large-scale retail organizations (mail-order houses, chain stores, supermarkets, and discount stores). Chapter 3 is a solid review of the department store in the United States after 1870.


Bye, George T. (1917), “This is the End of Business,” Nation’s Business, June pp. A solid account of how Gordon Selfridge, the Yankee merchant from Chicago, did not pull back when WW1 started. In fact, more staff was hired due to sales increased and even free deliveries were continued. He talks about footgirls, hiring girls for cleaning, some female staff was hired away by banks and govt bureaus increased advertising, replaced all lift operators by female, a real tribute to women. And bread sold at lowest price in all of London.


Cameron, David Kerr (1998), The English Fair, Stroud.


Candille, Marcel (1953), "De la réalité au roman du Bon Marché de M. et Mme. Boucicaut et au Bonheur des Dames de Zola," Revue de l'Assistance Publique à Paris, (January-February). The article says that the information about the department store (i.e. Au Bon Marché) in Zola’s book does not predate 1882. He says that the editor (Lacroix) knew about the plan as early as in 1869. This information comes from Vanier (1960, p. 264).


Carlu, Jacques (1931), “The T. Eaton & Co. Department Store in Toronto and Montreal,” The Architectural Record, Vol. 69 (June No. 6), pp. 446-455. A good article showing the new Toronto store as well as the restaurant addition to the Montreal store, with excellent illustrations.


Cary, Francine (1977), “The World a Department Store: Bradford Peck and the Utopian Endeavor,” American Quarterly, Vol. 29 (Autumn), pp. 370-384. Peck was a successful department store merchant. He turned into a utopian socialist. He wanted to structure society based on the way a department store was organized. This is a very interesting article. His son took over and made it successful again. See Peck (1900) and Bell (1956).


Cassady, Ralph (1957), “The New York Department Store Price War of 1951: A Micro-Economic Analysis,” Journal of Marketing, Vol. 22 (July), pp. 3-11. Reprinted in Ronald Gist ed. (1967), Management Perspectives in Retailing, NY: John Wiley, pp. 267-275. The article discusses a very colorful price war between a number of NYC department stores in 1951, (e.g. Macy’s, Gimbel, Abraham and Straus). It did not last long (a week) but many items were fair traded, which brought in legal issues. The article mentions a retail innovation used by Macy’s in that “Macy’s maintains the largest staff of comparison shoppers in the world to police the correctness of our prices. They make an average of 35,000 shoppings a week.” (p. 268).

Cassé, Noël (1935), Etude sur les grands magasins à prix uniques, Toulouse: Imprimerie F. Boisseau. This is Cassé's doctoral thesis from the Faculté de droit de Toulouse. It's a book on the chain store problem in Europe. The bibliography is quite slim and there's a bit on the department store both in the US and Europe and some discussion on the US chain stores.

Centennial Book of the John Wanamaker New York Store, formerly A.T. Stewart, 1823-1924 (1924), NY.


Champsaur Brachet, Florence (2009), “Aux Galeries Lafayette and the Couture Industry, 1893-1952,” Business History Conference (HBC) Vol. 7. Paper’s abstract by the author: From a fashion history standpoint, the relationship between Aux Galeries Lafayette and the fashion industry is an ambivalent one. Founded in 1893, at the time of the "dictatorship" of Haute Couture over fashion, the Parisian department store rapidly developed the commercial and industrial means to take advantage of the "désir de mode" created by the fashion houses and communicated to the public by the rise of specialized magazines. While their international competitors were allowed to buy models or patterns from French fashion designers and sell them on to their customers, Parisian department stores were barred from this commercial system. With their very close proximity to the consumer, the Parisian department stores, relying on sales of feminine ready-to-wear garments and at the same time appropriating the symbols of Haute Couture, were in a position to take advantage of the obsolescence deliberately imposed by the most prominent fashion houses. As evidence of its involvement in the business of fashion, the firm also invested in fashion houses. In 1922, Théophile Bader, founder of Aux Galeries Lafayette, became a partner in the newly formed Vionnet & Cie, one of the most important Couture houses in Paris in the 1920s and
Study of this collaboration, which came to a sudden end in 1940 when Madeleine Vionnet's fashion house went into liquidation, is revelatory of the relationship between high fashion and French department stores.


Chandler, Alfred (1962), *Strategy and Structure Chapters in the History of the American Industrial Enterprise*, Cambridge: MIT Press. His chapter 5, pp. 225-282, discusses the history of Sears Roebuck. On page 227, he mentions Otto Doering, the operations manager but the dates given of the construction of the mail order factory are not the same as Drucker’s (1954). On that page, he says orders were 100k/day. New machinery was built to process these orders.


Chaney, A. G. (1912), *Reducing the Cost of Selling for Department Stores, Clothing and General Merchandise Stores*, Johnson Printing and Advertising Co.


Chang, I. F. S. J. Chu and S. T. Liu (1983), “Bar code scanning information entry technology and application,” *Displays*, Vol. 4 (July No. 3), pp. 150-146. The article states that the department store along with the supermarket were the first to use bar code scanning.


Chapman, Stanley (1993), “The Innovating Entrepreneurs in the British Ready-Made Clothing Industry,” *Textile History*, Vol. 24 (Spring No. 1), pp. 5-25. On p.7, he tells about the 1851 Great Exhibition displaying men’s and women’ clothes such as vests, drawers and pantaloons. Then on p. 8, he tells about AT Stewart’s plant in Nottingham making underwear. Specifically “Alexander Turney Stewart, the biggest ‘dry goods’ enterprise in the world in the 1860s and 1870s, has poorly documented business history and it is not clear whether the clothes in his ready-made catalogue of 1867 were made in New York or Manchester, but he certainly had an underwear factory in Nottingham” (p. 8).

Charernbhak, Wichit (1981) Chicago School Architects and Their Critics, Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press. The book is based on the author’s 1978 Ph.D. dissertation. The author provides a short but succinct history of Chicago as well as a discussion of the infamous Chicago fire of 1871 that destroyed 18,000 buildings. Insightful information is provided about how tall buildings are erected, and a short discussion on elevators is provided. Throughout the book, the author discusses two department stores (Marshall Field and the Carson Pirie Scott store) and their architects (Richardson and Sullivan) who designed them, as well as their significance to the world of architecture.


Chatelain, Abdel (1958), Géographie commerciale et sociologique du commerce de détail en France : un exemple caractéristique, l’épicerie (alimentation générale), Revue de Géographie de Lyon, pp. 293-310. The author shows that the 1946 census in France was probably the 1st to enumerate retail establishments as opposed to companies which were the way it was done before. The data underestimated the extent of the retail trade and were later adjusted in the 1955 census.

Chatelain, Abel (1971), « Lutte entre colporteurs et boutiquiers en France pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle, » Revue d’histoire économique et sociale, Vol. 49, No. 3, pp. 359-384. A good review of how small scale peddlers were treated by shopkeepers in France. The 1798 law gave them the right to exercise their trade but the politics of distribution meant that they were discriminated against, harassed, lied to, chased out of town by local shop owners because they were taking business away from them; they spread false information about the quality of their goods, etc. and too often were anti-semitic.

Chatelain, Alain et Marie-Emmanuelle Chessel (2006), « L’histoire de la distribution: un chantier inachevé, » Histoire, économie et société, janvier, No. 1, pp. 67-82. A rather detailed article, mostly on the history of retailing, including the department store, the supermarket, the hypermarket, and mostly from a European perspective. The journal focuses on «histoire économique et sociale du XVIe au XXe siècle. »

Cheasley, Clifford Henry (1930), The Chain Store Movement in Canada, Orilla published by the Packet-Times Press Limited, for the Department of Economics and Political Science, McGill University, Montreal Canada. A rather important 87-page book for it describes the Canadian distribution/retail market rather well for the time (the 1920s). It also shows how marketing was being studied then. On page 72, the author says “Chain development in the department store field is moving rapidly. The T. Eaton Company is the largest in this field and has established a chain of 13 large stores in the larger centers from Halifax to Vancouver. In addition to its larger stores, the company operates a group of 21 smaller units in smaller centers from Montreal to Port Arthur and known as the Teco stores.” The author discusses other aspects of chain store distribution including food, clothing, drugs, and of course, the department store.

Chemetov, Paul and Bernard Marrey (1984), *Architectures à Paris 1848-1914*, second edition, Paris: Dunod. The buildings are presented and discussed on a chronological order. The book is full of illustrations but most of them are small, often with many presented on one page. There is a section on the department store (pp. 51-54). The first edition was published in 1980. Moreover, that first edition was also originally published as a monograph called *Architectures, Paris 1848-1914*, as a result of an Exposition called “Architectures, Paris 1848-1914” held in October 1976 at the Bon Marché. The 1984 edition is the best one to consult.


“Chitchat Upon New York and Philadelphia Fashions for July” (1859), *Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine*, Vol. 59 (July), p. 96. Genin’s Bazaar is discussed. The short article describes “the idea of the Bazaar, a shop, or succession of shops as at Genin’s, where a variety of goods usually distributed the length and breadth of Broadway are arranged under one roof, one government, and can be included in one bill. The Bazaar has now twenty-two distinct departments.” The counters have been organized into departments, with one saloon extended into four.


Clair, Jean ed. (1991), *Les Années 20 L’Âge des Métropoles*, Montréal: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal. A collection of articles on shop fronts, window displays, the influence of advertising and on skyscrapers from the 1900 to 1920s, among other topics discussed in this book of close to 500 pages all written in French.


Clausen, Meredith Leslie (1975), “Frantz Jourdain and the Samaritaine of 1905,” unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley. Chapter 1 of the thesis is “The Department Store—a history of the institution and the building type,” pp. 11-38. The chapter discusses the Bon Marché as a new building type and the discussion can also be found on pp. 183-192. The thesis has a very large number of references on department stores not seen anywhere else. This is probably due to the fact that they are in French. The 82 plates are also quite unique, especially for a dissertation. Unfortunately, the illustrations were not clear when photocopied.


Clausen, Meredith L. (1984), “Department Stores and Zola’s Cathédrale du Commerce,” Source: Notes in the History of Art, (NY) Vol. 3 (Spring No. 3), pp. 18-23. It should be noted that the “Cathedral of Commerce” is a term normally used to refer to the 1913 Woolworth building in New York and not a department store, not even au Bon Marché.


Clausen, Meredith Leslie (1975), “Frantz Jourdain and the Samaritaine of 1905,” unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley. Chapter 1 of the thesis is “The Department Store—a history of the institution and the building type,” pp. 11-38. The chapter discusses the Bon Marché as a new building type and the discussion can also be found on pp. 183-192. The thesis has a very large number of references on department stores not seen anywhere else. This is probably due to the fact that they are in French. The 82 plates are also quite unique, especially for a dissertation. Unfortunately, the illustrations were not clear when photocopied.


Clausen, Meredith L. (1984), “Department Stores and Zola’s Cathédrale du Commerce,” Source: Notes in the History of Art, (NY) Vol. 3 (Spring No. 3), pp. 18-23. It should be noted that the “Cathedral of Commerce” is a term normally used to refer to the 1913 Woolworth building in New York and not a department store, not even au Bon Marché.


Cleary, Richard (1999), Merchant Prince and Master Builder, Seattle: University of Washington Press. The book discusses the relation of Edgar J. Kaufmann, the Pittsburgh department store magnate, with Frank Lloyd Wright, one of the world’s best known architects. The famous Falling water was Kaufmann’s private residence designed by Wright. The book is short on text (pp. 17-35) but is still interesting in that it describes the influence of Wright in the interior design of the department store and how Kaufmann himself was influenced by Wright in his selection of store displays (see pp. 20 and 23). See also Hoffmann (1978) for more information on Wright’s famous office for Kaufmann, which now forms the Victoria and Albert Museum’s Frank Lloyd Wright
room. Also, a number of solid discussion points are presented on the link between art and the department store.


Coets, J. (1944), La structure fonctionnelle des grands magasins, Brussels.

Coffin, Judith (1994), “Credit, Consumption, and Images of Women’s Desires: Selling the Sewing Machine in Late Nineteenth-Century France,” French Historical Studies, Vol. 18 (Spring No. 3), pp. 749-783. This long article discusses the impact the sewing machine had on the economic lives of the French women in the late 19th century. She discusses how the French woman was seduced by advertising and the credit being offered by Dufayel to buy this new technological product. The department store played a role but it is not the article's main theme. This article and the one below need to be read together. We learn that Georges Dufayel was also in advertising with his own agency, he did marketing research, data collection and marketing research, and had his own trade publication called L’Affichage national. She states that by 1907, 3 of every 7 working-class families in Paris were doing business with Dufayel. We know that Paris had a population over 2 million then, so we can only assume that Dufayel had a very large number of customers.

Coffin, Judith (1996), "Production, Consumption, and Gender: The Sewing Machine in Nineteenth-Century France," in Laura Frader and Sonya Rose eds. Gender and Class in Modern Europe, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp. 111-141. She states that between 1860 and 1872, 54,000 sewing machines were sold in Paris alone the bulk to families and individuals, not industrialists. We do not know the proportion sold in department stores. We do know that most were sold on credit given the low wages, thus the rise in importance of the credit service offered by Georges Dufayel. She reports that Dufayel waived the down payment and required no payment for the first month. She also argues that Dufayel’s credit practice was a rental and not a purchase, given that if the buyer could not pay, the machine was taken back and no money was reimbursed to the consumer. Her rental vs. purchase argument needs further research. She discusses Georges Dufayel’s grands magasins and claims that Dufayel was the first grands magasins to sell on credit, while all the others accepted
cash only (i.e. Bon Marché, Magasins du Louvre). The article is also interesting in that a trade publication, called La Publicité Moderne, is discussed (pp. 128-129). This French trade publication, which began in the 1880s until the 1920s (I think), has many articles on the techniques and psychology of advertising. The author also mentions le Musée de la Publicité but its location is not specified.


Cohen, Daniel (1982), The Last Hundred Years: Household Technology, NY: M. Evans and Company. Chapter 8 "The Great Mail-Order Merchants," pp. 125-137. The article is more about mail order houses then department stores; the author briefly discusses JC Penney, Sears and others.


Cohen, Nancy Elizabeth (1998), Doing A Good Business 100 Years at the Bon-Ton Stores, Lyme, CT: Greenwich Publishing Group. A history of The Bon-Ton on the occasion of its centennial in 1998. Among the numerous family-owned department stores that opened in Pennsylvania at the dawn of the 20th century, it alone has survived as an independent company.

Cohen, Nancy E. (2002), America’s Marketplace The History of Shopping Centers, Lyme, CT: Greenwich Publishing Group. The book is copyrighted by the International Council of Shopping Centers (ICSC) and is lavishly illustrated. The book’s format is rather unusual but its 160 pages are well worth reading. While most of the discussion dwells on US shopping centers, others from Canada, UK, Asia etc. are also presented. The discussion seems to support my hypothesis that the department store was a powerful force, at least initially in the establishment of shopping centers. Thus, without the support of the department store, the shopping center industry might not be where it is today.


Colen, David (1976), “The Store that Made California Fashionable,” *Town and Country*, Vol. 129 (August), pp. 48-57, 98, 100. This article is short on text but has many pictures. It’s about Isaac and Mary Ann Magnin who came from England in the US in the 1870s, and founded the I. Magnin stores in SF. I. Magnin satellite stores were opened in resort hotels such as in Carmel, Palm Springs, Coronado, LA, “wherever the wealthy congregated”.


Coles, Tim (1998), "Department Stores as Innovations in Retail Marketing: Some Observations on Marketing Practice and Perception in Wilhelmine, Germany," *Journal of Macromarketing*, Vol. 19 (June), pp. 34-38. Some very unique and interesting ideas about the nature and evolution of the department store are presented. The article, however, is far too focused on Germany. It reflects a European-focused noted by other researchers in this filed (i.e. Miller 1981, Perkins and Freedman 1999). Over 60% of the references are in German, making rather impossible for a non German-speaking researcher to study them. The author decided not to discuss similar department store issues that were happening elsewhere; after all the department store retail innovation was not happening just in Germany but in other countries as well. For e.g. his discussion of the Magazin (i.e. large scale monster shops stores), Kaufhaus (i.e. large scale specialty stores), the arcade and even his long and sometimes uneven discussion of the Mittelstand (it’s discussed here and there in the paper) were not unique to the German retail landscape but were also very real in the USA, France, UK, and other countries. I don’t want to be petty but many other points presented are not accurate in my humble opinion. This is especially the case when Coles repeats all too often that the department store was not innovative but merely applied already known business principles. That point is simply not true. His time frame too often gets mixed up when discussing certain points. He discusses that steel frame was used to build a 1871 German store; yet such a material was quite new, used at the 1876 Philadelphia Fair as a new building material; but it was not used at the 1889 Paris one due to its high cost and availability. More likely it was cast iron that was used. He talks about German department stores using mass advertising with no supportive argument. Wanamaker, Field, and many others did it in the USA after the 1870s, and I would need to be convinced that German stores used it before US ones. If not, then we will have to conclude that it was use much later by German stores. The same argument can be said about white sales and loss leaders. According to Coles, it was used by German department stores, but when? Department stores and other stores were using sales throughout the 19th c. This point may show that German retailers were behind vs. other European retailers. Taylorism did not emerge in Europe until the early part of the 20th c. Yet Coles argues that German department stores were using Taylorism principles in the 19th c. I would also argue that organizational issues of a
department store were a major management problem, a problem that was never really solved, even after many studies done by USA authors from the 1920s until the late 1960s. In fact, he seems to say that chain store management was easy or no problem for German department stores in the 19th c. Really? The USA department store industry grappled with this very question for almost 50 years and was one of the causes of the industry’s demise. He says that department stores sold cheap mass produced goods thus had an image problem. What about imports from French, USA, and other countries or even fashion goods? He says that cash sales were the hallmark of a department store. Yet Marshall Field, Macy’s and even Bon Marché and others (Crépin vouchers) welcomed credit purchases. He makes the error that German department stores were the first to have chain stores. That is not so; we can think of Stewart, Wanamaker, in department stores and in other retail areas such as food/grocery (Potin in France).


Collins, Diane (1993), “Primitive or Not? Fixed-Shop Retailing Before the Industrial Revolution,” Journal of Regional and Local Studies, Vol. 13 (Summer No. 1), pp. 23-38. This article discusses retailing in the 18th c England. She used towns of Wolverhampton and Shrewsbury to show that shops then were not that primitive, as historian had suggested. It’s based in part on her 1991 PhD dissertation.

Colwell, Peter and Maxwell Ramsland Jr. (2002), “Coping with Technological Change: The Case of Retail,” Journal of Real Estate Finance and Economics, Vol. 26 (1). “Functional obsolescence in real estate occurs because of technological change. A theoretical model suggests that the early years of building life are characterized by functional obsolescence that is undiminished by reinvestment. A national, proprietary data set consisting of department store sales is utilized to test these propositions.”

Comeau, Michelle (1995), « Les grands magasins de la rue Sainte-Catherine à Montréal: des lieux de modernisation, d'homogénéisation et de différenciation des modes de consommation », Material History Review—Revue d'histoire de la culture matérielle, Vol. 41 (Spring), pp. 58-68. The author analyzes the influence exerted by three of these temples of the retail trade: Eaton, Morgan and Dupuis Frères stores. These three grew significantly, and more or less simultaneously, beginning in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The author studies the 1920s to 1960s, when the presence of these three stores was markedly asserted. She makes many errors about the department store, its origin, use of various technologies, etc. But she provided useful information whith her content analysis of newspapers in both languages in 1927, 1938, 1944 and 1959. She focuses more on Dupuis frères than on the other 2 stores: why?


Converse, Paul and Harvey Huey (1942) *The Elements of Marketing*, second revised edition, NY: Prentice-Hall. Chapter 17 (pp. 335-347) is on the department store. On page 335, the authors say, “In a broad sense, any store with a departmental organization is a department store. Under this definition, many specialty stores and wholesale houses would be department stores. Popular usage, however, limits the term to a retail store handling shopping goods and catering to women. Some merchants seem to feel that the word “department” cheapens the store or denotes that it is a
store for the masses. Thus stores that catered to the upper income groups insisted that they operated “specialty” and not department stores. Some feel that, if a store does not handle furniture, it is not a department store. The discussion in this chapter, however, will include all large (integrated) retail stores handling shopping goods.”

Converse, Paul (1959), *Fifty Years of Marketing in Retrospect*, Studies in Marketing No. 5, Austin, TX: Bureau of Business Research, The University of Texas. He has almost nothing on the department store. On page 38, he says that in 1928, a typical food store handled 867 items; in 1950, it was 3,750, and in 1957 it was 5,144 items.


Copeland, Peter (1967), “The Revolution in Interior Store Design,” in Ronald Gist ed. *Management Perspectives in Retailing*, NY: John Wiley, pp.152-156. The author discusses an in store revolution, whereby merchandise is now presented in groupings, such that merchandise are grouped according to the way shoppers buy them, i.e. ‘shops’ within the store (store design is coordinated). Is that a department store innovation?


pneumatic tube. Much of his discussion on NCR and John Patterson is from Marcosson (1945) and his footnote 30 on the Heintz Cash Register Company is rather amusing (p. 303). Marshall Field is discussed (pp. 50, 53), and World’s Fairs (pp. 49, 213).

Cory, Shana (2006), *Milly and the Macy’s Parade*, NY: Scholastic. Notes on the history of the Parade are included in this fictional novel (I think?).


Covert, James (2003), “J.C. Penney recovery may need surgery,” *National Post*, October 2, p. IN3. An article discussing the current problems facing Penney’s management with their poor performing Eckerd drugstore chain of 2,700 stores. It seems Penney has revamped its distribution supply chain, its visual merchandising, and it will try to do the same with its drugstores.


Couture, Charles (1904), *Des différentes combinaisons de ventes à crédit*, Paris. Dufayel’s credit methods are discussed.


Cox, Nancy (2000), *The Complete Tradesman: A Study of Retailing, 1550-1820*, Aldershot, England: Ashgate. The book was reviewed by Beverly Lemire (2001), *Business History*, Vol. 43 (October No. 4), pp. 119-120. The book discusses the changing retailing scene up to the beginning era of the department store. The small shops were innovative with their design, their allure of window displays, and their interior furnishings, which all contributed to the modernization of retailing. The book is an important contribution toward our understanding of the department store era, given that the department store displaced many such small shops. Such stores were the precursor of the department store, even though they continued to co-exist, even during the golden age of the department store. They still thrive today, as if the ‘wheel of retailing” was at work, with boutique shops as popular as ever. It remains to be seen to what extent the innovations of such stores were imitated by the department store later on the 19th c.


Cranston, Mary Rankin (1906), “The Girl Behind the Counter,” The World Today, Vol. 10 (March No. 3), pp. 270-274. The article was not found due to the unavailability of this magazine.

Crapsey, Edward (1870), “A Monument of Trade,” The Galaxy Vol. 9 (January No. 1), pp. 94-101. The article discusses the A.T. Stewart department store. According to Abelson (1989, p. 241), “Crapsey’s impression of Stewart is to some extent at odds with the enthusiasm of other observers. Crapsey however is usually cited as the authority. He says that on rare days 50k shopped there and the 6 elevators were steam-powered.


Crawford, Hanford (1909), “Ethics of a Big Store,” Independent, Vol. 67 (August 12), pp. 358-360. He was the general manager of Scruggs, Vandervoot and Barney, a St Louis department store. He gave this address at the National Methodist Federation for Social Service. He tells of the contributions made by the department store.


Crissey, Forrest (1915), Since Forty Years Ago: An Account of the Origin and Growth of Chicago and Its First Department Store, Chicago: The Fair. The book was privately published. This reference is taken from Twyman (1954), Siry (1988), and Harris (1987). The Fair according to Harris, “penetrates American consciousness as the site of our most famous fictional excursion into shopping. Carrie Meeber’s initiation into the world of high consumption in Theodore Dreiser’s Sister Carrie, first published in 1900,” p. 154).


Cummings, Edward (1897), “Co-Operative Stores in the United States,” Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. 11 (April No. 3), pp. 266-279. The author discusses the coop store movement in the US. The first stores appeared in New England between 1847 and 1859 and by 1896, New England membership totaled about 19,000. British coop societies had membership of close to 1.5 million members in 1895. The 1895 organization of the Cooperative Union of America’s first president was Robert E. Ely. A magazine, American Cooperative News, was founded in 1896. The Bulletin of the Department of Labor has historical data on the coop store movement in the US.


Curtid, E. (1933), Des maisons français d’alimentation à succursales multiples, Dijon.


Dalrymple, Douglas (1964), Measuring Merchandising Performance in Department Stores, NY: Retail Research Institute, National Retail Merchants Association, 85 pages.


Daly, John (1991), “The end of an era, Simpsons falls victim to hard times” Maclean's, Vol. 104 (June 17), p. 44.


Dan, Horace and E. C. Morgan Wilmont (1907), English Shop Fronts Old and New a series of examples by leading architects, London: B. T. Batsford. A rather uneven and boring book with the plates not well coordinated with the textual material. The text itself is light on substance.

Daniels, Alfred (1960), “The Challenge to Department Stores,” 32nd Annual Boston Conference on Distribution, Boston, pp. 77-80. The author was President of Burdine’s of Miami, Fl. He discusses some of the issues confronting the department store.


Daugan, J. (1902), Histoire et législation des patentes des grands magasins, France: Université de Rennes. This is the author’s 1902 “thèse de droit” (law thesis) from the Université de Rennes. This 213 page thesis is listed in the Ministère de L’éducation Catalogue de thèses (1964), Vol. 4, Kraus Reprint Ltd., 18th fascicule année scolaire 1901-1902, No 497.

Daumard, Adeline (1970), Les Bourgeois de Paris au XIXe siècle, Paris : Flammarion. The book is the author’s thesis submitted in 1963 to the Centre de Recherches Historiques (École Pratiques des Hautes Études, VIe section) under the title of «La Bourgeoisie parisienne de 1815 à 1848». Two points worth mentioning in the book. First, the author discusses women’s rights on pp. 185-189. We can that a woman had very limited rights as to what she owned or could sell, etc. We can infer that she may not have had much freedom to spend as she wished without the husband’s approval. Second, in the chapter “Boutiquiers et Négociants,” pp. 227-255, the author briefly discusses the department store (grand magasin) and some of the marketing practices used back then. On page 232, we see that Paris was specializing in the production of luxury goods related to
textiles, etc. We can infer that such goods were also sold in Parisian stores, which limited the availability of less expensive goods to consumers. Mass produced goods (i.e. lower-priced) was not as available in Paris as in US stores. A final point is that the book has no references and no index, which is rather strange for a thesis.

D’Aunay, Alfred (1880), Le Louvre, Le Grand Hôtel et les Grands Magasins, Paris: Imprimerie Tolmer. This reference is cited as such in Marrey (1979). He says on page 89 that the editor most likely was Chauchard, given the high quality of the book. This reference is again cited in Tétart-Vittu (1992).

Daughters, Charles (1937), Wells of Discontent A Study of the Economic, Social and Political Aspects of the Chain Store, NY: Newson and Company. The book was published by the author and distributed by Newson. It is a 300-page book on the evils of the chain store, as perceived by the author. The author, a politician, seems to believe that a retailer needs to be attached to his local community and that the chain store has no soul. He accuses the chain store of massive propaganda in order to be more accepted by the public. He is against vertical integration by a retailer, against the formation of buying groups, treated a trade group representing its members as a form of propaganda machine, and he believed that the chain store is less efficient than other forms of retail. He truly believed that the chain store was acting in a manner to monopolize/cornor the market, thus be able to raise prices at will later on. However laudable his intentions were, it is rather startling that in the 1930s, a Washington politician would have such views about capitalism, free enterprise, and large-scale distribution. He praised Hitler for his anti chain store views (i.e. department store) with German legislation to curb them. Surprisingly, the book has an introduction by Wright Patman, who was a member of Congressional Committee of Investigation of Trade Practices of Big-Scale Buying and Selling.


D'Avenel, Georges (1894), “The Beginnings of French Emporiums,” Review of Reviews, Vol. 10 (September), page 317. This one page English summary of D'Avenel's (1894) article published in La Revue des Deux Mondes. It seems les grands magasins was translated as "emporiums," an expression used by other British authors such as Saint (1982).

D'Avenel, Georges (1896), Le Mécanisme de la Vie Moderne, Paris: Librarie Armand Colin, five volumes and some volumes have six editions (i.e. volume 1). The year of 1896 needs explanation. D’Avenel wrote a series from July 15, 1894 to August 1, 1905 (28 articles) published in La Revue des Deux Mondes. These were subsequently published in his five-volume collection called Le mécanisme de la vie moderne. I am assuming that the first volume was published in 1896. One volume was published in 1902. The five-volume set has a total of 23 chapters with each volume having a number of chapters. Volume 1: chapters 1 to 5; volume 2: chapters 6 to 10; volume 3: chapters 11 to 14; volume 4, chapters 15 to 18; volume 5: chapters 19 to 23. Volume 2, with headings such as paper, lighting, silk, navigation, insurance, (i.e. series 2), has five editions and the latest edition was published in 1917. Each volume of the five-volume set (or série) has a different year in which it was originally published and each also has a different year when it was revised. Thus, it is quite difficult to know what was added or deleted in each of the revised editions for the five-volume set, unless one has access to the five volumes and their various editions. The expression used for volume in French is série, not to be confused with édition, with has the same meaning in English. Georges D’Avenel was a great moralist of the 19th c. who had strong reactions against modern life (department stores, mass produced goods, etc.) and their negative effect on people. He was also a vicomte, the title is often included with his name, le
Vicomte G. D’Avenel, which may be confusing when searching for his works. As a member of the bourgeois class, he expressed much concern about the world that was changing very quickly. He also traveled to the United States (New York for sure). One may say he was the equivalent of a French Mark Twain because his books reflect some personal observations during his travels and his way of looking at the way things used to be in France. He also wrote numerous other books notably Histoire économique de la propriété, des salaires, des denrées et de tous les prix en général, depuis l’an 1200 jusqu’à l’an 1800, in five volumes. The following references are chapters deemed to be the most important ones for studying the department store and related topics.


Daves, Jessica (1967), Ready-Made Miracle the American Story of Fashion for the Millions, NY: G. P. Putnam’s Sons. The book has a chapter on the history of the sewing machine and a discussion on the pattern industry as well. It also has a good discussion on the history of women’s magazines, which helped promote fashion trends.


David, Anthony (2003) The Patron A Life of Salman Schocken, 1877-1959, NY: Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt and Company. The fascinating life of one of the most important dept store gurus in Germany prior to WW2. David provides an in depth analysis not found anywhere else as to why Jewish-owned German dept stores were targeted by the Nazis. Schocken was stunned as to what happened to his business even when Hitler and his chief economic minister were not in favor of such attacks, at least initially because they provides jobs and income for thousands of families. The ref list is mostly German and archival material with little, if any refs on the dept store per se. Yet the index contains many pages on the dept store.
David, Donald K (1923), “Retail Merchandising in Relation to General Business Conditions,” Harvard Business Review, Vol. 2 (October No. 1), pp. 37-42. A plea for retail business to adjust to market conditions. The last page is intriguing for it says that Macy’s established a statistical department to guide for buying. Filene’s has given it some thought too. Moreover, Retail Research Association will soon organize a statistical department to serve its members with needed information.


Davidson, William, Linda Hyde and Daniel Sweeney (1985), Resilience of Conventional Department Stores: A Marketing Assessment, Retail Intelligence System Retail Focus Series (March), Columbus, Ohio: Management Horizons, Inc. (69 pages).


Davis, Donald (1955), Basic Text in Advertising, Pleasantville, NY: Printers’ Ink Books. Chapter 2 "How Modern Advertising Developed," pp. 10-41. The chapter is on the history of advertising. The figure on page 11 of a Pompeian billboard is quite unique. The figure is from the Association of National Advertisers (1952), Essential of Outdoor Advertising. The chapter resembles too much the chapter written by Dunn (1961, 1969, 1978). Yet Dunn did not credit Davis. Is it plagiarism? Davis also says Printers’ Ink was founded in 1888. He presents a case on p. 16 when in 1743, Peter Zenger’s New York Journal is the first example of an ad breaking the column rules, i.e. more than one column in width. This ad was the exception and did not become common until at least 100 years later. He mentions the voluntary censorship of advertising by Samuel Bowles in 1870 banning all medical ads from his Springfield, Mass Republican. He attributes A. T. Stewart and Wanamaker as the pioneers who gave way to the truth in advertising movement. “The influence of these two merchants on the future of American retailing was very great” (p. 23). The only problem is that it cannot be in 1880, as Davis claims, because Stewart was barely still in business then. So it had to be before. He says that the Atlantic Monthly was in 1860 one of the first to accept national ads.
Munsey's Magazine a ten cent had a circulation of 700k in 1900. Many others, such as Ladies Home Journal, had a circulation of over 100k. TV appeared after WW2 and by 1954 66% of homes could be reached.

Davis, Dorothy (1966), A History of Shopping, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. The book was published in Canada in the same year as Fairs, Shops, and Supermarkets A History of English Shopping, Toronto: University of Toronto Press. The title can thus cause some confusion. The history of retailing over the last six centuries (last millennium), including the department store. Moreover, the supermarket is not discussed at all in the book, given that this retail institution began in the early 1930s (even earlier) and its part of the title in the Canadian edition. Food distribution is discussed on pp. 252-254, and 262-263.

Davis, Hartley (1907), "The Department Store at Close Range," Everybody's Magazine, Vol. 17 (September No. 3), pp. 312-323. The article has nice illustrations and the author discusses the department store as he saw it. He has neat points about the New York Wanamaker store, which has a concert hall where some of the greatest masters perform, all free to the public.


Dawley, Heidi (1996), “Big Sale at Harrods?,” Business Week, June 24, pp. 58. The article discusses the store (18 restaurants, 25 acres, Food Hall), as well as a potential IPO by its owner Mohamed Al Fayed.


Dean, David (1970), English Shop Fronts From Contemporary Sources Books 1792-1840, London: Alec Tiranti Ltd. The book has a seven-page introduction by David Dean and the rest of the book is a collection of plates. The plates come from various books published by I. and J. Taylor (1792) Designs for Shop Fronts, J. Young (1828) A series of Designs for Shop Fronts, J. Faulkner (1831) Designs for Shop Fronts, T. King (nd), Shop Fronts and Exterior Doors, and Nathaniel Whittock (1840), On the Construction and Decoration of the Shop Fronts of London. The most interesting ones are those of N. Whittick with his collection 18 plates, while the others are pencil sketches. Whittock’s shop fronts “are brought to life with goods in the windows and
shoppers to gaze at them.” According to Dean, the term shop window appeared in the OED from 1447. Dean says that permanent shops “were normally dwelling places where the trader lived ‘over’ or ‘behind’ the shop. Dean says fixed prices were introduced at the end of the 17th c. The arrival of glass allowed for display. Then came shop signs protruding outward on the street were gaudy–looking, dripped in the rain, and chimed in the wind. These were eventually banned in 1762. The London Building Act of 1774 introduced restrictions on shop front designs. Flat signs then became the norm. Shops were opened until 10 pm in the late 18th c. Plate glass technology could now produce sheets of any dimension, and gave Young’s shop designs, a shop trend that reflected shops of our own age. Nevertheless, designers still preferred the 2’ 3 inch ones and the large plate glass were the exception rather than the rule as discussed by Eldridge (1958). The use of glass was restricted due to import duties. It was only in 1845 that the duty on glass was repealed. Even then, the largest size of plate glass was 8 ft x 14ft, the norm being 7/8 ft x ¾ ft. We can now appreciate the extent to which A. T. Stewart’s huge plate glass was innovative. The book seems to have had a US edition under the same name with no Preface by Dean. (English Shop Fronts from Contemporary Source Books 1792-1840 (1970), Levittown, NY: Transatlantic Arts). This book is a collection of shop fronts from other sources. Some of the pictures are outstanding. The book is a collection of illustrations with no author. Some of illustrations are spectacular given the dates. They show how retail merchants in the 18th c. used their street level store displays to bring customers into the stores. Some of the store fronts had very large plate glass windows, which forces us to think as to when such plate glass was developed, by whom and where they were first used.

Dean, Jennifer Brooks (1972), Careers in a Department Store, rev ed. Minneapolis, Lerner Publications.


DeJean, Joan (2005), Essence of Style: How the French Invented High Fashion, Fine Food, Chic café, Style, Sophistication, and Glamour, NY: Free Press. The author discusses the mirror industry in the 17th c. and how it was taken over by France from Venice. She also alludes to the fact that Paris was the 1st city to have street lights after dark, that's why it’s called "City of Lights," but when? She also says that display of goods in stores was created by the French where stores had luxurious interiors but when? Is she referring to ‘magasins de nouveauté’?

Demolins, Edmond (1890), *La question des grands magasins*, Paris: Firmin Didot. According to du Maroussem (1893), this is a brochure.

Demolins, Edmond (1890), "La question des grands magasins," *La Science sociale*, Vol. 9, pp. 289-319. This reference was very hard to obtain given that only one library in all of NA had this volume. Moreover, the page number of this article when cited is never correct. It's a political essay on the role of the department stores in Parisian life and their effect on small shopkeepers.


"Department Store, The" (1897), *Department Store Journal*, II (August), pp. 368-369.


*Department Store Guide* (1956), *Directory of Department Stores*, NY: Department Store Guide Inc. Reference from the American Marketing Association. The directory may have been updated for a number of years.

“Department Store Loom Large in Attack on National Advertising” (1917), *Printers’ Ink*, Vol. 98 (January 11), pp. 62, 65, 66. An article discussing national vs. local advertising in relation to the sale of national brands at fixed price vs. the sale of private brands by department stores, a highly contentious issue then. It is also a question of resale price maintenance by manufacturers and the margins obtained.

“Department Store Mergers” (1928), *Journal of Retailing*, March 17. Reprinted in Daniel Bloomfield ed. (1931), *Trends in Retail Distribution Including a Brief on Chain Stores*, The Handbook Series Volume 3, NY: The H. W. Wilson, pp. 441-445. The article says that the Retail Research Association is one of the largest and oldest group buying organizations in the country (p. 443). Also Macy’s had just one store in 1923 but 3 by 1927. On page 257, Piggly Wiggly had 2,800 stores in 1929, Sears had 30 stores in 1928, JC Penny had 1,000 stores in 1926 (see p. 229). A&P had 15,000 to 20,000 stores (p. 223).
Department Store Sales (1979), Fairchild Fact File NY: Fairchild Publications, Market Research Division. Fairchild published a number of books on retailing and the department store and was the publisher of WWD (Women’s Wear Daily), among a number of other trade publications.


