To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Judy K. Miler entitled "Hidden Within: Women's Managerial Role in the Rise and Development of Two Major U.S. Department Stores, 1870-1920." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Human Ecology.

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HIDDEN WITHIN: WOMEN'S MANAGERIAL ROLE IN THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF TWO MAJOR U.S. DEPARTMENT STORES, 1870-1920

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

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Judy K. Miler

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research to the memory of my mother, Nell Stine Miler, who was a strong and wise role model for me.

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The staffs of the New York Public Library, Boston Public Library, and Harvard Baker Library were also most courteous and helpful during my visits there and I thank them.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research is to identify and interpret the socio-cultural factors that contributed to the role of the department store managerial woman from 1870 to 1920. Specifically, the objectives are to identify and analyze the female individuals that held managerial leadership roles, and analyze the environmental factors that led to the rise and development of women in management at two major U.S. department stores, Macy's and Filene's.

This study explores the socio-cultural factors from an open systems perspective at both the macro, external environmental level and the micro, internal environmental level. The macro level includes the cities of New York and Boston and the economic, political, techological and socio-cultural factors within the environment. The micro level includes Macy's and Filene's department stores, their organizational history, and the managerial women who worked for the stores.

Documentary research was employed to identify and support the role of managerial women in the rise and development of the major department stores examined. Sources for this analysis include Macy's and Filene's

records and papers, business school records, newspapers, government records, city directories, magazines, books, articles, and transcribed interviews.

Evidence was found on twenty-five managerial women who worked at Macy's and Filene's. The department store was shown to play a major role in urban culture and society, and also woman's role in that society.

Results indicated that the department stores examined were open system organizations. There is also evidence to indicate that the socio-cultural factors at both the macro and micro environmental levels contributed to the role of the managerial woman. Traditional female roles were reflected in about half of the job positions held by these women. The other half of the women were in merchandising and store supervisory positions.

It is also evident that the stores provided these women with a new work alternative, where they rose through the ranks to become the forerunners of retail managerial women today.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background Information

Life in the United States was undergoing tremendous change during the years 1870-1925, which was commonly referred to as the Reconstruction and Progressive Periods. Industry was growing, population was increasing, and there was exceptional transition occurring in society. Cultural beliefs were being challenged as people tried to adjust to the changes taking place in their environment.

> The Progressive transformation of the national economy as commerical and industrial revolutions swept the land, . . . challenged all citizens but especially city dwellers. (McKelvey, 1963, p. 127).

Large-scale manufacturing and retailing developed, helping to create a new, mass consumer society. The U.S. economy needed women as a part of the essential labor source. In order to deal effectively with the changes, many businesses had to review their organizations. Also, new types of businesses were created; among those was the department store.

The rise of the department store had a major impact on urban culture and society. The department store

presented goods in a new setting and came to dominate retail trade during this period in history. For women who desired or had to work, the creation of the department store supplied a respectable work alternative to typical jobs of teaching and nursing. The department store played a "significant role in the evolution both of contemporary society and of women's place in that society" (McBride, 1978, p. 664).

There is a great deal in print on the male department store founders and leaders; however, very little literature exists on the female managers who held leadership roles during the rise and development of the department store. It is well documented that retail merchants solicited female workers to serve the female customers that shopped in their stores. It is not widely known, however, that some women held positions of leadership and power at the department store.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this research is to identify and interpret from an open-systems perspective the socio-cultural factors that contributed to the role of the department store managerial woman from 1870 to 1920.

More specifically, the objectives are to identify and analyze the female individuals who contributed to managerial leadership, and analyze the environmental factors

that led to the rise and development of women in management at two major U.S. department stores, Macy's and Filene's.

Conceptual Framework

The underlying conceptual framework for this research is organizational open-systems theory. This study considers the department store as a societal unit that influences the environment and is also influenced by the environment. The three organizational levels identified by Daft and Steers (1986, p. 7) are examined. In viewing the organization as a social system, they regard three apparent levels: the individual, the role group to which they belong, and the total organization. Since a systems approach is being taken, the macro (external) environment is also considered, along with the micro (internal) environment in this socio-cultural analysis.

Many definitions of organizations exist. Goldhaber (1979, p. 29) defines the organization as a "network of interdependent relationships." Hodge and Anthony (1988, p. 7) describe an organization "as two or more people working cooperatively toward a common objective or set of objectives."

