

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

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Abstract

The paper has two main objectives. The first is to provide a rather short summary of what the department store is all about and its historical role in marketing, in society and the world in general. The next objective is to provide social and other historical researchers with the most comprehensive and complete reference list on the department store ever compiled. Many references are annotated by the author. The department store was one of society's most innovative and influential institutions and it helped change the business world, notably from the mid 1800s to the 1930s. It gave birth to the culture of consumption, and even the modern shopping center with everything under one roof. It is hoped that the 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 in the past 30 years toward our understanding of this great icon of a consumer culture. Given that the study of the department store or that historical research per se is not part of mainstream marketing, it is hoped that the paper will make academic marketers ponder why so many non-marketers are studying the department store, a topic so much part of the marketing discipline.

Key words

Department store, history, marketing, retailing, consumption, culture, innovation

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 19^e 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

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

To date, the manufacturing sector and the government have been seen as the 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. That is why billions of dollars are spent each year in the hope that new products will make society more productive. However, too much attention is focused on the production side as the only sector that can bring about economic growth and prosperity. Other sectors of our economy, notably retailing, also contribute significantly to technological innovation. Despite this contribution, however, retail merchants have been labeled as unproductive, responsible for high prices and at times, unresponsive to consumer needs.

The retailing community, as a member of our economic system, has been as innovative as any others. The technological 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 mid 1850s to the end of 19th century 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.

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 (see 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 (see Forsell and Poole 1928).

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 such as restaurants, restrooms, reading rooms, home delivery, wrapping services, store hours, new types of merchandise displays, and so forth.

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 firmly believe the department store liberated women and gave 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. 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.

This department store as a social institution was also instrumental in the mass production and selling of ready to wear clothes, and many other household items. In fact, 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 to 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 but also to the modern skyscraper. 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 modern skyscraper. Cities such as New York and Chicago became world famous and still are and it no coincidence that the department store built in those cities (i.e. Macy, Marshall Field, AT Stewart) were by far the most modern, the most luxurious and the biggest stores the world had ever seen. 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 it is the biggest store in the world.

The department store democratized consumption and has 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 mid-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 (see Jensen and Davidson 1984). It remains to be seen what role other French department stores, American, Canadian ones and other department 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 the concentration of people in centralized city core. The growth of suburbs proved to one of the department store's downfall. 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. 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).

Finally, the department store contributed to the emergence of mass marketing and the birth of a consumer society operating as a major force in creating a culture of consumption for the world.

Reference Sources

The following list of references on department stores is interdisciplinary. It contains references from many fields, including architecture, social history, economics, retailing, and so forth.

There were specific 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 US trade publications that reported on the department store industry not only in the US but all over the world. It changed its name to the *Department Store Economist* until 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*. Given all these name changes 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*. Finally, 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 the retail merchandising practices of the department store such as *The Show Window*, which later changed its name to the *Merchants Record and Show Window*, then it changed name again to *Display*

World and finally to 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 authors have discussed the topic of the department store than academics in business or in marketing. Most department stores researchers are either social or economic historians, and very few, if any, are part of mainstream marketing.

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 organized by departments. Later on in the late 1800s, they added an assortment of other goods and services and soon evolved as the precursor of the modern shopping center: 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 and elsewhere 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 without any obligation on their part to buy. That is why 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 10, 000 people would shop at Macy’s in the early 1900. Some have actually stated that up to 40,000 people per day would shop at Marshall Field in Chicago in the early 1900. Macy’s of New York had the largest square footage building in the United States with over one million square feet, larger than any industrial plants in existence at the time.

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 also need to be added. Department stores were also very artistic, and they were seen 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 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 early 1900s. Such fairs held in such cities as Paris, London, Chicago, New York, St Louis, 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 store design, and new ways to display goods in their stores. Many early department store owners traveled all over the world to these fairs.

Let us not forget that many department stores were the largest importers of goods (A. T. Stewart, Marshall Field, Macy's, 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 and reached \$208 million by 1876. 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 in Chicago was quite modest in the mid to late 1800s but grew to over 3.5 million by 1920. Let us not forget that the wave of immigrants that hit the USA in the early 1900s proved to be a bonanza for department stores, with over 13 million immigrants coming to America in the first 15 years of the 20th century alone. These new Americans settled mostly in large urban cities such as New York and Chicago.