Department Store Retailing in an Era of Change (nd), Domestic and International Business Administration, Washington, DC: US Department of Commerce. The book may have been published in the 1970s.

“Department Stores and Installment Selling (1926), Barron’s Weekly, May 3, 6:11.

“Department Stores step up Web service efforts” (2001), Marketing Week, October 11, page 15. John Lewis, a British department store, opens up a web site.


Deslandes, A. P. (1972), Historique du Grand Bazar d’Anvers (1885-1968), Anvers: Imprimeries générales anversoises. The history of a department store founded prior to 1885, and by then had 15 depts. It converted itself into a food chain, was known as Grands Bazars Réunis Anvers-Gand, then the name was changed to Galeries du Bon Marché in 1933, and again to Grand Bazar d’Anvers/Grote bazar van Antwerpen.


Dewinne, Auguste (1897), Les grands magasins, Bruxelles: Imprimerie Veuve D. Brismé.


Didier, Roger (1928), Du vol des grands magasins, Paris. This is the author's 126 page thesis from the law faculty of Dijon Université as listed in the Ministère de L'éducation Catalogue de thèses (1964), Kraus Reprint Ltd., Vol. 28 No. 5, 45th fascicule année scolaire 1928.


“Direct Selling by Department Stores” (1931), Journal of Retailing, Vol. 7 (July), pp. 40-44. The article discusses the extent of direct selling by department store, its advantages with a short discussion on telephone selling. The article is part of the Buying and Merchandising Division of the Journal, with no author cited.


Dixon, Jennifer (1998), “Remembering Hudson’s,” Michigan History Magazine, Vol. 82 (No. 5), pp. 21-24. The store was constructed in 1911 and it was expanded until 1946. It was destroyed in 1998. It was a large urban store but situated in part of downtown Detroit that changed radically over time.


Doessereck, William (1929), “Kitchen Equipment for Department Stores,” The Architectural Forum, Vol. 50 (June No. 6), pp. 945-947. Department stores were manned by thousands of people and every day thousands of customers frequented such establishments. Specialized kitchen equipment was needed to feed them.


Domosh, Mona (1996), "The feminized retail landscape: gender ideology and consumer culture in nineteenth–century New York City," in Neil Wrigley and Michelle Lowe eds. Retailing, Consumption and Capital: Towards the New Retail Geography, London: Longman Group. Chapter 14, pp. 257-270. The article discusses at length A. T Stewart and his Marble Palace, complete with illustrations. One illustration is rather spectacular. It shows the interior of Stewart’s store on Broadway at 10th Street, with 6 stories. This was the 1862 Iron Palace, not the Marble Palace built near 263 Broadway, between Chambers and Reade Streets.

Domosh, Mona (1996), Invented Cities The Creation of Landscape in Nineteenth-Century New York and Boston, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Domash is a geographical historian. She explains the 19th c. economic and social developments of NYC and Boston, and shows why NYC grew faster, and became more diversified to the point that it became the heart of economic activity of the US. NYC’s culture was business while Boston was more culture and preservation of the existing elites. NYC was in constant state of rejuvenation due to the constant flow of new immigrants while Boston was more subdued, the old guard kept growth in check. NYC forced the elites to reside elsewhere (i.e. forced them to move) to escape the commercial activity of the growing and noisy city, while in Boston, the elite put on the brakes and slowed growth by their reluctance to abandon their residential areas to make way for more commercial development. Chapter 2 is on the retail district of New York in the 19th c. and has much information on A. T. Stewart. I suspect there’s some overlap with her article above, if only due to the illustrations presented in both texts.

Donovan, Frances R. (1929), The Saleslady, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. Reprinted in 1974. A book on retail sales clerk, notably in NYC department stores. This book is a participant observation study by a sociologist who worked in a number of department stores for a brief period of time (4 weeks). She reports her findings in an honest and sometimes very entertaining way. She discusses the use of cash registers in department stores on pp. 60-70, and the ‘premium’ paid to the worker who corrected them. Her difficulty in using cash registers is a must to read. One quote is worth repeating “If anyone working under me had made as many mistakes as I did, I should have discouraged her on the spot. It happens that I hold a college degree but girls with one-fourth of my intelligence and one-tenth of my education, who had graduated from the eighth grade and whose language showed little, if any, acquaintance with grammar, made one mistake to my ten (p. 64).” She also shares with the reader her appreciation
of the work done by the sales clerks who worked in such stores. She developed genuine feelings for many of her co-workers. The book also has a number of articles from the NYT on retailing.

Doody, Alton (1963), "Historical Patterns of Marketing Innovations", in W. Decker ed. Emerging Concepts in Marketing, Chicago: American Marketing Association, pp. 245-253. The author discusses why historical analysis presents an opportunity of gaining insight into the marketing innovation process innovation. He then uses the department store and the discount store as examples.

Door, Rheta Childe (1910), What 8,000,000 Women Want, NY. The book mentions the link between prostitution and the department store (see p. 196).


Doubman, J. Russell and John Whitaker (1927), The Organization and the Operation of Department Stores, NY: Wiley. Chapter 1 “History and Development of Department Stores, pp. 1-21. The book also has 5 chapters (out 14 or over 100 pages in a 300 page book) on the physical control of merchandise (i.e. operations of a department store). The logistics involved in receiving and delivering merchandise to customers is one of the unique features of the book. It also has neat historical facts not seen elsewhere about delivery systems used by le Bon Marché and Harrod’s. The book has many examples of Wanamaker’s ads, plus a solid description of his 1911 store on pp. 155-156. Chapter 14 is on the future of the department store. Overall, this book covers just about every minute aspect of department store operations The reference sources provided are incomplete and few.


Doucet, Michael J. (2001) The Department Store Shuffle: Rationalization and Changes to the Greater Toronto Area, Research Report 2001-05, Toronto, Ont. Centre for the Study of Commercial Activity, Ryerson Polytechnic University. Since the later years of the nineteenth century, department stores have stood at the pinnacle of the hierarchy of shopping opportunities available to European and North American consumers. Little is known about their locational evolution. It is one important purpose of this report to examine that phenomenon for the Greater Toronto Area. CSCA has published numerous research reports on retailing, including shopping malls, international retailing, e-retail, with some studies on retail development of the GTA. Some reports are available only to members such as RBC, Hallmark Cards, Chapters, Bank of Nova Scotia, Canadian Tire, Gap, HBC, Manulife, among others.


“Downtown vs. Branch Operation” (1958), New York Retailer, April p.9. During 1957 Philadelphia’s five large downtown department stores lost about $9.6 million in sales as compared to 1956 but gained $17.5 m. in their branches.


Drew-Bear, Robert (1970), Mass Merchandising: Revolution and Evolution, NY: Fairchild Publications. This book is a combination of retailing news of importance to those looking for the names of department stores and discounts places that have since disappeared. The author has primary research by his interviews with some of the pioneer discounters who revolutionized mass retailing after WW2. The book also has other information of interest to retailing historians. The author emphasizes the soft goods discounters as well as others and their impact on mass retailing. Much information on department stores turned discount stores is presented. The author has a complete chapter on leased departments (chapter 8, pp. 272-343). From pages 117 to 148, the author discusses Eugene Ferkauf, the founder of E. J. Korvette. Ferkauf was one of the mass merchandising pioneers after WW2 who revolutionized retailing and perhaps was the one responsible for creating or at least expanding the discount store industry. Harvard University in fact honored Ferkauf for his pioneering and innovative work. Apart from the book by Barmash (1981), this is perhaps the most extensive discussion on Ferkauf and Korvette.


Drucker, Peter (1954), “The Sears Story,” in The Practice of Management, NY: Harper and Row, Chapter 4, pp. 27-33. An updated chapter is reproduced as “Managing a Business: The Sears Story,” in Drucker’s (1974) Management Tasks Responsibilities Practices, NY: Harper and Row, pp. 50-57. Drucker (1974) also discusses Marks and Spencer (Chapter 8, pp. 95-102). He discusses Sears going from a selling organization to a buying, as one stage in its development. Then Sears went into a manufacturing base later on. He did not know that Stewart had done that over 70 years before. Drucker gives credit to Sears for ‘satisfaction guaranteed or your money back,” which is false. According to Drucker, “there is a persistent legend at Sears that Henry Ford, before he built his own first plant, visited and carefully studied the then brand-new Sears mail order plant” (p. 30). Ford built his own mass production line 5 years later. The mail order plant was “the first modern mass production plant, complete with breakdown of all work into simple repetitive operations, assembly line, conveyor belt, standardized, interchangeable parts—and, above all, with planned plant-wide scheduling” (pp. 29-30). Finding information on
OC Doering, the plant/operations manager who supervised the installation of the mail-order processing system proved to be futile. It seems all the recognition went to Julius Rosenwald.


Duclos, Léon (1902), *Des transformations du commerce de détail en France au XIXe siècle*, Paris: L. Boyer. This is the author’s doctoral dissertation from the Université of Paris, faculté de droit. The 160-page document discusses the changing retail landscape from small retailers to department stores and coops. The lack of retail coops in France compared to England gave him the opportunity to discuss them. He repeatedly says that department stores buy direct thus saving margin normally going to the middlemen, which explains why department stores sell at a lower price. If retail coops were established in France the same thing would happen. Of course, he’s forgetting the marketing functions need to be accomplished in the channel and the department store cannot do all the marketing work. His bread example repeated often shows how little he knew about the marketing process. The research topic on department stores and French retailing is similar to other French doctoral dissertations such as Garrigues (1898), Saint-Martin (1900), Daugan (1902), Lainé (1911) and Cassé (1935).

du Closel, Jacques (1989), *Les grands magasins français, cent ans après*, Paris: Institut du commerce et de la consommation (ICC), Chotard et Associés éditeurs. This book repeats that Boucicaut invented the dept store. However its main focus is on what’s been happening with the dept store and in retailing, in France after the 1970s.
du Closel, Jacques (1993), “D’une révolution commerciale à une autre les grands magasins” Culture technique, No. 27 (July), pp. 51-57. This article is a section reprinted from the author’s book published in 1989. It has a spectacular illustration of the grand hall of the Crespin-Dufayel credit store. However, the article discusses the department store from 1975 and beyond.

Duhamel, Roger (196?), Dupuis Frères, Limitée, Montréal, Une Grande Aventure Commerciale.

Duis, Perry (1976), Chicago Creating New Traditions, Chicago: Chicago Historical Society. The book focuses on buildings in Chicago. It has a chapter on department stores/merchandising (pp. 101-117 with some neat illustrations). The text is also useful and the author has a discussion on the 1893 Colombian Exposition held in Chicago.

du Maroussem, Pierre (1893), "Les grands magasins tels qu'ils sont," Revue d'économie politique, Vol. 7 (November), pp. 922-962. This long article discusses the state of the department store as it existed in the early 1890s where large numbers of small retailers were against them. The article goes into detail about the Bon Marché credit, cash payment, etc. In particular, it analyses the management practices of the Bon Marché.


Duncan, Delbert (1965), "Responses of Selected Retail Institutions to their Changing Environment", in Peter Bennett ed. Marketing and Economic Development, Chicago: American Marketing Association, pp. 583-602. The department store is discussed from pp. 592-596. He has a number of memorable expressions when referring to the traditional department store. For e.g. the stores had protective downtown walls (from McNair) they stores paid the ultimate price-failure, ivory towers.” They helped pioneer the development of the regional shopping center, one of the most important retailing developments of the past two decades (p. 593).


Dunn, S. Watson (1961), Advertising Its Role in Modern Marketing, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, chapter 2 “The Evolution of Modern Advertising,” pp. 15-37. The author also has a similar chapter in his second 1969 edition, “The Evolution of Modern Advertising and Promotion,” pp. 17-35. The second edition has different illustrations and text as well. The chapter is more detailed than the one prepared by Mandell (1974). He says that Godey’s Lady’s Book did not at first carry advertising. He discussed Wanamaker by saying he built the largest men’s clothing store in the US. “He had signs one hundred feet long along the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks leading into Philadelphia. He used balloons, parades, pennants, coaches, and free suits to publicize his store. He used newspaper advertising consistently. In 1876, he established the Wanamaker department store Wanamaker was delighted with the success of his advertising” (1961, p. 25). He stated that NY had a population of 200k in 1840, 1.5 million in 1870, and 3.5 million by 1905. On pp. 29-30, Dunn
says that the Scripps-McRae League of Newspapers was concerned by about patent medicine claims and a censor was appointed to scrutinize all ad copy with 500k of ads refused in its 1st year. Then the Associated Advertising Clubs of America, later to become the Advertising Federation of America, launched an ad campaign for more truthful and ethical advertising. The association drew up a code for ethical advertising in 1911 and adopted the slogan ‘Truth in Advertising.’ Printers’ Ink’s also joined the fight, which led to the Printers’ Ink Statute, a model state law that would penalize false and misleading advertising. In 1910, Cyrus Curtis published the Curtis Advertising code, but again aimed mostly at patent medicine.


“Dupuis Celebrates 70th Anniversary” (1938), The Bulletin of the National Retail Dry Goods Association, Vol. 20 (April), page 67. A letter sent to the President Albert Dupuis by the Prime Minister of Canada W. L. Mackenzie King expressing his regrets of not being able to attend the event.

Dupuis Frères, Limited (1956), Brief submitted by Raymond Dupuis, President, to The Royal Commission on Canada’s Economic Prospects. The brief outlines the economic prospects of the eastern part of Montreal. This 23-page brief has some interesting comments such as the retailing sector should be allowed to have longer opening hours, taxes are high, the government should not impose any restrictions on consumer credit availability. The eastern part of the island has more factory jobs (i.e. blue-collar workers), less financial services jobs, is less subject to traffic problems, etc. We are told also a bit about Dupuis Frères’ operations such as its catalogue division, which distributes one million per year.

Dupuis-Leman, Josette (2001), Dupuis Frères: le magasin du peuple, Montréal: Les Editions internationales Stanké. On page 45, Nazaire went to Europe 5 times in a three-year period to see retail stores, notably the newly opened 1865 “le Printemps” in Paris. He opened his first store in 1868 in downtown Montreal, and it had to be enlarged in 1870.


Eaton, Flora McCrea (1956), *Memory’s Wall The Autobiography of Flora McCrea Eaton*, Toronto: Clarke, Irwin. A delightful book which describes the life of John Craig Eaton’s wife. Jack was the son of Timothy Eaton who became the first President of Eaton’s after his father died in 1907. She was a board member for 21 years. Much of this book is on her many trips, her friends, her numerous homes here and abroad (Eaton Hall Farm) and not enough of the Eaton’s per se. However it was Jack’s insistence that the Eaton’s store be built in Winnipeg. And it was Flora who insisted that a high class restaurant be added to the Toronto store in 1923 which was also added elsewhere as well. This addition had spillover effects into the military. Flora actually help train cooks to feed soldiers with better cooked meals using her staff.


Eaton’s of Canada (1952), *The Story of a Store*, Toronto: Archives of Ontario, The Eaton's Collection, F229 series 8-0-220, container #9. A well prepared and illustrated booklet published by Eaton's public relations department outlining the history of Eaton's with the first edition in 1928 and subsequent ones ending in 1952. This 1952 64-page booklet is available from the University of Western Ontario Business Library (HF5465.C24E164). This 62-page booklet is available at the Cleveland Public Library, 658.27 EA86S.


Elias, Stephen N. (1992), *Alexander T. Stewart: The Forgotten Merchant Prince*, NY: Praeger. A lengthy biography of A. T. Stewart. It is important to note that this book is not well known. Yet it has a full chapter on the *Marble Palace*, plus the fascinating life story of Stewart and how he became one of the richest men in the USA. The book is not rich in illustrations with only three, already available elsewhere. Resseguie (1962, 1964, and 1965) died before he had a chance to finish his biography on A. T. Stewart. Elias used many of Resseguie's original manuscripts found at the Baker Library, Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration to complete the work.


Ellis, Robert ed. (1851), *Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations*, London: Spicer Brothers. Vol. 1. This volume (there are 2 more) of the London Crystal Palace World's fair has a long list of exhibitors classified by types of products. It also has at the end a separate section listing a large number of advertisers. In fact, on page 64 of this section, there is a rather unique ad of the *Aux Villes de France*, magasins de nouveautés, which list dresses for sale, linen goods, ribbons, shawls, carpets, furniture, gloves, laces etc. Can we conclude that these stores (the word magasin is plural in the ad) were in fact a genuine department store, given their wide range of merchandise sold? We need to do more historical research on *Aux Villes de France*. These stores have not been mentioned in other historical material consulted thus far. Is the *Ville de Paris* store of 1843, the same as *Villes de France* stores?


Ellsworth, Theodore Dart (1952), “Are Branch Stores Overexpanding?,” *Journal of Retailing*, Vol. 28 (Winter No. 4), pp. 159-166. The article discusses a survey done by students at NYU of 94 stores with branches starting from 1921, 1929, 1934, 1939, 1946, and 1951. It revealed that the parent store purchased 80% of the merchandise. The same percentage applied for vendor deliveries to the parent store and not the branches. The goods were usually marked at the parent store or in a central warehouse before delivery to the branches. Although parent stores still generally decided what is to be purchased, there is tendency to make this a joint decision (Wingate 1953, p. 91).

Ellsworth, Theodore (1961), “‘First in American Retailing,’” *Department Store Economist* (January), pp. 192-199. A valuable source of information concerning the introduction of new technology and new management practices by department stores and other retail institutions. For e.g., the article states that the E. V. Haughwout & Co. in NYC, was the first to have an elevator built by Elisha Graves Otis on March 23 1857 (item 162); the first vacuum cleaner system was at Macy’s in 1902 (item 473); the first automatic letter opener installed by Sears in 1905 (item 474); the first employee lunch room by Macy’s in 1878 (item 115); the first escalator by Gimbel’s Philadelphia in 1901, installed by Otis (item 171). Of course, some of the firsts are incorrect. For e.g. he says that air conditioning was first used in Filele’s Basement in the early 1900s (item 170). This cannot be correct given that AC was commercially available only in the mid 1920s. According to Ellsworth, Macy’s store was the first to offer free delivery in 1858 (item 166). But the store only opened in 1857. However, free delivery for a small store, as was the case for Macy’s in 1858, does not take into consideration the infrastructure a store needs to offer such a service on a grand scale for most if not all customers. Marshall Field in 1871 had such a structure
with 30 horses, stables, etc. (see Tamilia and Reid 2002). Finally, the list only applies to US retail institutions, and cannot be considered ‘first’ in the world, at least for some firsts.


Enselme, Marguerite (1936), Les magasins à prix uniques : leur fonction dans le commerce de détail, Bordeaux.

Emerson, Anne (1915), "Behind the Scenes in a Department Store," The Outlook Vol. 109 (February 24), pp. 450-455. The article describes what one department store in NYC was doing for assuring its workers’ welfare comfort, health and safety. See also Bloomingdale (1915) and Goldmark (1915).

Emmet, Boris (1930), “Department Stores,” The American Mercury,” Vol. 20 (May), pp. 17-24. This rather innocuous article contains numerous insights as to why department stores at that time were not profitable and why the need of a management shake-up, rather than simply being a one man show as he calls it. The author spends a considerable amount of time discussing the operational expenses of such stores and the consequences on profitability.


English Shop Fronts from Contemporary Source Books 1792-1840 (1970), Levittown, NY: Transatlantic Arts. This book is a collection of shop fronts from other sources. Some of the pictures are outstanding. The book is a collection of illustrations with no author. Some of the illustrations are spectacular given the dates. They show how retail merchants in the 18th c. used their street level store displays to bring customers into the stores. Some of the store fronts had very large plate glass windows, which forces us to think as to when such plate glass was developed, by whom and where they were first used. This appears to be the same book by Dean (1970), except it’s the US edition and the Preface by Dean (1970) does not appear.


Entenberg, Robert (1966), Effective Retail and Market Distribution, A Managerial Economic Approach, Cleveland: World Publishing Company. The book takes more of a macro approach to retail than a managerial one. It has some discussion on the department store such as neat diagrams on pages 50, 52, 128, 132-134, 139, 141, and 292, plus his Appendix A (pp. 519-525) on the definition of a department store and other retail establishments. He has a neat but short discussion on vertical integration (VMS, pp. 229-230) plus a set of useful references.


Escande, L. (1929), “Les grands travaux de la Samaritaine,” La Technique des Travaux, No. 5 (May-June); and No. 6 (December), pp. 1-17. This article is discussed in Clausen (1976). The December reference may have been published in 1933 rather than 1929.


Faircloth, Christopher (2009), Cleveland’s Department Stores, Mt Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing. Publisher’s comments: “Originating as simple one- or two-room storefront operations, Cleveland’s department stores grew as population and industry in the region boomed throughout the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th. They moved into ever larger and elaborate structures in an attempt to woo the shopping dollars of blue-collar and genteel Clevelanders alike. Stores such as Halle’s, Higbee’s, May Company, Bailey Company, Sterling-Lindner-Davis, and others both competed with and complemented one another, all the while leaving an indelible mark on the culture of northeast Ohio and beyond. From the humble origins of Halle’s horse-drawn delivery wagons and the elaborate design of Higbee’s on Public Square to Christmas favorites like Mr. Jingeling and the massive Christmas tree at Sterling-Lindner-Davis—it is all here in crisp, black-and-white images, many of which have not been seen in print for decades.”


Fantl, Alfred (1926), “‘Styling’ the American Department Store with Foreign Merchandise, Journal of Retailing, Vol. 2 (October), pp. 3-5.


Faure, Alain (1979), “L’épicerie parisienne au XIXe siècle ou la corporation éclatée,” Le mouvement social, No. 108 (July-September), pp. 113-130. The article discusses the emergence of independently owned grocery storeowners in Paris, notably from 1880 to 1895. Traditionally, such food stores were family owed, handed down from one generation to the next and such stores were also under the control of wholesalers. The article has a few neat points of discussion but is not easy to read due to the author’s style.


Fawcett, Trevor (1990), “Eighteenth-Century Shops and the Luxury Trades,” Bath History, Vol. 3 pp. 49-55. The text lacks depth and far too many exaggerated statements are made about how savvy these 18th c. merchants were without any supporting evidence. As a result, the text lacks credibility. The author says on p. 72 that a ‘toyshop’ had so many items that these were “imitations of the future department store”. It is not only the number of items sold in a store that determines if the
store can be called a department store. Also, he states that such 18\textsuperscript{th} c. store had “extra large street-level windows” (p. 54). The widows were nevertheless small. He also says “Shop interiors relied on light from the windows in daytime and candles and oil-lamps once it grew dark. They were well, sometimes sumptuously, equipped with counters (perhaps in mahogany), shelves, cabinets and drawers, showcases, boxes and canisters, cash-tills, scales and measures, supplies of wrapping paper…” p. 55).


Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland (1946), Sales by Departments, Dept. of Research and Statistics, Cleveland, OH. Also Department Store Sales by Cities (1946).


Felski, Rita (1996) Cultural Studies, Vol. 10 (October No. 3), pp. 498-505. A review essay of Lesley Johnson (1993), The Modern Girl: Girlhood and Growing Up and Gail Reekie (1993), Temptations: Sex, Selling and the Department Store, Sydney: Australia: Allen and Unwin. Reekie offers a feminist view of consumption by examining the growth of modern sexed subjectivity in the development of the department store in Sydney, Australia. It is suggested that, although Reekie is at times inconsistent with theoretical stances, her presentation of the facets of department store culture help to form a strong feminist work on consumerism.


Feinberg, Samuel (1960), What Makes Shopping Centers Tick, NY: Fairchild Publications. The history of the shopping center in the U.S. See also Feinberg and Meoli (1991), and


Feyeux, A. (1883), “La question des grands et des petits magasins,” La Réforme sociale, Vol. 5 (Janvier 16), pp. 358-364. A rather strong attack on the department store, especially the Bon Marché, in favor of the small shop, which was being eliminated. His distaste for le grand detail is quite strong and demonstrates the hatred some social critics had about the department store. It seems the author wrote another article on the topic later on. I checked until 1891 (Juillet-décembre), but did not find it.

Filene Book the (1923), *Wm. Filene’s Sons Co.*


Filene, Edward A. (1928), "The Present Status and Future Prospects of Chains of Department Stores," *American Economic Review*, Supplement, Vol. 18 (March), pp. 19-24. This is the abstract of his paper presented at the American Economic Association December 27th 1927 Washington meeting, at the round table discussion on Recent Trends in Distribution, which included other presenters (Copeland and Clark), as well as discussants (Ted Beckman, Tosdal and Carl Schmalz). The paper has also been reproduced in full in Daniel Bloomfield ed. (1931), *Trends in Retail Distribution Including a Brief on Chain Stores*, The Handbook Series Volume 3, NY: The H. W. Wilson, pp. 262-277. Filene says that in 1927, Macy’s had 4 stores, the May Department Store had 6 stores. Gimbel Brothers had department stores in NYC, Philadelphia and Milwaukee and controlled or owned two Saks stores in NYC and Kaufmann and Baer in Pittsburgh. The Associated Dry Goods Corp (see page 267) owns department stores: James McCreery, NY, Hengerer, Buffalo, Stewart Dry Goods, Louisville, and controls under part ownership Gunther’s, NYC, Lord and Taylor, NYC. He also says that Federated Department Stores was organized in 1931, with such stores as Filene’s, Boston; Abraham and Straus, Brooklyn; Lazarus, Ohio; Bloomingdale’s, NYC. He predicted that department store chains would be huge and he was almost right in his predictions. So the merger madness was not just in the 1900s but also in the late 1920s early 1930s. FDS being formed a long time ago.


Filene, Edward A. (1930), “Department Store–Manufacturer’s Relationships,” Consumer Marketing Series No. 3. NY: American Management Association. Discussion by George Hopkins and others. The paper was presented at the 1930 Consumer Marketing Conference of the American Management Association, held at the William Penn Hotel October 22. Mr. Filene felt no need to revise his 1930 paper and it was reprinted in August 1934 by the AMA. It was reprinted again in a book by the Kraus Reprint Corporation of NY in 1967, in its *Marketing Series, Number 1-II 1930-1932*.


Findlay, Allan, Ronan Paddison, and John Dawson eds. (1990), *Retailing in Developing Countries*, London and New York: Routledge.


Fitzell, Philip (1982), *Private Labels Store Brands and Generic Products*, Westport, CT: AVI Publishing. Chapter 2 is called "History of Private Labels," and much discussion is devoted to the private brands sold by Marshall Field, Eaton’s of Canada, and Macy’s. Many of these department store brands had sole distribution rights, controlled or exclusive distribution, and could not be purchased anywhere else as defined by the agreement with the supplier. The agreement specified the geography where the department store had exclusivity and it could all of the US or some parts of it, very similar to typical contractual arrangements of today.


Fitz-Gibbon, Bernice (1967), Macys, Gimbels and Me: How to Earn $90,000 a Year in Retail Advertising, NY: Simon and Schuster. This 380-page book presents some department store experience as well as her insights on the value of research and advertising agencies.

Flagg, Ernest (1894) "The Ecole des Beaux Arts," first paper, Architectural Record, Vol. 3 (March No. 3), pp. 302-313. Second paper, Vol. 3 (April-June No. 4), pp. 419-428. The first article does not tell us when l’Ecole was established. Both parts are a good description of this famous architectural school where many Americans were trained, similar to the Americans coming to Germany to study economics and applied economics (later to be called marketing) under the GHS of Economics. The German scholars who taught were Wagner, Knies, Schmoller, Engels and others. Gay the first dean of Harvard also studied under the Germans. (See the references for Edwin Gay in this bibliography). L’Ecole des BA was in France though. It should be remembered that many famous American architects either studied at l’Ecole des Beaux Arts or sent their sons. Daniel Burnham, the famous Chicago department store architect (among other and more important accomplishments) offered a young Louis Sullivan the chance to study there at his own expense but Louis turned the offer down because he would have had to work for Burnham. Louis Sullivan was too independent. Perhaps if he had accepted the offer he would have become an even greater architect instead of becoming an alcoholic later on and dying penniless, in spite of his many accomplishments (the 1893 Chicago’s World’s fair and the legendary Carson Pirie department store). Daniel Burnham sent one of his sons to study there but it’s not clear what happened to him. For sure, he did not follow in his father’s footsteps of fame and accomplishments.

Flanel, Sam (1965), Department Merchandising and Operating Results of Department and Specialty Stores in 1965, NY: National Retail Merchants Association.


Flower, Sidney (1902), The Mail Order Business, Chicago: S. Flower.


"Formal Opening of a Great Store" (1907), Drygoodsman and General Merchant, October 12, p. 15-21.
Forsell, William and Arthur Poole (1928), "Mechanical Aids to Merchandise Control in Department Stores," *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 6 (April No. 3), pp. 330-342. This article is a summary of the authors’ 1927 thesis written for a course on retail store management at Harvard.


*Fortune* (1933), “Water Still Freezes” Vol. 7 (May No. 5), pp. 73-76, 90, 92. The article discusses the plight of icemakers facing stiff competition from iceless icebox/electric refrigerators/mechanical marvel machine. In 1931, Frigidaire spent $2.3 m in advertising. In 1922, only 12k iceless iceboxes were sold vs. 965k in 1931 during the Depression years. About 30 million families then with only 2/3 using either type. The average price was $258 in 1931 down to $190 in 1932 (p. 92). But then the department store “encouraged assembled jobs (one man’s box, another man’s motor) sold private-brand refrigerators down to $69.50.” Crosley had brought the price down to $99.50 previously. So the department store using low price and private brand accelerated the sale of the product even more.

*Fortune* (1933), "Marshall Field & Co.,” Vol. 7 (July No. 7). Need to verify this reference.


*Fortune* (1938), "General Robert E. Wood, President," Vol. 18 (May No. 5), pp. 66-69, 104, 106, 108, 110. An article discussing the CEO of Sears, which at that time was the biggest merchandiser in the US with over $575 million in sales and 490 stores in 45 states. He was once considered to be a presidential candidate in 1940.

*Fortune* (1943), “That Refrigeration Boom,” Vol. 28 (December No. 6), pp. 161-164, 244, 246, 249, 250, 252, 255, 256. On pages 163-64, Sears is discussed. The article discusses the ‘mechanical refrigeration’ industry, which gave birth to the frozen food industry, and helped the AC industry as well, among others.


*Fortune* (1945), “Marshall Field, The Store,” Vol. 32 (December No. 6), pp. 142-147, 290, 293, 294, 296, 299, 300. Only 15% of its sales were outside Metro Chicago, even though charge accounts were from every state of the union.


“Fortunes Made in Business: Aristicide Boucicaut, the Bon Marché King,” (1878), London Society, April.


Fowler, Glenn (1955), “Stores Learn Wants of Customers in New (Old) Way: Just Ask Them,” New York Times, October 30, pp. 1F. Consumer intentions survey used by department in order to predict sales of particular styles of clothing: what will be the style of dress to be purchased next season?

Fowler, Pauline (1983), “The Toronto Eaton Centre and Its Precedent, the Galleria in Milan,” Fifth Column, Vol. 3 (Summer No. 3.4), pp. 84-86.


Franklin, Alfred (1894). Les magasins de nouveautés (4 volumes), Paris: Librarie Plon. This volume was published in 1894, while the other volumes were published in 1895 (Vol. 2), 1896 (Vol. 3) and 1898 (Vol. 4). This series of books on “les magasins de nouveautés” are part of a large number of other books published by the author covering many other topics. In some ways, the series resemble Georges D’Avenel’s work except that Franklin’s work is historical in nature covering the life of Parisians and France from the twelfth century to the seventeenth century. They are all part of his collection called La Vie Privée d’Autrefois Arts et Métiers Modes, Moeurs, Usages des Parisiens du XIème au XVIIIème siècle. These four volumes are really the history of retailing and wholesaling in Paris (and France) from the middle ages until the 17th c. We can see the evolution of retailers (called merciers initially as a class of merchants, i.e. merkers), what they were allowed to sell according to the laws in effect at the time. A review of the precursors of the French department stores is important if we are to have a better understanding of their place in France’s distribution structure in the late 19th c. and beyond. For example, merciers by edict were not allowed to manufacture anything but they were permitted to add value to the products they were reselling (enjoliver). Obviously, the department store had manufacturing plants but we don’t know when the change took place. We know that US department stores had no such history, with their evolution and development different from those in France, and perhaps elsewhere in Europe. The 4 volumes by Franklin are easy to read but only volumes 1 and 4 have relevance to marketing (in my humble opinion). Volume 3 has a 146-page discussion on colors (yikes!). Franklin seems to be preoccupied in all 4 volumes on what products were available to the bourgeois class and not to the common people. Most if not all the products and small stores that sold them were probably serving that class of customers and the common people were perhaps forbidden to shop there. These stores and merchants often had their shops in the king’s palace. Franklin also uses lots of quotes from poets and other writers of the time to describe people’s lives, a practice uncommon by current marketing writers, but typically done by anthropologists. He also has a fixation of describing the many decrees of the time and how they were set up, controlled, etc. It means that Paris, before the Revolution, was an extremely controlled society. One’s occupation was clearly defined so that nobody but nobody could do somebody’s else job; limits were set as to who could do what, with what, for how long, where, with whom, and with what material. The interventionist role of the state was all-pervasive. Franklin’s story of shoes and the invention of the umbrella (tome 4) are quite fascinating and worthwhile reading. His description of how laundry was done in Paris is also quite interesting (tome 4).


Fraser, W. Hamish (1981), The Coming of the Mass Market 1850-1914, Hamdon, CT: Archon Books. A study which analyses the relationship between the emergence of mass production, retailing and marketing in the UK. The book is quite unique and easy to read and very informative. It traces the way people fed themselves, housed, clothed and entertained themselves from 1850 to early the 20th c. But surprisingly, there is very little on the influence of the department store in fostering a mass market/mass consumption society. The author discusses mostly small shops. The department store is discussed but only briefly (pp. 128-133). Finally, the references at the end of the book are cumbersome and they are incomplete, making it hard for anyone interested to access some of them.
Fredriksson, Cecilia (1997), “The Making of a Swedish Department Store Culture,” in Pasi Falk and Colin Campbell eds. The Shopping Experience, London: Sage, pp. 111-135. Examines the emergence of a department store culture and "civilized consumption" in Sweden. The evolution of Swedish department stores & their changing roles as centers for recreation & relaxation, rather than strict consumption, are discussed. Miscellaneous department store activities & characteristics are described, e.g., shoplifting, visiting a department store through the eyes of a child, and the nature of window & decorative displays. The emergence of the department store as a new public sphere and the culture of consumption are given particular attention.


Frueh, Erne Rene (1939), “Retail Merchandising in Chicago, 1833-1848,” Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. 32 (June No. 2), pp. 149-172. An interesting article on Chicago’s retail landscaper prior to the city becoming a major world city and before the arrival of Marshall Field, Potter Palmer, and others. One ad in 1835 stated that the merchant John Holbrook, sold ready made clothing. According to the author, retail specialists existed yet bookstores sold books but also dry goods, hardware, and patent medicines. This is similar to a general store. The author states that many retailers bartered with clients, and used ads in newspapers. Few illustrations were used with no “superlatives.”


Fuller Wayne (1972) The American Mail Enlarger of the Common Life, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. The author lists important dates on pp. 343-347, but many are missing. Wanamaker is discussed in the book because he was Postmaster and he was a very innovative one too.


Fulop, Christina 1964), Competition for Consumers A Study of the Changing Channels of Distribution, London: George Allen and Unwin. Discussion on the department store on pp. 43-70 and 305-309, and other pages. She briefly traces the history of department store. Her references are hard to decipher.

Furlough, Ellen (1993), “Selling the American Way in Interwar France: Prix Uniques and the Salon Des Arts Ménagers,” *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 26 (Spring No. 3), pp. 491-519. The reference list on French retailing is quite impressive. This article like so many done by historians shows that retailing, part of marketing, is quite a complex process evolving over time due to changing economic conditions, consumer purchasing power, urban development, technology, established ways of doing business, unions, resistance to large scale retailing, dislike for mass produced goods, etc. In other words, it is uneven, messy, linked with the social fabric of the society.


Furnas, J.C. (1941), “The Super Market Basket,” *Forbes*, Vol. 48 (December No. 12), pp. 24-25, 38. The article discusses the rise of the supermarket as a new retail institution. It says that A&P carried 600 items while a supermarket might carry 2k and up to 10k. Self-service in the food business is a new trend even though it began in 1912 at the Alfa Beta stores in LA. It then spread to Piggly Wiggly stores in 1916. He discusses Clarence Saunders’ patented *Keedoozle* store innovation in 1937, an automated mechanized store, based on modern supply chain principles but far too futuristic then and even today. The store was mechanized using a robot store except it did not make change or put the groceries in bags. It had a high failure rate and often, the system failed which irritated shoppers.


department store. The historical book on Paris discusses the department store and its impact on other stores in a section called “Le Paris des Grands Magasins” pp. 393-. 422). It is noteworthy that many such stores went bankrupt at the time others prospered. She discusses many other topics, including the role of the department store in buying goods abroad and having local manufacturers make goods needed for the store. The book was published in 1977 under the same title but not the same publisher, Librairie Honoré Champion. It is based on her 1975 thesis. This new edition was prepared by Florence Bourillon and Jean Luc Pinol. The 1997 edition has 528 pages but the bibliography is rather sparse and hard to follow, which is typical for French books. On pp. IX and X, the editors state that the original bibliography was too extensive and it was therefore reduced for this volume. Surprisingly, the book has no index, an omission that is not only unacceptable, but also unnecessarily increases the effort needed to find any relevant information.


Gardner, Edward (1945), “Consumer Goods Classification,” Journal of Marketing, Vol. 9 (January), pp. 275-276. Charles Coolidge Parlin in his 1912 Department Store report, Volume B, October used the expressions “convenience goods” and “shopping lines,” as well as “emergency goods.” The creation of these terms was linked to the department store.

Gardner, Mark (1993), “Rich’s of Atlanta–Does a Change of Ownership Affect Corporate Culture?,” Essays in Economic and Business History. Selected papers from the Economic and Business Historical Society, MSU Business Studies, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Vol. 11, pp. 272-282. in 1976, Rich’s was sold to FDS, and in 1988, FDS was acquired by Campeau.


Nevertheless, we get a brief overview of the haute couture market with very brief historical comments about fashion in general at the beginning of each chapter. While the department store is not discussed, we can see the importance of shops selling such clothing.


Garrigues, Henri (1898), Les Grands Magasins de Nouveautés et le Petit Commerce de Détail. Librairie Nouvelle de Droit et de Jurisprudence, Paris: Arthur Rousseau, Éditeur. The book describes the plight of small Parisian retailers and their use of political forces against department stores, which was threatening their very existence. The author offers a balance view of what small retailers were saying about the perils of the department store on social and economic life and the benefits they actually brought to the consumers and the economy.