Culture is present in organizations, just as it is in any societal unit. It is usually defined as the values, beliefs, customs, and behavior in a society. Also, many

authors consider culture the interpretation of these shared values, beliefs, customs, and behavior (Jones, Moore, & Snyder, 1988). To the majority of researchers, "'culture' implies organization: A society seems to have a 'system' of beliefs and practices giving it internal coherence and distinguishing it from all other collectives of people" (Jones, Moore, & Snyder, 1988, p. 17).

Organizations as culture have become one of the fastest growing divisions of organizational research (Corwin, 1987; Deshpande & Webster, 1989; Ouchi & Wilkins, 1985). There is no strong consensus about a definition of organizational culture as a result of the many different theoretical bases (Deshpande & Webster, 1989, p. 4; Gudykunst, Stewart, & Ting-Toomey, 1985, p. 14). According to Kast and Rosenzweig (1974, p. 245), "Societal culture sets an overall framework" for the study of an organization.

Daft and Steers (1986, p. 5) have indicated that an organization has four components: 1) it is a social entity; 2) it is goal-directed; 3) it has a deliberately structured activity system; and 4) it has identifiable boundary.

Katz and Kahn (1966, pp. 19-25) associate nine characteristics with all open-system organizations. Table 1 shows the nine characteristics identified with open-systems and the corresponding department store characteristics. For an explanation of the correlation between department stores and open-system organizations

Table 1

Characteristics of an Open-System Organization and the Department Store

Organizational Open Systems Characteristics	Related Department Store Characteristics
The importation of energy from the external environment.	* Labor * Merchandise
The through-put or transformation of energy.	* Training * Consumer uses of goods and services
The output or exportation of energy to the external environment.	* Customer needs and wants * Social, economic and political reforms.
Systems are cycles of events, where the output enables continuation of the business.	* Customer rewards * Money to continue and expand business.
Negative entropy is present, where systems import more than they export.	* Merchandise bought by store exceeds needs.
Information input, feedback, and the coding process are present.	* Rules, policies, procedures--give order to the departmet store. * Types of people are successful or unsuccessful as determined through employee evaluations.
The steady state and dynamic homeostasis.	* Department stores grow to meet the changing needs of the external and internal environment.
Differentiation	* Specialized functions are present in the department store.

Table 1 (continued)

Organizational Open Systems Characteristics	Related Department Store Characteristics
Equifinality, where organizations can reach the same end through differing means.	* Department stores have various operating procedures, policies, and practices, but still achieve the same results. * Different types of individuals may produce the same results.

Source: The data in column 1 are adapted from D. Katz and R. L. Kahn (1966), The Social Psychology of Organizations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.), pp. 19-25.

see the section on the "Internal Environment," pages 85-86.

Hodge and Anthony (1988, p. 78) adapted a framework to study the organization using a systems approach. In their framework the environment is broken down into three levels: the macro, intermediate, and micro. Hodge and Anthony's (1988) model shows the interactive nature of the environments, their components, and further breakdown identifies the particular components of the environments (Hodge & Anthony, 1988, p. 74). (See Figures 1 and 2.)

The open-systems organization criteria set by Katz and Kahn (1966, pp. 19-25) and Hodge and Anthony's (1988) model will serve as the basis for the department store regarded as an open-system organization in this study.

Emphasis is placed at the micro level on the management group and specifically on the individual female managers who make up this group. Focus is on the socio-cultural component of the macro and micro environments. The department store organization is the specific system examined, and the managerial group and female managers will be the sub-systems examined. Using the open-systems approach, however, requires the examination and analysis at both the macro (external environment) and micro (internal environment) levels. All other relevant components must also be considered, as permeable boundaries are elements of all open-systems (Baker, 1973, p. 35).