Labor issues (hours of work, pay, fines, holidays, health issues) 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 that she was married, she would automatically be fired. The prevailing attitude at the time was that a woman should not take employment from a man, given that he was the only breadwinner. Of course, if a woman was abandoned by her husband or she was widowed, a welfare system simply did not exist then and she 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 and Chicago, among other major cities. In fact, there is no doubt that many female workers in a department store were also prostitutes to supplement their low wages (see Parent-Lardeur 1970, Williams 1982, Malino 1996, and Rappaport 1996). Needless to say that references on how department stores affected the lives of workers, especially women workers, are included in this list.

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 (see 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 democratization, made people 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 for the world to see and to want.

In brief, the department store was not only an innovation for marketing and business as a new form of retail institution but 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 were available to the author.

The author encountered many instances where 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). After all, Parisian department stores (au Bon Marché, la Samaritaine, les Galeries 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, the business press produced a rather large number of short articles. 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 the 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 marketing, even though the marketing discipline began to devote more attention to the topic. The bi-annual marketing history conference is an indication of the interest by some, albeit a rather small group of marketing scholars. Also the Journal of Macromarketing has accepted a steady stream of such articles since it first appeared in 1981.

The historical wave that swept through all the social sciences had a rather small 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 very minimal, more of a ripple than a wave. 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. Mainstream marketing still has a profound fixation on doing research on only those questions that lend themselves to be measured and thus are 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 rather 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. Why this state of affairs is extremely important to grasp for the discipline. However, it is beyond our objective here to present a list of information sources on the history and current material on the department store.

One thing is certain: marketing does not yet have a scholarly journal fully devoted to marketing history or to historical research, while many other fields in the social sciences and humanities, including other business disciplines, have such academic publications. For example, accounting, finance, and management all have specialized journals dealing with historical research.

What Is a Department Store?

A word of caution with respect to the use of the term "department store" This needs to be explained. Today we all know what a department store means, more or less. But that was

not the case a hundred years ago. The Bureau of the Census and Statistics Canada now have very clear definitions of what constitutes a department store. 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 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 a *magasin de nouveautés* ou *magasin de frivolités et de modes*, (i.e. fashion novelties) selling mostly fabrics and “articles de mode”, (i.e. 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 the Europeans and in particular Aristide Boucicaut and his *Bon Marché* established in Paris in 1852, was the very first department store. Even Nystrom (1915) never questioned this accepted fact, as discussed in his textbook, one of the first American books on retailing. In the past forty years, however, some American historians, notably Resseguie (1962, 1964, 1965), have now challenged the historical truism, especially due to the "discovery" of A. T Stewart's 1846 Marble Palace. 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 so abundantly evident throughout its evolution. The department store helped transform the distributive sector of the economy in the 20th c. and beyond not only in Europe and America but as a globalizing cultural phenomenon (see 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 assortments 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).

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 (see Breckenfeld 1972). The department store census report published by Statistics Canada (1979) explains that the industry was slow at first in 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.

Are all these terms referring to what was a department store in the United States à la 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 (see 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 US 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 discovered thus far, it is impossible for the author to have read all of this material.

Hopefully, these comments and the references themselves will make marketing researchers 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 a topic of study within the marketing discipline.

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Bond, Harry (1929), "Plumbing, Sprinkler and Vacuum Cleaning Systems," The Architectural Forum, Vol. 50 (June No. 6), pp. 955-956. The department store needed specialized equipment for fire protection and for cleaning.

Bon Marché archives, Inventaire des marchandises du Bon Marché de 1878 à 1920, located rue Neuve 111 à 1000 Bruxelles.

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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 Anthéonor 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).

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Bouveret-Gauer, Martine, C. Marengo, M.-J. Parizet, and René Péron (1994), Le commerce et la ville, Paris: CNRS Editions. The short book has a an interesting reference list and pp. 37-45 is on the department store.

Bowlby, Rachel (1987), "Modes of Modern Shopping: Mallarmé at the Bon Marché," in Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse eds. The Ideology of Conduct. Essays in Literature the History of Sexuality, London: Methuen, pp. 185-205.

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). He 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.

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Bronner, Simon J. ed. (1989), Consuming Visions Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880-1920, NY: W. W. Norton. A collections 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.

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Candille, M. (1953), "De la réalite au roman du Bon Marché de M. et Mme. Boucicaut au Bonheur des Dames de Zola," Revue de l'Assistance Publique à Paris, (January-February), pp.