Gault, Edgar H. (1931), *Performance of Department Stores*, Ann Arbor, MI: Bureau of Business Research, University of Michigan. This annual report, from 1931, 1932, 1933. It then changed focus to *Departmental Merchandising Results in Small Department Stores* from 1948 to 1964. These reports are available at the OSU library. Also Bureau of Business Research (1928) *Operating Expenses of Department Stores and Departmentized Specialty Stores in 1928*. Bulletin 78, Boston: Harvard University.


Geist, Johann F. (1979), Passagen—Ein Bautyp des 19. Jahrhunderts, 3rd edition, Munich. Prestel—Verlag. Translated by Jane Newman and John Smith (1983) as Arcades the History of a Building Type, Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The history of (shopping) arcades, as a building type. The book is probably the only one ever to discuss in great detail the evolution of retail organizations from temporary stalls to fixed locations to the department store, based on building type and architecture. Geist argues that the arcade was not a department store nor was it a magasin de nouveautés or another retail establishment type. Eventually, arcades contributed to the establishment of this form of building type. Some arcades evolved into department stores but that was a European phenomenon, not in NA, given that only a few were built here (e.g. Cleveland, Atlanta, and Boston). On page 51, he argues that the organizational origin of the department store was from the magasin de nouveautés and the drapery shop. The first magasin de nouveautés was the Pygmalion in 1793, on rue St. Denis in Paris. The book has a catalogue of all arcades built from pre-18th c to mid 20th c. Geist argues that arcades were a mid 19th c. building type and very few were built before the 19th c. and after. Moreover, most were built in Western Europe and few were built in other countries (e.g. Argentina, Australia, Brazil, New Zealand, US, Turkey, Canada, South Africa, Singapore, and Eastern Europe). Much more information on the evolution of the department store as a building type can be found in this book. German economists, such as Werner Sombart (Der moderne kapitalismus) and others, may have influenced his understanding of the origin of the department store. It seems the German literature may contain some useful and perhaps unknown information on the evolution of the department store. But to do such historical research, one must know the language! As expected, many of the references are in German. See Blake (1966). Book reviewed by Larry Good (1983), Texas Architect, Vol. 33 (March-April, No. 2), pp. 80-81.

Gellately, Robert (1974), The Politics of Economic Despair: Shopkeepers and German Politics 1890-1914, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications. The book discusses the small retailer during the period and retailing’s role in German society. The department store is discussed and the book is a must to understand the complicated relation retailing and the department store have with German politics and the rise of Nazism. The development of the German department store is well explained on pp. 41-45.

Gellately, Robert (1974/75), “German Shopkeepers and the Rise of National Socialism,” The Wiener Library Bulletin, No. 28, pp. 31-40. He says on p. 31 “The Nazis never ceased to point out, for example, that the majority of department stores—which had been deeply resented ever since their appearance in Germany in the 1890s—were owned by Jews:”


Gerlach, S. (1988), Das Warenhaus in Deutschland, Seine Entwicklung bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg in historisch-geographischer Sicht, Stuttgart: Frank Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH. This is a study of the development and expansion of a German department store from its beginning until the WWI. It looks at the store itself as well as the store’s functional relationship with its geographical space in an urban setting.

Germahling, Paul (1912), « La concentration commerciale sans grands magasins, » Revue d’économie politique, March-April, pp. 182ff.


Gibbens, T. C. N. and Joyce Prince (1962), Shoplifting, London: The Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency. They suggest on pp. 72-73, that sexual excitement is a contributing factor to shoplifting.


Gibbs-Smith, C. H. (1981), The Great Exhibition of 1851, second edition, London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office. The first edition was in 1950. This small book (under 100 pages) presents some interesting facts on pp. 23-24. Also it is evident, at least to me that the consumer goods on display were not for the masses, but for the elites of society (aristocrats, barons, princes, or the very wealthy). The illustrations provided ample support for my thesis. Moreover, The Art-journal illustrated catalogue (1852) of The Crystal Palace published for the proprietors Art journal, UK: W. M. Clark, has 328 pages of illustrations of goods displayed at the Crystal Palace (i.e. an illustrated cyclopaedia of the great exhibition of the industry of all nations and its contents). After looking over each and every one of the items shown, not one can be considered as products for the masses. This fact would tend to contradict the statement made by Auerbach (1999, p. 121) that thousands of people showed up after the Exposition closed supposedly to buy the goods. Such a fact needs more confirmation because Gibbs-Smith (1981, p. 27) stated, “on Wednesday, 15th October, the final closing ceremony took place. The removal of the goods started immediately.” i.e. the products were taken away as soon as the Exposition was closed. This same 1852 illustrated catalogue was reproduced in 1970 by Bounty Books of NY.


Giedion, Siegfried (1928). Bauen in Frankreich, Bauen in Eisen, Bauen in Eisenbeton, Leipzig: Klinkhardt and Biermann. This short book was reproduced and translated by J. Duncan Berry in 1995 as Building in France, Building in Iron, Building in Ferroconcrete, with an introduction by Sokratis Georgiadis, Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities. This book, according to Artley (1970 page 128), is an important one, given that it provides good illustrations of the Bon Marché store in Paris. However, I was not taken by the book due to its lack of text. The book has a chronology of building materials used in France. That author made an error by saying that the first department store made of iron was the 1876 Bon Marché. In reality, it was the A. T. Stewart store built in 1862. There is a section on the department store (pp. 115-119).


Gille, Bertrand (1956), “Recherches sur l’origine des grands magasins parisiens, notes d’orientation,” in *Paris et Ile-de-France Mémoires* published by la Fédération des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l’Ile-de-France, Tome 7, Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, pp. 251-264. The title of this article does not live up to its content. No mention is made of how numerous grands magasins, such as le Bon Marché, arrived on the Parisian retail scene in the 1850s. It does reinforce the notion that the department store started in the mid-1820s selling used clothing. The economies of scale in repairing clothes for resale resulted in the sale of more and more brand new ready to wear clothes, especially with the arrival of the sewing machine in the 1850s and beyond.


Gillet, Dominique (1952), “Les Grands Magasins,” in *Le Monde des Affaires en France de 1830 à nos jours*, Paris: Société d’Edition de dictionnaires et Encyclopédies, chapter 11, pp. 400-409. The chapter is well done. It discusses all French department stores including la Belle Jardinière, le Louvre, le Bon Marché, la Samaritaine, and les Galeries Lafayette. Dominique Gillet is presumably the author of this chapter but the list of contributors to the book spells the name as Dominique Guillet. See Boudet (1952) for more information.


Glazebrook, G. de T. Katharine Brett and Judith McErvel eds. (1969), *A Shopper's View of Canada's Past: Pages from Eaton's Catalogues 1886-1930*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press. The ‘Introduction’ by Glazebrook (pp. iii-ix), followed by Brett’s ‘Notes on Fashions in Costume’ (pp. x-xiv), followed by McErvel’s ‘Wages and Prices’ are the only text in the book; the book has 286 pages on various Eaton’s catalogues. On page 8, Butterick’s dress patterns are advertised as well as Eaton’s being the “agency for two thousand leading American, and five hundred British, German, French and Russian periodicals.” Ready-made clothing was available in 1892 (p. 12), and Eaton’s also advertised its grocery department (p. 53) in 1899.


Godinez, F. Laurent (1914), Display Window Lighting and the City Beautiful: Facts, and New Ideas for Progressive Merchants, NY.


Godkin, E. L. (1882), “Stewarts,” The Nation, Vol. 34, No. 877, April 20, page 332. It was not clear who exactly wrote this short article on Stewart because no name was indicated on the page. The article discusses the passing of Stewart “it was not Stewart’s that made New York, but New York that made and unmade Stewart’s.” The article goes on by stating, “Stewart’s had been built up by that untiring industry and devotion to details which explain the rise of most modern industrial fortunes. Stewart himself knew ‘dry goods’ as Laplace and Herschel knew planets, or as Rothschild knew the names on the backs of bills of exchange.” … “it was in its day a mighty store, a store the name of which was known in every American household or cabin from Maine to California.” Finally, Stewart catered to women who loved shopping, it was their right. Ex-judge Hilton who took over the business “had no training or apprenticeship in the business.”

Godinez, F. Laurent (1914), Display Window Lighting and the City Beautiful: Facts and New Ideas for Progressive Merchants, NY.


Goldenberg, Susan (1975), "Eaton's popularity has declined, according to a consumer study," Financial Post, (September 27), page 14.


Gomez y Caceres, Georges and Marie Ange de Pierredon eds. (1987), Les Décors des Boutiques Parisiennes, Paris: La Délégation à l’Action Artistique de la Ville de Paris. The book is over 200 pages and is the result of an exposition on Parisian boutiques. The book contains numerous illustrations along with articles from various contributors. Most of the articles have an historical overview. There is a solid article on Parisians restaurants (1880-1914), boutiques with iron bars (boutiques à grille), boutiques having ceramics, and also a discussion on Parisian signs. Only one or two pages are on the department store, most discuss the small boutiques.


Gordon, Mitchell (1983), A Special Place-Fabri-Centers Sees Bright Future as Department store Leave the Fold,” Barron’s, Vol. 63 (April 18, No. 16), pp. 59ff. One of the department store’s main sources of revenues, at least initially in the 19th c. is now being abandoned by the department store.


Gottesfeld, Sam and Harry Berlfein (1958), “Allied Executive Training Assures Premium Talent,” Women’s Wear Daily, June 26, pp. 1, 10. The authors describe how a leading department store spends 1m a year training some 500 to 600 qualified employees on a decentralized basis to become junior executives of the company.


Graham, Charles (1959), “Morgan’s: the Pace Setting Centenarian,” *Executive*, Vol. 1 (July), pp. 18-24. A brief case history of Morgan’s, Canada’s supposedly oldest department store. Henry Morgan in partnership with David Smith another young Scot opened a small dry goods store in downtown Montreal in 1845, on Notre Dame Street, a full 24 years before Eaton opened his Toronto store. But that’s misleading because Eaton had operated a dry goods store before he opened his Toronto store in Dec 1869. Morgan’s being the oldest department store in Canada is unsupported in this text.


“Grands Magasins du Printemps à Paris” (1885). *Encyclopédie d’Architecture*, 3rd ser. 4, pp. 1-35. The article is about the use of bronze ornament at this store. The reference is from Siry (1988).


Gras, Norman S. B. (1932), "The Rise of Big Business", Journal of Economic and Business History, Vol. 4 (May No. 3), pp. 381-408. A discussion of big business prior to the 19th c. On p. 405, he says that large department stores in metro areas tried manufacturing (integration) but abandoned it. He says “we are somewhat less familiar with integration that has centered in merchandising.” Integration was a basis of the chain store success (A&P).


Gray, A. Stuart (1985), Edwardian Architecture: A Biographical Dictionary, London: Duckworth. Some of the pages in this book on the department store are rather unique. See especially “London’s Edwardian Shops and Stores,” pp. 66-73; see also pp. 93-95, 343. The book has some very neat pictures and for the first time, there’s a terrific picture of Selfridge’s (on page 343).


“Great Mercantile Building” (1896), Dry Goods Economist, (October 24), pp. 428-429. The article discusses the expansion of the Fair, a Chicago department store, with le Bon Marché.

Greater Cleveland department store study (1900), Cleveland Press, Market Research Department.


Green, Nancy (1997), Ready-To-Wear and Ready-To-Work A Century of Industry and Immigrants in Paris and New York, Durham, NC: Duke University Press. A book discussing the garment industry in both countries, from the 19th to modern times with an emphasis on the role played by immigrants in the production of ready-to-wear clothes. The department store is discussed here and there throughout the 425-page volume. For the first time, at least from my perspective, we learn that stores such as le Bon Marché, la Belle Jardinière, and les Galeries Lafayette, had manufacturing facilities for the clothes sold in their stores. Many of the workers were self-employed women laborers (i.e. sweatshops), unlike US department store, which had large manufacturing plants. The author says that La Belle Jardinière had a huge factory in Lille in 1866 that made shirts and overalls, and a smaller one was set up in Paris in 1889 (p. 78). But we don’t know what ‘huge’ means, relative to other manufacturing plants. Lafayette had a subsidiary called Société parisienne de confection (p. 255). She makes a very serious mistake when she says on page 80 that US department stores “had workrooms only until the 1870s ‘depression persuaded them to leave the risks of manufacturing to others.’” She simply quoted someone (Montgomery 1987, p. 117), but never checked to see if Montgomery was correct. No wonder nothing is said about US department stores’ use of manufacturing plants. The book has numerous new references and an impressive 86 pages of footnotes. Macy’s, Marshall Field, A.T. Stewart, and many more department stores that had manufacturing facilities are not mentioned, not even once. Finally, she seems to accept Miller’s (1981) conclusion that the birth of the department store was none other than le Bon Marché (p. 314), what else is new! She credits the department store for helping to stimulate the demand for ready-made apparel (p. 80). As if the department store was instrumental in promoting this new ‘technology.’ She adds that Paris stores also shaped supply as well, but not so in the US, due to their lack of focus on manufacturing (which is wrong).

Greenfield, Albert M. (1953), “I run a Department Store Without Clerks,” Nation’s Business, Vol. 41 (October No. 10), pp. 34-36, 73-76. The article says on p. 34 that Hearn’s is the oldest department store in NY founded in 1827. The store may have been established then but not as a department store. Self-selection is discussed as a way to cut labor costs as well as being a new strategy for department store. When was self-selection/self service first introduced? It was William Saunders’ way with his supermarket innovation.

Greenhalgh, Paul (1988), Ephemeral Vistas The Expositions Universelles Great Exhibitions and World Fairs, 1851-1939, Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press. Some discussion on how the department store helped exhibitors better display their products. The book discusses art nouveau, art deco, the Chicago school of architecture, and his first chapter is an excellent review of the history of fairs for manufacturers.


Grey Matter, Department Store edition, published Bi-monthly by Grey Advertising Agency, NY. The Grey Matter newsletter began publishing in 1939. However, it is not known when the department store edition started or when it ceased publication. The few 1952/54 sample copies available of the newsletter discuss current issues and challenges facing the industry in the USA.


Grippo, Robert (2009), Macy’s: The Store The Star the Story, Square One Publishers. paperback

“Groceries on the Ninth Floor. But They Do the Business” (1920), Dry Goods Economist, No. 3986 (November 27), pp. 65-67. The article discusses why groceries are located on the 9th floor of the Meir and Frank store located in Portland, Oregon. All goods except green vegetables and fresh meats are available. Telephone orders are taken enough to keep 4 girls busy. Known brands are easy to sell via the phone too. The established delivery route makes it possible for the store to deliver to all sections of the city, whereas a grocery store could not. Low rent makes it possible to have low margins, in line with the grocery business.


“Growth of the Big Store” (1898), Chicago Dry Goods Reporter, Vol. 28 (August 6), pp. 25ff.


Gruzen, B. Sumner (1937), “Shopping Centers,” Architectural Record, Vol. 81 (January), pp. 18-22. The text plus the illustrations depict more of a supermarket than a shopping center. There’s even a rare picture of a shopping cart, circa 1930s.


Gurney, Peter (2001), “An appropriated space: the Crystal Palace and the working class,” in Louise Purbrick ed. *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, Manchester University Press, chapter 4, pp. 114-145. The article is a fascinating one to read. He states that William Whiteley (the universal provider) was very inspired by the 1851 Exhibition. The author claims that the working class did not flock to the 1851 Crystal Palace, unlike what many others have claimed. However, he said that the new Crystal Palace which left Hyde Park and was relocated in 1852 to Sydenham Hill, and rebuilt and reopened in 1854 was more for the working class and the exhibitors sold products with prices indicated, unlike the 1851 Exhibition. It seem that far too many (cultural and social) historians are unfamiliar with the new Crystal Palace, eventually called the “People’s Palace” and attribute its modus operandi to the 1851 one. Over 2m visited the 1854 Palace per year over the next 30 yrs (i.e. 60 m), a number that far surpasses the original 6m attained during 1851. He even says on page 123 “it became, in part, a department store.” Alcohol was first banned but later was allowed (in 1855) and Sunday closing was also banned but later allowed (in 1860).


Guttmann, A.H. (1957), “Retail Research,” in National Retail Merchants Association, *The Buyer’s Guide*, rev ed. NY, pp. 313-325. This section, written by the director of research of Bloomingdale’s, summarizes the need and uses of research in retailing.


Hahn, Lewd (1938), “Father’s Day Will Bring Business!,” *The Bulletin of the National Retail Dry Goods Association*, Vol. 20 (April), pp. 13, 14-16. More than these pages are devoted to Father’s Day. In the May issue, many more pages (pp. 17-32) outline the importance of department stores and other retailers to plan such a day in their communities and at the store level. The first national official Father’s Day was on June 19 1938, sponsored by the NRDGA, even though many previous dates (1910 by the YMCA) had celebrated the day but more on a local or state level. With the full support of NRDG, Father’s Day became institutionalized. It was not an altruistic decision but one to generate sales.


Hamlin, Ina Marie and Arthur Harry Winakur (1933), Department Store Food Service, Urban, IL: University of Illinois.

Hamlin, Talbot (1944), Greek Revival architecture in America, Being an account of Important Trends in American Architecture and American Life prior to the War between the States, NY: Oxford University Press. The Dover edition was published in 1964.


1979: Don Siebert, the last of JC Penney’s exceptional leaders, confronts an unsettling trend toward stultifying conformity. On a tour of stores, he notes an endless succession of identical Christmas village displays and a proliferation of managers seemingly unable to balance their inventory to meet customer needs or let their employees think for themselves. Before retiring in 1982, Siebert introduces a workable plan to reorganize the huge, national company into a broad array of smaller, fully empowered operating groups led by individuals.

1983: Bill Howell takes the helm as CEO. Ignoring his predecessor’s plan, he swiftly pushes through a vertical integration of six merchandising divisions operating in competitive silos. Knocking out the company’s time-honored principle of internal "Cooperation," this restructuring maneuver divided and conquered ‘the buyers’ -the great Penney merchandising department-in
favor of store managers in "the field." Thus the guts of the business (buying and selling) were
seriously compromised by myopic politics.

1986: Against the wisdom of his predecessors, Howell tears the company from its roots, leaving
Penney’s utilitarian tower in New York City for a huge, lavish complex in Plano, Texas. At his
new "Home Office" in the suburbs of Dallas, the CEO known as "Bill" suddenly insists on being
called "W.R." Only ten percent of the NYC staff makes the transnational trek.

1990: Howell begins to groom senior managers based on breadth of experience, while
systematically weeding out seasoned, valuable specialists—particularly expert buyers. By 1995,
store-oriented shallowness finally reigns at the top, the executive suite largely populated by
empty suits acting on the CEO’s whims. 1992: At the urging of Gale Duff-Bloom, senior vice
president of merchandising and the company’s highest-ranking woman, a flashy, young designer
named Anthony Mark Hankins is hired to make JC Penney a name in fashion. First, the "suits" in
the executive suite criticize Hankins for dressing in flamboyant outfits in the office. Then, they sit
in stony silence through his preview fashion show. When Hankins asserts his personality to spark
glowing reviews for the launch of his line in Atlanta, he gets reprimanded for breaking the rules
governing promotion and PR. Hankins leaves JC Penney.

1996: The last JC Penney CEO of the 20th century, Jim Oesterreicher announces "Operation
Synergy"—a campaign to acquire the Eckerd Corporation and its 2,800 drug stores. Hapless from
the start, the deal would prove financially disastrous. As reporters later uncovered, it was also full
of "dirty little secrets," including that a tenth of the stores were marked for closing, no
compatibility in data processing, serious inventory and "shrinkage" problems, and an increasing
public disillusionment with the chain.

Harker, Douglas Edward (1976), The Woodwards: The Story of a Distinguished British Columbia
department store in Vancouver. See also Watt (1978) and Downing (1993).

Harmon, Frederick and Garry Jacobs (1985), The vital difference: unleashing the powers of
sustained corporate success, NY: AMCOM. Chapter 10 “Harmony Without” has neat
information on Sears Roebuck and some information on Otto Doering, the plant manager’s Great
Works in Chicago who designed the receiving and expediting mail order system.

Harper, Marion (1936), “The Grocery Department in the Department Store,” Journal of Retailing,
Vol. 12 (April), pp. 6-12.

article and many others on this same topic do not discuss department stores per se but many
department stores soon became department store chains (e.g. Sears, Montgomery Ward, JC
Penney, Eaton’s of Canada, and many others). The anti-chain movement targeted the food chains.
Nevertheless, it is important to know something about the anti-chain movement in the US and
Canada and the legislation imposed on them when studying the history of department stores.

Publishers. On pp. 6-7, a short discussion on shopping in Paris. On page 93, a short set of
population stats of Paris are given, from the 13th c. In 1861, after all suburbs were annexed, the
population was 1.6678m; in 1866, 1.8m; in 1872, 1.8518; in 1891, 2.447. At least 3 magasins de
nouveautés had a pavilion: Bon Marché, Le Printemps Le Louvre, (p. 144 and p. 167), and on
page 167, these same stores are called dry goods shops. It is noteworthy that the term department
store is NOT used. The special Elevated Sliding Platform (as called) is discussed on pp. 189-90.
It is the 2-speed famed trottoir roulant. There were also auto races of various types (automobilism). A Women’s pavillon was also present.


Harris, Leon (1972) Behind the scenes in a department store, Philadelphia, Lippincott.


Harris, Neil (1987), “Shopping–Chicago Style,” in John Zukowsky ed. Chicago Architecture 1872-1922. Munich: Prestel-Verlay, in association with the Art Institute of Chicago, pp. 137-155. A well-illustrated and well written article on the Chicago shopping district, including a worthwhile discussion on the various Chicago department stores. The book was also published in French and German. Discussion on the department store can also be found elsewhere in the book.

Harris, Neil (1990), Cultural Excursions Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America, Chicago: University of Chicago Press. See chapters 3, 6, 9, and 13.


Harrod's Ltd. (1949), A Study of British Achievement, 1849-1949, London, Harrods, Ltd. On page 34, it states that the first escalator was installed in Nov 1898 where two attendants were stationed at the top of it to revive alarmed customers with cognac and salt volatile (see Artley 1976, p. 8).


Hattem, Maurice (1979?), “I. M. Hattem and His Los Angeles Supermarket,” Western States Jewish History, Vol. 11 (3).

Hatton, John Matthews (1931), “The Architecture of Merchandising,” The Architectural Forum, Vol. 54 (April No. 4), pp. 443-446. Also the entire issue of Vol. 40 (June) 1924 of this publication is on department store design, and other store architecture.


Hautecoeur, Louis (1933), “De l’échoppe aux grands magasins,” La Revue de Paris, Volume 40 (July-August 15), pp. 811-841. This article traces the history of small shops in Paris from the Middle Ages to the grands magasins of the later part of the 19th and early 20th c. The article was published in the August 15th issue. The Hector Lefuel’s book was reedited in 1926 “Collection des maisons de Paris et des intérieurs les mieux décorés,” of the later part of the 18th c. (see Lefuel 1925).


Haven, Alice B. (1863), “A Morning at Stewart’s.” Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine, (May), pp. 429-433. This magazine was a popular fashion oriented one at the time. She was more enthused about Stewart’s than Crapsey. Here is how she described the silk department on the first floor “we are dazzled by the display of delicate and gorgeous fabrics” (p. 431). According to her, Stewart’s 1862 store at Astor Place had a woman’s lavatory (bathroom) in the basement (p. 431).


Hayward, Walter S. and Percival White (1922), Chain Stores: Their Management and Operation, NY: McGraw-Hill. The book may also have other editions, a 1928 edition and/or a 3rd edition.


Heathcote, Phyllis (nd), *Great Stores of the World*, A Guardian pamphlet, article on the Bon Marché by the author. Articles on other stores may have been written by other authors.


Heidingsfield, Myron (1949), “Why Do People Shop in Downtown Department Stores?” *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 13 (April No. 4), pp. 510-512. A number of reasons are given based on a survey done by students taking a marketing research course at Temple University. Special events did not seem to have an important effect in building store patronage, nor did the possession of a charge account. Lack of time was the main reason why people did not shop downtown.


Helbronner, Jules (1890), Exposition universelle de 1889 Paris France, Rapport sur la section d’économie sociale, Ottawa: Brown Chamberlin Queen’s Printer. The *Bon Marché* is mentioned on page xxxiii, and pp. 41-42, and 388. Helbronner was a Montreal journalist whose mandate given to him by the federal govt was to see what social policies and practices (i.e. économie sociale) existed in Europe for workers, in terms of health, accident prevention, pension, family, etc.

Helbert, Erich A., Eleanor G. May and Malcolm McNair (1965), *Controllership in Department Stores*, Boston, Mass: Harvard University, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration. This 154-page publication analyzes the controller’s job in detail in relationship to the other major functions and division in a department store.


Helfert, Erich A., Eleanor G. May and Malcolm McNair (1965), *Controllership in Department Stores*, Boston, Mass: Harvard University, Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration. This 154-page publication analyzes the controller’s job in detail in relationship to the other major functions and division in a department store.


Hendrickson, Robert (1979), *Grand Emporiums The Illustrated History of America's Great Department Stores*, NY: Stein and Day. See pp. 131, 135 for discussion on AC in department stores. He said on page 35: The Marble Palace catered exclusively to women...In the famous "Ladies' Parlor" on the second floor were full-length mirrors imported from Paris that the ladies could preen in, the first used in an American store. Here were held the first fashion shows. The next page (p. 36) he discusses Abraham Lincoln's wife shopping at the store. Obviously, it was the Cast Iron Palace, and not the Marble Palace. He too made an error. I really cannot believe fashion shows were held in the Marble Palace.
Herbst, René (1927), Modern French Shop-Fronts and their Interiors. With a foreword by James Burford, London: John Tiranti. The book contains an excellent set of plates showing a wide variety of the best 'smartistics' French artwork, according to Artley (1970, p. 128). It has only 3 pages of text with 54 plates only two that are on the department store as of the 20th. The Au Bon Marché one is rather neat to see.


Hicks, Otho (1928), “Manufacturer’s Demonstrators” Journal of Retailing, Vol. 4 (October), pp. 24-25. A short article discussing Macy’s elimination of manufacturers’ booth for cosmetics. Instead, consumer surveys showed that it was better to arrange cosmetics by lines. On the cash register?

Higbee Co. (1911), Fifty years of service, celebrated by the Higbee Company in its new store, Cleveland, OH.

Higinbotham, Harlow N. (1906), The Making of A Merchant, Chicago: Forbes and Company. A book copywrited in from 1902 to 1906. He has 2 full chapters on the department store, including his own analysis of its origins which is quite well done. He also says on page 103 that one store in Chicago ‘a careful estimate of the number of persons entering this place during its banner day of trade is 225,000. .. with an average force of employees of 3,300 increased to 4,000 to meet the demands of a prosperous holiday trade.” He does not name the store but it’s obvious it’s Marshall Field with 15.5 acres of floor space (p. 100).


Higgins, Brian (2003), “Lazarus: Will not Rise From the Dead,” Columbus Dispatch, October 29, While this is a letter to the editor, nevertheless it offers good insights. One of the reasons of the demise of Lazarus is the building of Polaris, Easton and Tuttle Mall retail complexes.

Higinbotham, Harlow Niles (1902), The Making of a Merchant, Chicago: Curtis Publishing.


Hill, Ralph Nading (1958), “Mr. Godey’s Lady,” American Heritage, Vol. 9 (October No. 6), pp. 20-23, 97-101. The article discusses the life and contributions of Sarah Hale, the women who wrote 'Mary had a little lamb', plus two dozen books. She created the 1st successful women's magazine as editor of Godey's Lady's Book, a Philadelphia magazine for 40 years. She was for
women's rights, and her elegant readers sought her advice on child rearing, shopping, fashion, etiquette, and homemaking. Antoine Godey, a shrewd businessman, founded The Lady's Book in 1830. Then in 1837, he offered to buy Sarah Hale’s Ladies' Magazine, a Boston magazine. She accepted and it was renamed Godey's Lady's Book and American Ladies Magazine, to be called Godey's Lady's Book. It had 150k subscribers in the mid 1800s. She disliked fashion and fashion plates were not common in the magazine. On the other hand, she suggested clothing designs, and promised to buy and ship any article of clothing to subscribers, including 'lingerie' a word she popularized. This may have been the forerunner of the mail order catalogue. She sought the help of inventors to produce a better washing machine. In the April 1854 issue, she ran a picture of the new machine. She established the Female Medical School in Philadelphia, told women to go out and work and earn a living in department stores or as waitresses, and not be confined in the household. She fought hard to have Thanksgiving recognized as a national holiday, urged the founding of a school for nursing (1st one in 1873), and helped in the preservation of Mount Vernon. She hated the Victorian fashion where a woman had layers upon layers of clothes, told them to exercise, and to participate in outdoor activities such as swimming, croquet, and horseback riding. But surprisingly, in spite for her crusade for women's rights, she did nothing for the women's suffrage movement. She felt that politics was a man's domain. She stopped writing in December of 1877, and died a year later at the age of 91. The magazine continued until 1898 under different titles, but it was never the same after her death.


Hilton, Matthew (2000), “Class, Consumption and the Public Sphere,” Journal of Contemporary History, Vol. 35 (October No. 4), pp. 655-666. A review essay of 3 books: Geoffrey Crossick, and Serge Jaumain eds. (1999), Cathedral of Consumption; A. Kidd and D. Nicholls eds. (1999), Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain, 1800-1940, Manchester, Manchester University Press; and B. Strasser, C. McGovern, and M. Judt eds. (1998), Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. These books “overcome the problem of specialization that has plagued scholarly research on consumption, by including studies about instances of consumption, as well as principles of consumerism. Crossick and Jaumain tackle the broader issue of consumer-based class/gender identities within modern cities.” The other books stress the significance of consumption in bourgeois civil culture and the wide range of consumer politics. Taken together, these books emphasize that consumerism can only be understood in relation to social and economic developments in the broader society. See also Monod’s (1990) review of the Crossick and Jaumain book.

Hines, Mary Alice (1983), *Shopping Center Development and Investment*, NY: Wiley. Chapter 5: Development of Shopping Centers, especially pp. 41-43. She says the shopping center has its roots in retail bazaars, farmers’ markets and flea markets, even before the invention of money where barter was prevalent in central market places of the past.

“Hints to Retailers and State Street Observations” (1898), *Chicago Dry Goods Reporter*, Vol. 28 (June 4), pp. 28 and 34; see also October 22, p. 45. These short articles discuss problems of ventilation and cooling store interiors to increase shoppers’ comfort.


Hirschman, Elizabeth (1979), “Intratype Competition Among Department Stores,” *Journal of Retailing*, Vol. 55 (Winter), pp. 20-34. The article has nothing to do with the department store per se except that consumer’s store choice behavior is analyzed. Intratype means ten department stores are considered similar and consumer measurements are made to see what can be used to know more about store choice.


Hobart, Donald ed. (1950), *Marketing Research Practice*, NY: Ronald Press. A review of the history of marketing research at the Curtis Publishing Company which is presented as if the company invented the field. Many department store research projects are discussed.

Hobhouse, Christopher (1937), *1851 and the Crystal Palace; being an account of the Great Exhibition and its contents; of Sir Joseph Paxton; and of the erection, the subsequent history and the destruction of his masterpiece*, London: John Murray. A list of goods that is very detailed.


mainly in the USA which existed long before Walmart appeared. For e.g. during the depression years and during the 1950s with apparel discounting.

Hollander, Stanley (1960), "Competition and Evolution in Retailing", Stores, Vol. 42 (September), pp. 11-24. Reprinted in Ronald Gist ed. (1967), Management Perspectives in Retailing, NY: John Wiley, pp. 176-186. The article is a broad view of retailing history, from the late 1899 to modern times. The department store is discussed along with some neat illustrations, notably Macy’s on page 13. His last paragraph needs to be repeated “…the basic change in retailing results from the fact that while shopping may be a pleasure for some consumers, for many others purchasing is primarily a means to a more pleasant life.” This article also presents many new department store innovations that are truly outstanding, for e.g. the adv dept and window dressing dept, according to Hollander (p. 20).

Hollander, Stanley and Gary Marple (1960), Henry Ford: Inventor of the Supermarket?, Marketing and Transportation Paper No. 9, Bureau of Business and Economic Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Michigan State University, East Lansing: MI. A fifty-page monograph outlining the start and closure of the Ford Company stores, from December 1919 to beyond 1927, when the public was no longer allowed to shop there. The stores were closed down due to public outcry. The stores sold meat, grocery, clothing, shoes (i.e. dry goods), and sales were high for the time reaching $12m. Did Ford really develop the first supermarket?


Hollander, Stanley (1987), “Retailing and the Quality-of-Life,” in A. Coskun Samli ed. Marketing and the Quality-of-Life Interface, NY: Quorum Books, pp. 188-204. Hollander makes a brief but rather important comment on the social role of the department store as a way for “the lower income and less well-dressed customers” to feel more comfortable shopping in department stores as opposed to small fashion shops where sales clerks would no doubt glance disparaging at them and make them feel as if they did not belong there, similar to high fashion shops selling exclusive or high priced goods that exist even today.

Hollander, Stanley and Glenn Omura (1989), "Chain Store Developments and Their Political, Strategic, and Social Interdependencies", Journal of Retailing, Vol. 65 (Fall), pp. 299-325. The article discusses the evolution of the chain store and presents some information on the department store as well.

Hollander, Stanley and William Keep (1992), “Mass Merchandising/Traditional Retailing,” in Robert A Peterson ed. The Future of U.S. Retailing An Agenda for the 21st Century, NY: Quorum Books, pp. 129-160. Comments by Donald J. Stone, former vice chairman of Federated Department Stores, on pp. 160-163. A must read chapter for anyone interested in knowing more about the traditional department store and where it is going. In fact, traditional retailing in the title refers to the traditional department store. The chapter focuses on how other retail formats, technological changes and other factors will impact on this retail institution in the next ten years. Hollander’s insights are impeccable, fun to read and they proved to be more right than wrong.


Hone, Philip (1927), *The Diary of Philip Hone 1828-1851*, 2 volumes in one, in Allan Nevins ed. NY: Dodd, Mead and Company, a Kraus Reprint Co. NY, 1969. Hone was a shrewd businessman at an early age, was a commission auctioneer working with his brother and then at 40 withdrew from the business to travel and enjoy life. That’s when he wrote his dairy. The Table of Content in Volume 2 has a heading “1846 War with Mexico; Trinity opened; A. T. Stewart’s Store.” On page 896, for Friday, May 31 1850, Hone says “this is already the most magnificent dry-goods establishment in the world. I certainly do not remember anything to equal it in London or Paris; with the addition now in progress this edifice will be one of the ‘wonders’ of the Western World.” Spann also says Stewart and Co. were the largest importers by every vessel from France and England” (p. 455). The information from Spann (1981, page 455, note 10), is not verbatim what Hone actually wrote. Lockwood (1976) discusses Hone in numerous pages in his book stating that Hone wrote 2 million words in his diary. Hone served as mayor of NY in 1825.

Honeycombe, Gordon (1984), *Selfridges, Seventy-Five Years, The Story of a Store*, London: Park Lane Press. Harry Selfridge, the founder of this British department store, was also a brilliant manager of a department store in the US (Marshall Field). He decided to go to London to seek fame and fortune and opened his first department store in 1908. He was well known for his artistic prowess in merchandising displays.


Hood, Julia and Basil Yamey (1957), “The Middle-Class Cooperative Retailing Societies in London, 1864-1900,” *Oxford Economic Papers*, n. s. Vol. 9 (October), pp. 309-322. Reprinted in K. A. Tucker and Basil Yamey eds. (1973), *Economics of Retailing Selected Readings*, UK: Penguin Books, pp. 131-145. The article discusses the origin of the UK department store. They state that the numerous London retail cooperatives, such as the Civil Service Supply Associations (CSSA), formed in 1865, the Civil Service Cooperative Society (CSCS), formed in 1866, and the Army and Navy Cooperative Society (A&N), formed in 1872 were the precursors of the department store in England. Initially, the CSSA did not carry stocks of all merchandise for sale, and groceries made up the bulk of their sales. They explained that numerous such organizations appeared with even more officially sounding names, with over 80 such retailing organizations coming into existence from 1868 to 1890, as imitators of the established ones. Such “societies played a large part in bringing about changes which have generally been credited to the ordinary department store (that is stores not organized on cooperative lines). It is probable that their shops were the first major department stores in England” (pp. 139-140). These Coops accepted cash only, had marked prices, the buyer had to pay extra for delivery, wrote his own invoice, with prices from a price list. He then needed to have the invoice accepted. With his receipt in hand, he had to stand in line while the goods were being assembled while he waited. Not all goods were in stock so affiliated retailers gave discount to members. In 1866, 70 such retailers had such partnership with CSSA, which greatly expanded the assortment of goods (books, boots, shoes, coal, carpets, milk, butter, meat, pianos, and services. Some members were professionals (i.e. surgeons, architects, surveyors, stockbrokers, accountants), and these were buying goods such as
surgical instruments. But such purchases were more B2B than B2C. The authors also state that A&N was also in the manufacture of an assortment of goods as well (p. 137). In 1879, CSSA had 31,800 members with sales exceeding £1 million (1.475) while A&N had sales of £1.528 (see p. 137). The three major department stores, which existed along side these coops were Harrod’s, Whiteley’s and Shoolbred’s. They state that Harrod’s branched out from a grocery shop into perfumes, patent medicines, and stationery in 1868. Harrod’s had sales of £½ million in 1891, while A&N was about £2.75 million and by 1898, sales of A&N were more than £3 million, which made it “the largest department store in Britain,” but its sales was far below the Bon Marché (£7 million in 1898) and the Louvre £6 million in 1898.


Houghton, Walter (1886), Kings of Fortune or the Triumphs and Achievements of Noble Self-Made Men. Chicago: A. E. Davis. Chapter 3 has a unique discussion on A. T. Stewart, pp. 80-101. Chapter 10 is on Marshall Field, pp. 184-1190. He considered the 1862 Stewart store a tourist attraction when he stated, “few strangers ever go to New York and depart without visiting Stewart’s famous store at the corner of Tenth Street and Broadway” (p. 93).

Houser, T. V. (1959), “The True Role of the Marketing Executive,” Journal of Marketing, Vol. 23 (April), pp. 363-369. He was chairman of the Board of directors of Sears and he worked there for 30 years. An article on him may have been published in Fortune, a magazine not accessible in e-format and difficult to get in paper format.