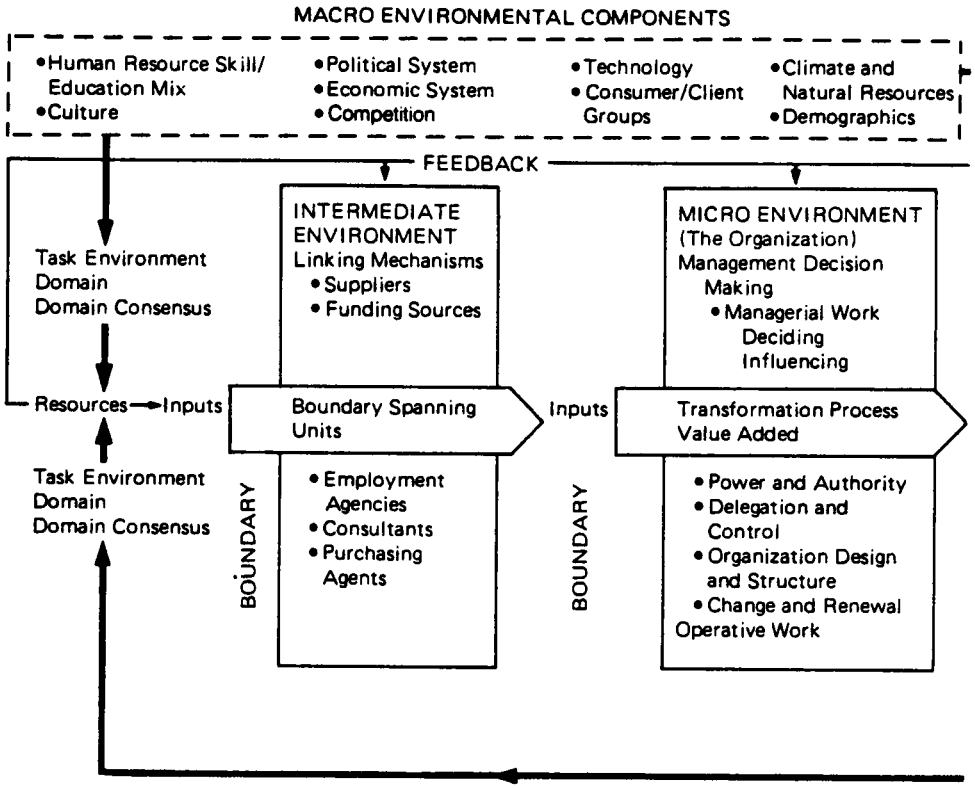


Figure 1. Hodge and Anthony's Systems Approach to Organizational Theory

Source: B. J. Hodge and W. P. Anthony (1988), Organization theory (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon, Inc.), p. 78.