Cantor, Jay E. (1975), "A Monument of Trade A. T. Stewart and the Rise of the Millionaire's Mansion in New York," Winterthur Portfolio, Vol. 10, pp. 165-197.

Cantor, Jay (1974), "Art and Industry: Reflections on the Role of the American Museum in Encouraging Innovation," in Ian M. G. Quimby and Polly Anne Earl eds. Technological Innovation and the Decorative Arts, Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, pp. 331-354. This article provides interesting comments on the relationship between museums and department stores.

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Carruth, Eleanor (1969), "Federated Department Store: Growing Pains at Forty," Fortune Vol. 73 (June), pp. 142ff.

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Chandler, Susan (1994), "Sears' Turnaround is for Real-Now," Business Week, (August 15), pp. 102-103.

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

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Chenevier, P. (1922), "La sécurité du public dans les grands magasins," l'Architecte, Vol. 35, pp. 27-28.

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 in 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 familièrement inconnues... 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 is the best one to consult.

Clark, William (1901), "A. T. Stewart, Merchant Prince," The Counter (June) pp. 9; 12, 24; August, pp. 21, 27, 29; September, page 38; October page 22; November, pp. 20, 21, 22.

Chessel, Marie-Emmanuelle (1999), "Training Sales Personnel in France between the Wars," in Geoffrey Crossick and Serge Jaumain eds. Cathedrals of Consumption The European Department Store, 1850-1939, Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing, pp. 279-298. An article that discusses the sales training given to department store personnel as well as other members of the retail trade.

Clark, William (1901), "A. T. Stewart, Merchant Prince, A Story of His Business Career" The Counter (October) pp. 22-23.

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 Leslie (1976), "La Samaritaine," Revue de l'Art, No. 32, pp. 57-77.

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 (1985), "The Department Store—Development of the Type," Journal of Architectural Education, Vol. 39 (Fall), pp. 20-29. The article is very informative especially due to its 25 illustrations. Clausen discusses European as well as US department stores. His emphasis is on the artistic uniqueness of the stores.

Clausen, Meredith (1987), Frantz Jourdain and the Samaritaine: Art Nouveau Theory and Criticisms, Leiden, the Netherlands: E. J. Brill. The book has a full chapter on the department store (chapter 7, pp. 191-215), as well as a chapter on the Samaritaine (chapter 8, pp. 289). Given that Clausen is an art historian, the book is well illustrated with close to 100 pictures. In fact, all of Clausen's publications have numerous illustrations (see the 1985 article cited above).

Clausen, Meredith (1988) "The Department Store," in Joseph Wilkes and Robert Packard eds. Encyclopedia of Architecture: Design, Engineering and Construction, Vol. 2 NY: John Wiley, pp. 204-222. This 5 set volumes on architecture and engineering should establish the importance the hard sciences attribute to the department store.

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.

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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.

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numerous illustrations. The Fair Store, the Marshall Field Wholesale Store, the Carson Pirie Scott Store, Sears, among others, are discussed (pp. 60-63, 89-92).

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Corina, Maurice (1978), Fine Silks and Oak Counters, Debenhams 1778-1978, London: Hutchison Benham.

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D'Avenel, Georges (1896), Le Mécanisme de la Vie Moderne, Paris: Librairie 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. 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.

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D'Avenel, Georges (1896), "Les Magasins de Nouveautés," chapter 1 in his Le Mécanisme de la Vie Moderne, Première Série Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. The sixth edition published in 1916 has chapter 1 in 8 sub sections, pp. 1-90 (1. Le grand commerce sous l'ancien régime, 2. Le Bon Marché, 3. Le Louvre, 4. Belle Jardinière, 5. Règles d'achat et de vente, 6. La comptabilité, 7. Les vols, 8. Employés et frais généraux). The author discusses three of the most important Parisian department stores, as well as a discussion on shoplifting and other topics. Volume 4 second edition published in 1911 has two chapters: chapter 16 on advertising pp. 121-178, and chapter 18: "le Prêt Populaire," pp. 351-404. On pp. 375-384, the author discusses "Les Bons

Crépin-Dufayel," the credit vouchers offered by this firm, probably the first one to offer consumer credit on such a large scale in France (see Calmettes 1902, Coffin 1994, 1996, du Closel 1993, and Williams 1982).