Howard, George (1970), “A Congruency Study of the Training Needs of Middle Management in Department Stores as Perceived by Post Secondary Marketing Educators and Businessmen in the


“How Escalators Contributed to the Development of a Great Store” (1913), *Dry Goods Economist*, January 25, p. 61. This is really an ad for the Otis Elevator Company but this one page has lots of useful information.


Hower, Ralph (1943), *History of Macy's of New York 1859-1919: Chapters in the Evolution of the Department Store*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Appendix A: "Some Notes on the Rise of Department Stores in Paris," pp. 411-416. This Appendix discusses the question of where the department store first appeared: Paris or USA? While the question is moot, one thing is certain, US department stores were ahead of the French ones in customer service, the selling of non textile merchandise, the variety and amount of goods sold. Also Chapter 4 "An Interlude on the Revolution of Retailing," pp. 67-97. On page 289, Hower says “I have yet to find a single instance in which a Wanamaker first can be substantiated.” I can almost agree with Hower on that point given that far too many academics feel he was the innovator of many marketing practices. See his discussion on retail specialization, pp. 82-88.


Hubbard, Elbert (1909), “A. T. Stewart,” in his Little Journeys to the Homes of Great Business Men, Vol. 2. East Aurora, NY: The Roycrofters, pp. 97-126. Hubbard wrote a biography on a number of well-known businessmen in a series of small volumes, about 30 pages each. Hubbard’s biographies are also available in a book under the same title where all the small volumes have been bound, pp. 329-355. He also wrote a short biography of Peter Cooper (Vol. 25 No. 1 July, 1909, 28 pages, also available in the book), one of the contributors of the elevator. On page 24, Hubbard says he bought the lot on 3rd and 4th Avenue and the Bowery around 1836, where A. T. Stewart eventually built his Business Palace.” His short account of Stewart is mostly on his retail savvy. At the end of the text, he gives far too much credit to Wanamaker for retail innovations he did not invent and he also makes a small number of errors. Note Hubbard’s role in marketing and advertising.


Hudson's Bay Company (1920), Two Hundred and Fifty Years, 1670-1920, London: Hudson's Bay Company.


Hughes, G. Bernard (1958), “Europe’s First Department Store?,” Country Life, Vol. 123 (May 15), pp. 1058-1059. The Schomberg House built in the 1698 on Pall Mall, was a sumptuous and palatial building. Part of it was a retail shop in 1784. More of it was converted into a much larger retail shop when Harding, Howell and Co bought the business from 2 previous shop owners in 1796. They acquired more space until the House became a single entity known as No. 89, Pall Mall, a well-known street for shopping in the 18th c. as discussed by Adburgham (1979, pp. 80-85). The middle block of the House expanded into five shops, with glazed partitions of mahogany, selling chintzes (printed cotton), textiles and accessories. One shop sold furs and fans; a 2nd one sold haberdashery, dress silks, muslins, lace, and gloves; a 3rd shop sold jewelry, ornamental articles, French clocks, as well as perfumes and toilet articles. A 4th shop sold millinery, dresses, and underwear. The neat picture on page 1059 depicts what the store looked like in 1809. It was a shop for high society women-only looking for exclusive goods. The upper floor had 40 men and women employed in the workrooms. The restaurant (called Mr. Cosway’s breakfast room) served tea, coffee, wine, and sweetmeats. It advertised using circulars and “press display.” The firm even secured sole selling rights to green on chintz. The firm declined in importance when printed chintz became cheaper to make from steam-driven machines. Their “exclusive appeal to high fashion” was lost. By 1850, Schomberg House became part of the War Office, and until 1939 was the dwelling of Princesses Marie Louise and Helena Victoria. But to call it a department store is incorrect because it was a store for the very rich of London/British/foreign society (some goods were bought by royalty, e.g. Prince of Wales, etc.). Many of the goods were made to order, unlike a true department store. The shop was typical of other stores then except it offered more assortments. There’s no indication the five internal shops were managed as profit centers, each having a manager in charge. The store was for high society (class conscious store), and only the selected few could shop there or enjoy tea. The very essence of a department store is classless!
“Human-Interest Story of Richard W. Sears” (1914), Printers’ Ink, Vol. 89 (October 3 No. 2), pp. 13, 17, 18, 21, 22, 25. This is an article on the practices and policies of the founder of Sears, Roebuck & Co., Richard Sears. Sales were over $100 million by 1914. In the 17 years he was in charge, his sales grew from zero to $50m. He sold his business and retired in 1909, having accumulated a fortune of $25m. The person who wrote this article is unknown.


Hungerford, Edward (1922), The Romance of a Great Store, NY: Robert M. McBride & Co. The story of Macy’s. A discussion on odd/even pricing, on pp. 26-27. He also reports Macy’s type of equipment used for customer deliveries, from 1873, in chapter 1. The book has a lot of pertinent information but the information is presented here and there. The author discusses the 3 Macy stores: the 1858 (14th Street one), the 9-story-1902 store (34th street one, also called Herald Square), and the upcoming but yet to be built 19-story store (1932) as additions to the 1902 one. He discusses elevators, escalators, logistics, company vacation plan, health plan, restaurant, savings, and other employee benefits. It is not an in depth history of Macy’s, unlike others it offers redeeming value. He also presents 2 RPM cases, won by Macy’s, and one case went all to the Supreme Court of the US (around 1914). He does not mention Macy’s presence in other cities (Toledo and Atlanta) because it was a post 1922 strategy (see Palmer 1929). Finally, there are no references and no index at the end.

Hunt’s Merchants’ Magazine (1847), “Method in Trade Carried to Perfection”, Vol. 17, pp. 441-442, as part of a section called ‘Mercantile Miscellanies’ pp. 439-442. This article is from Jones (1936, p. 137) and the author is unknown. The information reported is from columns of a Southern Journal. It discusses the beginning of the department store, with departmentalized responsibilities by clerks and goods (for sales, commissions, etc.) from a pre-1847 dry goods store doing $300,000 per year located in Philadelphia. There’s even a communication system established between a clerk and the proprietor via a tube. The name of the magazine varies (Merchant’s, Hunt’s Magazine and Review, etc.). See Amicus (National Library of Canada data bank) for a more complete list.


Hutchinson, E. Lillian (1922), Housefurnishings, kitchenware and laundry equipment, NY: Ronald Press. “Published 1918 as one of the Department store merchandise manuals under the title. The house furnishings department.”


Hutton, N. H. (1876), “Fire-Proof Construction,” American Architect, Vol. 1 (February 5), pp. 43-44. This reference was obtained “somewhere” but I looked for it in the Fine Arts Library at OSU (under lock and key: rare book collection), but the article was not there!


“Illinois Department Store Bill (1897), Chicago Dry Goods Reporter, Vol. 27 (April 3), page 10. Tarr (1971) quotes “In no other city of Illinois does the department store exist as it is in Chicago. Until this evil...becomes more widespread, it is not probable that many State legislatures will take it into serious consideration.” In the April 17 issue “Ebb of Department Store Fight,” Tarr reports this quote “The great consuming public has no quarrel with an institution which it believes to have been instrumental in reducing the cost of living,” (pp. 9-10). The April 17 issue reports that on April 8, the anti-department store bill failed in the house by a vote of 63 to 77. The following quote was made in the Tarr article: “It is no crime to sell dry goods and shoes under one roof, and the department store stands vindicated.” This last quote reminds me of the series of retail and manufacturing restrictions imposed in Parisian business from the 13th to the 18th c. as reported by Franklin (1894) where the state restricted who could make what, who could buy from whom and who could sell to whom in order to protect apprenticeship system in place (guilds). It was France’s way of dictating the roles and positions in this pre-industrial, pre-market capitalistic society.


Ingels, Margaret (1952), *Willis Haveland Carrier: Father of Air Conditioning*, Garden City, NJ: See pp. 107-170, "a chronological table of events which led to modern air conditioning, 1500-1952." Also, Eugene Ferguson (1976), “A Historical Sketch of Central Heating, 1800-1860,” in Charles Peterson ed. *Building Early America: Contributions toward the History of a Great Industry Radnor*, PA: Chilton Book, pp. 165-185. The article discusses only household heating and has no reference to the department store or other commercial buildings. The reference list is a good. Specifically, Ferguson says "precursors of cooling and air conditioned will be found throughout the nineteenth century, that is a subject whose early history has not yet been traced" (p. 183).


James, Anthony (1950), “Consumer Revolution,” *Journal of Property Management*, Vol. 15 (March No. 3), pp. 184-192. He calls department stores merchandise museums “catering to those who can afford the luxury of their atmosphere and service” (p. 192). These will be replaced by discount stores, or those stores that can offer “a standard product and a standard value but at a sacrifice in comfort and convenience” (p. 189).


James, Kathleen (1997), *Erich Mendelsohn and the Architecture of German Modernism*, NY: Cambridge University Press. The book discusses Mendelsohn, the great German architect, who built not only department stores but many other types of stores including, office buildings,
theaters, and the famed Einstein Tower, and so forth. But he is better known as the German department store architect. The book is dry to read and the references are, as expected in German. The book was selected because Coles (1999) stated that the previous guru of German architecture, Alfred Messel, had built his Wertheim department store in the 1870s, as claimed. Yet according to James, it was in 1904, which would put the department store industry considerably behind relative to other European, US, and Canadian department store merchants (e.g. Stewart, Boucicaut, Field, Chauchard, Wanamaker, Cognacq, Lehmann, Eaton, etc.). Chapter 5 is interesting because it links advertising with architecture and says that advertising in Germany “expanded enormously during the second half of the twenties. Yet Coles (1999) gave the impression that it was in the late 19th c. Chapter 6 is on the department store and Mendelsohn and is a must to read. Page 208 discusses the Nazi hatred for the department store but does not state that many were burnt down as a result of that ideology in the 1930s. Note that the German controversy over the department store coincided with the early 1930s USA and Canada’s government investigations of the economic impact of large scale retailing on small retailers and prices, notably the chain store and the department store chain.


“Japan’s Big Department Store” (1908), Dry Goods Economist, October 31, pp. 38-39.


Jarry, Paul (1948), Les magasins de nouveautés: histoire rétrospective et anecdotique, Paris: André Barry et fils. The book has 32 illustrations, some of which have appeared in other books but some are quite original. For example on page 81, an ad (perhaps a loose leaf one) for La Belle Jardinière on opening day (October 25, 1824) informing the public that the store had fixed prices. The author traces such stores from the 13th c. and beyond. The book is quite hard to find.


Jefferys, James B. (1954), Retail Trading in Britain 1850-1950, London: Cambridge University Press. This is a voluminous book of 500 pages. It traces British retailing from 1850 to 1950, not only in general but by trade area as well (i.e. grocery, meat, milk, clothing, footwear, furniture, etc.). In each trade area, Jefferys gives an account of the role played by department stores (as well as other types of retail stores) in selling the particular type of goods in question. His main goal was to show "the importance of these trades in the social structure and economy in general" (page XV). He also makes a clear distinction between the retail trade before 1914, from 1914 to 1939, and from 1939 to 1950, with three separate chapters analyzing the distributive trades (part of the service sector) of each period (i.e. chapters 1 to 3). Finally, he has a neat chapter (chapter 4), which looks at the development of large scale retailing from 1850-1950. Much information on department stores is contained in this book. See pages 161-162, 325-326 on cash handling systems.

Jefferys, James and Derek Knee (1962), Retailing in Europe Present and Future Trends, London: Macmillan, pp. 59-62. The book has a short discussion on the department store, along with other retailing format. The authors say that the department store began to appear in Germany from 10 to 20 years after they first appeared in Paris and London in the 1860s and the 1870s. The only exception was in Rome when by 1914, the city still did not have any.


Jonassen, C. T. (1952), *Downtown Versus Suburban Shopping A Study of Attitudes Toward Parking and Related Conditions*, December, Columbus, OH: Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State University. The report was submitted to the National Research Council Highway Research Board. A study of consumer practices and attitudes on downtown versus suburban shopping in Columbus, Ohio in order to find out which factors attract or repel customers from shopping in either location. Jonassen was a sociology professor and was helped by Prof. Maynard for this study, along with others. The scales used to measure shopping preferences are unique.


Jones, A. Tillman (1980), ‘‘The Burdine Heritage,’’ *Update*, published by the Historical Association of Southern Florida, Vol. 7 (November No. 4).


Jones, Fred (1936), “Retail Stores in the United States 1800-1860,” *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 1 (October), pp. 134-142. A review of general stores and department stores. He gives a good definition of what is a department store vs. a general store or a specialty store. He gives a rather long quote on how goods were displayed and arranged (see pp. 137-138). But is the time period acceptable?


Jones, Kenneth and James Simmons (1990), *The Retail Environment*, London: Routledge. The authors present retailing form a locational geographical perspective. The book has lots of Canadian content given that both authors are from Toronto. The department store is often mentioned throughout the book and the authors provide original insights as to why the department store has lost market share. The book avoids the 4P approach that far too many retail books have adopted. It is a solid macro-oriented book on retailing the authors show the complexity of locational retail analysis. The book’s description by the publishers: “Despite its great size and importance within the economy, the retail sector is controlled by a relatively small number of retail chains, shopping centre developers and government agencies. At the same time retail activities and commercial services are a significant and visible part of our social system-they both reflect and shape our preferences, lifestyle and more. We are what we consume, and our consumption priorities describe our society; but these preferences are mediated through the actions of such institutions and organizations as the chains, shopping plazas and urban planners, acting either jointly or in competition. This book describes and explains retailing with a particular emphasis on the problem of store location and on the spatial supply side. The text is divided into four parts and in part one the student is introduced to the basic principles and components of the retail system. The spatial pattern of demand is emphasized, but income and demographics are discussed as well. The chapter on the supply side looks at the corporate composition of retailing in some detail, stressing the degree of concentration in the industry. A final chapter introduces the study of consumer behaviour. Part 2 describes the spatial structure of retail activity, at both the settlement and intra-urban scale, but always with an eye on the location decisions of retail chains and developers. The complementary chapters on the directions and processes of change in retail structure introduce new topics and themes and lay the framework for later applied studies. In part 3, retail structure is examined from the viewpoint of business, introducing many of the most widely used procedures in store location studies. Students are urged to evaluate these techniques in terms of the retail chain's strategies and requirements. How much information and model building is appropriate for a new chain that is moving into a rapidly growing market? Finally, part 4 takes a brief look at the policy implications of retail activities and the possible direction for change in the retail system of tomorrow.”

Jones, Robert (1973), “Mr. Woolworth’s Tower: The Skyscraper as Popular Icon,” Journal of Popular Culture, Vol. 7 (Fall No.2), pp. 408-424. A good article on the Woolworth building, even though the building was not a department store, it was built by a retailing giant, who supervised a lot of the building’s construction. He wanted to have his very own “cathedral of commerce,” as the building was called, much in the same way as Stewart and other department store entrepreneurs built their own buildings. Is it a trait to have retail giants immortalize their achievement via a building?


Journal of Retailing (1928), “A Roman Department Store,” Vol. 4 (July No. 2), pp. 12-13. The short note discusses the excavation of an ancient nine story high department store in Via Maganapoli adding on page 13 “that a full fledged department store existed in Rome centuries before the Christian era naturally makes one wonder how many more present-day inventions and organizations are merely modern reincarnation of devices that were in common use back in forgotten ages.” Of course, all of this is pure nonsense written by an overoptimistic journalist. The building might well have been real, but to conclude that it was erected as a department store insinuating that it was managed as a department store of the mid-19th c. and beyond is garbage.


Juhel, Étienne (1907), La patente des grands magasins, France: Caen.


Kahn, Ely Jacques (1929), “The Modern European Shop and Store,” The Architectural Forum, Vol. 50 (June No. 6), pp. 789-867. The article has 32 pages of plates (one sided). Part of the whole issue is on retail store design, especially the exterior, and the plates (pictures) are of stores, including department stores. The issue has also numerous articles on the architectural engineering of retail stores, notably on department stores (from pages 921 to 959). The specific articles on department stores have been duly referenced in this extensive bibliography on department stores.

Kahn, Ely Jacques (1930), "Designing the Bonwit Teller Store," The Architectural Forum, Vol. 53 (November), page 571. This page is an introduction to the main article, which follows next, pp. 572-579 (see the article by James Newman 1930).


Kalman, Harold and Terry McDougall (1985), “Big Stores on Main Street,” Canadian Heritage, Vol. 11 (February-March), pp. 16-23. A short article on the role of the department store in Canada and its role in the development of downtown. Eaton’s is the main focus of the article with much discussion of its history, evolution and new life as the department store is returning to the downtown core in the 1980s. Apart from the dreadful Sears’ error (i.e., Richard Sears opened a department store in 1864, p. 18; it was in 1924), the article has information not seen elsewhere, with a good discussion on the architecture of the department store.


Katz, Donald R. (1987), *The Big Store Inside the Crisis and Revolution at Sears*, NY: Viking. A 600 page book describing the origin of Sears and focusing its attention on the events of the 1980s. Surprisingly no references are provided. There is an index though with no reference to Stewart, Macy, or other department store merchants.

Katzin, Harold (1963), *Greek Revival Shop Fronts on Saint Paul Street, Montreal*, Architectural Report 160, McGill University call number AS42M38. This short student report has some interesting photographs. St Paul Street is the oldest street in Montreal and many buildings of the mid-1850s and beyond reflected the Greek revival architectural movement that was occurring in the US. This style had been in vogue in England before it came to the US. Stewart’s Marble Palace simply was a reflection of this modern movement away from Roman architecture. The period 1820-1860 is cited as to when this style was in vogue, even though many buildings reflected it before and after this suggested time frame.


Kelly, D. F. (1928), “A Department Store Complains About Profit Margins on Advertised Brands,” *Printers’ Ink*, Vol. 142 (January 26 No. 4), pp. 3, 4, 6, 160, 163, 164, 166, 169. The Fair department store of Chicago was founded in 1875. Kelley was GM of Mandel Brothers, Chicago. The Fair was purchased in 1922. He says as an e.g. Listerine, a brand selling at 79 cents when it cost 63 cents to buy. It cost the Fair 17 cents to sell the item or 80 cents. So selling this branded item at 79 cents does not offer the margin the store needs.


Kessner, Thomas (2003), *Capital City: New York City and the Men Behind America's Rise to Economic Dominance, 1860-1900*, NY: Simon and Schuster. AT Stewart is well documented in this book, which details the history of NYC viewed from the men who helped build it into the most modern capitalistic city in the world.
Ketchum, Morris Jr. (1948), Shops and Stores, NY: Reinhold Publishing. The book should have been entitled shops and department stores because over 200 pages of this 300-page book are on the department store. The author discusses every facet of the department store including: fixtures, displays, water supply, wiring, walls, windows, elevators, escalators, store fronts, sprinkler systems, fire alarm systems, flooring, lighting, marble, drainage systems, fitting rooms, delivery, etc.


Khermouch, Gerry, Robert Berner, Ann Therese Palmer and Anand Natarajan (2003), “It’s Not Your Mom’s Department Store,” Business Week, December 1, pp. 98-99. They say that bringing young shoppers is important. Department stores “are creating more theatrical environments that use music and light to mimic the excitement young shoppers have learned from specialty store.” They are forgetting that department stores of old invented such an environment.

Kidwell, Claudia and Margaret Christman (1974), Suiting Everyone: The Democratization of Clothing in America, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press. This book is published by the National Museum of History and Technology and was sold through the Superintendent of Documents, US Government Printing Office Cat # SI 3.2: SU 3, stock # 047-001-00119-2. The book is a gold mine of old ads from the late 18th to modern times, with an emphasis of 19th c. ads. There are many pages devoted to the department store, notably pp. 154-164. The book discusses in detail the history of ready-made clothes in the US and argues that, unlike European countries, clothes as a form of class distinction did not exist in the US. The authors discuss the lower cost of buying ready to wear vs. sewing, as quoted on page 149 in the book and on page 158, a discussion on the elaborate window displays by Jordan Marsh, dated 1883. Overall, a neat book to read for it traces the history of ready to wear clothes from its modest beginning to the invention of proportional measurements, paper patterns, cutting tools, the sewing machine, electricity, iron for pressing clothes, and so forth. Ready-made clothes became a mass market only in the late 1800s and early 1900s even though such clothes were sold much earlier. Tailoring required expert craftsmanship. These later became merchants, and finally, mass distribution was required (i.e. large stores like the ‘specialized’ department store such as Filene’s, Wanamaker, and Jordan Marsh).

Kiesler, Frederick (1930), Contemporary Art Applied to the Store and Its Display, NY: Brentano’s. A brief but very stimulating book even if the amount of text is minimal. This architect has a lot of insight and what he says has often profound meaning. The department store is discussed throughout the book in short but insightful comments about the building, displays, storefronts, etc.


King, Moses (1893), King's Handbook of New York City, An Outline History and Description of the American Metropolis, second edition, Boston, Mass. This one thousand-page book was planned, edited and published by Moses King. It is similar in content to a tourist guidebook, but with detailed information. The book provides a detailed description of the city from hotels, retail,
manufacturing, monuments, hospitals, government offices, etc. The late A. T. Stewart is mentioned repeatedly but not the stores because they were long gone. Two fascinating points are that Moses refers to the department store as the bazaar (pp. 240, 844) or emporium (p. 146). The use of the word 'department' was reserved for a manufacturing firm's various departments (i.e., accounting, shipping and handling). For e.g. on page 898, he refers to the Francis Leggett's 25 departments, 'each of which is in charge of a competent manager.' Thus the term 'department store' may have been a spin-off of the term used to refer to the various departments in a manufacturing firm, given the nature of the retailing business. The first edition published in 1892 used the term 'bazaar' and 'emporium' on pp. 214, 786-788, 796-797. Similar to Benson (1884), King does not use the term 'department store' but instead he calls the new institution a dry-goods store, large bazaar store, houses, and distinguishes between the dry goods store and the modern bazaar store. Hopkins (1899) uses the expression "known generically as the department store" p. 4. The other important point in King's (1893) book is that he states on p. 210, that the Western Union Telegraph Company uses pneumatic tubes which "extend under Broadway from 23d Street to Dey Street...messages are sent a distance of about 2.5 miles. Similar tubes extend from Dey to Broad Street." This fact means that pneumatic tubes were used earlier than originally thought.


Klein, Lloyd (1990), “Going Out of Business: Consequences of Economic Concentration in the Retail Industry,” *American Sociological Association*. Paper of the Association. Capitalist productivity is often measured through the effectiveness of the retailing (or distribution) of available consumer commodities. The retail industry faces two essential problems: a pronounced trend toward economic concentration that limits competition & consumer options, and a general economic downturn that has produced lessened retail industry profitability. In one case, Campeau, a British conglomerate, acquired Bloomingdale's, Abraham & Straus, and B. Altman's, and incurred prohibitive debt that resulted in an inability to properly capitalize these large retail businesses. As a result, several potential buyers made offers for Bloomingdale's, B. Altman's has been sold, and Abraham & Straus is experiencing serious economic deficits. Analyzed are: (1) economic concentration in the retailing industry; (2) the role of the department store in a diversified capitalist economy; (3) economic trends in consumer debt and shopping activity; and (4) how retail industry failures reflect contradictory trends in predicting consumer desires vs. capitalist expansion.

Klemke, Lloyd (1982), California Sociologist Vol. 5 (Winter), pp. 88-95. M. O. Cameron's study of shoplifting (The Booster and the Snitch: Department Store Shoplifting, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964) is critically reviewed and new data are presented. Cameron's data led her to the conclusion that shoplifters stop shoplifting after being apprehended by store personnel. Self-report data from questionnaires administered to 1,189 California high school students show that many of those apprehended for shoplifting (40%) do not terminate that activity.


“Kleptomania as a Disease and Defense” (1896), American Lawyer, Vol. 4, page 533.

“Kleptomania” (1896), Atlantic Medical Weekly, Vol. 6 (December 26), pp. 401-406.


Labov, William (1997), “The Social Stratification of (r) in New York City Department Stores,” in Adam Coupland, Nikolas and Jaworski eds. *Sociolinguistics: A Reader*, NY: St Martin’s Press, pp. 168-178. An investigation of the pronunciation of postvocalic [r] as a marker of social status in New York City. Data were collected via casual & anonymous interviews in which researchers would request the location of a department known to be on the fourth floor from customers in a high-, middle-, & low-ranking department store (N= 68 in Saks Fifth Avenue, 125 in Macy's, & 71 in S. Klein's, respectively). When the response fourth floor was received, clarification was requested & resulted in a more emphatic fourth floor. Because previous research indicated that a store's prestige tended to be reflected in the social-class level of its employees, it was hypothesized that postvocalic [r] would be more likely to be present in the speech of employees in the high-ranking store, followed by those in the middle-ranking store. Findings supported this hypothesis.


Lacrosse, Jacques, Pierre de Bie and P. Vandromme (1972), Émile Bernheim, Histoire d’un grand magasin, Bruxelles: Labor.

La Dame, Mary (1930), The Filene Store: a study of employees' relation to management in a retail store, NY: Russell Sage Foundation. An excellent book on various issues of managing a large scale department store. Many issues related to a store's operation are presented, along with the store's relation with employees. Filene's many innovations are mentioned such as the Filene Co-Operative Association established late in the 19th c. or early 20th c. The establishment of an Arbitration Board and its subsequent abolishment. The Filene profit sharing plan is presented. The Automatic Basement is presented (pp. 84-85 and 446); many other aspects of managing the store are also discussed.


Lainé, André (1911), Les demoiselles de magasin à Paris, Paris: Arthur Rousseau. The book is based on the author’s 1911 Thèse de droit with the title “La situation de femmes employées dans les grands magasins.” It discusses, among other topics, how a woman’s private life affected her ability to hold a job. The rules demanded by store managers were very harsh. For example, if she were found to have an “unsavory” lifestyle, she would be fired. These rules also applied to men workers.


“La journée d’une demoiselle de magasins” (1907), Lectures Pour tous.


Lambert, Richard S. (1938), The Universal Provider, A Study of William Whiteley and the Rise of the London Department Store, London: George G. Harrap. The life story and tragic death of William Whiteley, the entrepreneur-merchant who gave London her first department store. The book has a number of interesting illustrations. On the inside cover page a quote from Aldous Huxley who once said, "I'll get you a hedgehog at once, they're sure to have some at Whiteley."
Lampugnani, Vittorio Magnago and Lutz Harwig eds. Lift Escalator: A Cultural History of Vertical Transport, Berlin: Ernst and Sohn. This book of reading is on vertical transport and many pages are devoted to the department store and the use of elevators and escalators. Some of the articles are quite fascinating to read. The overall problem with the book is that the written English is rather poor. An editor should have been used to make the articles more readable.


Landau, Sarah Bradford and Carl Condit (1996), Rise of the New York Skyscraper 1865-1913, New Haven: Yale University Press. The A. T Stewart store is discussed as one of many buildings that led to the development of the skyscraper (pp. 7-9 and 43-44).

Landes, David (1949), "French Entrepreneurship and Industrial Growth in the Nineteenth Century", Journal of Economic History, Vol. 9 (May), pp. 45-61. While the article does not have much to say about the department store, it shows the way a typical economist treats the French entrepreneurs in general. In fields other than part of the distributive trades (service sector).


Larke, Roy (1994), Japanese Retailing, London and NY: Routledge, chapter 6: “Department Stores: Traditional Large-Format Retailing,” pp. 165-194. His list of refs at the end (pp. 246-266) contains a number of refs on the department store but they were in Japanese and are not include here.


Laudet, Fernand (1933), La Samaritaine, le génie et la générosité de deux grands commerçants, Paris: Dunod. This is the history of this French department store, which began in Paris in 1870.


Laurenson, Helen B. (2005), Going Up Going Down The Rise and Fall of the Department Store, Auckland, NZ: Auckland University Press. This 165 page book is on the history of the department store, but it’s not clear if it only applies to NZ.

Larvor, Dominique, François Menicot, Hélène Chandelier et Gilles Viau (1987), Hypermarchés, Horizon 1995, Collection : Les Dossiers Distribution-Vente, Paris : Chotard et Associés. Much information was obtained from LSA (libre service actualité) and Points de Vente French trade magazines. Trujillo is mentioned in this book. The book is not well structured and not well written. Its value is questionable for academic work. It covers retail distribution in France from when the first hypermaeket opened in 1963 by Carrefour in Annecy, suburb of Paris called Sainte Geneviève des Bois to today (i.e. approx. 1985). The authors are sure it was a French invention. They give the impression that self-service was also a recent technological innovation. Pages 101 to 108 discusses retail/supplier relations and outlined who has the power.


Lawrence, Jeanne C. (1990), “Steel Frame Architecture versus the London Building Regulations: Selfridges, the Ritz, and American Technology,” Construction History, Vol. 6, pp. 23-45. The author discusses Harry Selfridge and his quest to build a London department store. The article says that in order to construct the enormous, technically advanced department store Selfridge envisioned, he had to overcome the obstacles that prevented him to build the type of store he wanted. The building codes in force in London at the end of the 19th century prevented him from doing so. Until fate brought him to London, he had worked for Marshall Field for many years and was familiar with American steel frame and reinforced concrete construction methods. But such methods were largely unknown in Britain at the end of the 19th c., according to Lawrence, and they were mistrusted. The Ritz Hotel constructed in the mid 1890s used steel frame but had to abide by the codes under the provisions of the old Building Act of 1894. The steel frame was covered in masonry to the specified thickness. However, Selfridge’s design could not respect this way of erecting his department store. His department store could not adhere to the code because of the wide plate glass windows, which gave it a near absence of external walls. Nevertheless he persevered and his engineering approach brought on a new architectural paradigm to the London business district. Selfridge was able to build his Chicago-style department store, the first such store in Britain and perhaps in Europe. Not only was he able to build his store but he was instrumental in having the new London Building Act reforms of 1908, the same year his department store opened. His determination paid off because their passage made it possible for other builders to use modern structural engineering methods that Selfridge had brought with him from the US.

Lawrence, Jeanne C. (1992), "Geographical Space, Social Space, and the Realm of the Department Store," Urban History, Vol. 19, pp. 64-83. The article is a case study of the Higbee Company of Cleveland, Ohio. This department store is presented as it operated in the early to mid 20th century. The store is discussed as part of a hierarchy of other stores in a context of a complex changing urban environment.

Lazarus (1947), *Lazarus*, Columbus, Ohio. A 47-page booklet available only at the main public library in Columbus, Ohio (ref #OH 381.45 L431 and OH 977.13C72cdi). The booklet celebrates Lazarus’s 96th year of founding in Columbus in 1851. The Columbus library has four documents on Lazarus, one of which is a binder full of newspaper clippings and mostly local magazine articles, some dating back to the early part of the 20th c. Was this department store progressive and innovative? The answer appears to be no. Escalators, air conditioning, parking, branch stores, etc. appeared later than in other department stores. Perhaps the use of electricity in the store by using Lazarus’ own power station, the weather reporting service offered in the early 1900, the installation of the soda fountain, or the selling of radio equipment in 1922 can be considered innovative. Attempts were made at the Lazarus executive office in Columbus in July of 2001 and July of 2002 to obtain more historical information about this famous Columbus department store with no success. It seems that a history of this department store has yet to be written or if one exists, it was privately published and thus not easily available. In 2003, the store was part of FDS but was purchased by Macy, and is now called Lazarus-Macy. Soon though, the Lazarus name will disappear. Another department store bites the dust.


Lazarus, Fred Jr. (1957), *Up from the Family Store: Federated Department Stores*, NY: Newcomen Society. An address given by Fred Lazarus dealing with the history of Federated Department store delivered in Cincinnati Ohio on October 24, 1957 before a meeting of Business University and Industrial leaders. The booklet is 16 pages of text.


Leach, William (1989), *True Love and Perfect Union: The Feminist Reform of Sex and Society*, second edition, Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press. The first edition was published by Basic Books in 1980. The book is an historical wonder on the social history of women in the nineteenth century. Leach discusses various social movements (i.e. positivism, scientific revolution, etc) that transformed the role (and occupational status) of women in American society. Chapter 9 “The Bee and the Butterfly: Fashion and the Dress Reform Critique of Fashion” (pp. 213-60), discusses the role played by department stores in making women fashion conscious and developing a culture of consumption. It also has an excellent discussion of the
impact department stores had in other areas. A. T. Stewart is discussed (among other merchants), and we see a side of him not presented elsewhere. The book has over 75 pages of footnotes (11 pages in chapter 9 alone) with most of them from the 1850s to late 1890s. It is interesting to note that even though A. T. Stewart, R. H. Macy, Marshall Field, Potter Palmer, and many others are discussed, the word "marketing" does not appear once in the book.

Leach, Williams (1989), "Strategists of Display and the Production of Desire,” in Simon Bronner ed. Consuming Visions. Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880-1920, NY: W. W. Norton, pp. 99-132. An historical account of store displays and shop window mannequins, and, in general, the art of visual merchandising as used by retailers. For e.g. women’s clothes were displayed using headless/armless mannequins, then full life wax figures were used. He discusses a number of artists who were masters at displays, such as Culin, Urban, Kratz, and Baum. His focus is more in the 1910s and 1920s then the late 19th c. My only concern about the article is that it’s too US focused with nothing much from Europe as if they were not as creative or innovative. In fact, he does not discuss at all previous attempts at visual merchandising done in London or Paris shops and European department stores at the turn of the century. "Leach explains major changes in retail practices and the rise of the urban retail store in the late 19th century. He outlines a cultural shift from a "Land of Comfort" in which Americans were surrounded by natural abundance and restraint to a "Land of Desire" centered on accumulation and the creation of wants and desires by advertisers and store windows. A key element in this shift was the use of electric lighting, colored glass, realistic mannequins, and music to transform a shop into a "retail environment,"creating a spectacle and attracting potential customers. John Wanamaker of Philadelphia, in particular, was a major innovator in the use of these modern techniques. Leach expanded greatly on these points in his 1993 Land of Desire.”


“Leased Departments” (1961), Stores (October), pp. 8-16, 46-52.

“Leased Departments” (1964), Stores (July-August), p. 31.


Leeds, Herbert (1961), ”The Department Store is Here to Stay”, Department Store Economist, Vol. 24 (July No. 7), pp. 24-26, 30.


Society as a department store.

Lehman, Helen Mary and Beulah Elfreth Kennard (1922), Paper and stationery, NY: The Ronald Press Company. “Published 1917 as one of the Department store merchandise manuals under the title The stationery department, by Mary A. Lehmann.”

Lehman, Helen Mary and Beulah Elfreth Kennard (1922) Glass and Glassware, NY: The Ronald Press Company. “Published 1918 as one of the Department store merchandise manuals under the title , The glassware department by Mary A. Lehmann.”


Leigh, Ruth (1923), Elements of Retailing, NY: D. Appleton and Company. A book written by a woman on modern storekeeping procedure. She says “as far as I know, it is the ony volume that attempts to present retailing fundamentals in a thoroughly elementary way” (p. VIII). She gives a good definition of the department store on pp. 4-6. She received help from the NRDGA to write the book.


Le Louvre (1880), Grand hôtel et grands magasins (1880), Paris: Louvre Archives. Le Louvre was a direct competitor of le Bon Marché, at least initially. Nord (1986, page 509), states that this book was published in the late 1870s.


Leroy-Beaulieu, Paul (1873), *Le travail des femmes au dix-neuvième ième siècle*, Paris: Charpentier. There is a 1888 edition. He also wrote *Traité d’Economie politique* that may have some discussion on the department store.

Leroy-Beaulieu, Paul (1875), "Les grands magasins universels et les petits détaillants," *L’Économiste français*, samedi 25 décembre, Numéro 52, pp 801-803. He discusses the plight of small shopkeepers in the face of department stores and concludes that the law of the market and the state should not interfere in the market. His only question: are large stores paying their fair share of taxes relative to small stores or are small shops paying disproportional more?


Lessard, Michel éditeur invité (1995), “Les grands magasins un nouvel art de vivre.” *Cap-aux-Diamants*, No. 40 (Winter). The whole issue (over 60 pages) is devoted to the Quebec department store industry, circa late 1900 to modern times. See his Preface page 9. Over ten authors contributed to this special issue but most of the articles are rather short with little or no reference to stores located elsewhere in Canada or abroad. It is understandable given that this publication is on the history of Quebec, that is, French-speaking Quebec!


Lesselier, Claudie (1978), “Employées de grands magasins à Paris (avant 1914),” Le mouvement social, No. 105 (octobre-décembre), pp. 109-126. The paper looks at the hiring practices of Le Bon Marché but more so on Le Printemps (the author says availability of archival materials is more extensive than for Le Bon Marché). The author focuses more of his attention on the women’s collective labor movement in such stores than on discussing what these «demoiselles de magasin» received from their employers or their role in how such stores were managed.


Levering, A.V. (1919) “Martin L. Parker,” System, Vol. 36 (October), pp. 647-648. He built up a successful department store. The article is one paragraph with very little information provided.


Levy, Hermann (1942), Retail Trade Associations, London.


Lhermie, Christian (2001), Carrefour ou l'invention de l'hypermarché, Paris : Librarie Vuibert. Some very brief comments are made about the birth of the supermarket, self-service, and of course, the hypermarket, which he considers a French invention, as do many other French writers. Bernardo Trujillo from NCR, Dayton, Ohio, is considered to have been the guru who influenced Marcel Fournier and others to establish a more modern way of distributing and selling goods in France.


Lien, Ling Ling (2009), “The Show Must Go On: Department Stores and the Making of Fashion in Shanghai during World War II,” History Business Conference (HBC) Vol. 7. Author’s abstract. This paper discusses how department stores in Shanghai promoted the notion of "fashion" during the World War II. Thanks to the availability of new source material and analytical framework, the development of consumer culture and fashion has received scholarly attention in recent decades. However, most research has focused on peacetime, overlooking the impact of war on consumer mentality and behavior. In fact, historians have noted the growth of department stores in wartime Shanghai, but merely attributed it to "peculiar prosperity" (including speculation) without recognizing the store managers' acumen in business. Grounded on the journal published by the Wing On Department Store, this paper intends to explore the company's marketing strategies during the war. The journal, the Wing On Monthly, was founded in May 1939 and continued through the war until the Chinese Communist Party took over in 1949. It not only advertised merchandise sold in the store, but also sought to promote the ideas of "modernity," including choices of products, lifestyle, attitude, and even marriage. In particular I explore the construction of gender identity through consumption: how did such a leisure or consumption-based journal articulate "manhood" and "womanhood" in response to wartime chaos and emergency calls for national salvation? This research helps us reassess the effects of war on people's daily life, in both a material and an emotional sense. The war hardly suspended desires for a better self while redefining the content of fashion that in turn reshaped self identity.


Livesey, F. (1979), The Distributive Trades, London.