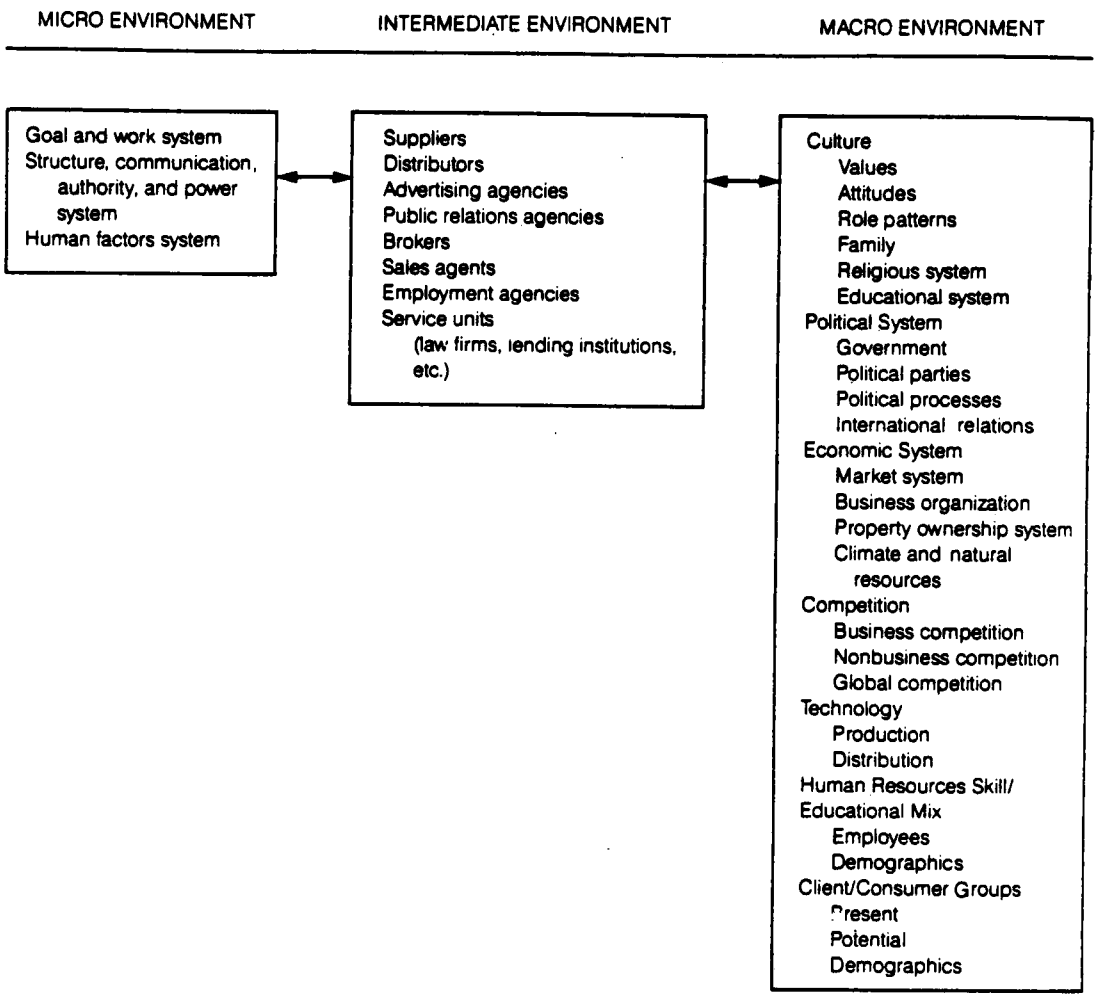


Figure 2. Components of the Organization's Micro, Intermediate, and Macro Environments According to Hodge and Anthony

Source: B. J. Hodge and W. P. Anthony (1988), Organization theory (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon, Inc.), p. 74.

The intermediate environment included in Hodge and Anthony's (1988, p. 78) model is not being assessed in this study. This environment does not play a pertinent role in organizational culture, but rather in the business profits of the organization.

Primary focus will be at the micro (internal) environmental level, and the female managers and leaders who were employed by two major U.S. department stores from 1870 to 1920. In Etzioni's (1964, p. 89) words, this research will be directed at those considered to be the "organizational elite" in particular, the female individuals and managerial group who held formal power at the department stores. The women researched, however, were an elite minority in the managerial ranks of the department store.

The paradigm presented in Figure 3 reveals the two interactive levels of analysis to be undertaken.

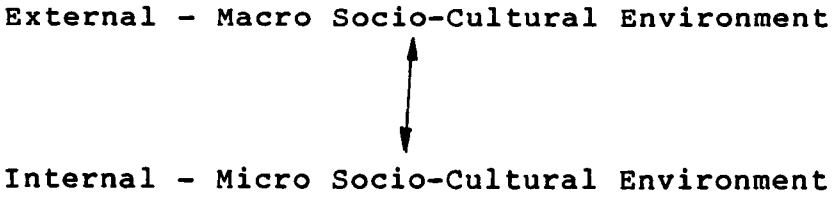


Figure 3. Paradigm of Environmental Levels

A model has been constructed to reflect the interactive nature of the environmental levels and all of the socio-cultural factors to be considered in this open-systems study. (See Figure 4.)

The external, or macro environmental level, includes the modern cities of New York and Boston. All of the related socio-cultural, political, technological, and economic factors of these environments that contributed to the department store's rise and growth will be examined. The internal, or micro, environment consists of the Macy's and Filene's department store organizations. Specific factors regarded internally are the companies themselves, management as a group, and the individual managerial women.

Justification of the Research

Several factors justify this research. First, little historical research on women in retailing has been done. Second, little retail management history has been recorded. Third, women managers play a major role in department store retailing today, yet little has been accredited to them.

The majority of existing department store retail studies has been confined to saleswomen and the male retail kings and their kingdoms (individually and collectively). Much of the literature on large U.S. retailers simply entertains.