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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 1939 to 1950, with three separate chapters analyzing the distributive trades 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.

Jefferys, James and Derek Knee (1962), Retailing in Europe Present and Future Trends, London: Macmillan, pp. 59-62. 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 ten 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.

Jefferys, James and Derek Knee (1988), The Policies of European Department Stores in the Past Decade, Essex, UK: Longman Group.

Jensen, Joan (1984), "Needlework as Art, Craft, and Livelihood Before 1900," in Joan Jensen and Sue Davidson eds. A Needle, A Bobbin, A Strike: Women Needleworkers in America, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, pp. 3-19. The article provides excellent historical facts as to why department stores were so successful in selling ready to wear clothes (dry goods), a major reason of their success.

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Jones, Fred (1937), Middlemen in the Domestic Trade of the United States, 1800-1860, Urbana: University of Illinois Press. This publication discusses retailing development of the time and includes a few pages on the department store. The sections on various retailing institutions, including department stores, are reproduced in Stan Shapiro and Alton Doody eds. (1968) Readings in the History of American Marketing, Irwin, pp. 285-294.

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 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?

Jordy, William (1972), American Buildings and Their Architects: Progressive and Academic Ideals at the Turn of the Twentieth Century, NY: Oxford University Press. The author offers a favorable opinion of the Chicago Carson Pirie department store (on pp. 135-164) and Louis Sullivan as the architect. The book was reprinted in 1986.

Jordy, William (1986), "The Tall Buildings," in Wim de Wit ed. Louis Sullivan: The Function of Ornament, NY: W. W. Norton. The author offers a favorable opinion of the Chicago Carson Pirie department store (on pp. 128-137), and Louis Sullivan as the architect.

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Julian, Barnard (1970), "The Master of Harrods' Meat Hall: W. J. Neatby," Apollo, March, pp. 232-234. This article and the next two below are according "from the great Victorian ceramist, whose designs still makes the Meat Hall the showpiece of Harrods Ltd., Knightsbridge, London" (Artley 1970 page 128).

Julian, Barnard (1970), "Some Work by W. L. Neatby," The Connoisseur, November, pp. 165-171.

Julian, Barnard (1971), "Victorian on the Tiles: the Work of W. J. Neatby," The Architect, September, pp. 46-51.

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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 (one sided) of plates. Part of the whole issue is on retail store design, especially 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.

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

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are not department stores. That would be ok if one defines the department store as a one unit store and that chain department stores do not exist (see Ruckeyser 1928 and Stern 1933).

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Mark Foy's Ltd. (1935) The Romance of the House of Foy, Mark's Foy's Golden Jubilee, Sydney.

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

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 au 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, 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 is from the United States. Notwithstanding these minor irritations, the book is rather unique in the way the author discusses the department store.

Martin Saint-Léon, Etienne (1911), Le petit commerce français sa lutte pour la vie, Paris: Victor Lecoffre.

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.

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Masson, Sabine (1999), "Flexible Working Hours and Availability Constraints: The Case of Department Store Saleswomen in the Suisse Romande Region. Temps de travail flexible et contrainte de disponibilité: le cas des vendeuses en grands magasins dans la région de Suisse Romande," Soiologia del Lavoro, No. 74-75, pp. 448-462.

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Mazur, Paul (1924), "Future Developments in Retailing," Harvard Business Review, Vol. 2 (July, No. 4), pp. 434-446. Discussion of trends about retailing, including department stores. The article was reprinted as "Analysis of a Department Store," in Ivan Wright and Chas. Landon eds. (1926), Readings in Marketing Principles, NY: Prentice-Hall, pp. 307-314.

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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.

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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.

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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 give useful information about the history of the department store in general (notably from page 463 and beyond).

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Weill, A. (1888), Un Fléau national, les Grands Magasins de Paris et les Moyens de les combattre, Paris: E. Dentu.

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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.

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Zahar, Marcel (1928), “Les Grands Magasins,” l’Art Vivant, 1er décembre, pp. 921-925. The article discusses the architecture of department stores with 4 pages of illustrations.

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 2000 people and distributed 30,000 catalogues.

Zhuang, Guijun, Nan Zhou and Neil C. Herndon Jr. (2002), “Scale economies of department stores in the People's Republic of China,” The International Review of Retail Distribution and Consumer Research, Vol. 12 (No. 1), pp.

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 Arisicide 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.