Lockley, Lawrence (1942), “Marketing Mechanical Refrigerators During the Emergency,” Journal of Marketing, Vol. 6 (January No. 3), pp. 245-251. In 1934, 1.39 million refrigerators sold at an average selling price of $172 mostly by appliance dealers. Sears (Cold Spot), Montgomery Ward played a minor role. The ‘emergency’ in the title means during the War, the OPM (Office of Production Management) restricted volume. See also Lockley (1938).

Lockwood, Charles (1976), Manhattan Moves Uptown An Illustrated History, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. The book discusses Philip Hone as well as AT Stewart in numerous pages and new material is presented as well. He calls the Marble Palace “Stewart’s Folly” because some simply did not believe women would accept one stop shopping, given their behavior of buying
from specialty shops scattered along Broadway. Stewart was the second building which made its mark on New Yorkers, after the May 1846 opening of Trinity Church with its 284 foot tower. There’s an illustration showing the inside of Stewart’s store (on pp. 86-87), from the Museum of the City of New York, not seen before anywhere else. Lockwood focuses his attention on the real estate development of NY from the 1830s to the late 1880s. Many retail, hotel and restaurant establishments (the famed Delmonico, p. 82) are discussed, some new to me such as Taylor’s restaurant which on typical week days served over 3k customers. The St Nicholas hotel is well documented with some shops around this hotel discussed, but no mention of the famed Genin’s bazaar. He also puts into perspective the plight of the poor and how New York, at least up until the 1880s and 1890s, could be compared to present day poor cities in developing countries with their dusty and uneven dirt roads, with no sewers, erratic garbage collection, reoccurring epidemics (cholera, yellow fever), slaughterhouses with their consequences on neighborhoods (kids playing in the streets along with the sight and sounds of animals being slaughtered), poor quality housing, no running water, no plumbing in houses, education for the poor mostly provided by charity agencies or none at all., with slum landlords, an euphemism referred to as tenement housing (there was lots of money to be made). Yet amidst this filth and decay for large numbers of New Yorkers, were extravagant mansions, high quality retail shops and hotels offering all the modern present day conveniences consumers get (indoor bathrooms and baths, central heating, light (via gas then electricity), hot water, clean laundry, quality goods, latest fashions, and even the telephone (when it was first offered in the late 1870s) for the super super rich. Yet the common people needed to survive in NY and theft, prostitution, gangs, violence, were all too common. Let’s not forget that NY had a population of 1million in 1875 and over 3.4 million with the consolidation of the five boroughs into one city in 1898. Lockwood describes a section of New York in the 1840s to 1860s and beyond as the equivalent of certain sin cities of today, such as Bangkok, Reno, or Las Vegas with the publishing of the best brothels in the city for tourists and locals. There’s no doubt that New York City was a city of extreme wealth and extreme poverty with Hone’s house selling for $60k in the 1830s, while most NY workers earned about a dollar a day. Overall, a book that showed the economic development of a city and of a nation that was to become a world leader under circumstances that would be impossible to repeat today. However, Lockwood did not list even one reference and he wrongly attributed the Fifth Avenue Hotel in 1859 as being the first building to have an elevator (p. 165). It seems most of his material came from newspapers and magazines of the day (Commercial Advertiser, Harper’s, Godey’s Lady’s Book, Herald, Home Journal, New York Journal, Daily Tribune, Putnam’s Monthly, Tribune, etc.) quite a tedious and exhausting feat.

Lockyer, H. T. (1920), “The Rise of H.B.C. Vancouver Retail Establishment,” The Beaver, December, pp. 20-22. A brief time line of HBC’s stores in Vancouver from 1886 to 1920. The first was a one story building on Cordova St in 1886. Then a 4-stories high store with a basement was built which opened in 1893. HBC could not satisfy the demand for clothes, provisions, and mining equipment demanded by prospectors and companies during the Klondike rush. Thus, the store was expanded in 1899 doubling its size of 1893. The expanded store sold groceries, staple, fancy dry goods, shoes and boots, clothing and men’s furnishing, millinery, mantles and suits, carpets, and draperies. Dressmaking and upholstery departments were also offered to customers. In 1912, plans were completed to build a brand new store by tearing down the 1893 (expanded) one. Due to legal delays, work did not begin until 1913. In 1920, this new store had 6 stories, 2 basements, organized around 47 departments, a cafeteria serving ½ million meals a year. The author provides neat pictures of these 3 stores.

study of a large department store chain and how it improved its purchasing and distribution processes by developing FIPS, a system linking both parts (Fashion Information and Planning System) and how that system affected the organization, competencies within the firm, and the role of IT in the corporation.


Logan, Andy (1958), “That Was New York, Double Darkness and Worst of All,” *The New Yorker*, Vol. 34 (February 22 No. 1), pp. 81, 82, 84, 86, 88, 93, 94, 96, 98, 101, 102, 104, 106, 108, 113. The life story of A. T Stewart. Lots of detail about Stewart's business and his stores not found elsewhere. The author does not give any reference; so we don't know where the information came from. New expressions are used not found elsewhere such as the "AT Stewart Marble Dry Goods Palace." The format used is a typical magazine article where the story is spread over a large number of pages (i.e. 34 pages), which is quite cumbersome to read.


Lord and Taylor (1926), The History of Lord and Taylor, NY: privately printed.


Lossing, Benson (1884), History of New York City, 2 volumes NY: The George E. Perine Engraving and Publishing Co. The book is a social history of New York City from 1609 to 1884. In volume 1 (approx 430 pages), he discusses A. T. Stewart (on pp. 415-418). He says that Stewart left a fortune of $50 million when he died on April 10, 1876. His sales “in the two establishments are said to have amounted to $203,000,000 in three years and his net income for several years was over $1,000,000.” (p. 417). Are we to understand that the sales average $203 m. in 3 years, so that each year it was approx $64.5m? The $1 million in net income does not seem much on sales of over $64 m (less than 2%). For a definition of a department store, see pp. 791-793 in volume 2. Reference is from Abelson (1989, p. 245). He does not use the term department store. In volume 2 (approx 400 pages) he also presents a biography of.


Lowry, James R. and William Davidson (1967), Leased Department in Discount Merchandising, Bureau of Business Research Monograph Number. 132, Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University.


Mabire, Jean Christophe (2000), L'exposition universelle de 1900 Paris: L'Harmattan. On pp. 86 and 89, the author describes le trottoir mobile during the 1900 Paris Exhibition. There’s also an amusing picture of people on the trottoir with one person falling down.


MacLean, Annie Marion (1899), “Two Weeks in Department Stores,” American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 4 (May No. 6), pp. 721-741. The article depicts the harsh and often inhuman treatment the retail saleswomen received at the hands of the floorwalker and other department store managers. The poor salary they received was insufficient for them to survive and many resorted to prostitution out of sheer necessity. The article was summarized in Municipal Affairs, Vol. 3 (June No. 2), pp. 361-362, in “Digests of Current Literature.” Excerpt of the article can also be found in Review of Reviews 1899, Vol. 20, pp. 90-91, as “Department Store saleswomen.”


MacKeith, Margaret (1986), The History and Conservation of Shopping Arcades, London: Mansell Publishing. There’s a chapter on shopping centres indicating that arcades may have
developed into shopping centers, and an important force of shopping center development was the department store.

MacNamara, Kate (2002), “Winners thrives by grabbing leftover designer clothes,” Financial Post (March 11), page FP15. The article discusses Eaton’s venture into high-end stores back in 1920s at the College store, a store built in 1932. The project was Lady Eaton’s and it began in 1928. It was abandoned later on not only due to the Depression but the market was not there. It sold goods that rivaled those found at Harrod’s of London and Saks Fifth Avenue in NYC. It had high-end rugs, furniture, couture clothing, antiques etc. Yet Eaton’s in the 90s tried to transform itself into such a store but was unsuccessful and it contributed to its demise.


Macpherson, Mary-Etta (1963), Shopkeepers to a Nation: The Eatons, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.


"Macy's Develops an Innovation in Department Store Copy." (1926), Printers' Ink, Vol. 135 (April 22), pp. 190, 192.

“Macy’s Sets All-Out Assault Against Offensive Customer Service” (1965), Women’s Wear Daily, November 11, p. 10.

“Macy Store Again Enlarged” (1931), Architecture and Building, Vol. 63 (June No. 6), pp. 114-115. A description of the store now enlarged. It has 2 million square feet (700 by 200 ft wide) of space for sales purposes, storage and space for management. Five years earlier, Macy built an adjoining “20 story structure with a frontage on 34th Street extending through the block to 35th Street a distance of 197.5 feet” (p. 114). “The first nine stories extend the sales departments of the store and the upper stories house the executive and business offices” (p. 115).

Madison, James (1976), "Changing Patterns of Urban Retailing in the 1920's", in Carol Uselding ed. Business and Economic History, 2nd series, Vol. 5, Urbana, IL: Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of Illinois, pp. 102-111. The article discusses the department store’s preeminent market position until the 1920s when new urban retailers emerged to challenge the department store. It was the beginning of the end for this 19th c. icon of retailing according to the author. He seems to think that Sears, JC Penney, Montgomery Ward, and many other chain stores are not department stores. That would be ok if one defines the department store as a one unit store and that department store chains do not exist (see Ruckeyser 1928 and Stern 1933).

Mahaim, Ernest (1936), « Le consommateur, les classes moyennes et les formes modernes du commerce de détail-1 » Revue Economique Internationale, No. 28 (novembre), pp. 227-256. Part-2 published in January 1937, pp. 88-91. Brief discussion on the dept store. He repeats the same myth that le Bon Marché was the first such store. He also makes the usual mistakes that fixed pricing, returns etc. were all due to the dept store. His discussion on Migros is interesting because of the ban in 1935 against truck selling to protect local small merchants. It seems Migros first started
as a wagon retailer and did not sell alcohol; it was known as la “Société du vin sans alcool”, probably because of the belief by its founder, Duttweiler.


Mahoney, Tom (1955), The Great Merchants: The Stories of Twenty Famous Retail Operations and the People Who Made Them Great, NY: Harper and Brothers. Macy’s and Marshall Field are discussed. The book was redone in 1966 by Tom Mahoney and Leonard Sloane (1966), The Great Merchants, America’s Foremost Retail Institutions and the People Who Made Them Great, new edition, NY: Harper and Row. There is also a 1974 edition under the same title. The book’s first edition was in 1947, and has many subsequent editions (1950, 1952, and 1955). We don’t know to what extent new stores were added over the years and if the material on the existing ones was updated. That would involve a comprehensive review of all the editions. It has much discussion on the department store, including the Hudson’s Bay Company, Filene’s, Lazarus, Marshall Field, Macy’s, Rich’s, Hudson of Detroit, Sears, Neiman-Marcus, JC Penney, and others not related to the department store industry but more to retailing in general such as drug stores, supermarkets, book stores, and mail-order houses.


Maledon, William (1940), “Research in Retail Distribution; Its Methods and Problems,” Journal of Marketing, Vol. 4 (No. 3 January), pp. 238-248. He was assistant director of research at JL Hudson, a Detroit department store. He reports various projects done to help a particular department’s problem. One project involved interviewing 8,000 high school students.


Mandell, Maurice (1974), “History of Advertising,” chapter 2 in his Advertising, second edition, Englewood-Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, pp. 18-43. He says that display advertising “became a reality through the advertising of Lord & Taylor and R. H. Macy” (p. 32). There was a no display rule imposed by the publishers, so he says. Display ads were in fact a break from the traditional single-column, agate-type only ads. Mandell says that Macy and others simply repeated the ads on the same page or used clever ways to display the ad in a pyramid shape or other ways.

Mandell, Richard (1967), Paris 1900 The Great World’s Fair, Toronto: University of Toronto Press. Mandell’s book has an extensive bibliography. He says that the Bibliothèque de la chamber de commerce de Paris is especially rich in documents and I would not be surprised to find many sources on the department store. Chapter one is very good on the history of World’s fairs. It’s more of a social/historical analysis leading up to the 1900 fair, with much discussion of the
Dreyfus affair and Franco-German relations, rather than an analysis of the Fair itself. Not much discussion on retailing and merchandising. He says that the Bibliothèque de la chambre de commerce de Paris is especially rich in documents. I would not be surprised that many sources are on the department store.


Marchand, Roland (1985), Advertising the American Dream, Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940, Berkeley: University of California Press. He feels that “the ideology of obsolescence was played in women’s ready-to-wear” (p. 156). The book looks at ads from the 20th c. and not before. Rolland’s book is on the culture of consumption and the role of advertising with little discussion on the distribution of consumer goods.


Marcillon, L. (1924), Trente ans de vie des grands magasins, France: Nice.

Marcosson, Isaac F. (1945), Wherever Men Trade: The Romance of the Cash Register, NY: Dodd, Mead and Company. A history of the cash register with particular emphasis on the origins of the National Cash Register Company and its founder, John H. Patterson. It is one of the few rare books ever written on the history of the cash register. The author discusses at length the department store including A. T. Stewart, John Wanamaker, Marshall Field, Macy’s, Harrods, and many others. This innovation played a role in the operation of many businesses, including the department store, and the author presents interesting historical information on how they were affected by it. Abelson (1989, p. 249) makes the comment that Jordan Marsh 1880 may have been the first installation of the Lamson Cash Carrier Patent issued in April 1881. See also Cortada (1993).


Marcus, Leonard (1978), The American Store Window, NY: Watson-Guptill. The author discusses window displays at Macy’s, among other retail stores. The book has more than illustrations. It presents a number of display artists and what they have done and most are from the 1950s and beyond. The author makes a few errors saying that display merchandising began in the 1900, forgetting that many others have presented material that as early as 1790s, window displays existed, notably in England (Artley, 1966 and others).
Marcus, Stanley (1960), “The Creation of a Store Image,” Stores, January, pp. 17-18, Reprinted in Ronald Gist ed. (1967), Management Perspectives in Retailing, NY: John Wiley, pp. 148-151. Marcus was President of Neiman-Marcus. Is it possible that the attention given by academics on image research in the early part of the 1960s was a department store concern? That being the case it is possible that the research preoccupation slipped over in other areas or was manufacturers also preoccupied by image? Before or at the same time with the development of such tools as semantic differential, attitude measurement à la Osgood, etc.

Marden, Orison S. (1905), Little Visits with Great Americans, NY. The book contains some information on Wanamaker and perhaps other department store gurus.

Marden, Orison (1911), Pushing to the Front, 2 volumes Petersburg, NY. Wanamaker is discussed and perhaps other department store gurus?


Markin, Rom (1967), “The Demise of the Marginal Retailing Establishment,” Journal of Retailing, Vol. 43 (Summer No. 2), pp. 28-37, 66. The last few pages are worth reading. He provides an analysis of changes occurring among small scaled which are changing the retail landscape.


Marks, Abe L. (1964), “Fundamental Differences in Accounting-Department vs. Mass Merchandising Stores,” Retail Control, Vol. 31 (Summer), pp. 31-42.

Marnell, William (1971), Once Upon A Store A Biography of the World’s First Supermarket, NY: Herder and Herder. The book is dedicated to the memory of John and Paul Cifrino, founders of the Uphams Corner Market, in Dorchester, Massachusetts. The book contains no references and no specific dates. On page 39, Marnell (1971) describes what a supermarket is: A supermarket is a large store selling food products, cosmetics, kitchen gadgets, cleansing agents, paper products, stainless steel razor blades, magazines, etc. He then asks if the store was in fact a supermarket, what is the biggest food store in the world? Perhaps it was possibility not (p. 40). But it was big but its size is not given. It had 75 kinds of cheese, the largest in the world p. 112. But based on what? It had a bakery. It sold meats (p. 145). He says that the store was innovative in the sense that the shopper took a basket. Tea was packaged. Prices were clearly marked. It was a self-service store. The grocery counter was transformed into a self-service grocery department. He says the store offered prepared and prepackaged foods. Meats were not prepackaged. See Soper (1983).

Marrey, Bernard (1979), Les grands magasins des origines à 1939, Paris: Éditions Picard. It is an excellent book on the department store. The book focuses on the architecture of the department store, among other topics. He also discusses most of the department stores in France, including le
Bon Marché, le Printemps, and la Samaritaine. He has a discussion on the Dufayel store and on the Felix Potin stores as well, which is quite unique. The various dates as to when department stores began in Paris and elsewhere are provided (pp. 256-257). Of course, the dates do not always coincide with what others have stated. For example, the Stewart store first opened in NY in 1846 yet Marrey states it was in 1859. Such a difference is quite astonishing, given Resseguie’s published work of the early 1960s, or more than 15 years before his book was published. He also forgot to list Macy’s, Filene of Boston, Kaufmanns of Pittsburgh, Eaton’s of Canada, as well as many other department stores located in the US, Canada, Australia, Germany, or Japan. He also has a short biography of 26 department store founders (pp. 259-262) but these are mostly from France. It would be interesting to compare his biographies with those done by Bourienne (1989). He also has a similar biography of 46 architects, engineers and artists who were involved with the department store. None are from non-French-speaking countries (i.e. England) and not one is from the United States. Notwithstanding these minor irritations, the book is rather unique in the way the author discusses the department store.


Marshall, Alfred (1919), Industry and Trade, A study of industrial technique and business organization; and their influences on the conditions of various classes and nations, London: Macmillan. This 3-part volume is partly a history of economic thought and partly a summary of Marshall’s own views about where business originated and where it is going in France England and a bit in the US. It was informative to note that he actually visited the US in 1875. It is a rather tedious book to read because Marshall’s writing style is to me much too verbose and he lacks the ability to make his discussion points clear. In this 863 page volume, only a few pages are devoted to marketing per se. Specifically, he talks about the origin of the department store as being a British invention based on the cooperatives that emerged in Britain and Scotland prior to the development of les grand magasins, or as he says often in his book before such stores became Universal Provider (with caps). He shows his bias against American mass retailers saying that all that money spent on advertising is wasteful. He even goes as far as predicting that the American way will soon be abandoned for the more lofty way of the cooperatives in Britain. On that point, he seems to believe that cooperatives have a higher calling than large scale department stores in that they are not only there to help the customers, but also have a social mission which department stores do not have. His understand of the classification of department stores is woefully lacking and he seems to classify such mass retail establishments based on volume and number of members, even though in Britain, a large proportion of coops were dealing more in food commodities than in any other type of goods. Finally, it was informative to know that cooperatives where not only involved in buying and retailing of goods, but were also into manufacturing as well. In general, the book has too few references and when provided, some were either misspelled, incomplete to the point that they simply could not be located.


Marshall Field and Company (1907), The World’s Greatest Merchandisers, Chicago.

"Marshall Field’s New Store” (1892), Dry Goods Economist, Vol. 7 (March 26), page 461.


Marseille, Jacques ed. (1997), *La révolution commerciale en France. Du ‘Bon Marché’ à l’hypermarché,* Paris: Le Monde éditions. An edited book containing fifteen original articles (we are not told if they are original), on the changes in the French distribution structure from the department store era until now. I found one article that was already published elsewhere but it is not acknowledged anywhere in the book (see Bourienne 1989, “Boucicaut, Chaumard et les autres”). Many articles discuss some aspect of the history of the department store but mainly from the perspective of the entrepreneurs who helped create this new industry in France. The book was a disappointment even though the topic is very relevant to the department store. It is rather surprising that in the 21st c. one would hope that French writers and academics by now would have learned the scholarly way of writing articles. Alas! Such was not the case. The editor simply did not do a good enough job with too reference sources poorly cited and some almost impossible to decipher. Moreover, the writing style of too many contributors was not up to par.


Martin, C. Virgil (1959), “The Department Stores and Downtown,” *31st Annual Boston Conference on Distribution,* Boston, pp. 72-75. Martin was President and Director of Carson, Pirie, Scott of Chicago.


Matthews, Mary Catherine (1997), “Working for Family, Nation and God: Paternalism and the Dupuis Frères Department Store, Montreal, 1926-1952.” This MA thesis was done at McGill University’s History department.

Mauran, John L. (1908), “The Department Store Plan,” The Brickbuilder, Vol. 17 (November No. 11), pp. 252-255. The article describes how a department store plan is important in order to equip the store with all the amenities that a modern store requires.


May, Robert (1974), “Give the Lady What She Wants,” The Credit World, February, pp. 16-17. The author suggests that within the next 5 to 10 years, department stores will accept bank credit cards.


Mayer, Joseph (1939), The Revolution in Merchandise, NY: Greenberg, Publisher. The book is all about the department store from a practitioner’s point of view. His provides insights to the retailing revolution he saw coming after the War. It’s not particularly insightful because of the way the author presents the material. It could have been summarized in a 10-page article. But he has a few good points such as his 4-consumer segment of the department store (pp. 115-117), his 3-categories of the department store (luxury, typical and price-oriented, p. 26), and his emphasis on the changing female shopper due to the War’s after effect, consumer’s need for more luxurious items which he refers to the Lipstick Era. He was probably fed up with the emphasis on the sales volume’s goal most department stores were pursuing then. Finally, his views of the origin of the department store are as expected wrong, given that he credits Boucicaut’s Au Bon Marché as the origin of the department store.


Mazur, Paul (1927), *Principles of Organization Applied to Modern Retailing*, NY: Harper and Brothers. This book was the result of a 1924 research commissioned by the National Retail Dry Goods Association to study new organizational trends in retailing and merchandising, which of course involved the department store. After all, Mazur was involved in department store management and he received help from Donald David, a Harvard professor, and Myron Silbert to do the research. According to Leach (1993, pp. 289-290), this book on merchandising and retail management was “the standard study of the subject for the next fifty years.” The Mazur book and study is also discussed in Davidson (1961). Mazur was also the author who quoted that marketing is the delivery of a standard of living, a definition that has been accepted by some academics but it is rather preposterous when examined carefully.


McAusland, R. (1980), “Supermarkets: 50 Years of Progress,” *Progressive Grocer*, Vol. 59 (6), pp. 5-155. The history of the supermarket. I am unsure if all the text was written by this author.


McCall’s Magazine (1929), *A Nation on Wheels*, NY: McCall’s Magazine. This 36-page booklet discusses the importance of the automobile and improvement in transportation for today’s shoppers and the role played by Sears and Montgomery Ward.


McCaulley, Zula (1957), *The First Fifty Years*, Dallas: Neiman-Marcus, Dallas.
McCord Museum of Canadian History is home to collections of costumes, paintings, art and aboriginal objects. It also has a large online history of Canadian business and retailing as well, including department stores. Available at: www.mccord-museum.qc.ca/

McConaughy, David (1965), "The Role of Automatic Data Processing In Inventory Management in Selected Large Department Stores," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbus: The Ohio State University (William R. Davidson, advisor).

McCracken, Grant (1990), Culture and Consumption, New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. Chapter 1 “History,” pp. 3-30. The chapter has a short discussion on the department store, notably on pp. 7-8, 22, and 25-29. An innovation of the department store was credit availability and list prices. McCracken is dead wrong on both counts. The Dufayel credit vouchers were not discussed. The book is long on anthropology, symbolism, and consumer research, but very short on marketing per se. McCracken knows little about distribution (channels, wholesaling, retailing, etc.). Yet he says that the Industrial Revolution focused far too much on production and very little or nothing on the Consumer Revolution. To him, the Consumer Revolution means the consumer and his culture. Consumers produce culture from their surroundings. What is needed is a lot more discussion on the Retail Revolution of previous centuries which molded and shaped consumer demand, notably from the mid 19th c. with the arrival of the department store. The need to consume was not the result of divine powers. After all, consumers had to be educated to want new products or for consumers to buy more. He failed to take into account rising incomes due to more employment opportunities, among many other factors.


McKendrick, Neil, John Brewer and J. Plumb (1982), The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England, Bloomington: Indiana University Press. This book of readings shows that the desire to shop and to consumer was not a 19th c. phenomenon but had its roots in the late 17th and 18th centuries. An understanding of the constant evolution of retailing helps put the role of the department store in its proper historical perspective.

McKinley, William (1962), Bibliography of Self-Service Discount Department Stores, Boston: Department of Geography, Boston University.


McQueen, Rod (1998), The Eatons: The Rise and Fall of Canada’s Royal Family, Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Ltd. Distributed by General Distribution Services, Inc.


McNair, Malcolm (1925), The Retail Method of Inventory, NY: A. W. Shaw.


McNair, Malcolm, Charles Gragg, Stanley F. Teele (1937), *Problems in Retailing*, NY: McGraw-Hill. A case book, which includes material on the management and organization of the department store. On page 60, it states 1,653,961 retail stores in the US with sales of $33.16b with 5.473 m people working. In 1936, retail sales were $38b. The book also provides a rather complete definition of a department store pertinent to the time. “A department store is defined as one in which a wide variety of merchandise is carried under one roof, with specialized organization along commodity lines for performing the tasks of buying, selling, but with centralized organization of such functions as accounting, credit, delivery, advertising, etc. There should also be added to the definition the facts that wearing apparel and home furnishings provide the bulk of a department store sales, that the store ordinarily is situated in a downtown location, and that it is patronized primarily by women” (pp. 5-6).


McNair, Malcolm (1946), “Operating Results of Department and Specialty Stores in 1946,” Bureau of Business Research, Bulletin No. 126, Harvard Business School. This monograph has been updated and there is one for 1960.


McNair, Malcolm and Eleanor G. May (1957), “Pricing for Profit: A Revolutionary Approach in Retail Accounting,” Harvard Business Review, Vol. 35 (May-June), pp. 105-122. The authors do not like the department store’s tendency to price products in a department as if all items should carry the same percentage margin.

McNair, Malcolm, EA Burnham and AC Hersum (1957), Cases in Retail Management, NY: McGraw-Hill, pp. 592-612. The Devon Company case is about a mechanized receiving, checking and marking system recommended by an industrial consultant for a large department store. See also pp. 1-35 (General Introduction), which is an introduction to trends in the retailing sector.


McNair, Malcolm and Eleanor May (1976), The Evolution of Retail Institutions in the United States, Cambridge, Mass.: Marketing Science Institute, April.


Merriman, John (1996), A History of Modern Europe Volume 2 From the French Revolution to the Present, NY: W.W. Norton, pp. 881-882. While less than 2 pages are devoted to the department store, it is still quite remarkable that the birth of the department store would even be mentioned in a book on European history. His short analysis of the department store reflects more a later period and he’s much too focused on the culture of consumption which manifested itself more later on.

Mertes, John (1948), “The Shopping Center- A New Trend in Retailing,” Journal of Marketing, Vol. 13 (January No. 3), pp. 374-378. Although the article does not discuss the link between the shopping center and the department store, it is still important to include this article.

Mertes, John (nd), "What Did John Wanamaker Really Say?" Working Paper, Eastern Illinois University. This paper was given to me by the author after his retirement, along with numerous boxes of textbooks and other documents.

Messerlin, Patrick (1982), La révolution commerciale, Paris: Bonnel Editions. Chapters 1 and 2 are important. Chapter discusses la Loi Royer and la Loi Lang which limits the building of large surface stores. The bibliography is thin. The author links the title of his book to retailing too much, forgetting other middlemen which are part of the economy, involved in non B2C.


Michel, Georges (1892), “Big Shops of To-Day,” Review of Reviews, Vol. 5 (March), pp. 217-218, excerpts. This article is probably an English translation of his article above. The article was not found. The same Review was published in London and New York up until 1892, then the two became different.


Miler, Judy (2009), “Early Female Managers at Two Leading American Department Stores,” paper presented at Annual Meeting of the Business History (BHC), Vol. 7. “This paper presents the early managerial women at Macy's and Filene's uncovered in research for the period 1870-1920. Examination of the factors that may have led to the success of these women is presented, supporting the multidimensional relationship between retailing and the environment. Evidence suggests that these female leaders possessed traits that non-leaders do not. This research also indicates that the department store organizational environment and culture was key in the development and success of the early women managers studied, as many rose through the ranks to gain their top position of leadership and success. They proved themselves competent at managing employees, carving an important place for themselves and others to follow in the previously only male business world through the department store.” Available on the web BEH On-Line.


Mills, C. Wright (1951), “The Great Salesroom” in White Collar: The American Middle Classes, London: Oxford University Press. The book was published in New York in 1953. A short but pertinent chapter on the role of selling, the department store and other marketing aspects of the changing importance of business, pp. 161-188. Mills has few references in this chapter 8. He has a good grasp of what was happening to the people but he tends to be a bit sarcastic. For example, he refers to the department store and other mass selling outlets as the big bazaar and the whole purpose of business is to sell. Note the title of the chapter.


Miramas, André (1961), “Aristide Boucicaut précurseur du commerce moderne,” Transmondial (July), pp. 25-30. A biography of one of the founding fathers of the department store. Unfortunately, the author exaggerates some of Boucicaut’s retail innovations. For example, he attributes to him the setting of fixed retail prices, which is incorrect, even from a French perspective, let alone from a department store one. Return of products was also one of Boucicaut's so call new retail innovations, which is incorrect. In spite of these historical shortcomings, one gets a better appreciation of who was Aristide Boucicaut.

Miramas, André (1962), “Une entreprise séculaire: le Louvre,” Transmondial No. 97 (Octobre), pp. 54-60; and also No. 98 (Novembre), pp. 53-59.


“Modern Store Fitting: Suggestions from State Street” (1898), *Chicago Dry Goods Reporter*, Vol. 28 (June 18), pp. 13, 17. Some discussion on making the store’s cooling and ventilation more comfortable to shoppers.


quoted the author that “major department stores employed large numbers of women in their workrooms to make clothes for sale over the counter—until the prolonged depression of the 1870s persuaded them to leave the risks of manufacturing to others and the sewing of shirts, pants, vests, hoop skirts and bustles was gathered into manufactories, or ‘inside shops.’ ” p. 117. But on page 175, the author says that “department stores, emporiums of commerce, emerged as centers of upper and middle class social life. If large factories employed ten thousand to fifteen thousand workers by 1905, department stores like Marshall Field of Chicago hired almost as many.”

Montgomery, Robert ed. (1911), American Business Manual a complete guide to modern system and practise. Vol. 1 Organization, Vol. 2 Buying, Manufacturing and Selling, NY: P. F. Collier and Son. The internal structure of the wholesale organization (pp. 187-192) as well as retail (pp. 192-207) is well described as it existed in early 20th c. Most of the second volume discusses marketing topics, advertising, selling, channels, distribution, etc. On page 514 “Advertising in America—In America the first newspaper advertisement appeared in the Boston News Letter in 1704. Advertising soon began to grow at a rapid rate, following the introduction of steamboats, railroads, the postal system and telegraph. The earliest advertisements in American magazines appeared in Atlantic Monthly February 1860, and in Harper’s Monthly May 1864.”


Moore, Charles (1968), Daniel H. Burnham Architect Planner of Cities, Two Volumes in one, NY: Capo Press. A reprint of the 1921 two-volume edition by Houghton Mifflin. Only a few pages are of interest to the department store. On pp. 187-88, a short discussion documenting to what extent Wanamaker was personally involved in 1902 in approving the plans of his new store. On pages 148-149, the opening of the new store on December 30, 1911, with an address by the President Taft, President of the U.S. in attendance. Daniel Burnham gave Wanamaker a gold key.

Moore, Ellen Wedemeyer (1985), The Fairs of Medieval England: An Introductory Study, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies. The bibliography is long and contains rather unusual references. The book gives reasons why fairs declined and how they were managed.


Moore, Truman E. (1972), The Traveling Man: The Story of the American Traveling Salesman, NY. Wanamaker is discussed and perhaps other retail/department store gurus?

Morgan, David (1992), The Morgans of Montreal, Montreal: published by the author. See also Henry Morgan’s biography from the Canadian Dictionary of Biography Online.

Morgan, John J. B. and Ewing Webb (1932), Making the Most of Your Life, NY. Wanamaker is discussed in the book and perhaps other department store gurus?

Morgan, Roberta (1991), It’s Better at Burdines How the Famous Store Grew Hand in Hand with Florida, Miami, Fl: Pickering Press. She used many columns published in local Florida newspapers as well as some documents from the Historical Association of Southern Florida. The first store opened in Miami by William Burdine and his son John Marion, in 1898, with only 1,250 feet of floor space and 25 ft of street frontage.


Morrison, Kathryn (2003), *English Shops and Shopping: An Architectural History*, New Haven: Yale University Press. An historical review of retail shops from before 1700 to modern times. The department store is amply discussed with superb illustrations not seen anywhere else. It is a book of retail buildings, mostly in London and surrounding areas. The book is a history of retailing analyzed from an architectural perspective. The project was supported by the former Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, now known as English Heritage.

Morton, Peter (2001), “Sears going back to simpler times,” *Financial Post* (October 26), page FP16. This brief article traces the history of Sears to today.


Mowll, William (1914), “The Architecture of the Modern Department Store,” *The Brickbuilder*, Vol. 23 (September No. 9), pp. 205-210. A comparison of American store designs as models of US department stores with those in Germany. One comparison is that German stores were smaller than US ones. Most of the article describes the architecture of German stores located in Berlin, Nuremberg, Cologne, and Dusseldorf.

Moyer, Mel (1962), “The Roots of Large Scale Retailing,” *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 26 (October), pp. 55-59. The author outlines the factors that led to the emergence of the mail order house, the department store, the chain store and the discount store.
Moyer, Mel and Gerry Snyder (1968), *Trends in Canadian Marketing*, Ottawa, Queen's Printer: Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Chapter 4: Department Stores, pp. 99-111. Chapter 5: Discount Department Stores,” pp. 113-124. These chapters are based on the 1961 Census. Both are discussed from a Canadian perspective and the references are unique.


Moyson, Roger (1967), *Le vol dans les grands magasins*, Centre National de Criminologie, Publication no. 2, Bruxelles: Éditions de l’Institut de sociologie à Bruxelles. This 144-page monograph discusses shoplifting in department stores from a European perspective, and from a post 1960s time period. The author provides a detailed profile of a shoplifter: age, sex, social status, time of year, time of day and week, place of residence, amount stolen, second offence, etc. There is no bibliography and the author’s few references are incomplete, which is rather unscholarly for a research monograph.


Mui, Hoh-Cheung and Lorna Mui (1989), *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth-Century England*, Routledge. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press. Many chapters (6 to 8) discuss the plight of small retailers vs. large ones in terms of rich vs. poor. The book is also about the history and growth of the retail sector during that period with some case studies presented. We can see how retail stores operated then and we can infer that some of the modern retailing innovations had their origins then.


Muller, Joann (2002), “Kmart’s Last Change,” *Business Week*, March 11, pp. 68-69. Kmart was once the largest and most successful retailer in the world. Now with sales of $39b and with 2100 stores, it is facing bankruptcy, and it may be the biggest one in retailing history. One reason, according to the author, is that it went head to head against Wal-Mart.


Namm, Benjamin (1931), “Recent Changes in Store Policy,” Journal of Retailing, Vol. 7 (April), pp. 3-5. An article that discusses store policies during the depression in areas such as customer services, merchandising, sales promotion and management, some pertinent to the department store but most to retailing in general.

Nasmith, George G. (1923), Timothy Eaton, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.


National Retail Dry Goods Association (1949), Operating major workrooms, Store Management Group, NY: NRDGA.


Murphy, John Allen (1930), Merchandising Though Mergers, NY: Harper and Brothers Publishers. Chapter 4 is excellent on the importance of department store vs. the manufacturing sector. Allen uses statistics to show how significant department stores are in terms of sales, etc when compared with the manufacturing sector.


National Retail Merchants Association (1959), *Survey of Organization of Single Unit Department and Speciality Stores*, NY: The Association. The report was from the Retail Research Committee.


National Retail Merchants Association (1965), “The Management of Branch Stores,” *Stores*, pp. 10-14ff. This is a brief overview of a seminar sponsored by the Association April.

National Retail Merchants Association (1969), *Economic characteristics of department store credit*, NY.


National Retail Merchants Association (nd), *Want Slip Policies and Systems in Department Stores*, NY: The Association. A discussion of want slips from a department store perspective but which has general applicability to all stores.

National Retail Merchants Association (nd), *Department and Specialty Stores Financial and Operating Results 1970-1986*, Financial Executives Division, NY. Ceased in 1995 formed the FOR/MOR. The Association reports known previously as FOR, were the annual reports called Financial and Operating Results of Department Stores and Specialty Stores. The annual report known as MORE were the Departmental Merchandising and Operating Results.


Neal, Lawence E. (1932), *Retailing and the Public*, London: Allen and Unwin. The foreword, by FJ Marquis, is very informative, especially on page ix. It explains the role of retailing in people’s lives. The book has a number of chapters on the department store, one in particular on the building itself and its architectural and engineering requirements (Chapter 11). There are only a handful of references in the whole text, mainly because it was written by a practitioner.


Nettel, Reginald ed. and trans. (1965), CF Moritz Journeys of A German In England in 1782, London: Jonathan Cape. Similar to the book by Sophie von La Roche, this German also visited London a few years later than she did and he gave his impressions about the shops and widow displays as well. Moritz discussed ‘window–shopping’ and that all products “can be seen advantageously behind great clear-glass windows” (from Dean 1970). Dean also says that at the beginning of the 18th c, sash windows were enlarged in private homes.

“New Features in Big Paris Stores” (1912), Dry Goods Economist, December 14, pp. 31-33.

“New Macy’s: Park ‘Round Store Core” (1964), Women’s Wear Daily, February 13, pp. 1, 14.


Nimmons, Georges C. (1921), "Eastern Store of Sears, Roebuck and Co. at Philadelphia," The Architectural Record Vol. 50 (August No. 2), pp. 118-132. The article describes the new Sears store, but in reality it’s the new “warehouse” for Sears’ mail order business located in Philadelphia. It describes in detail how orders are received and how they are sent to four floors, from which the goods are shipped to customers. It is interesting to see the order and product flows: when an order is received to when it is sent out and how the new building was able to have all the latest mechanical and other engineering innovations to make it work. The George C. Nimmons and Company won the gold medal for industrial design from the National Architectural Exhibition sponsored by the American Institute of Architects for this building. It was open in 1920 with 1.6 m sq feet.


Nord, Philip. G. (1986), Paris Shopkeepers and the Politics of Resentment, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. The book discusses philosophical issues such as how the department store was targeted as a threat to the stability of the family life. It is also a book on the politics of small-scale shopkeepers, their need to defend their rights in the late 1800s as a result of Haussmannization, (chapter 3, Haussmann’s public works program), i.e. the restructuring of Paris streets and boulevards favoring large-scale retailers. Various social and economic consequences are discussed.


Normand, Gilles (1920), Les Entreprises Modernes, le Grand Commerce de détail, Paris: Perrin et Cie. The book has a discussion on the department store.

Normand, Gilles (1936), Histoire des maisons à succursales, Paris.