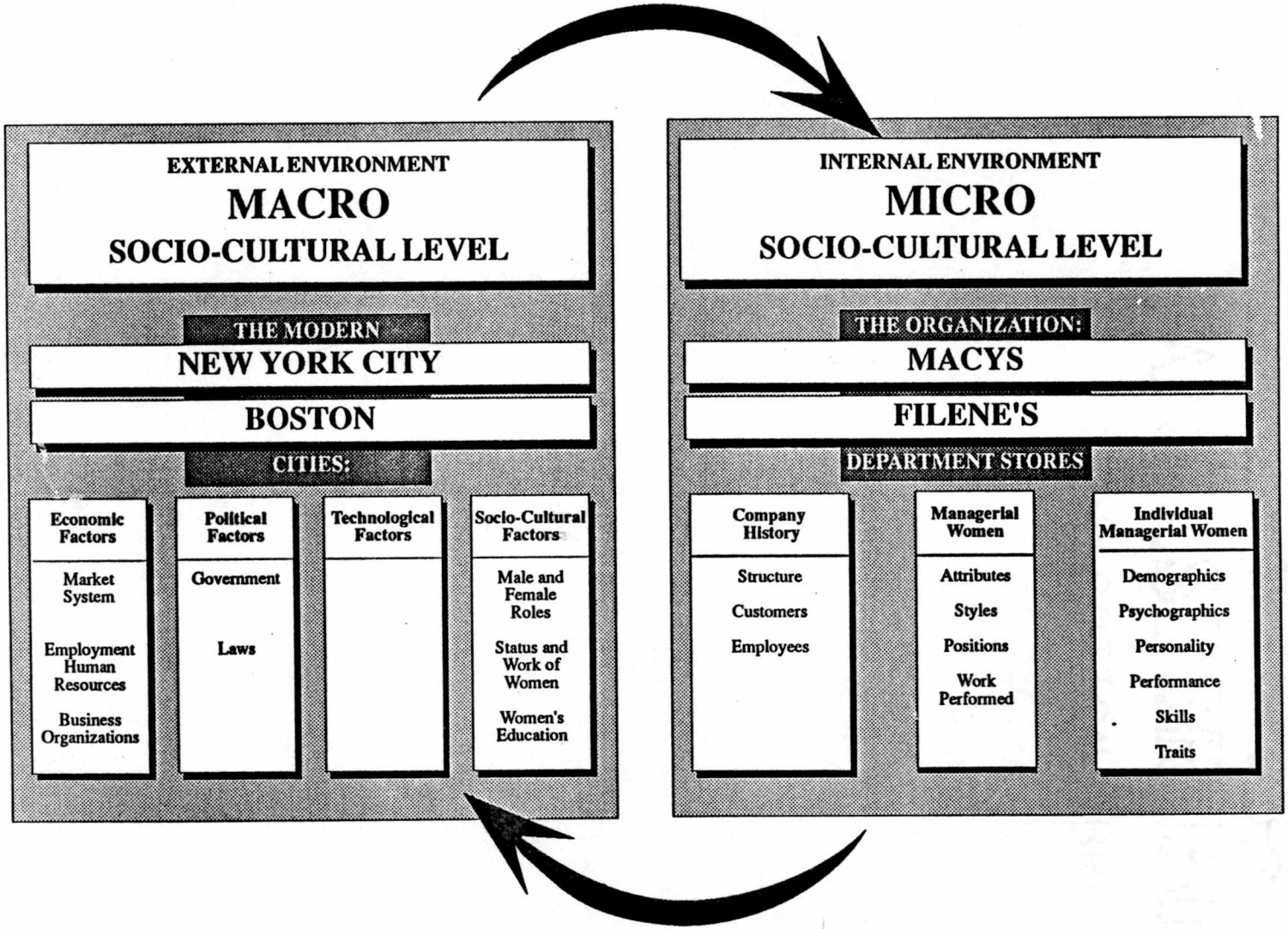


Figure 4. Socio-cultural Open Systems Model

Business history has taken too narrow an approach in studying retail institutions according to many (Miller, 1981; Samson, 1981). The need for specific investigation focusing on the role of retailing and social change has been expressed by several researchers (Butler, 1988; Rosenbloom & Shiffman, 1981). Samson (1981, p. 34) stresses the need to view retail history as "mirrors of social history."

This study integrates social history, women's history, and department store retail history resulting in a general socio-cultural history of the managerial women who were important to the rise and development of the department store.

In studying the managerial role of the individuals selected for this study, one cannot focus just on the personality characteristics and traits of the people or the internal working environment. Cultural factors (opportunities and constraints) that may have influenced their effectiveness and development as managers must also be identified. "People are recalcitrance [sic] because they act as whole persons and not simply in terms of their narrowly-defined, formal organizational roles" (Silverman, 1970, p. 51).

Definitions of Terms

Authority - "It is the institutionalized right to employ power" (Kast & Rosenzweig, 1974, p. 336).

Culture - The values, beliefs, customs, and behavior of a group.

Department store - "A retail outlet that sells a wide variety of merchandise under one roof, is organized into separate areas or departments, and employs 25 or more people" (Beisel, 1987, p. 67).

Gainfully employed - Those individuals who are in the labor force.

Leadership - Describes the formal or informal power that gives authority and motivates a group toward goals.

Management - The "primary force within organizations which coordinates the activities of the subsystems and relates them to the environment" (Kast & Rosenzweig, 1974, p. 6). It is considered a subsystem of the organization.

Open-systems - "An interconnected complex of functionally related components" (Kast & Rosenzweig, 1974, p. 107).

Organization - Regarded as a formally structured business with segmented divisions of work creating the whole.

Role - Activities of an individual in a particular position.

Societal unit - A collective group of individuals organized for a particular purpose.

Subsystem - A secondary level system, such as management.

System - "An organized, unitary whole composed of two or more interdependent parts, components, or subsystems and delineated by identifiable boundaries from its environmental suprasystem" (Kast & Rosenzweig, 1974, p. 101).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The External Environment - Macro Socio-Cultural Level

Many major social, political, economic, and technological changes occurred in America from the 1870s to the 1920s. The United States was shifting from the Victorian period to the Progressive Period, and as Weibe (1967) describes, making a transition resulting in "a search for order" (p. vii). Victorian ideals and values which focused on the family and an ordered, practical life were being challenged. The ideal American home, which centered on family, motherhood, religion, health, and beauty was now being questioned. Industrial urbanization was occurring, and with it the growth of a new labor-intensive, urban society. Industrialization was the unifying theme of the period.

Abundant resources, cheap, plentiful labor, domestic capital, improved technology, transportation, and communication all contributed to the changing environment (Hays, 1957).

> A process of up-building, with increasing differentiation, integration,and social accommodation of the individual parts in relation to the whole was going on: an articulation within an ever-widening environment was taking place within the factory, and indeed the entire economic order. (Mumford, 1961, p. 451)

Growth of both industry and population was centered in the cities. A shift was occurring from small communities to large, mass societies. There was much change to be dealt with, and coping with the change often resulted in economic and social conflict. The "new" often clashed with the "old". Economically and technologically the environment was rapidly changing. Urban centers were now growing "upward and outward" which varied the physical structure of American cities (Glaab & Brown, 1967, p. 285). Politically and socio-culturally, changes were often being met with opposition. The past Victorian ideals were being replaced with consumerism, where "greatness was determined by amount" (Weibe, 1967, p. 49). "The rise of the city thus connoted much more than the physical transformation of America" (McKelvey, 1963, p. 231).

Industrialization and technology were providing new consumer products that helped ease women's work at home, as well as providing goods that the emerging middle-class desired. The demand for goods was dependent on labor to keep the factories and stores running and producing. The U.S. economy now needed women as a part of the

labor force. Women's employment increased steadily with industrialization, as they left the home for work. New jobs were created that gave women an alternative to factories, teaching, nursing, and domestic service. As these new opportunities arose, however, women's roles at home and work were questioned.

Both single and married women seized this opportunity to break away from tradition. In 1870, females were better educated than men, although less than 10% of the total female population (of all ages) were "gainfully" employed (Hook, 1947). Entrance into many occupations, however, was still restricted by gender thinking and traditional roles (Miller, 1981).

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, with the rise of large scale retailing and manufacturing, came a shift from total owner management to salaried management. As the organization grew and more employees were hired, there was a need for more management to direct and supervise the employees. Forward-thinking business owners such as Lincoln Filene (1924, p. 11) felt that "business is a living thing, and to grow it must be able to renew itself from within," generating its own leadership from the ranks. In addition, the division of labor and tighter control over organizations was necessary to achieve better efficiency and resulting profitability fro these growing, large organizations (Benson, 1986, p. 4).