Norton, Helen Rich (1917) Department Store Education Department of the Interior Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 9, Washington, DC: Government Printing Office. An account of the retail training methods at the Boston School of Salesmanship under the direction of Lucinda Wyman Prince. The 77-page report provides information on the history of Lucinda Prince’s School of Salesmanship. In fact, the author was the associate director of the School. The school is also briefly discussed in Abelson (1989, p. 137). The school began in 1905 and was initially underwritten by the Women’s Educational and Industrial Union of Boston (see Abelson 1989, p. 260, note 84). Filene’s was the major department store that supported the school because it taught women clerks the ABCs of dealing with customers, given that the school was providing basic retail education.


Norwell, Saunders (1924), Forty Years of Hardware, NY: Hardware Age.

"Now A Discount/Department Store War" (1961), Marketing Magazine Vol. 67 (December), pp. 46-48. This short article in this Canadian weekly periodical attempts to identify the factors that have affected the department store industry.

Nye, David (1991), Electrifying America Social Meanings of a New Technology, 1880-1940, Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press. This very important book for students interested in the history of marketing discusses the social history of electricity. His approach is not engineering history or the power brokers who financed the new industry. Nye looks at how this new energy source affected the economic lives of people and how business responded to serve their needs. The surge in new products using this new energy source had a profound impact on people’s daily lives. This energy source, unlike gas, gave birth to a wide range of new products from household appliances to toys. The department store and the advertising industry, among others, were actively selling such goods and services to consumers. But electricity also gave these consumer marketers a means to visually promote themselves in the marketplace in their store design, store fixtures, display counters, outdoor signs and in the various media as well.


Nystrom, Paul (1926), The Economics of Fashion: NY: Ronald Press.


O’Gorman, James (1978), “The Marshall Field Wholesale Store: Materials Toward a Monograph,” Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Vol. 37 (October), pp. 175-194. The article discusses the origin of Marshall Field and the store he built, which opened in 1887, but conceived as early as in 1881. It has a historical value but the store itself is not that unique or innovative, even though its chief architect was Henry Hobson Richardson, the leading architect in the US. He died shortly after. According to the author, this store was known all over the US, even receiving praise from Louis Sullivan.

O’Hagan, Anne (1900), “Behind the Scenes in the Big Store,” Munsey’s Magazine, Vol. 22 (January No. 4), pp. 528-537. The article is an account of what goes on in a modern department store. It has many neat illustrations. She was a well-known writer.

O’Hagan, Anne (1913), “Facts about the Department Store,” The Nation, Vol. 97 No. 2509 (July 31), pp. 94-95. This author’s name was not found in the article, but may well be this author. The magazine was published weekly and such column articles are numerous and may well have been written all by the same author. It’s an article about the working conditions of women in the department store with some subtle but unclear and unspecified reference to the morale of working women (i.e. sin?) but never stated as such. The article says that Lieut.-Gov O’Hara of Illinois’s National Civic Federation submitted a report “Working Conditions in New York Stores,” with a 32 page review published in the National Civic Federation Review, in its last issue (i.e. in 1913 before July 31). The study was first done in January 1911, but the Retail Dry Goods Association asked for a second survey. It looked at 19 retail firms in New York that had 22 establishments with 39,000 working, 22,000 being women; the average weekly wage was $9.31. According to a 1909 Government Bureau of Labor study, the average weekly wage for women in 12 department
stores in NYC was $8.84 vs. $6.12 for those working in factories. The article concluded that “if the department store is responsible to any extent for ‘white slavery’ it sins in a large company” p. 95. Abelson (1989, p. 252) reported what looked like a similar study but not referenced the same way. She based her conclusions from the 1915 Report of the Factory Store Investigating Commission “Mercantile Establishments,” State of New York, Fourth Report, Vol. 11, Albany (from Abelson (1989, p. 248 note 41). According to Abelson, the New York State factory investigating commission grew out of the federal investigation into the working conditions in New York department stores, as reported in the Nation article. Undertaken with the cooperation of the New York Retail Dry-Goods Association, the state fact-finding commission examined wages, hours, profits, hiring practices, and working conditions in the stores between September 1913 and February 1914 (see Abelson, p. 252). It seems that there were a number of such studies, 1909, 1911, 1913, and 1914/1915. or Abelson might have erred by confusing the 1913/1914 study with the one that was done after the 1911 one.

Oharenko, John (2006), Historic Sears, Roebuck and Co. Catalog Plant, Mt Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing. Publisher’s commenst: “Located on the site of the original Sears Tower, the historic Sears, Roebuck and Company catalog plant is one of the nation's most unique landmarks. Representing American ingenuity at its best, Richard Sears and Julius Rosenwald combined technology, commerce, and social science with bricks and mortar to build "the World's Largest Store" on Chicago's West Side. Completed in 1906, the plant housed nearly every conceivable product of the time: clothing, jewelry, furniture, appliances, tools, and more. The complex employed 20,000 people, and merchandise orders were processed and delivered by rail-within the same day. During the first two decades of the 20th century, almost half of America's families shopped the over 300 million catalogs published in that era. WLS (World's Largest Store) Radio broadcasted the Gene Autrey show from the top of the tower, and the first Sears retail store opened here on Homan Avenue and Arthington Street. In 1974, Sears moved to the current Sears Tower. There are currently plans for redeveloping these buildings into housing, office, and retail space. A new Homan Square Community Center stands on the site of the merchandise building.” The 128-page book is mostly photographs with text providing some comments on each picture. Many of the pictures are from the Real Estate Capital Institute, while others are from the Chicago Historical Society and the Homan Arthington Foundation.

O’Leary, Iris Prouty (1916), Department store occupations, Cleveland, OH: The Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation.

Olijnyk, Zena (2002), “Bay Watch,” Canadian Business, Vol. 75 (June), pp. 90-96. The article discusses the plight of the Bay with Zellers, having 323 stores (vs. 177 for Wal-Mart), and 100 Bay stores. Partnership with Martha Stewart line will cease as of March 1st 2003, to be taken over by Sears.


Olsen, C. Paul (1928), "Is the Department Store Eliminating the Specialty Store?" *Magazine of Business, Vol. 54* (October No. 4), pp. 400-402, 468. He cites that in 1926, Chicago had 41,186 retail establishments with 38 department stores that did 18% of the city’s total retail business. Each department store had an average of $9 million in sales vs. the others with an average of $15,000.


Oviatt, F. C. (1905), "Historical Study of Fire Insurance in the United States." *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science,* A special issue entitled *Insurance,* pp. 335-358. The series of papers were read before the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania in 1904/1905. According to Oviatt "it was cheaper to prevent fires than to pay losses" (p. 355). The early sprinklers were not particularly satisfactory, but out of the evolution of experience came the modern heads, most widely known of which is the Grinnell. The National Fire Prevention Association was established in 1896. We don't know if the department store was the first to use fireproofing, the use of a sprinkler system, or the use of fire doors. Everett Crosby (1905) "Free Prevention," *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science,* pp. 224-238. He stated that the first steam fire engine was in London in 1829, and then the US had it in 1853. The first electric fire alarm system was installed in Boston in 1852. Of course, it begs the question of what is an "electric fire alarm system" given that electricity had not yet been invented?

Oxenfeldt, Alfred (1950), “Consumer Knowledge: Its Measurement and Extent,” The Review of Economics and Statistics, Vol. 32 (November No. 4), pp. 300-314. The article is not about the department store but on how to measure product quality, etc. The names of product testing agencies of department stores are listed on page 301 (Sears, Macy’s, JC Penny’s etc.).


Palmer, James (1929), “What About Chain Stores?” American Management Association. Reprinted in Daniel Bloomfield ed. (1931) Trends in Retail Distribution, NY: H. W. Wilson, pp. 221-247. The article mentions department store chains such as Macy’s with stores in NY, Toledo, and Atlanta (p. 229). Filene’s had 11 branches in New England. (p. 230). Sears in 1928 had 30 stores, Ward had 18 in 1928. Ward had also opened 100 small stores out of a total planned of 1,500 stores. On page 230, he mentions that the very stores leased more than five departments, and that beauty parlors, millinery and shoes were most often leased.


Paradise, Viola (1921), “By Mail,” Scribner’s Magazine, Vol. 69 (April), pp. 473-480. A discussion on small stores located in rural areas against mail order cataloguers. See also Underwood (1915), and Crawford (1925).


Parent-Lardeur, Françoise (1984), “La vendeuse de grand magasin,” in Arlette Farge and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber eds. Madame ou Mademoiselle? Itinéraires de la solitude féminine XVIIIe–XXe siècle, Paris: Éditions Montalba, pp. 97-110. The article describes the working conditions of single women in department stores and their need to earn a living. If the woman is married, she will be dismissed. Such were some of the restrictions imposed on women working in a department store.

“Paris Big Stores Seek Popular Trade” (1911), Dry Goods Economist, May 13, p. 37.


Peck, Bradford (1900), The World A Department Store: A Story of Life Under a Cooperative System, Lewiston, Maine and Boston B. Peck. The book is the author’s vision of the way life would be like under a department store arrangement. It seems the author thought the same organizational principles and structure of a department store could be applied in organizing a society. His macromarketing approach is normative/utopian and rather novel. Available at the library of the CCA (Canadian Centre of Architecture). See also Cary (1977). Bell (1956) reports the social engineering experiment of Edward A. Filene, who also thought the department store as a social instrument to make society a better place. A new book by Legutko (2002) seems to convey the same theme.


Périsse, M. (1891), “Groupe 59 Machine instruments et procédés usités dans divers travaux,” in Alfred Picard ed. *Rapports du Jury sur l’Exposition universelle Internationale de 1889*, Ministère du commerce, de l’industrie et des colonies, Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. The text was written by M. Périsse and not by Picard, who was the chief editor of the various volumes. The reports are classified and presented in numerous books. On pp. 563 574 (in t. 11), we find short discussions on the typewriter and the cash register displayed at the Fair. The cash register (called machine à compter) was previously displayed at the 1878 Fair. Four machines were shown in 1878, one from Lamson Consolidated Store Service (Boston), Cash Registering Machine Inc. (England), National Cash Register Comp. (US), M. Maskelyne (Manchester). The best one according to the text was Lamson’s *Addistrole* because it prohibited all fraudulent transactions.

Perkins, John and David Meredith (1996), "Managerial Developments in Retailing: The Department Store and the Chain Store, 1890-1940," The University of New South Wales, School of Economics, Discussion paper 96/8.

Perkins John and Craig Freedman (1999), "Organisational Form and Retailing Development: The Department and the Chain Store, 1860-1940," *The Services Industries Journal*, Vol. 19 (October), pp. 123-46. This article contains incorrect information even though the article is a good. The main author was contacted many times in the hope of obtaining clarification or justification, but the main author did not respond to my questions.


Perrot, Philippe (1981), *Les dessus et les dessous de la bourgeoisie une histoire du vêtement au XIX siècle*, Paris: A. Fayard. The book was translated in 1994 by Richard Bienvenu with the title *Fashioning the Bourgeoisie: A History of Clothing in the Nineteenth Century* published by Princeton University Press. The book is a good reference source on the history of clothing and fashion. One chapter is on the role played by the department store, especially those in Paris. The author argues that the department store played a role in the consumer’s acceptance of ready to wear clothes. He develops the hypothesis that *les magasins de nouveautés* were initially fripperies, selling used clothing that had been altered. These stores added more dry goods and began selling ready-made clothes, given that alterations were often needed anyway and the supply of used clothing outstripped demand. These stores eventually evolved into department stores. The author’s use of the French language is tedious at times. His references are quite unique and some are very old albeit very hard to decipher.


Peterson, Robert A. ed. (1992), *The Future of U.S. Retailing An Agenda for the 21st Century*, NY: Quorum Books. The first chapter by Peterson entitled: “A Context for Retailing Predictions,” pp 1-25 is well worth reading not only for those looking for insights into the value of predicting the future of retailing but for unpredictability of predictions period, no matter how scientific and obvious they might appear. It was quite sobering to read this chapter. Many chapters are also well worth reading such as Dale Achabal and Shelby McIntyre chapter: “Emerging Technology in Retailing: Challenges and Opportunities for the 1990s,” pp. 85-128. This chapter is really a summary of the IT revolution applied not just to retailing but to all business functions retailing and it illustrates well the strategic importance of SCM. The chapter by Hollander and Keep is a must read for department store insights and its future (see more elaborate comments on this article). The chapter by Don Schultz on direct marketing is a bit ridiculous with his prediction that fixed location retailers will somewhat disappear. It’s obvious, at least to me, he does not fully understand the way a market economy is structured and organized.

Petersen, Trond (1992), “Payment Systems and the Structure of Inequality: Conceptual Issues and an Analysis of Salespersons in Department Stores,” American Journal of Sociology; Vol. 98 (July No. 1), pp.67-104. Data from a survey of 264 US retail stores conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics are drawn on to explore wage differences among 62,874 salespersons under 3 payment systems: a straight salary, a straight commission, and a salary plus commission. Overall, results support the bargaining interpretation of incentive schemes, though within establishments, the risk-sharing interpretation is more significant.

Pevsner, Nicolaus (1976), A History of Building Types, Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 16: "Shops, Stores and Department Stores," especially pp. 261-266. This book provides a very interesting set of photographs (with some text) of all types of building, including department stores, hotels, museums, govt. buildings, warehouses, and many other types, but none dealing with shopping centers, restaurants, etc.


Phillips, Wesley Briggs (1901), How Department Stores Are Carried On, NY: Dodd, Mead. AMICUS No. 22392896

Picard, Roger (1929), L’évolution du commerce de détail et les maisons a succursales aux Etats-Unis, » Revue D’Economie Politique, Tome 43, pp. 1321-1340.


Pierce, Louis B. (1940), A History of Chicago, NY.


Pool, Robert (1997), Beyond Engineering How Society Shapes Technology, NY: Oxford University Press. This is not a book on the department store but the author presents a succinct and entertaining summary of how electricity was disseminated in the US and the rivalry with the much more powerful competitive alternative: gas. The author also discusses the dissemination of other “products” such as the telephone, nuclear weapons, and nuclear reactors. His review of positivism vs. social constructivism/interpretivism as approaches to knowledge development is excellent (pp. 11-15). Historical research falls in the latter category. His comments on how Xerox missed its then premier position in the emerging PC market, and how Bill Gates’s success can be linked to a fortuitous social event.

Poole, Ernest (1943), Giants Gone Men Who Made Chicago, NY: Whittesey House. The book presents the lives of numerous men who made Chicago in the 19th c. in a rather way. The book cannot be called a biography of these men nor can we say that the book is historical per se. The author uses secondary material (there are no footnotes at the end of each chapter and only a list of reference material is provided at the end of the book). In an entertaining and narrative way, the author presents his own ideas of the lives and times of some of the men who made Chicago, including Gurdon Hubbard (fur trader), Cyrus McCormick (inventor of the reaper), Potter Palmer (retailer, then real estate tycoon), Marshall Field (dept store giant), Daniel Burnham (architect), George Pullman (railway tycoon), Julius Rosewald (president of Sears), and many more in the field of the arts and medicine.

Pope, Daniel (1983), The Making of Modern Advertising, NY: Basic Books. On page 134, Pope discusses Wanamaker’s need for copywriter. “The first important advertisers who needed skilled assistance in preparing their advertisements were large department stores. As they expanded the range of goods they carried as new urban street car lines widened their marketing territories, downtown retailers needed to let customers know what was on hand and to induce them to shop at their stores. John Wanamaker had opened his huge store in a depot built by the Pennsylvania Railroad to handle the traffic coming to Philadelphia for the Centennial Exposition on 1876. In 1880, Wanamaker committed to a policy of intensive advertising, hired John E. Powers, an
American who had initially attracted Wanamaker's attention with his advertisements for Wilcox and Gibbs sewing machines in England.” The department store spent huge amounts of advertising Wanamaker and Siegel-Copper in New York were said to spend over $300k each, according to a 1899 Printers’ Ink article (see p. 310). The 20 largest stores in NY and Chicago in 1899 spent about $1.775m on advertising. The book traces the history of advertising. The author discusses the role played by the department store in shaping that industry. An indispensable book to read for students wanting to know more about the evolution and advertising contributions of the department store.


Porter, Glenn and Harold Livesay (1971), Merchants and Manufacturers Studies in the Changing Structure of Nineteenth-Century Marketing, Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press. This source is added here for the simple reason that the title may suggest that retail distribution (i.e. the department store) was a force that helped change the US economy in the 19th century. Unfortunately, the authors focused their discussion on producers and wholesalers but neglected to discuss retailers. Thus, no mention is made of the department store or any other large-scale retailing institutions in the way they impacted on the distribution sector of the US economy during the period under study.

Pottinger, George (1971). The Winning Counter: Hugh Fraser and Harrods, London : Hutchinson. Chapter 5, "Wonders Untold", from which this quotation is taken: “Harrods' history has been briefly summarized in this chapter as a means of emphasising that it was not simply a warehouse for retailing merchandize. It would be a cliché to say that it was an institution and it had, over the 100 years plus of its existence, succeeded in insinuating itself, or getting itself woven, into a social fabric, which extended far beyond the environs of Knightsbridge. One could readily surmise, therefore, that the current guardians of the Harrods dominion would not readily succumb to invasion. One of Harrods' first slogans had been "Harrods Serves the World" and they could afford an arrogant telegraphic address "Everything, London" and an even more comprehensive trade mark 'Omnia Omnibus Ubique', which implied that there was little left for their rivals” (p. 83).


Poulin, Bryan, Michael Hackman and Carmen Babarasa-Mihani (2007), “Leadership and Succession: the Challenge to Succeed and the Vortex of Failure,” Leadership, Vol. 3 (3), pp. 301-334. These authors claim on p. 312 that by the mid 1950s, Eaton’s accounted for an astounding 58% of all Canadian retail sales (compared to 15% for Wal-Mart today). Such a figure is very false. These authors need to know more about how Stats Canada gathers retail sales. For one thing, retail sales include automobile sales, Eaton’s was a private family owned company in the 1950s (until the late 1990s), and sales figures were not officially available. The 58% looks like Eaton’s may have had 58% of department store sales, but department store sales account but a fraction of all retail sales in Canada. Later when the discount stores made their way in Canada,
discount stores such as Zellers, Woolco and others were called “discount” department stores by the retail industry or junior department stores. In any case, Stats Canada did not label such types of retail stores in the Retail Census. It was the retail industry that gave them such labels.


Powers, Alan (1989), Shop Fronts, Chatto & Windus. The book has pictures of 18th c. shop exteriors.

Powers, John E. (1915), “John E. Powers on ‘Wanamaker Style’” Printers’ Ink, Vol. 93 (7), November 18, pp. 17-19. A personal account of Powers’ dealing with Wanamaker. In this short text, he said a sale was something to avoid, even a fraud. He credits himself for having invented “money back if you want it.” But then added “I did invent it on the Atlantic in 1867.” Then he said Wanamaker was “the first to do it in this country; about 1871”. It seems Powers worked in Edinburgh for a bank before working for Wanamaker?

Pragnell, Bradley (1989), Organizing Department Store Workers the Case of the RWDSU at Eaton’s 1983-1987, School of Industrial Relations Research Essay Series No. 22, Kingston, Ontario: Industrial Relations Centre, Queen’s University.

Presbrey, Frank (1929), The History and Development of Advertising Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran and Company. The book is primarily on the history of advertising. But his approach shows why advertising by the department store was not a major factor until new printing technologies were developed in the 1860s and beyond. Only then can we see the importance of ad for the department store notably after the late 1870s. The book has tid bits of information on the department store throughout the book. As a result it is hard to pinpoint the material. This uneven way of discussing the department store is typical of many other books. But chapter 37 is on Wanamaker “Wanamaker’s Shows the Way,” pp. 324-336. Presbrey also provides numerous names of pioneer who helped and shaped this industry, such as John Powers, known as the father of modern advertising, Nathaniel Fowler, Walter Dill Scott, George Powell, Volney Palmer, Charles Bates, Cyrus Curtis among many others. One can almost conclude that the development of ad thought, at least in the US, came before marketing because many authors actually published books on advertising before a book on marketing was even written. It seems the practice of marketing predates advertising but the study of advertising predates marketing.


Pridmore, Jay (2002), Marshall Field A building from the Chicago Architecture Foundation, SF, CA: Pomegranate. “Marshall Field built the largest department store in the world at the time, and his architect, Daniel Burnham, following Field’s dictum of dazzling the customer with opulence, created a store unmatched in elegance. Influenced by the Florentine palazzi of the Renaissance, Beaux-Arts monumentalism, and the Chicago School, the exterior of Marshall Field’s radiated a luxury that only hinted at the elegance inside. An extravagantly beautiful Louis Tiffany tesserae dome poured light onto all who entered; a soaring balcony allowed women to see and be seen.
Field's was as close to a temple of commerce as any building has ever come.” This 12.5cm wide by 15.5cm long book of some 64 pages is far too small in size given the many illustrations (almost one on each second page) to be appreciated. The historical facts provided do not always agree with what some other authors have said.

Printers' Ink (1912), “Private Department Store Brands vs. Nationally Advertised Brands,” Vol. 81 (October 31). This reference is incorrect and I could not find it.


“Private Brands at Macy’s” (1963), New York Retailer, February, p. 15. See also Business Week, (1963) October 2, p. 70.

“Private Department Store Brands vs. Nationally Advertised Brands” (1912), Printers’ Ink, October 31.


"Prospects for Department Stores (1976?),” Retail Business No. 319, pp. 31-36.


Purbrick, Louise ed. (2001), The Great Exhibition of 1851, Manchester University Press. A collection of articles, some of which are pertinent to the department store, notably her introduction (see pp. 14-17) and chapter 4 by Gurney, pp. 114-145.


Racanelli, Vito (2003), “Dillard’s dogged by charges of dull management style,” Financial Post, September 9, p. IN3. This short article taken form Barron’s discussed the management style of the owners of this 300 department store chain located in the South and Midwest. The message is that the chain should be sold, a message reminiscent of what happened to Eaton’s of Canada.


Raff, Daniel (1991), “Robert Campeau and Innovation in the Internal and Industrial Organization of Department Store Retailing: Are the 80s and 90s the 20s and 30s All over Again (and Why Does It Matter)?” *Business and Economic History* Vol. 20 Second Series, pp. 52-61. Proceedings of the 37th annual meeting of the Business and Economic History Conference William Hausman ed. Williamsburg, VA: College of William and Mary, Department of Economics, Business History Conference. This article has far too many references that are incorrectly cited.


Ramirez, Anthony (1986), “Department Stores Shape Up,” *Fortune*, Vol. 114 (September 1 No. 5), pp. 50-52. Department stores are fighting back against specialty stores by not selling everything under one roof. So what else is new? The article is lacking in historical details. For e.g. displays need to be done monthly is not new for the department store. Stores need to be smaller, no more than 3 stories is not new too vs. the huge downtown stores of the past. The author seems to say that stores need to go back to being dry goods stores. Stores need to be renovated every 3 to 5 years is a bit exaggerated.


an American department store in Edwardian England.” Book reviewed by Margaret Walsh (2001), Business History, Vol. 43 (January No. 10), pp. 130-131. The book is about the emancipation of women at the end of the 19th c. and their participation in the shopping and the consumption of goods. While the book discusses the role played by department stores, other aspects of commercial life also affected the culture of consumption of women such as transportation, education, and the press. One minor fact that stands out is that female shoppers were essential to the economic health of the country then and still is today.


Rawlings, Justly (1925), “Welfare work at Anthony Hordern and Sons Ltd.,” Health, Vol. 3 (May No. 3), pp. 69-75. Hornden is an Australian department store.


Redfern, P. (1913), The Story of the C. W. S., 1863-1913, Manchester: C. W. S. Ltd.

Redfern, P. (1938), The New History of the C. W. S., London: Dent.9*

Redmond, Thomas (1938), The History of Anthony Hordern and Sons Ltd., Sydney, AS: Anthony Hordern and publishers. The story of an Australian department store.


Reekie, Gail (1993), Temptations: Sex, Selling and the Department Store, St Leonards, NSW AS: Allen and Unwin. Reviewed by Jill Mizzi-Bavin, (1994), Women’s Studies International Forum, Vol. 17 (July-August No. 4), pp. 453-454. Also by Rita Felski (1996), Cultural Studies, Vol. 10 (October No. 3), pp. 498-505. The book is for those interested in gender research and feminism. For example, Reekie says “Retailers, managers and marketing experts formed a fraternity, bound together as men, whose primary object was to reap profits from the compliance of the female customer” (p. Xii.). Moreover, she says “This study argues that the department store created a sexual culture which formulated and reinforced men’s power over women” (p. Xiii). The theme that the department store was sexually evocative to women and that it seduced them is not new. But to claim that the department store affirmed men’s power over women is quite extraordinary, as if “male merchant-entrepreneurs” who took risks were somehow bad for women, therefore to society. I hope to see a male counterpart study to this theme where male shoppers were also exploited which rendered them powerless to the marketing assault of the department store.

Reekie, Gail (1993), “The Sexual Politics of Selling and Shopping,” in Susan Magarey, Sue Rowley and Susan Sheridan eds. Debutante Nation Feminism Contest the 1890s. St. Leonards, NSW AU, pp. 59-70, plus references pp. 223-226. This article was very hard to find given that the original title of the book was changed and so was the year of publication, as quoted even by the author in her 1993 book. It deals with the Australian department store situation of the late 1890s and beyond, and the Reekie’s thesis is how women clerks faced sexual discrimination in such stores.

Reekie, Gordon (1964), “Expositions, Exhibits and Today's Museums,” Natural History 73 (June-July): 20-29. An article discussing how museums of today used display techniques that evolved out world’s fairs of the 19th c. The article argues that natural museums of today need to use modern display methods as was used during previous world's fairs to present exhibits. The author focuses more on anthropological material to make his point with over a dozen illustrations provided.

Rees, Graham L. (1972), Britain's Commodity Markets, London: Elek. Some information on the history of retailing is presented.


Reilly, Philip J. (1966), Old Masters of Retailing, NY: Fairchild Publications. A review of 35 department stores located in the US, Canada and the UK. For example, Bamberger, Bullock’s, Filene’s, Eaton’s, Harrods, Hudson’s Bay, J.L. Hudson, Gimbles, Lazarus, Lord and Taylor, Jordan Marsh, Macy’s, Marshall Field, Rich’s, and Wanamaker. The author worked for many years with AMC and his first chapter is on the Buying Office. In that chapter, he discusses the founding of Associated Merchandising, Retail Research Association. Surprising, RRA was established before AMC, but the two merged. The author’s life long career in retailing is evident in his discussion of many facts on the department store not presented anywhere else. However, the book is devoid of any references. As a result, caution is advised when accepting the many claims made until more historical evidence supports the claims made. For example, he says that Eaton’s of Canada had for many years “the world’s largest telephone system devoted to retail selling. The Eaton downtown Toronto retail complex alone now handles as many as 100,000 calls per day” (p. 50). He says Harrods installed its first escalator in 1898 (p. 98). When the new 13-story Strawbridge and Clothier store opened in 1932, it was the first AC store in Philadelphia.

“Reinventing the store” (2003), The Economist, November 22, pp. 65-66, 68. An article that describes the present status of the department store not just in the US but in many other countries as well. Many alternatives exist from the supermarket, other department stores, specialty shops, and of course non-store retailers selling from catalogue to the internet. With so much competition, conventional department stores now account for a fraction of retail sales vs. 50 years ago. Department stores accounted for $91B of sales in the U.S. Department stores are being left behind vs. other retailers such as discount stores, specialty retailers, etc. In China, Japan, Europe and so forth all department stores are experiencing a loss of market power. Far too many visit such stores only for sales. Is the ‘everything under one roof, multi-storied department store’ a worn-out concept? A suggestion is to market the store as a brand. Or increase leasing arrangements, as discussed. Also, some stores have abandoned slow moving products such as cosmetics (Sears and JC Penney). Will they retreat from the suburban malls? Discounters, such as Target are taking over much of the role previously assumed by department stores, so says the
article. Selfridge’s is now a showcase type of store (with lots of concessions). Yet les Ailes de la Mode was a showcase store after renovations were done to the Montreal Eaton’s store, but it flopped. Historically, in store events were very important for department stores. Are such stores now contemplating a return to their roots? Selling a variety of goods (little to very pricey) is what such stores sold in the past. My guess is that with too much experimentation, too much change too fast, with no continuity (vague positioning), the department store concept will die a sudden death.


Renoy, Georges (1986), Les Grands Magasins, Bruxelles, Rossel. The book discusses the department store in Brussels from 1835 to the present.

van Rensselaer, Schuyler Mrs. (1884), “Recent Architecture in America,” The Century, Vol. 28 (August No. 4), pp. 511-524. Some stores from NY, Chicago and Boston are discussed with illustrations.

Report of the Factory Store Investigating Commission (1913), “Mercantile Establishments,” State of New York, Fourth Report, Vol. 11, Albany (or 1915?). Abelson (1989) reports on page 248, note 49 of the 11 largest department stores in NYC, in one year (before 1904) 44,308 were added while 41,859 were dropped, for an employee turnover of 150%. (see pp. 92-93).


Resssegue, Harry (1962), “The Decline and Fall of the Commercial Empire of A. T. Stewart,” Business History Review, Vol. 36 (Autumn No. 3), pp. 255-286. An excellent summary of this merchant price of the mid to late 19th c. One can argue that Stewart was very the first one, and not Aristide Boucicaut, the French retailer as many claim, who pioneered the department store retail concept.


Resssegue, Harry (1964), A. T. Stewart's Marble Palace--The Cradle of the Department Store," New York Historical Society Quarterly, Vol. 48 (April No. 2), pp. 131-162. The article gives considerable attention to Stewart’s acumen for architectural design (i.e. the 1846 store built on
Broadway), and it briefly discusses Stewart’s retail genius by acknowledging that he was the first merchandiser to implement a number of innovative retailing and management practices.

Resseguie, Harry (1965), “Alexander Turney Stewart and the Development of the Department Store, 1823-1876,” Business History Review, Vol. 39 (Autumn No. 3), pp. 301-322. This article argues that A. T. Stewart is the one who gave birth to the department store in the US and that his second store in 1862 became a full-fledged department store, ahead of those built in Europe and elsewhere. The article is also about the history of the department store, how it came into existence and attempts to dispel the myth that the department store was first and foremost a French invention.

Resseguie, Harry (1966), "Federal Conflict of Interest: The A. T. Stewart Case," New York History Vol. 47 (July No. 3), pp. 271-301. This article is about the nomination and appointment of A. T. Stewart as Secretary of the Treasury. In 1869, he was nominated by the President of the United States, Ulysses S Grant. Following his nomination, he had to resign as a result of the conflict of interest with the 1789 Constitution Act, which forbade persons engaged in business or commerce to hold the office of Secretary of the Treasury.

Resseguie, Harry E. papers, Baker Library, Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration. Resseguie died before he had a chance to finish his biography on A. T. Stewart. The work was done by Stephen Elias. Elias used many of Resseguie's original manuscripts found at the Baker Library to complete the work. Elias actually purchased some original manuscripts (Merchant. The Life and Times of Alexander Turney Stewart. With Something About Henry Milton.


Reynolds, Donald Martin (1984), The Architecture of New York City Histories and Views of Important Structures, Sites, and Symbols, NY: Macmillan Publishing Company. A very good book on the architecture of the department store in NYC. The author adds information not previously seen. For e.g., he is the first to explain the use of ground-up pieces of marble and stone mixed with paint "to give the surface the appearance and texture of masonry. Some of these facades are so deceptive that only by applying a magnet to the surface can the true material be
known (p. 129). ... cast iron facades were often textured and painted white to look like cut stone, giving their pediments, entablatures, and Corinthian columns the appearance of carved marble (p. 131). Thus, some cast-iron columns were made of marble while others were painted and textured to look like marble. He also said that the Cary building built in 1857, was "the largest and most complete store of its kind" (p. 129), but fails to add specifics, even though there's an illustration of the building on page 130, with the following description: an early cast-iron palazzo, painted white to look like marble or stone. He added that this five-story store with eight bays wide had its entire wall surface made of cast iron "painted white to imitate rustication" (p. 129). He did make one mistake (p. 131) when he referred to Stewart’s palatial marble residence built by the famed John Kellum, the same one who had built Stewart’s second store, as the ‘Marble Palace.’ Stewart’s second store was called the Cast Iron Palace. Finally, the author correctly states that Stewart’s second store later was purchased by Wanamaker and was destroyed by fire in 1956. The lot was cleared and an apartment house was eventually built called “The Stewart” as a “reminder of the great cast-iron building that once stood there” (p. 131). Yet Wren and Greenwood (1998), made the serious mistake of referring to this store as the Marble Palace (built in 1846 and still stands), and adding that the store is still with us, which is untrue, only in name, not the store or the great building that once stood there.


Rich, Stuart (1963), Shopping Behavior of Department Store Customers: A Study of Store Policies and Customer Demand, with Particular Reference to Delivery Service and Telephone Ordering, Boston: Division of Research Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University. A good study using a representative sample of consumers to know more about shopping behavior and customer services. Good insights are offered as to the problems facing the department store, circa early 1960s. Reviewed by Marvin Rothenberg (1965), Journal of Marketing Research, Vol. 2 (November No. 2), pp. 424-425.


Richards, Thomas S. (1990), The Commodity Culture of Victorian England Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. The author says on page 17 the 1851 that the Crystal Palace was the first department store.


Roets, Jacques (1944), La structure fonctionnelle des grands magasins, Brussels: École professionnelle de vente.


Rojek, Dean (1979), “Private Justice Systems and Crime Reporting,” Criminology, Vol. 17 (May No. 1), pp.100-111. Shoplifting data generated by the private police sector were gathered from 6 matched pairs of retail stores. Three pairs represented discount stores, 2 pairs medium-priced department stores, and 1 pair high-priced department store. Analysis of matched pairs was based on comparing stores with the same name, but having multiple outlets. The findings showed significant differences between stores by age and gender


Rosenberg, Joseph (1988), Dillard’s The First Fifty Years, with a foreword by Sam Walton, Fayetteville, AK: University of Arkansas Press.

Roseman, Ellen (1972), “Horizon chain plans August debut,” The Financial Post, July 8, p. 4. Horizon was the discount store for Eaton. The Lazarus department store in Columbus OH, also began a discount type store that same year called Capri, selling dry goods (clothes, accessories, etc.). Both were members of AMC (Associate Merchandising Corporation).

Rosenberg, Joseph (1988), Dillard’s, the First Fifty Years, Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. The book has a foreword by Sam Walton. It is short with 141 pages, with illustrations.


Ross, Kristin (1992), “Introduction Shopping,” in Émile Zola (1883), Au bonheur des dames. Translated as The Ladies' Paradise, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. v-xxiii. The 18-page introduction provides valuable insights about Zola’s book and Victorian England, given that this was the first of Zola’s works to be translated and the first to be subjected to censorship. The book was marketed in England as “pornographic”, given Zola’s reputation of corrupting France
with his novels. This version was done in 1886 and is the most original. It was the 1883 version
that was censured. We also learn that the translator, Henry Vizetelly, was charged and convicted
in 1888 for publishing another of Zola’s work (La Terre), which was judged to be obscene and
was imprisoned for three months.

Chas C. Parlin a number of times (pp. 440, 441, He discusses Parlin’s huge study (pp. 457, 458)
published in four volumes, with 2500 pages with 100 charts and 12 maps in which Parlin visited
165 cities, conducted over 1k interviews and traveled over 32k miles. The textile industry study
lasted a year. He also prepared a volume “An Encyclopedia of Cities “containing an estimate of
the trading population and of the department store business in every city of the US of over 5k
population”. Among the stats collected was the listing of the leading dry goods stores and their
total estimated volume of business. He cited Parlin’s article in PI Oct 22, 1914 urging
manufacturers to establish a research department.

Rothchild, John (1991), Going for Broke: How Robert Campeau Bankrupted the Retail Industry,
Jolted the Junk Bond Market, and Brought the Booming Eighties to a Crashing Halt. NY: Simon
and Schuster. History of Federated Department Stores.


Rothman, David and Sheila Rothman eds. (1975), Sources of the American Social Tradition,
Volume 2, NY: Basic Books, chapter 11: The Department Store, pp. 5-17 The chapter reprints
article written by Wanamaker, William Taft, and from the Golden Book of the Wanamaker Store
Jubilee Year.

Rothman, David and Sheila Rothman (1988), The Girls of the Department Store: Report and
Testimony Taken Before the Special Committee of the Assembly Appointed to Investigate the
Condition of Female Labor in the City of New (Women & Children First), New York Legislature
Assembly Special Committee. NY: Garland Publication.

119.

d'actualité de la S.E.D.E.I.S., Vol. 30 (June), pp. 336-352. Some discussion on le Bon Marché and
Boucicaut and a short overview of France’s retail distribution.

Rousseau, Hervé (1977), « La crise des grands magasins », Chroniques d'actualité de la
S.É.D.É.I.S, 15 janvier. Paris : Société d'études et de documentation économiques, industrielles et
sociales.

Roux, L. (1841), “La demoiselle de comptoir,” in Les Français peints par eux-mêmes, tome 3,


48.

Ruckeyser, Merryle Stanley (1928), "Chain Stores The Revolution in Retailing," *The Nation*, Vol. 127 (November 28 No. 3308), pp. 568-570. He says, “department stores have apparently reached a phase of diminished rate of growth though their trade continues on a high level” p. 568. The department store share of all retail was 16.5% in 1926. He makes a mistake by saying that chain stores originally established before department stores (p. 528). He says that the chain store is mostly in food distribution (A&P, Kroger), and Woolworth. He makes the point that department stores then were not chains but “financial affiliations.” Sears applies chain store management concepts with centralized buying, home office direction for each store. He presents brief comments on the anti-chain movement and the role of the FTC. He ends by saying that chains “are an instrument for bringing the rule of efficiency to the slovenly field of retail distribution” (p. 569).


Russell, Loris (1976), "Early Nineteenth-Century Lighting," in Charles Peterson ed. *Building Early America: Contributions toward the History of a Great Industry*, Radnor, PA: Chilton Book, pp. 186-201. A good article written by a former curator of the Royal Ontario Museum, and author of *Heritage of Light* (1967). It is a good article on the history of artificial lighting, with numerous unique illustrations. Unfortunately, it has no discussion on the commercial use of artificial lighting such as in department stores. Nevertheless, the background information provided is good to know.