From 1870-1920, U.S. history saw the rise and development of the department store as the retailing institution that we know today. "As the mass of people required more of life's necessities and luxuries, stores arose to meet that urgent demand" (Mayfield, 1949, p. 32). The department store dominated U.S. retailing from its nineteenth century beginning until after World War II.

This study regards the external environment as the macro socio-cultural level that lies outside the department store organization. This environment includes the cities of New York and Boston, and the related socio-cultural, political, economic, and technological factors of the time period researched.

The Modern Cities

The "modern city" is said to be a product of the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the "economic revolution" that occurred after the Civil War (Glaab & Brown, 1967; Handlin, 1963; Mumford, 1961; Schlesinger, 1951, p. 112). It emerged between 1860 and 1910 and was generally regarded as an outcome of the rapid economic development of the post-Civil War period (Glaab & Brown, 1967, p. 107). Large metropolitan centers, such as Boston and New York, held a concentration of merchant capital, people, and a growing transportation system. Schlesinger

(1951) referred to them as the "nerve center of the rising industrial order" (p. 1).

In its simplist form, the city is a physical setting for human culture. This researcher agrees with Mumford (1938) that the city in a complete form, "is a geographic plexus, an economic organization, an institutional process, a theater of social action, and an aesthetic symbol of collective unity" (p. 480).

Mumford (1938) defines the city as:

> a related collection of primary groups and purposive associations: the first, like family and neighborhood, are common to all communities, while the second are especially characteristic of city life. (p. 480)

In a social context, Mumford (1938, p. 481) regards the city "as a special framework directed toward the creation of differentiated opportunities for a common life and a significant collective drama."

The increase in urban population contributed to the rise of modern cities that became centers of commerce and industry. Urban population in the U.S. increased from 19.8% to 45.7% of the total, from 1860 to 1910 (Glaab & Brown, 1967, p. 107). This urban population growth came from two directions--immigrants from abroad and in-migrants from rural America (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 81; McKelvey, 1963, p. 63). The majority of the newcomers to the city came from rural environments. The population was becoming more ethnically diverse with European immigration.

City life differed from rural life in many ways. The new city dweller found life "more mobile, less predictable, and peopled with strangers" (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 63). To long-term city residents and newly arrived residents, the new city was different from the old. Many of the new residents had moved from rural areas, and the established city dwellers were experiencing an invasion of new types of people. McKelvey (1963, p. 231) considered the city during this period in a state of flux, "a human society, always changing and developing."

The growth of the cities presented both opportunities and problems, and a "fundamental problem facing American society" (Glaab & Brown, 1967, p. 107). Never had there been such demands for the coordination of people and complex "interrelationships of life [as] in the modern city. . . ." (Glaab & Brown, 1967, p. 134). The city was a place for opportunity, yet also provided challenges. The city stood for "progress as well as pollution, liberty as well as loneliness" (Sanders, 1986, p. 84). The new modern city transformed the daily experiences of all urban residents, the working, middle- and upper-classes alike. Schlesinger (1951) believed that "urbanization led to the standardizing of American life . . . " (p. 162).

Park (1952) writes that the social disorganization resulting from the growth of cities had both a positive and negative effect. There was a breakdown

in the social cohesion once maintained by the family, church and rural communities.

To many nineteenth century Americans, urban life was considered "too artificial and of the wrong quality to support a moral life" (Warner, 1978, p. 12). The general consensus was that only rural life could support a harmonious family life and morality, to these opponents of city life.

> American Institutions [sic] were still oriented toward a community life where family and church, education and press, professions and government, all largely found their meaning by the way. They fit one with another inside a town or a detached portion of a city. As men ranged farther and farther from their communities, they tried desperately to understand the larger world in terms of their small, familiar environment. They tried, in other words, to impose the known upon the unknown, to master an impersonal world through the customs of a personal society. (Weibe, 1967, p. 12)

Yet with the growth of cities, there was room for more individual growth, freedom and self-expression. In other words, disorganization leads to a different form of organization.

Handlin (1963) believes that three societal changes created new order in the city--"the centralized national state, the new productive system, and vastly improved communications . . ." (p. 5). Capitalism, according to Mumford (1962), was responsible for the transformation of the social order of the city. "Capitalism tended to dismantle the whole structure of urban life and place it

upon a new impersonal basis: money and profit" (Mumford, 1961, p. 416).