Rydell, Robert (1984), *All the World's Fairs: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press. The book is really not about US world's fairs per se (as staged in the US and not abroad) but on the sociology and anthropology of US fairs as they relate to the use (or not use) of non whites as people exhibits such as Indians, natives from foreign lands such as the Philippines Burneo, and Indonesia. It's a practice that began I think at the 1867 Paris International Exposition when an exhibit of French colonies were part of the exposition. The exposition of these people as showcase for the consumers to see untamed and wild savages is discussed. The 1893 Chicago fair is also discussed at length, given the refusal of Blacks to have an exhibit. Blacks were in fact not used as workers and few actually visited the White City. The book has many good points, which makes it worth looking at. For example, the many
organizers of US world's fair got their talent from the military. The role of the Smithsonian Institution in organizing the fairs cannot be underestimated.


Saint-Martin, André (1900), Les grands magasins, Paris: Librarie Nouvelle de Droit et de Jurisprudence. This is the author’s 1900 “thèse de droit” (law thesis) from the Université of Paris. This 254 page thesis, the author discusses le Printemps department store. The thesis is listed in the Ministère de L’éducation Catalogue de thèses (1964), Vol. 4, Kraus Reprint Ltd., 17th fascicule année scolaire 1900-1900, No 236. The topic has also been discussed by Garrigues (1898) and Duclos (1902).

Saisselin, Rémy G. (1984), Bricabracomania The Bourgeois and the Bibelot, London: Thames and Hudson and Rutgers, the State University. Chapter 3 “Enter Woman: The Department store as Cultural Space,” pp. 31-49. The chapter examines the relationship between art and the department store. On pages 33-34, the author makes some incredible statements but with no research support or references. For e.g. he says that the Bon Marché was the first department store, the first to have fixed prices, the first to accept returned goods, free entry, small markups, high volume of sales, and served as a model for others to follow. He also states that the first elevator was in 1865 at Strawbridge and Clothier of Philadelphia. Macy’s and Wanamaker were using electric lighting by 1878 and the electric elevator (lift) by the 1880s. Jordan Marsh introduced the telephone in 1876. Marshall Field was using the pneumatic tube system in 1893. The cash register was used in the 1880s. “These stores also necessitated a new architecture: new construction materials such as iron and steel, reinforced concrete, and the vast use of glass all made for grander and higher buildings. “Capitalism had found its palace” (p. 34).


Sales Management (1922), “Selling through department stores and specialty shops. A case study by JWT ad campaign which stated that twelve years ago a manufacturer sold only 5% of his product under his own brand name the balance was under dealers own private brands. Today it’s 90% and all jobbing has been eliminated.
Salmon, Lucy (1909), “The Economics of Spending,” The Outlook, Vol. 9 (April 17), pp. 884-890. This article published in a London, England magazine, discusses the myriad ways to attract customers and increase sales, as reported by Abelson (1989, p. 232, note 37). She also questions the male dominated world of retailing.


Sanders, Lise Shapiro (2006), Consuming fantasies: labor, leisure, and the London shopgirl, 1880-1920, Columbus: Ohio State University Press. The book “examines the cultural significance of the shopgirl - both historical figure and fictional heroine-from the end of Queen Victoria's reign through the First World War. As the author reveals, the shopgirl embodied the fantasies associated with a growing consumer culture: romantic adventure, upward mobility, and the acquisition of material goods.”


Schlèber, Louis E. (1916), *The Modern Store*, Boston: The Lamson Company. The 37-page book is an overview of how to construct a modern department store, circa 1916. It is full of architectural drawings and engineering details. The book is large (13” x 10”), has limited availability, from Harvard University, School of Architecture, and the book is called an article in the text.


Schlereth, Thomas (1991), *Victorian America Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876-1915*, NY: HarperCollins Publishers. An excellent book on changing lifestyles caused by the technological innovations, urbanization, and the department store, among other changes that transformed America in the late 19th c. Chapter 4 is a must read. However, he makes a number of small errors. For e.g. he calls Rich's of Columbus, while it should be Lazarus, Rich's is located in Atlanta, Georgia.


Schmalz, Carl (1933-35). *Operating Results of Department and Specialty Stores in 1932, 1933 and 1934*, Bureau of Business Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, Boston: Harvard University, Bulletin No. 91 (63p.), 92 (48p.), and 96 (48p.).


Schmiechen, James and Kenneth Carls (1999), *The British Market Hall: a Social and Architectural History*, New Haven: Yale University Press. Reviewed by Albert Schmidt (2001), *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 34 (3), pp. 743-745. This reviewer says that the Georgian or Victorian market hall was the antecedent of the department store, which is pure nonsense. He did not read the book carefully. The book is more about produce and meat selling in urban setting, a long British tradition such as the Soulard Farmers Market in existence for over 150 years, which provides a wide assortment of foodstuffs to thousands of shoppers each week. To say that market halls led to the dept store, as this reviewer claims, is ludicrous for many reasons. Such farmers’ markets still operate in many urban settings in developed countries, and they certainly do not compete with department stores for customers and both do not offer the same assortment of goods or services. This fun to read book has lots of information and wonderful insights on marketing and retailing, especially related to space. How location affects shopping habits and social values. The market hall place, as an arrangement of public space, brought stability, security, employment,
improved nutrition, reduced diseases, promoted civility, reduced crime, and even reduced social tensions among different classes, where people do their shopping. I especially liked the role architecture plays in shaping not only a city but how a building-type can change behavior. It can also become an influential social and economic force for the whole community (see pp. 51ff). Over 700 public market buildings were built from 1750 in the UK. The book excludes London (perhaps because it had more advanced retail institutions?).


Schoenbaum, David (1966), Hitler’s Social Revolution: Class and Status in Nazi Germany 1933-1939, Garden City, NJ: Doubleday. According to Artley (1970), the book contains some information on the Nazi cultural hostility to department stores, which culminated in the burning of 29 Jewish-owned stores in 1938. The book also has useful social background to the exile of such eminent German architects as Erich Mendelsohn” (page 128).

Schoff, James Stanley (1962), “Department Store’s Position in Today’s Distribution,” in The Retail Revolution, Why did it happen? What’s it all about? Where is it heading? a series of lectures for the New York Society of Security Analysts, NY: Fairchild Publications, pp. 36-40. The author was then President of Bloomingdale’s. The book has many other authors that discuss the department store with retailing. All the authors are from practitioners. Sol cantor, then president of Interstate Department Stores “Discounting- Fact or Fiction,” pp. 29-35. Morris Natelson’s “What’s Behind the Retail Revolution” is interesting but he makes the error that the department store began 50 years ago, i.e. in the 1910s. (pp. 1-8).


Schuyler, Montgomery (1904), “A ‘Modern Classic,’” Architectural Record, Vol. 15 (May No. 5), pp. 431-444. The first page briefly discusses A.T. Stewart’s and “of the millionaire’s infatuation for an architect who was little better than an architect and whose works have mostly, to the relief of the judicious, followed him, the only conspicuous monuments of his art left being the ‘up-town store.’” The name of the architect is not mentioned.


Scott, Peter and James Walker (2007), “Advertising, promotion, and the competitive advantage of interwar UK department stores,” Center for International Business History, University of Reading Business School, j.t.walker@reading.ac.uk.


Scoville, Joseph Alfred (1869), The Old Merchants of New York City, NY: Carleton Publisher. Five volumes published from 1863 to 1869 under the author’s pseudonym Walter Barrett, 1870. The five books were reprinted in 1868 by Greenwood Press and the edition that was reprinted was the 1885 one. Volumes 2 and 5 mention AT Stewart. Other volumes do but they are not pertinent. See pp 74 and 208 in volume 5, and page 197 in volume 2. Check pp. 338-39.

Sctrick, Robert (1990), “Préface,” in Emile Zola (1883), Au bonheur des dames. Paris: Presses Pocket, pp. I-XI. The preface is about the novel and the way Zola perceived the department store and women in general. The inside cover page mentions Sctrick in the preface but also comments written by Claude Aziza. However, Aziza’s name does not appear anywhere else in the book except on this inside title page. I assumed that he is the one that wrote the long “Dossier historique et littéraire,” pp. 447-488. This part is very relevant to the department store for a number of reasons. Aziza gives us a chronology of Zola’s works as well as important events and people that left a mark on his life. For example, Zola was novelist and he abandoned journalism in 1880. He was very much involved in the “affaire Dreyfus” and he may have been murdered in 1902 as a result of his involvement in this (in)famous French trial. There are comments from some of the books written on the department store but he also gives useful information about the history of the department store in general (notably from page 463 and beyond).


Scull, Penrose (1967), From Peddlers to Merchant Princes: A History of Selling in America, Chicago: Follett Publishing. The author discusses the history of personal selling in the USA. He has a chapter on the department store. Many illustrations are very neat, one of which is an elevator with a steam engine (p. 189) He also discusses the lives of numerous salesmen who
eventually founded some of the largest manufacturing corporations in the USA (McCormick, Procter, Heinz, Deere, Ford, etc.). It's the first book on the history of selling per se, so says the author. But far too many pages read like a biography of some of the entrepreneurs who first started out in sales and then became industrialists. There is a unique illustration of Stewart’s Marble Palace on page 70. The illustration is also in Elias (1992, p. 115), but it is different with trees and a full view of Broadway, along with other buildings. Scull shows the Marble Palace from the front while Elias shows the store on an angle.


Sears, Roebuck and Co. (1902), Catalogue No. 111, Chicago.


“Sears Entering Super Service” (1931), Petroleum Age, Vol. 25 (September No. 9), pp. 36-37.

“Sears to increase holding to 60.5% in Simpson Sears” (1991), Wall Street Journal, June 19, page 4.

“Sears Canada Inc. Completes Purchase of Toronto Stores,” (1991), Wall Street Journal, July 29, p. C17. “A 1952 joint venture with the former Simpsons Ltd. department store chain forbade it from opening a store within 25 miles of a Simpsons outlet. That condition lapsed along with the joint venture in 1978, but by then other retailers had snapped up many of the choice locations during Toronto's hottest era of shopping-mall development.”


“Sears, Roebuck Baltimore Store Feature World’s Largest Window” (1938), Chain Store Age, Vol. 14 (December No. 12), pp. 24-25. The article presents the new Sears store with its massive display window 40 feet in height, 40 feet in width and 25 feet in depth used to dramatize the merchandise. The store was fully AC even then. The size of this display window makes AT Stewart’s mirrors look rather small (5 ft x 13 ft or 56 inches x 158 inches) and innocuous back in the late 1840s and early 1850s.

Seccombe, Thomas (nd), “William Whiteley,” Dictionary of National Biography, Supplement, 3, pp. 652-653. A short biography of Whiteley known as the “universal provider” because of his unique merchandising skills of the 1860s. He had 15 shops with 2k employees in 1876, selling meats, eggs, cheese, hardware, house and building decorations, and carpets. He also offered real estate services, cleaning and dying, among others goods and services sold. There is a neat and concise discussion of William Whiteley in Gunther Barth (1980), City People, NY: Oxford University Press, pp. 118-121.

Sédillot, René (1964), Histoire des marchands et des marchés, Paris: Librarie Arthème Fayard. The author discusses department stores from pp. 378-396. Surprising, he has a short bibliography on Aristide Boucicaut (pp. 391-396) who he refers to as 'Aristide le Juste'. Boucicaut is often referred to by European authors as the man who invented the department store. Of course, a number of contemporary authors have questioned this fact. Finally, the author has a short
discussion on the type of retailing institutions that emerged in the 20th c. namely supermarkets, chains stores, and the like.


“Selfridge’s Report” (1910), Dry Goods Economist, June 4, p. 1245. This reference is from Rappaport (2000).


Selfridge, Harry Gordon (1918), The Romance of Commerce, NY: John Lane Co. There is also a second edition published in 1923 by London: J. Lane. See p. 366, 377, Selfridge has an organizational chart for the 20th c. department store. Harry Selfridge worked for Marshall Field in Chicago and was Field’s most aggressive and innovative manager, with his artistic shows that enthralled the city. Selfridge was the brilliant store manager who then went to London to open his own department store in 1908. He discusses the role of fairs and the history of trade on pp. 121-138. See his biography by Williams (1956), Pound (1960), and Honeycomb (1984).


Sennett, Richard (1978), The Fall of Public Man, NY, pp. 140-149.

Servé, Mireille (1988), “Grands magasins et publicité à la fin du XIXe et au début du XXe siècle,” Cahiers de Clio, Vol. 95, pp. 15-33. The article presents a narrative interpretation of various ads used by department stores. The various ads were taken from archival materials found in the Bon Marché collection located in Brussels. The article has a number of interesting ads. The sales figures of the Bon Marché from 1878 to 1890 are also listed as well as a number of illustrations.

Seth, Andrew and Geoffrey Randall (1999), The Grocers: The Rise and Rise of the Supermarket Chains, London/Dover, London/NH: Kogan Page. A brief history of the European supermarket with an emphasis on the corporate history of Tesco, Sainsbury, Asda, Safeway, and Marks and Spencer with a bit on US retailing. The authors relied on personal interviews to get their information. As a result, the list of references is minimal at best. Aldi is barely mentioned in this text yet Aldi has been quite successful in the US unlike Marks and Spencer or more recently Tesco’s initial entry in the California market.


Shafer, Joseph (1928), “The Ford Stores- A New Departure in Retailing,” *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 6 (April No. 3), pp. 313-321. In 1926, sales were $12 million of which 51% were for groceries and drugs, 31% meat, and the rest in dry goods including shoes. He discusses the operations of the stores, the turnover rate, no sales promotion or advertising, etc. Ford took off 2% from invoices paid the next month, yet the stock was sold before payment was due.


Shaw, Gareth (1992), “Large-Scale Retailing in Germany and the Development of New Retail Organizations,” in John Benson and Gareth Shaw eds. *The Evolution of Retail Systems, c.1800-1914*, London: Leicester University Press, pp. 166-165. The article discusses the evolution of the department store in Germany. Many references listed are in German.


Shaw, Hollie (2010), “History Inspired,” *National Post*, November 20, p. A10. A column in this national newspaper on how HBC new president Bonnie Brook is trying to revise the Bay’s image. She says “We like to think of ourselves as the Macy’s, the Bloomingdales and the Nordstrom of Canada.” She’s forgetting that Canada’s upscale market is very limited compared to the in U.S.


Siegel, Arthur ed. (1965), *Chicago's Famous Buildings*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press. The book is mostly illustrations of Chicago's unique buildings. However, the 22-page introduction is worth reading because it discusses Louis Sullivan and the role of the architect. Some of the comments about how stores should be built are seminal. They succinctly summarize the market orientation that a department store is democratic and needs to enhance shoppers’ experience by its design. The introduction also shows that money and art can synergistically go together.

Siklos, Richard (1994), "Macy's Holiday Revival," *The Financial Post*, December 24, pp. 46-47. The article says that Macy’s ended its bankruptcy proceedings as of that week. It was engineered by Vancouver-born Ron Tysoe, one of the world’s leading authorities on the intricacies of large retail bankruptcies. Tysoe was acting as vice-chairman and chief financial officer of Federated Department Store. Tysoe was part of the Robert Campeau empire in Toronto. Also, former US Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, was appointed to mediate the Macy bankruptcy proceedings.

offices for Singer, Gerard Swope of GE, and Richard Deupree of P&G. But nothing on the
distributive trades per se (part of the service sector). Only Clark seems to be related to distribution.
Yet without distribution, innovative producers would not have been able to reach the market. Tysoe
was regarded by some as the surrogate son of Robert Campeau. Tysoe resigned as president of
Campeau Corp in 1991, after he had helped with the Chapter 11 restructuring of Federated, and
was then named CFO of Federated.

Reprinted in Harper Boyd, Richard Clewett and Ralph Westfall eds. (1957), Contemporary
American Marketing Readings on the Changing Market Structure, Homewood, IL: Richard D.
Irwin, pp. 257-268.


II,” Vol. 66 (May No. 5), pp. 118-120, 186-188. Reprinted in H. C. Barksdale ed. (1964), Marketing: Change and Exchange
Readings from Fortune, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, pp. 206-217. He says that in 1961 there were 1,500 to 2,400 discount department stores.

120-128. Also reprinted in H.C. Barksdale ed. (1964), Marketing: Change and Exchange

12), pp. 52-58.


No. 11), pp. 58-64.


entreprises à commerce multiples. Accueil information 2, rue de L’oratoire 75001, Paris (CCM).

Silverman, Debora (1986), Selling Culture: Bloomingdale’s, Diana Vreeland and the New
Aristocracy of Taste in Reagan’s America, NY: Pantheon Books.

Simon was a social critic and he wrote many articles in this periodical on the plight of women in
the clothing trade and elsewhere. His 1891 book (L'Ouvrière) discusses the topic.


Slocum, Kenneth (1963), “Shopping at Home,” *Wall Street Journal*, December 20. The article says that JC Penney first ever catalogue was Fall 1963 with a 1,254-page book. Sears 1963 catalogs had 135,000 items compared with 80,000 for their largest stores.


Smith, Albert ed. (1958), *Competitive Distribution in a Free High–Level Economy and Its Implications for the University*, University of Pittsburgh Press. Malcolm McNair in his article discusses retailing, including department stores.


Smith, Henry (1937), Retail Distribution A Critical Analysis, London: Oxford University Press. From pp. 48 to 80, the department store is discussed as well as his attempt to define it from a British perspective.


Smith, Matthew Hale (1869), Sunshine and Shadow in New York, Hartford: J. B. Burr and Co. The author discusses New York “with its lights and shades, in a series of graphic papers: to sketch New York as I have seen it” (p. 3). Chapter 4 (pp. 52-62) is on A. T. Stewart. He paints a picture of Stewart as a very busy man, who was once penniless and became very rich. He sees Stewart’s whole life as a success, dedicated to his work, honest, shrewd, in spite of being “the autocrat of New York merchants.


Smith, Samuel Van Dyke (1961), The Executive Function of Organization Applied to Branch Department Stores, St. Louis: Graduate School of Business Administration, Washington University. Reference from Bucklin (1964). Is the reference a book or a thesis?

Snyder, Gerald (1967), « Le commerce de détail » in Canada un siècle 1867-1967, Catalogue no. CS11-203/1967F Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, pp. 229-242. A short history of retailing in Canada in which Eaton’s contribution to the sector’s evolution is evident. He says that Eaton was the first to have a mail order counter in 1916. Snyder says that Eaton’s business model was unlike other retailers but he fails to mention that many of Eaton’s innovations were created elsewhere and not by him. He says Toronto established the Seymour H. Knox in 1897, a chain of bazaars in Toronto. Around 1900, E.P. Charleton and Company existed in Vancouver and Montreal also a chain of bazaars. Then in 1912, these two firms joined to form a chain store that merged with Woolworth. In 1920, T.P. Loblaw had self-service grocery stores.

Sobel, Robert (1974), The Entrepreneurs: Explorations Within the American Business Tradition, NY: Weybright and Talley. Chapter 3 “John Wanamaker: The Triumph of Content Over Form,” pp. 73-109 and pp. 389-390. This chapter “provides the most perceptive insights into Wanamaker as a retailer and a man but essentially ignores his forays into politics and government.” Nevertheless, the information provided presents Wanamaker as a risk taker and as a savvy retailer. Sobel notes on p. 86 that free entrance was not invented by Wanamaker for Stewart and other merchants in NY pioneered that in 1840s. Sobel mentions the Oak Hall store, a men’s clothing store and not a department store, had sales of $2.1m in 1870, manned by 43 reps, 70 cutters and 20 clerks (p. 88). It was the largest men’s clothing store in the nation. In 1871 Wanamaker opened stores in Pittsburgh and NYC, followed by Washington, Richmond and other cities. He went on a buying expedition in 1871 then visited stores in 1875 such as Bon Marche, Whitley, Louvre and others. The rand depot is discussed (see pp. 96ff). Wanamaker even sold Ford autos in his store. Sobel says Wanamaker refused to engage in price cutting such as other department store did and he was still catering to middle class buyers neglecting lower class shoppers.

Sobel, Robert and David B. Sicilia (1986), The Entrepreneurs An American Adventure, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin. The book has a number of biographies on such retail giants as A.T. Stewart, Montgomery Ward, and others. Moreover, the text on innovators such as King Gillette and Henry Ford makes excellent reading for marketing historians.


“Some Features of Department Store Management” (1902), Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 19 (March), pp. 156-158. This short article often gives G. Spencer as the author, but the name is not there, given that the article is one of many short ones, similar to a digest of articles. Perhaps Spencer was the person responsible for the digests? However it was Edward Meade. The incorrect reference is from Nystrom (1915, page 215).

“Some unusual Advertising” (1902), Inland Printer, Vol. 30 (December), pp. 415-417. The article discusses some drawings used for advertising the Marshall Field’s department store.

Soper, Will (1983), "Supermarkets," American History Illustrated, Vol. 18 (No. 1), pp. 40-47. The article discusses the origin of the supermarket. It has an analogy with the department store because it brings in issues or facts that are original just like a study of the origin of the department store. An interesting fact is that the Super Market Institute was formed in 1937, or 7 years after
King Kullen (Mike Cullen) opened his store in 1930, organized by Kullen himself. In contrast, the department store trade group was formed 75 years after Stewart's 1846 store. We also see that the origin of the supermarket is also unclear, with some saying the first prototype appeared in 1927, see Hatten (1988) who says it was December 1927. Editors of Business Week in 1933 said the super market would vanish when good times returned. Clarence Saunders, who developed a cash-carry store (economy store) in Sept 1916, in Memphis Tenn., a self-service food store called Piggly Wiggly. Later, he even secured a patent on the store layout. His planned Keedoozle store, described in a Dec 15th Forbes 1941 article, a new innovation of Saunders but it never materialized and he died in 1953. According to the Super Market Institute, the origin of the supermarket is subject to dispute. Soper says "There were precedents other than Saunders' Piggly Wiggly; the Cifrino brothers had a one stop, all goods store in Dorchester, Massachusetts; and in Houston Texas, J. Weingarten's had self-service in its grocery department. But the huge self-service, cash and carry, one-stop outlet with small markup, large volume, and the all-important parking lot to the Great Depression and a man named Michael Cullen" (p. 44). He went on to say that Cullen was boycotted by the media due to the efforts of his competitors, but managed to distribute 10k four-page flyers door to door. Was it the first such large attempt ever? His December 1932 store was 50k sq. ft located in an abandoned automobile factory called the 'Big Bear.' But Big Bear was started by Robert Otis not Cullen? It also sold non-food items, and even rented space to others who sold ladies' wear, shoes, cosmetics, car accessories, paints, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, even goldfish, among others (see Business Week 1933). Cullen paid his suppliers in cash once a week, just like Stewart did back in the late 1830s. He added approx. 10 stores in 1933. The shopping cart had not yet been invented when he opened and it took some time before it was perfected. Cullen did without it for the first seven years possibility because kids were joy-riding the wheeled baskets injuring themselves and the parents sued stores who had them. For more technical information on how the Keedoozle store worked, see Ellsworth (1961 item 24, p. 193). See also Brooks (1963), The Fate of the Edsel and Other Business Misadventures, NY: Harper and Row. It also has articles on Piggly-Wiggly Stores.

Soubourou, Pierre-Henri René (1904), "De la psychologie des voleuses dans les grands magasins, Université de Bordeaux." This is the author's 72 page thesis from the faculty of medicine, listed in the Ministère de L’éducation Catalogue de thèses (1964), Vol. 4, Kraus Reprint Ltd., 20th fascicule année scolaire 1903-1904, No 91.

Spann, Edward (1981), The New Metropolis New York City, 1840-1857, NY: Columbia University Press. AT Stewart is discussed on pp. 40-41, 97-98 and other pages. Stewart sold cashmere shawls at $2k (p. 223). A new fact among others is the establishment of public transportation in NY such as omnibuses and how much traffic there was in NY. How Stewart spent lots of money to avoid having a railroad built in front of his store (with the support of other merchants on Broadway). But he was willing to get into the omnibus business (pp. 302-3). See also chapter 4 ‘Poverty’ and chapter 5 ‘A Rich and Growing City.’ On page 71, he says at least two-thirds of New Yorkers subsisted on hardly more than one dollar per week per person. Wages had fallen less than $5 per week. The average laborer being fortunate to earn $200 per year. Of some 50,000 employed women, at least half earned less than $2 per week when employed. Given the non existence of unemployment insurance, welfare, no public health care, no aid for widows, abandoned kids or orphans, etc. no wonder the majority lived in poverty, except of course the so called middle class as described in far too many books as being the norm. He discusses public education for kids. He also refers to climate control at the Astor House in 1853, i.e. AC?

Nordstrom created and maintains a culture of customer service and how readers can translate these customer service principles to their own businesses.

Spector, Robert (2005), *Category killers: the retail revolution and its impact on consumer culture*, Boston: Harvard Business School Press. “Based on the author's research and reporting, this book explores the past, present, and future of retailing. Issues addressed include: how traditional department stores allowed category killers to co-opt them, how the ‘dollar store’ concept is redefining the retail model, why online shopping will never replace physical stores.”


Spriegel, WR (1956), *Personnel Practices in Department Stores*, Austin, TX: University of Texas Bureau of Business Research.


Stampfl, Ronald and Elizabeth Hirschman eds. (1980), *Competitive Structure in Retail Markets: The Department Store Perspective*, Proceedings, Chicago: American Marketing Association. A series of article on the department store and its competitive position with the discount store, the chain store, retail centers, the specialty store, nonstore retailing, and other topics for a total of 22 articles.


Statistics Canada (1976), Retail Chain and Department Stores/magasins de détail et les grands magasins, Ottawa: Series CA1.CS63-210. This series extends from 1976 to 1996.

Statistics Canada, (1976), Shopping Centers in Canada, 1951-1973, Merchandising and Services Division, Research Paper No. 1, August, Catalogue 63-527 Occasional, Ottawa: Ministry of Industry Trade and Commerce. A good discussion on the role played by the department store in shopping center development. The first shopping center in Canada opened in Vancouver September 1950, and was operated by Woodward Stores, the West largest department store chain.

Statistics Canada (1979), Department Stores in Canada, 1923-1976, March, Catalogue No. 63-530, 137 pages, Ottawa, Ont. Canada. This comprehensive study of the department store industry is the only one done by Statistics Canada, the statistical data collection agency of the federal government. The report traces the history of the Canadian department store business from its modest beginning with Timothy Eaton as its pioneer. It also gives a definition of the department store as used by Statistics Canada (pp. 117-118).

Statistics Canada (1979), Supplement to Department Stores in Canada 1923−1976, 1977 Data, Catalogue No. 63-530, Ottawa, Ont. Canada.


Stearns, Peter (1997), “Stages of Consumerism: Recent Work on the Issue of Periodization,” Journal of Modern History, Vol. 69 (March) pp. 102-107. The article has little information on the department store but alludes to the invention of the greeting card, stuffed animals, toys for kids, Mother’s day, Valentine’s day, which may have been promoted by the department store (see his p. 110). He also realizes that a culture of consumption needs to have goods, credit, advertising, retailers, etc. which were not well developed in the 19th c. but only at the end of the 19th c. (see his neat quote on p. 105). But then he assumes that the department store merely provided such goods and was not a creator of them via buying offices, manufacturing plants, selling such goods to other regional markets at wholesale, stimulating demand, etc.


Steele, Valerie (1988), Paris Fashion A Cultural History, NY: Oxford University Press. The book is more about history of clothes worn by aristocrats then by the common people. We learn about the Macaroni style, Proust fashion and haute couture, but not much on what the common people wore. There are a few pages on the role of department stores and fashion (pp. 147-149; 234-236). Reference is made to Zola’s book (Au Bonheur des Dames) and to Wanamaker.


Stephenson, Harry E. and Carlton McNaught (1940), The Story of Advertising in Canada A Chronicle of Fifty Years, Toronto: The Ryerson Press. Chapter 3 is all about the department store. Eaton’s is well discussed. Chapter 4 discusses the history of brands in Canada. Surprisingly, the authors fail to discuss department store brands. The book is full of vintage ads, not found elsewhere. We are told that the first product to be advertised was soap (p. 54). Pears’ Soap began to be advertised in England about 1800. The first Canadian newspaper ad appeared on March 23, 1752 in the Halifax Gazette and is reproduced on p. 3. The first Canadian ad agency was A. McKim Limited in 1889. Surprisingly, there is a good discussion on the history of the Canadian National Exhibition on pp. 313-315, not found anywhere else.

Stephenson, James (1921), The Principles and Practice of Commerce, London: Pitman and Sons Ltd. Chapter 25 “The Departmental Store,” pp. 233-243. He says that the Bon Marché “sends annually on the average a million packages to places at a distance, about four million packages to customers residing in Paris, and about two million are taken by customers themselves at the time of sale. Hence, they are about seven million purchases resulting in a yearly turnover of about 150 million franks. (p. 236)… “The delivery of the goods at a departmental store usually necessitates the employment of a large outdoor staff and the possession of numerous horses and vehicles. The Bon Marché in Paris, owns no fewer than 90 vehicles, 150 horses, and employs 65 drivers and stablemen. Each vehicle makes two journeys daily, and along with the van driver is usually the delivery man” (p. 237). The chapter is short but fun to read. He says that the palatial nature of the store makes people want to stay longer and thus shop more. He also says that the size of such stores enables consumers to compare brands side by side, an exercise that would otherwise be difficult.


Stern, Edith (1938), "Buypaths to Learning," Reader's Digest, Vol. 32 (May), pp. 90-92. This article discusses the role of the department store and cultural activities.

“Stern’s Great Department Store on Twenty-Third Street” (1878), Real Estate Record, Vol. 22 (November 2), pp. 886 ff.


Sternlieb, George (1962), The Future of the Downtown Department Store, Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University. A very good study of the reasons why downtown stores were losing their appeals. The book also discusses specific cities such as Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and Boston. It provides numerous reasons why the department store was losing grounds to suburban shopping. Some of the reasons are then related to the shift away from CBD of white families to the suburbs while those remaining (i.e. blacks and other minorities) were less affluent. Municipal property taxes, cost of renovating downtown stores, store shopping hours, time available for shopping, in store shopping speed, number of daytime shoppers, mass transit, car mobility, shopping alternatives, urbanization of suburbs, were some of the reasons offered. The author provided an action chart (Exhibit VI-2, p. 185) for management to consider. The author’s underlined statements make for easy reading.


Stevens, Mark (1979), Like No Other Store in the World The Inside Story of Bloomingdale’s, NY: Crowell.


“Stewart’s Store” (1870), *Appleton’s Journal*, April 9, pp. 411-413.


Stobart, Jon and Andrew Hann (2004), “Retailing Revolution in the Eighteenth Century? Evidence from North-West England, *Business History*, Vol. 46 (April No. 2), pp. 171-194. A detailed analysis of this article is not forthcoming because the text had too many errors in the first few pages. For e.g. the dept store was responsible for fixed price or that window shopping was a dept store innovation, or even shopping around for consumers.


Stone, Dan, Susan Mertzlufft-Curtis and Adel Newatallah Ibrahim (2002), An Historical View of an Accounting Control System 'From the Inside': Shirley Jackson’s ‘My Life with R. H. Macy,’” working paper, University of Kentucky. “Shirley Jackson’s 1941 short story written "from the inside" of an accounting control system is a "lived account" of her experience of the retail accounting system at Macy's Department Store during the 1940 Christmas rush season. Jackson's brief story also offers students insight into the history and evolution of accounting systems, and, into the commonality of and differences between users' experiences in the manual and automated eras.”


“Store’s Long Arm Reaches Out to Distant Customers Through Shopping Stations” (1917), Printers’ Ink, Vol. 101 (November 8), pp. 91-92. The text discusses how Eaton’s found a service that paid off. It established shopping stations or buying booths were some customers spent some time, notably in the summer months. It provided a personalized service more so than buying via catalogues. Moreover, Eaton also established shopping stations or branch stores located away from its main store, where customer could walk in and order merchandise either from the catalogue or from ads, and the merchandise would be delivered the next day. Such branch stores still exist today and Eaton’s appears to be the innovator of such branch stores. Finally, the article also discusses Eaton’s innovative approach to service some buyers by having store buyers for these customers. “T. Eaton Co. was one of the first stores in the United States and Canada to hire a ‘shopper’ whose duty is to represent the consumer first, last and all the time, and to take sides with the patron, against the store whenever an issue arises. These shoppers do everything imaginable for a customer from buying a spool thread to arranging the details for a wedding” (p. 92).


Strege, Gayle (2009), “Influences of Two Midwestern American Department Stores on Retailing Practices, 1883-1941,” Annual Meeting of the HBC, Vol. 7. Marshall Field's of Chicago and the F. & R. Lazarus & Co. of Columbus, Ohio, were part of Alfred D. Chandler Jr.’s “retailing revolution.” These two American department stores substantially influenced retailing practices in the United States, before they were assimilated into the Macy's brand in 2007. At Marshall Field's in the late nineteenth century, Gordon Selfridge instituted innovative methods of selling, including visual merchandising, which he later transported across the Atlantic Ocean. He also hired Arthur Fraser, whose artistry in window displays at Field's transformed that fledgling practice during the early twentieth century. Fred Lazarus, Jr., not only revolutionized merchandising practices at his family's department store, but in 1929 he joined Lincoln Filene, president of Filene's Sons & Co. in Boston, and Walter N. Rothschild, Sr., president of Abraham & Straus in Brooklyn, to create the holding company Federated Department Stores, which would become the largest company of its type by 1965. Fred, Jr., was also instrumental in convincing president Franklin D. Roosevelt to move the American Thanksgiving holiday to the fourth from the last Thursday in November, creating more shopping days for the Christmas retail season. Available web BHC online.


Suarès, A. (1934), La Samaritaine à Gabriel Cognacq, Paris.

“Suburban Retail Districts” (1950), Architectural Forum, Vol. 93 (August), pp. 106-121. A thorough discussion of the department store commitment to the suburbs. On page 11, J. L. Hudson of Detroit was building a department store in Eastland of 350k sq. ft., the biggest suburban department store in the world. On page 116, Allied Stores added 650k sq. ft. of store space, of which Bon Marché branch occupied 200k sq. ft. or about 50% of the selling space of its core downtown store in Seattle. Moreover, Allied leased department store space to Sears (or JC Penney?), stores which will compete with its own Bon Marché. Who said department store chains did not compete with one another? Another department store, Frederick and Nelson, owned by Marshall Field, already had a suburban branch store in what was called the Bellevue Shopping Center in Seattle.


“Survey of Retail Credit Trends: Department Store” (1992), Chain Store Age Executive with Shopping Center Age, Vol. 68 (January), pp. 12B-15B.

Sutton, Anne F. (1997), “Mercery Through Four Century, 1130s c. 1500,” Nottingham Medieval Studies, Vol. 41, pp. 100-125. This article discusses mercers who sold a very diverse range of goods in London. Some of these retailer-artisans increased the range of goods they sold while others specialized. But they did not sell weighty or bulky commodities such as wines, metals, wool or wood. It’s retailing during medieval times, before the invention of the department store.

Sutton, Anne F. (2005), The Mercery of London: Trade, Goods and People, Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing. Although long recognized as one of the most influential trades in medieval society, this is the first book to offer a comprehensive and detailed analysis of the London mercers from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. The variety of mercery goods (linen, silk, worsted and small manufactured items including what is now called haberdashery) gave the mercers of London an edge over all competitors. The sources and production of all these commodities is traced throughout the period covered. It was as the major importers and distributors of linen in England that London mercers were able to take control of the Merchant Adventurers and the export of English cloth to the Low Countries. The development of the Adventurers’ Company and its domination by London mercers is described from its first privileges of 1296 to after the fall of Antwerp. This book investigates the earliest itinerant mercers and the artisans who made and sold mercery goods (such as the silkwomen of London, so often mercers’ wives), and their origins in counties like Norfolk, the source of linen and worsted. These diverse traders were united by the neighborhood of the London Mercery on Cheapside and by their need for the privileges of the Freedom of London. Extensive use of Netherlandish and
French sources put the London Mercery into the context of European Trade, and literary texts add a more personal image of the merchant and his preoccupation with his social status which rose from that of the despised peddler to the advisor of princes. After a slow start, the Mercer's Company came to include some of the wealthiest and most powerful men of London and administer a wide range of charitable estates such as that of Richard Whittington. How they survived the vicissitudes inflicted by the wars and religious changes of the sixteenth century concludes this fascinating and wide-ranging study.

Sykes, Gertrude (1929), “The Department Store in Current Literature,” Journal of Retailing, Vol. 5 (April), pp. 21-23. A neat article on what some of the great masters of the written word thought of the department store such as Wells, Shaw and Bennett. While not much is contained in this short piece, we do get a sense of the importance of the department store as a background for some novels. A list is provided.


Taubeneck, George (1937), “Refrigeration Has Come Of Age,” Rand McNally Bankers Monthly, Vol. 57 (May), pp. 263-266. He says “department stores and public utilities also have sold electric refrigerators in great volume” (p. 264). The article makes it clear that merchandising was key to the acceptance and spread of this new consumer product.

Taut, Bruno (191929), Modern Architecture, London. The book according to Artley (1970, p. 128) illustrates a rarely seen shop by Reitveld and a little Parisian fruit shop by Djobourjeois. It also has Schinkel's design for a proto-type department store.


Tedlow, Richard (1985), "Nineteenth Century Retailing and the Rise of the Department Store," in Alfred Chandler and Richard Tedlow eds, *The Coming of Managerial Capitalism: A Casebook on the History of American Economic Institutions*, Homewood, Il: Richard D. Irwin, case #12 pp. 310-326. The material in this book is used in the authors’ history course on “The Coming of Managerial Capitalism” offered to second year students in the MBA program. The material is available under HBS case 384-022, rev 6/84. The case may have been revised since then. Case #13 “The Integration of Mass Production and Mass Distribution,” is also good reading (pp. 327-342.


Teel, Stanley F. (1935?), *Operating Results of Department Store Chains and Department Store Ownership Groups: 1929, 1931-1934*, Bureau of Business Research, Bulletin 101, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University. Page 7 defines the department store chain.

Tétart-Vittu, Françoise et Musée de la mode et du costume (1992), *Au Paradis des dames nouveautés modes et confections 1810-1870*, Paris: Paris-Musées. A book summarizing an exhibition of women’s fashion from 1810 to 1870. Parisian department stores as well as magasins de nouveautés are well documented in the book. We find that certain department stores and other boutiques had a kiosk at the 1867 Paris World’s fair.

Tétart-Vittu, Françoise (1992), “The French-English Go Between, ‘Le Modèle de Paris’ or the Beginning of the Designer, 1820-1880,” *Costume* (No 26), pp. 41-45. Paper model collections for dresses and waistcoats can be found at the following museums: Cooper Hewitt Museum in NY, Costume Museum in Chicago, Galliera Museum in Paris. She does not mention if artists would draw the design on paper before mannequins “invented” to add more realism to the design? Or she may simply be discussing the use of paper models shown in magazines only?


The Fifth Avenue Association (1957), *Fifty Years on Fifth*, NY.


“The Modern Department Store and the Features Which Most Tend to Make It So” (1903), Dry Goods Economist,“ Vol. 57 (October 24), pp. 51-53.


“The New Schlesinger and Mayer Building, Chicago” (1903), The Brickbuilder, Vol. 12 (May No. 5), pp. 101-104. A description of the section of the Schlesinger and Mayer Building by Louis Sullivan, with illustrations as the section was being built.


The 1902 Edition of the Sears Roebuck Catalogue (1969), NY: Bounty Books, a division of Crown Publishers, Inc. An introduction by Cleveland Amory. There is a picture of the Sears building and it says, “One of the Largest Commercial Buildings in the World Occupied by One Concern covers an entire block frontage on four streets: Fulton, Desplaines, Jefferson and Wayman.” It should be noted that this was not a retail store but a building that received and processed the hundreds of thousands of orders per week. The building as pictured has nine floors from street to top, but there were basement floors for sure. Horse driven carriages are shown and not cars, indicating it was pre 1900. The originally catalogue had over 722 pages even though this one had 700. It is not stated how many pages the 1902 catalogue had. The catalogue cost fifty cents but later it was give away free. Some edition cost one dollar. It offered tens of thousands of products from pianos, book, and many patent medicines were offered before the US Pure Food and Drug Act was passed in 1906. It Over 600k copies was published. Another interesting feature in the catalogue was the order form and Sears’ price policies, delivery options, returned goods etc., in all six full pages of information were provided.


Thil, Étienne (1964), *Combat pour la distribution, d'Édouard Leclerc aux supermarchés*, Paris : Arthaud. The author discusses NCR. MMM=méthodes marchandes modernes. 7k businessmen from all over the world took seminars at NCR from 1955, among them 1.5k were French (p. 146.). The breakdown of French taking NCR seminars: from '55 to 60, 122; 3 in '55; 3 in '56; 61 in '61; 26 in '58; 32 in '59; 226 in '60, 141 in '61; 376 in '62; 543 in '63. On p. 133, one supermarket in '52 in Paris, not one before. Def: of a supermarket: 400 to 1200 sq meters, parking, self service, thus they looked like U.S. supermarkets of the '50s. On p. 132, Bernardo Trujillo gives the example of a TX town, called MacAllen, poor with a pop of 32K, many Mexicans, having 50% less income than the US average, yet the town had 9 supermarkets, 6 stores, 2 department stores, 2 discount stores. He made this comparison to dispel the myth that the US had supermarkets and discount stores because it was richer than France. Thil believed it was 1930 that the new era in distribution began in the US when Mike Cullen opened his store in Jamaica, NY, near NYC.


Thivierge, Sylvie (1989), « Commerce et architecture, » *Continuité*, No. 42 hiver, pp. 25-29. Le Conseil des monuments et sites du Québec is a co-founder of this journal. As an historian, she makes far too many errors in this short text which has 6 pictures. At least she acknowledges that Henry Morgan was the first generation of a department store in Canada located in Victoria Square. But we don’t know if the various floors (she says 5 floors, while Murray 2003 says it was 4 floors in 1866 but 5 by 1874), were used for retailing, wholesaling, manufacturing, rented out or used to for other purposes.


Thompson, Eliza B. (1922), *Silk*, NY, The Ronald Press Company. “Published in 1918 by Ronald Press as one of the Department store merchandise manuals under the title The silk department.”


Thompson, Walter (1958), “Retailing in Canada” in Edward Fox and David Leighton eds. *Marketing in Canada*, Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin, pp. 149-162. The American Marketing Association sponsored the book. Chapter 11 was written by Thompson and is heavy on government statistics. The department store is discussed on pages 157-162. The author states that ‘the Canadian department stores as a group have been slower than their American counterparts in going to the suburbs with branch stores’ (p. 151). Moreover, one expert was quoted as saying that Canada was at least ten years behind the U.S. in the establishment of suburban shopping centres. He also mentions that Quebec attempted to pass anti-chain store legislation during the 1930s. The government disallowed Simpson-Sears from importing its private label merchandise using Sears buying price as a basis for duty. He says that Eaton got under way about the same time as Wanamaker. He further states that the ‘department stores have been responsible for many retailing innovation and were early in the use of telephone selling and sound and heavy advertising,’ p. 158. He also says that leased departments are less used here than in the U.S.


Thubert, Emmanuel de and Marcel Porcher-Labreuil (1933), *La Nouvelle Samaritaine*, Paris: La Douce France.


Tolman, Mary (1921), *Positions of Responsibilities in Department Stores and Other Retail Selling Organizations: A Study of Opportunities for Women*: NY.


Tracey, Minnie (1949), “The Present Status of Frozen Food Marketing,” *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 13 (April No. 4), pp. 470-480. Frozen foods sold by department stores are discussed on pp. 477-78. “Department stores are considered to be well-organized to be contenders for a sizable share of the frozen food business.” Tracey says Paul Mazur played a role in the department store’s launch in this business due to its low-cost refrigerator storage unit (we now called freezer), which could be rented or bought.

Trachtenberg, Alan (1982), *The Incorporation of America, Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*, NY: Hill and Wang. A short discussion on the department store, pp. 130-139. Chapter 7 (pp. 208-234) is on the White City, a discussion of the 1893 Columbian Exposition. Ironically just as the Exposition was about to open, the nation was hit by the worse recession ever. Also, Burnham preferred Paris-trained NY architects rather than those from Chicago. Otherwise, the buildings would have been very different. In March 1893, just before opening day, Burnham was honored in NY and Marshall Field was a guest of honor (along with 200 others). He makes the point that the 60-foot statue by Daniel Chester French that presided over the Court of Honor was female. He
also described the 1894 Pullman strike, the conviction of Eugene Debs, leader of the American Railway Union. President Cleveland issued an injunction to let the Pullman Palace Car Company back to work on the false claim that the mail had to be delivered. A replica of the Pullman industrial city model was exhibited in Sullivan’s Transportation building. The economist Richard Ely visited the model city and reported his findings in Harper’s New Monthly Magazine.


Traub, Marvin and Tom Teicholz (1993) Like No Other Store: The Bloomingdale Legend and the Revolution in American Marketing, NY Times Books/Random House. An account of the management development of Marvin Traub while he was at Bloomingdale’s.


Trippett, B. L. (1963?), “The Automation of Retail Transactions,’ Retail Control, Vol. 23? January, pp. 35-46. An informative review of the National Cash Register Company’s Total System. The article was not found as cited.


True, James (1926), “Department Stores Are Experimenting with Sales Units,” Printers’ Ink, Vol. 137 (December 2), pp. 155, 156, 158, 161, 162, 164. Department stores began selling multiple units of the same item. This seems to be an innovation of the department store, not done before. It required new packaging and more involvement of the store with suppliers.

Chapter 3, pp. 49-113, is a full discussion of the role played by Sears in bringing modern mass merchandising techniques to the two countries. The chapter is unique in that it acknowledges the importance of retailing as part of the service sector and improvements in the sector can be as beneficial for economic development as the manufacturing sector.


Twose, George (1894), “Steel and Terra Cotta Building in Chicago and Some Deductions,” The Brickbuilder, Vol. 3 (January No. 1), pp. 1-5. The article discusses the construction of Marshall Field’s Annex to the World’s Fair. The article discusses the Field building: the first 3 floors were retail, the next 3 terra-cotta for workrooms in connection with their business. The rest of the floors were office space for rental.

Twyman, Robert (1951), “Potter Palmer: Merchandising Innovator of the West,” Explorations in Entrepreneurial History, Vol. 4 (December 15 No. 2), pp. 58-64. He was a dry goods merchant who did more than anyone to transform retailing in Chicago. His second place of doing business was in a A. T Stewart marble type building, which he called his store the "A. T. Stewart of the West." He was the one who founded the very first Marshall Field and Company. The author discusses the money back guarantee on page 62 and argues it was not Wanamaker who invented it nor was it Palmer.


Tyler, Linda (1992), “‘Commerce and Poetry Hand in Hand’: Music in American Department Stores, 1880-1930,” Journal of the American Musicological Society, Vol. 45 (Spring No. 1), pp. 75-120. A very impressive research article, well written, with an astonishing number of unique and hard to find references. It’s one of the most research articles I have ever read. It shows that the department store was not just a business but more of an innovative institution in society.


Uittenhout, J. Bart (1992), “Klein Duimpje en Reus” het winkelpaleis van V&D aan het Verwulft, Haerlem jaaboek, pp. 112-151. Thew article is a survey of the architectural history of
the department store Vroom and Dreesmann at Haarlem, Netherland, designed by Jan Kuyt, opened in 1934. The title can be translated as “Tom Thumb and the Giant” the department store of V&D on Verwulft.”


Valmy-Baisse, Jean (1927), Les Grands Magasins, Paris:Librarie Gallimard. Similar to other French historical book on department stores, this one reads more like a novel than a serious attempt at understanding the birth and growth of the department stores in France or elsewhere. Again the book is void of references. On pp. 206-211, the author presents his own narrative style what he thinks of kleptomania. The author is not an historian but a raconteur. For example an earlier book by him (Les comptoirs de Venus, roman du grand magasin, Paris: Librarie Albin Michel) show that he writes novels à la Au Bonheur des dames but with less depth than what Zola did 45 years earlier. His name is spelled Valmy-Baysse in the literature, yet the author does not use that spelling but the one stated here.


Vanier, Henriette (1960), La mode et ses métiers, frivolités et luttes des classes 1830-1870, Paris: Armand Colin. The book is difficult to read, given that it is full of quotes from publications during that time period. As a result, the book is uneven. It is often hard to separate the author’s own comments from the quotes. Notwithstanding this weakness, the book is full of important information on the department store, but one needs to find it. It has a short chapter on the sewing machine, a list of illustrations that are hard to read due to the book’s compact size (4” wide x 7” long), a short bibliography, and a set of notes that are very good. An important feature of the book is the link of the clothing business with various expositions, even those prior to 1851, which she mentions. It seems magasins de nouveautés and department stores were present at such World’s Fairs, even prior to 1900 (e.g. see p. 150).


Van Zanten, Ann Lorenz (1982), “The Marshall Field Annex and the New Urban Order of Daniel Burnham’s Chicago,” Chicago History, Vol. 11 (Fall-Winter No. 3), pp. 130-141. The article discusses more the life and associates of Daniel Burnham than the Marshall Field store. There is a lack of information on the store and the Chicago’s Columbian Exposition, which opened in 1893, a few months before the store was open to the public.

Varda, Isabelle (1979), La Délinquance féminine de grands magasins, 1880-1914, VII Paris. A book (or a thesis?) on the delinquency of women in department stores (i.e. shoplifting). This reference comes from Perrot (1980, p. 15).

Vauthier, P. (1873), Revue Générale d’!Architecture et des Travaux Publics, pp. 11-17. The title is not named by Marrey (1979, p. 53). Based on its content on page 50, Marrey says that the 1867 la Belle Jardinière was innovative in many ways: it had a cooling system that reduced store temperature by ten degrees; on the roof, it had two water towers each with 300 cubic meters of water with four pumps.


Vernet, David and Leontine de Wit eds. (2008), Boutiques and Other Retail Spaces: The Architecture of Seduction, London: Routledge/Taylor and Francis Group. It deals with the historic development of shop design, more in particular the boutique. Sixteen case studies ranging from a 1891 Dresden milkshop to a 2004 Duchi shoe shops.


Vidal, Pierre and Léon Duru (1911), Histoire de la Corporation des Marchands Merciers, Grossiers, Joualliers, le Troisième des Six Corps des Marchands de la Ville de Paris, Paris : Honoré Champion. The book has been reprinted. This book is all about French retailing from about the 14th c. to the late 18th c. The authors discuss fixed price, adv. during the period, itinerant sellers including foreign ones, the numerous edicts that impacted on the retail and wholesale trade, the class of people involved in retailing and wholesaling, the impact of the guild system which insulated artisans from competition, the Six Corps, a powerful group of Parisian merchants who protected their members from competition and whose elected members were very close to the King and rewarded him by giving the monarchy lots of money. In fact, they were buying their privileged position. The authors discuss Colbert in glorious terms, and they often mention names without any reference or details about the person. For e.g. Turgot is mentioned but if one is unaware of what this French minister did in 1776, or earlier, the meaning of the text is lost. The book mentions Savary, again without detail. Brief, an important book to study about retail history but the 450 text has no index which makes it hard to locate material; there is no list of references. This book is really about the history of French retail, wholesale, guilds and Parisian merchants. Moreover, from the 15th to the late 18th c. the bourgeois class in France (but not in Italy) was actually forbidden to engage in trade and commerce. In my mind, bourgeois class and the noble class were of the same class but they were not. Nobles along with the clergy had many privileges. Others were of lower class like artisans and did not have the same privileges as nobles. Over time, a new class emerged called bourgeois at least in France. They were of a lower class than the nobles but higher than the others. The bourgeois class was made up of the capitalist builders, the real merchants involved in trade and eventually they became rich and powerful with good connections with the King, up to the French Revolution (late 18th c.).

“Ville de Paris (1843),” L’Illustration, November 4, page 159. Also other store articles published on March 30, 1844, page 79; May 11, 1844, page 173. This is a very large magasin de nouveautés located in Paris, as described by Hower (1943, pp. 412-413). The Magasins du Coin de Rue is another large store also discussed in this publication. It had sales larger that the Bon Marché 3 years earlier as stated in the issue of December 1, 1860, page 375, as discussed by Hower (1943, p. 414).


Walden, Keith (1997), Becoming Modern in Toronto, Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press. A book discussing the history of Canada’s oldest National Exhibition, notably Eaton’s and Simpson department stores are mentioned numerous times.

Walker, Dean (1965), “Simpson-Sears and Eaton’s show how to retail successfully,” Executive, Vol. 7 (September No. 9), pp. 52-56. A report on Eaton’s and Simpson-Sears and their approach to get more sales.


The article discusses the accounting technique invented by the department store in the early 1900s.

Walker Scott Department Store Records (1915-1993), San Diego State University special collections. ‘The Walker Scott Department Store was founded in downtown San Diego in 1935. The store's original owner, Ralf M. Walker, who already owned and ran Walker's Department Store in Los Angeles, passed away in New York six weeks before the San Diego store's opening.’


Walton, Whitney (1992), *France at the Crystal Palace Bourgeois Taste and Artisan Manufacture in the Nineteenth Century*, Berkeley: University of California Press. The Crystal Palace was a monumental glass and iron structure measuring 1,851ft by 456ft that housed 15,000 exhibitors from all over the world. Over seven million people visited the Exhibition and many exhibits featured consumer goods. The book is more about consumption and the middle class with little on buying in retail stores per se. After all, the department store era was just around the corner. France’s economy was more like a village economy, with millions of self employed small–scale manufacturing, up to the late 19th c. The Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851 in London had a lasting effect on French production methods, with government policies favoring small-scale manufacturers for high quality goods for the bourgeois class rather than making goods available for the common people. The book explores this question in greater depth. It also showed the importance of high quality and expensive goods that were sold later on in French department stores after the Crystal Palace Exhibition and the many others that followed this first one. The book makes us better understand why French department stores catered more to a bourgeois class of consumers. The American department stores were more “democratic” catering to a wider segment of consumers with low cost and high turnover goods for the lower class as well as selling high quality, high priced goods for the more well to do consumers.


Wanamaker John (1911), *Golden Book of the Wanamaker Stores: Jubilee Year 1861-1911*, Philadelphia. A book with over 120 illustrations, some are spectacular.


“The Wanamaker Style of Advertising Who Originated and Developed It?” (1915), *Printers’ Ink*, Vol. 93 (October 14 No. 2), pp. 10, 12. A series of original letters written by Wanamaker reprinted on these pages. Also responses from others sent to the editor are also reproduced. Wanamaker opened his first clothing store on April 8, 1861 with first day sale of $24.67 out of...
which $24 was spent on advertising. He opened a new store on May 6, 1876 and on March 10, 1877, announced that his store as of the next Monday would henceforth be a general dry goods store with sixteen departments. It resulted in 70,106 people going to the store. John Powers was really a force in Wanamaker’s ad. Powers used no headings, regular single column style, like the editorial style of a newspaper. Next came Joseph Apple who adopted a style of headings with copy under like newspapers were doing.


Ward Co A. Montgomery. (1897), Our Silver Anniversary: Being a Brief and Concise History of the Mail Order or Catalog Business Which Was invented By Us a Quarter Century Ago, Chicago: A. Montgomery Ward Co.


Ward, David (1971), Cities and Immigrants Geography of Change in Nineteenth Century America, NY: Oxford University Press. The book is quite interesting to read and puts the importance of the department store in perspective, especially when looking at population figures. For example, Chicago had a population of less than 30,000 in 1850 but over 250,000 in 1870. Condit (1964, page 14) puts the Chicago population at 29,963 in 1850 and 298,977 in 1870, or six times more. A population increase of that magnitude for such a large city in so short of time is probably a world’s first. Now we can better appreciate the importance of the department store in Chicago during the 1870s and beyond. The author discusses on pp. 94-103 the emergence of the modern business district and shows the role the department store played.


Webber, Oscar (1954), J. L. Hudson The Man and the Store, NY: The Newcomen Society in North America. This is a speech published in a hardbound copy given by the author in honor of JL Hudson, and available at OSU main library. The store was established in 1881.


Weidenfield and Nicholson, An encyclopedic history of Fraser’s, London. Also information about Harrod’s is discussed.


Weightman, Gavin (2003), *The Frozen Water Trade A True Story*, Hyperion. Reviewed by Hardy Green (2003), “The Man Who Brought Ice to the Masses,” *Business Week* (February 24), p. 22. The book discusses Frederick Tudor, a Boston entrepreneur who created the ice market in the early part of the 19th c. In 1833, he delivered 100 tons of ice to Calcutta. The natural ice market vanished when artificial (i.e. manufactured) ice was made using new inventions in the mid 1800 and beyond. Then, General Electric developed a small motor technology to be used in electric refrigerators, and by 1937, 3 million US homes had an electric refrigerator. And by 1950s, no more (artificial) ice was delivered to homes. Who were the ones to sell this new household invention? See Marchand (1985) for sample of ads for this new invention sold by department stores.


Weisman, Winston (1954), "Commercial Palaces of New York: 1845-1875,” *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 36 (December), pp. 285-307. This article has some interesting comments on A. T Stewart. Moreover, it has 39 illustrations of buildings, such as department stores (A.T. Stewart, Lord and Taylor, Tiffany, Haughwout), and other retail establishments.

Weisman, Winston (1970), “A New View of Skyscraper History,” in Edgar Kaufmann Jr. ed., *The Rise of an American Architecture*, NY: Praeger Publishers, pp. 115-160. This article presents a more recent history of the tall buildings (Weisman 1953) as to which one was the very first skyscraper. The author does not discuss the role the department store in the evolution of the all building. He does mention the 1857 Haughwout department store (p. 130), given that the tall
building was dependent on the development of the elevator (among other innovations) and this department store was the first to install it in a commercial building.

Weiss, Edward B. (1948), Selling To and Through the New Department Store, NY: Funk and Wagnalls Co. This is an impressionistic yet informative discussion of what the department store has done during the past ten years. The book was reviewed by David Faville (1949), Journal of Marketing, Vol. 13 (April, No. 4), pp. 579-580.


Weiss, E.B. (1966), Marketing Through Tomorrow's 100 Top Department Stores, NY: Doyle Dane Bernbach, Inc. The author’s choice of the 100 leading stores, which account for 60% of total sales of all traditional department store will have sales exceeding $16b by 1970.


Welch, Kenneth (1944), "Where Are Department Stores Going?," *Architectural Record*, Vol. 96 (November), pp. 91-96. This special section (from pp. 90-110) was done in collaboration with the *Department Store Economist*. The topics discussed range from elevators, visual displays, lighting, and air conditioning.


Welles, Arnold (1958), “Father of our Factory System,” *American Heritage*, Vol. 9 (April No. 3), pp. 34-39, 90-92. A brief history of Samuel Slater the man who helped make the US economy a powerhouse of what it became in the 19th and beyond. We are told of the British’s attempts to keep secret her superior technology used in making cotton from others, especially the USA. Samuel Slater managed to bring his knowledge to the US in 1789 by making a cotton mill à la British, which reduced cost from 50 cents per yard to nine cents in December 1790 (p. 90). His mill “produced the first cotton yarn ever made automatically in America”. On page 90, we see that Slater built the first Sunday school in New England, and he provided instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as religion to his workers. It is evident that helping workers was not a department store invention for Slater in the late 1790s had offered such social reforms to his workers.


Wells, Helen, (2007), *Cherry Ames, Department Store Nurse*, NY: Springer. “Cherry's first aid center is adjacent to the antiques department of a large department store, where a series of thefts have been blamed on a young, recently widowed employee, but Cherry helps uncover the true culprit.” (fiction).

black female dolls were pictured in department store catalogues from the 1890s to the Depression years.


Wendt, Lloyd and Herman Kogan (1952), Give the Lady What She Wants: The Story of Marshall Field and Co., Chicago: Rand McNally. Wanamaker is also discussed in the book.


Wess, Harold (1923), Administration. Wess was Macy’s research analyst and his survey on deliveryman’s productivity was reported in two articles published in January and June. He found that the driver’s time on actual delivery was only 20%. The incomplete reference is from Doubman and Whitaker (1927, p. 230), both teaching at Wharton.


Vestal, A. G. (1918), “The Cousin of the Cafeteria A New Type of Self-Service Grocery Developing the Cash- and Carry Plan,” Scientific American, Vol. 119 (September No. 10), page 193. A short but neat article of the origin of the self service grocery store. The title tells us it was copied from the cafeteria way of serving food. According to Vestal, it was patented with many such stores spread all over the US, from its beginning in Memphis. The text is accompanied by 3 informative pictures. We have to assume it was the Piggly Wiggly store, but the text is silent on the name of the store or its inventor, Clarence Saunders.

Westerfield, Ray Bert (1915), Middlemen in English Business Particularly Between 1660 and 1760, New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 19 (May 1915), pp. 111-443. Reprinted by A. M. Kelley Publishers NY, 1968. Reprinted in part (pp. 159-210) in Stanley J. Shapiro and Alton Doody eds. (1968), Readings in the History of American Marketing, Irwin, pp. 345-358. On page 342, he says that in 1614, there were 7,000 tobacco shops in London, and the most beautiful shops were those of goldsmiths’ shops, and one street had 14 such shops located in a four story high building in 1598. On page 343, he says it was “the custom of the tradesmen to board their apprentices and assistants.”


Westling, D. L. (1990), “Effect of single setting versus multiple setting training on learning to shop in a department store,” *American Journal of Mental Retardation*, Vol. 94 (No. 6), pp. 616-624. This article has nothing to do with the department store, but is included here because it has the term in its title.

“What Is a Department Store?,” *Printers’ Ink*, 1928, Vol. 142 (February 9), pp. 145-146. This short article written by the editor of the magazine was in response to a question asked by a reader, Victor Irwine, President of Irwine and Company of Chicago. The response provided is inaccurate because it says that the Bon Marché founded in Paris in the early part of the 19th c. was a general store. Of course, we know such was not the case. This Parisian store was founded in 1852 and it was not a general store when it first opened. Moreover, in his letter to the editor, Irwine offers his own definition “A strict interpretation of the term ‘department store’ would seem to mean a store that leases space to manufacturers for the sale of specialty merchandise” (p. 145). The editor then states unequivocally that “the first straight department store in the United States was the Fair opened in Chicago in 1875” (p. 145). Of course we know that is simply not true. The history of the Fair is not well documented so the editor provides us with some historical facts such as E. J. Lehmann started the Fair in a space about 16 ft x 50 ft selling a small line of inexpensive jewelry and notions. He then leased spaced to specialty houses such as those dealing in china, books, hair goods, candy, cigars, and so on. Each leased department had to pay a certain percentage of their gross volume. As the Fair, grew most of the lease holders were bought out, until today it has only a few leased departments. The editor has it right when he said “In the early days of American merchandising, stores now known as department stores were called dry goods stores for the reason that their merchandise consisted chiefly of silk, wool, and cotton yard goods; notions of various kinds, women’s ready-to-wear, carpets, rugs and upholstery fabrics” (p. 145). This article suggests a new approach toward the establishment of a bone fide department store via the leasing route, the others being the friperie, dry goods, and general store approaches.


Whitaker, Jan (2006), *Service and Style How the American Department Store Fashioned the Middle Class*, NY: St Martin’s Press.


Whittemore, Leila (1994), “Women and the Architecture of Fashion in Nineteenth-Century Paris,” *Architecture Research Criticism*, Vol. 5, pp. 14-25. This periodical has ceased publication. The original title of this study was called “Getting the Goods Together: Consumer Space and Gender in Nineteenth-Century Paris.” The article is about urban modernity and how the department store helped change the role of women in society.


Whittick, Arnold (1953), “Logic and Light–Departmental Stores,” in *European Architecture in the Twentieth Century*, Vol. 2 London: Crosby Lockwood and Sons, chapter 29, pp. 79-85. See also plate 39 for a visual look at the *De Bijenkorf* department store in Rotterdam (1929-30), as well as other stores located in Chemnitz, Stuttgart, Breslau (plate 41), and the Berlin *Karstadt* store, which is quite impressive.


Stores, NY: Bureau of Research and Information of the National Retail Dry Goods Association (NRDGA).

Wight, Peter B. (1876), “A Millionaire’s Architectural Investment,” American Architect and Building News Vol. 1 (May 6 No. 19), pp. 147-149. The article describes some of AT Stewart’s activities. Stewart was the predecessor of John Wanamaker in the field of building retail stores.


Willey, Day Allen (1903), “The Pneumatic Tube System of a Modern Department Store,” Scientific American, Vol. 88 (March 21), pp. 206-207. Very informative article and we see the extent to which the department store expanded the use of this technology.


Williams, Clare (1933), Sophie in London 1786: being the Diary of Sophie von La Roche, trans. London: Jonathan Cape. Dean (1970) has a quote from this book in which Sophie discusses the shops on Oxford Street and the elegance of window displays. Sophie traveled to London in 1786, and was then a 56 year old German novelist.

Williams, N. J. ed. (1960), Tradesmen in Early Stuart Wiltshire.

Williams, Rosalind (1982), Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth–Century France, Berkeley: University of California Press. This book is the result of the author’s Ph.D. dissertation. It has a set of unique illustrations on department stores and other commercial buildings. The book is mostly on the rising culture of consumption in France and especially in Paris. It has many insights on department stores (i.e. pp. 66-70, etc.), the significance of the 1900 Paris Exposition (pp. 64-66), a vivid description of the Georges Dufayel store, etc.

Williamson, Jefferson (1930), The American Hotel, NY: Knopf. Reprinted by Arno Press NY, 1975. A.T. Stewart is discussed numerous times in the book, as well as other retailers. He also discusses how hotels were innovative with the first to have elevators, etc. (see pp. 64 and beyond). But some of his facts are inaccurate.


Willis, John (2002), “Le catalogue d’hier et le marketing d’aujourd’hui,” Cap-aux-Diamants, No. 70 (Summer), page 45.

Wilk, Christopher (1993), Frank Lloyd Wright: the Kaufmann office, London: Victoria and Albert Museum. “This book examines in detail the background of the only complete Wright interior in Europe. This is the office that Wright designed for his most distinguished patron, Edgar Kaufmann - for whom he also built the daring country house, Fallingwater.”

Wilkinson, Jan (1971), Come and Work for Us in a Department Store (in cooperation with the Boston Store, Milwaukee, Wis., and Federated Department Stores, Inc., Cincinnati, Ohio: Sextant.


Wilson, James Grant (1876), “Alexander T. Stewart,” Harper’s Weekly, Vol. 20 (April 22 No. 1008), pp. 345-346. A short biography of Stewart, soon after his death. What is surprising about this well written article is that a very similar article was published in the 1867 Harper’s New Monthly Magazine. We don’t know if Wilson was the author of the article written ten years earlier but more likely it was, given the name of the publication and the anonymity of the 1867 one. In this article he says Stewart had warehouses in Paris, Belfast, Manchester, Berlin, Glasgow, Lyons, plus stores in NYC, Boston, Philadelphia, Saratoga Springs. Chicago was not mentioned yet he had one there. But we know he had factories too.


Wingate, John and Herman Levinson (1934), “Price Correlation of Women’s Apparel in Department Stores,” Journal of Retailing, Vol. 10 (October), pp. 70-78.

Wingate, John (1953), Buying for Retail Stores, 3rd edition, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. The book discusses retailing with a sprinkle of facts here and there on the department store. It is a good book to know more about the buying functions and its place in the organizational chart.

Wingate, John and Norris Brisco (1946), *Buying for Retail Stores*, NY: Prentice-Hall.


Wingate, John and Arnold Corbin eds. (1956), *Changing Patterns in Retailing Readings on Current Trends*, Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin. A book of readings containing hard to locate articles. The articles discuss not only the department store but also other forms of retail. The various parts on the book are well organized to the point that department store articles can be found in many of them, i.e. store organization, personnel and human relations, buying, and others. I have listed them separately in the bibliography. There are no references listed in the whole book.


Winstanley, Michael (1983), *The Shopkeeper's World 1830-1914*, Manchester: Manchester University Press. The history of small-scaled retailing in England. The author discusses the plight of small shopkeepers such as the grocer, the butcher, and the pawnbrokers, among others. There is a discussion on the village shop, referred to as a miniature department store (chapter 13, pp. 199-215), as well as a section on the department store itself (pp. 34-36). The book was reviewed by Geoffrey Crossick (1984), *Urban History Yearbook 1984*, Leicester University Press, pp. 186-187.


Wolfe, Joshua (1989), « Ogilvy, » *Continuité*, No. 42 hiver, pp. 30-31. This Montreal store was once a high class store but it converted into leasing arrangements with upscale retailers making Ogilvy more like a landlord that a retailer.


Wood, Barry James (1982), *Shop Windows 75 Years of the Art of Display*, NY.


Woodhouse, Chase Going (1943), *The Big Store: Opportunities in Department Store Work*, NY: Funk and Wagnalls.

Woolworth F.W. Company (1929), 1879-1929. Fifty years of Woolworth. Over 2100 Woolworth stores celebrate this year in 1500 cities in 5 countries of the world, the fiftieth anniversary of the F. W. Woolworth Co., with amazing buying opportunities for your nickels and dimes NY: F. W. Woolworth Co.

Woolworth, F. W. Co (1954), Woolworth’s First 75 Years the Story of Everybody's Store, NY. See page 54 to find out that Seymour H. Knox opened the first of a chain of variety stores in Toronto in 1897, and E.P. Charlton and Co. opened its first stores in Montreal and Vancouver in 1898 or 1899.


Wren, Daniel A. and Ronald G. Greenwood (1998), "Business Leaders: A Historical Sketch of Richard W. Sears," Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies, Vol. 5 (2), pp. 40-49. The great price maker"; "Send us no money"; "With cash, we pay the freight." These were advertising phrases that reached out to rural America and captured a market that was eager for the products available in urban areas. The idea of ordering by mail was not new: Benjamin Franklin issued a catalog in 1744 offering a list of six hundred books that could be ordered by mail. A. T. Stewart, R. H. Macy, John Wanamaker, and Charles Tiffany had mail order departments that targeted primarily the inland cities of America. The Larkin Company had a catalog for ordering soap, tea, coffee, and extracts; Butler Brothers of Boston offered hardware; and National Cloak and Suit (later renamed National Bella Hess) was also in the mail order business, specializing in certain product lines with urban markets in mind. In 1880, 72 percent of America's population was classified as rural, and this market was relatively untapped. Aaron Montgomery Ward and his brother-in-law, George R. Thorne, pioneered the idea of a general-merchandise catalog that was targeted for the rural market. Ward began his career as a clerk for Field, Palmer, and Leiter (predecessor to the Marshall Field Company) and launched his catalog business with one-page flyers, followed by a catalog of a broad range of merchandise.

Wren, Daniel and Ronald Greenwood (1998), Management Innovators The People and Ideas That Shaped Modern Business, NY: Oxford University Press. Chapter 3 “Sellers,” discusses only two sellers: A. T. Stewart and Richard Sears, pp. 50-68. The authors stated that Stewart’s Marble Palace is still with us, but as condominium apartments, known as Stewart House (as stated in Elias 1992, p. 79). Reynolds (1984) does not agree. The building was completely destroyed in a 1956 fire. What stands there, as Stewart Apartment, is brand new building, not a converted one, as is implied in the quote. The authors also made a mistake by labeling A.T. Stewart’s second store as the Marble Palace rather than the Cast Iron Palace. The following information may be in this book or in the previous ref: Otto Doering, the plant superintendent, saved Sears, Roebuck and Company, aided by a new building on a forty-acre tract on Chicago's west side. Drucker (1954) said it was a building Doering designed in 1903.


Wright, Cynthia (2000), “Rewriting the Modern: Reflections on Race, Nation and the Death of a Department Store,” Social History/Histoire sociale, Vol. 33 (May No. 65), pp. 153-167. The article is about the demise of Eaton’s and its meaning. It is in a sense “a death-of Eatons’ commentary” and it needs to be read by those interested in the social and business history of a Canadian icon.


Wright, John L., John S. Steele and Samuel R. Kirkpatrick (1899), "The Department Store in the East," Arena, Vol. 22 (August), pp. 165-186. This is the way this reference is usually referred to. In reality, there are three separate articles with different titles (see above).

Wright, J. L., J. S. Steele and S. R. Kirkpatrick (1899), "The Department Store in the West," Arena, Vol. 22 (September), pp. 320-341. This is the way this reference is usually referred to. In reality, this reference is wrong given that three separate articles exist with different titles and three different authors. The real authors are William Handy, Eva Carlin and Ellis Meredith. Researchers cite this reference without ever having seen it or read it.

Wrigley, J. (1887), Rules and regulations subject to the provisions of the deed poll, Hudson’s Bay Company, Winnipeg?, 1981, c1887. CIHM/ICMH Microfiche series (Institut canadien de micro reproduction historique).


D’Ydewalle, Charles (1965), Au Bon Marché de la boutique au grand magasin, Paris: Librairie Plon. This book is one of a series on the historical origin and development of some of France’s largest companies. It has 57 illustrations, some of which are quite unique. Surprisingly, this 183-page book contains no references. No wonder Miller (1981, pp. 6-7), has called such books “more company panegyrics or anecdotal excursions”, more impressionistic rather than a professional and scholarly study of the historical origin and evolution of the Bon Marché department store.

Yamey, Basil S. (1952), "The Origins of Resale Price Maintenance: A Study of Three Branches of Retail Trade," The Economic Journal, Vol. 62 (September), pp. 522-545. The article makes it clear it was not a department store innovation. In fact, the department store (and others such as coops, multiples) was offering “extensive and significant price reductions, and large sections of the public responded to the attraction of lower prices” (p. 523). It seems the initiative of RPM came from retailers themselves; but the role played by the department store is unclear at least as discussed in this article.


Zamagni, Vera (1993), “Le développement de formes modernes de commerce organisé en Italie au XIXe et XXe siècles,” *Culture technique*, No. 27 July), pp. 69-73. According to the author, consumer coops were very popular in Italy from the late 18th c. to modern times. Nevertheless, the first department store was opened in Milan in 1877 called “Aux villes d’Italie” owned and operated by the Bocconis. They quickly established branches in Florence, Genoa, Rome, Naples, Palermo, Venice, Bologna, and Livonia. As of 1879, they employed over 2,000 people and distributed 30,000 catalogues.


Zellner, Wendy (2003), “Call It Mall-Mart,” *Business Week*, July 14, pp. 40-41. An article discussing the location of discount stores, i.e. Wal-Mart, in shopping centers. This is rather strange because such stores have been in existence for a long time, at least in Canada. When Wal-Mart bought Woolco stores in the mid-1990s, many of the stores were in shopping centers. It is true that Zellers are not in shopping centers but are free standing stores.


Zimmerman, Max M. (1941), “The Supermarket and the Changing Retail Structure,” Journal of Marketing, Vol. 5 (April No. 4), pp. 402-409. He says the supermarket idea had been established out West 15 years earlier. It was Cullen who used self-service and made it into a national retail movement. On page 404, he explains what are the unique characteristics of a supermarket vs. other food stores.


Zola, Émile (1883), Au Bonheur des Dames, Paris: Charpentier; Paris: Livre de Poche, 1971. Zola actually started to research the topic of the department store in 1864 and finished his research in 1869 even though the book was only published in 1883. There is no doubt that the book is based on the Bon Marché department store, and his founder Aristide Boucicaut who died (in 1877) before he had a chance to see the finished product. Of course, the book is a novel and fiction, but based on the department store that existed in Paris at that time.

Zola, Émile (1883), Au Bonheur des Dames, Paris: Lacroix. Translated by Brian Nelson (1995) as The Ladies’ Paradise, NY: Oxford University Press, with a 19-page introduction (pp. vii-xxiii), as well as a set of explanatory notes (pp. 433-438), and a chronology and a select bibliography of Zola, pp. xxiv-xxxi. It is interesting to note some of Nelson’s comments about the department store. According to him, the Bon Marché, the actual store depicted by Zola in his Au bonheur des dames, was the first department store in the world, it was the largest store in the world before 1914, and it was the first store designed and built for shopping. Such comments, among others
made by Nelson, are unfortunately incorrect. It is actually troublesome that such errors are still being committed, especially in 1995. For the record, AT Stewart’s store was the first department store built in 1846 called the Marble Palace, for the specific purpose of shopping. The store was expanded until Stewart built another one, which opened in 1862. The Bon Marché opened in 1852 and it was not until much later that the store was redesigned more for shopping. A final note is that Artley reported that the book was translated by April Fitzlyon as *Ladies Delight* London: John Calder in 1957 and issued as a paperback in 1960 by Paul Elek Ltd., London. She says that the book “is a brilliant fictional account of the rise of a late 19th century Parisian department store which contains many detailed descriptive passages of revolutionary display techniques” (page 128).

Zola, Émile (1927), "Notes sur le *Bon Marché*," *Oeuvres Complètes*, 12, *Au Bonheur des Dames*. Zola was a novelist as well as a journalist. His discussion of this department store in Paris indicates that he knew the department store business very well and had access to proprietary information. Let us not forget that he abandoned journalism in 1880.

Zuckerman Art (1958), “America’s Shopping-Center Revolution,” *Dun’s Review and Modern Industry*, Vol. 71 (May), pp. 36-37, 93-102. A must read for anyone interested in the history of the department store, post 1950s. The analysis and predictions made are truly amazing for an article published in 1958. He shows how department stores tried to lure consumers back to the downtown area but without much success, even though it worked initially. Department stores were facing market forces beyond their control, and also their inability to understand what was going on.