By the first World War, cities had reached a new turning point:

> The increased size and complexity of the cities and the mounting significance of their interrelationships had transformed many into metropolitan centers effecting important structural changes in their organization and calling for increased functional specialization. (McKelvey, 1963, p. 285).

One-fourth of the total inhabitants of 29 cities whose population was over 200,000 became suburbanites by 1920 (McKelvey, 1963, pp. 241-242). The majority of these individuals, however, still looked to the city for their jobs, culture, and consumer needs.

The modern city, during the time period researched for this study, often presented problems of order in all aspects of the environment. The complex arrangement of individuals and space led to inevitable changes and transformations in the socio-cultural, political, economic and technological aspects of the environment.

Two of the large, eastern seaboard cities--New York City and Boston--epitomized the new, modern city that arose with reconstruction. Both exemplified the changing environment from 1870 to the 1920s and the move "toward an urban and industrialized order" (Schlesinger, 1951, p. 1).

New York City

By 1860, New York City was one of the nine largest U.S. cities and ports (McKelvey, 1963, p. 4). After 1870, it was and still is considered by many as "the national metropolis" (McKelvey, 1963, p. 4; Rischin, 1962, p. vii). Economically, New York was the chief American banking and printing city, as well as the major clothing and manufacturing center (Rischin, 1962, pp. 51-70). This city also provided an abundance of social and cultural activities (McKelvey, 1963, p. 15) by 1870.

Nevins and Krout (1948, p. 17) noted three events during the nineteenth century that contributed to New York City's leadership position in American cities. One was the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825. It provided an inexpensive route into mid-America, helping to establish New York's commerical predominance (McKelvey, 1963, p. 4). The second event was the creation of the "cotton triangle" which moved cotton, other merchandise, and people by ship from Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans back and forth to New York. The construction of major railroads is the third event that Nevins and Krout (1948, p. 17) believes is responsible for New York City's leading role.

The port of New York held a central location on the East Coast (McKelvey, 1963, p. 4). More than two-thirds of the nation's European immigrants landed in New York, which was referred to by McKelvey (1963, p. 53) as the

"immigrant gateway" of the U.S. (Nevins, 1948, p. 126). Almost 61% of all American exports passed through New York in 1874, and by 1884 approximately 70% of the country's imports passed through New York (Rischin, 1962, p. 5). This was almost double all of the remainder of imports received in U.S. cities.

Between 1870 and 1915, the city's population increased nearly two-thirds, from one and half million to five million people (Rischin, 1962, p. 10). In 1898, the five boroughs of Manhattan, Brooklyn, the Bronx, Queens, and Richmond were consolidated into the greater city of New York with a combined population of almost three and a half million (Glaab & Brown, 1967, p. 109; McKelvey, 1963, p. 51; Nevins & Krout, 1948, p. v).

New York was the most populated U.S. city by the end of the nineteenth century and the "world's largest center of foreign born. . . " (Rischin, 1962, p. 7; Schlesinger, 1951, p. 169). By 1890, four out of five people residing in New York had either been born abroad or their parents were (Glaab & Brown, 1967, p. 142).

"Unparallel[ed] growth in retail trade and interstate commerce in the 1880s solidified the city's role as the nation's leading jobber and distributor" (Rischin, 1962, p. 6). Retail and wholesale trade abounded. Manhattan led the world in retail trade in 1900. No other city "had such a concentration of department stores as could be found

in Manhattan between 14th and 23rd streets" (Nevins, 1948, p. 148). These great retail and wholesale markets, along with the large labor supply, are said by Nevins and Krout (1948, p. 155), to have been the "chief magnets" that drew industry to New York in the nineteenth century.

As in all major cities of the times, New York developed districts where businesses centered by type. Retail dry good stores were first situated from Fourteenth to Twenty-Third Streets, and Broadway and Sixth Avenue (Rischin, 1962, p. 8). This shopping district was called the "Ladies Mile," and held "all the stores that were anything" (Birmingham, 1978, p. 44). By the late nineteenth century, some stores moved to Fifth Avenue and it "became a fairyland of European architectural styles . . ." (Rischin, 1977, p. 16). In 1902, Macy's moved from Fourteenth Street to Herald Square, at Broadway and Thirty-Fourth Streets, which is said to have led the exodus of department stores uptown (Birmingham, 1978, p. 4; Macy's publicity, p. 2). Thirty-fourth Street between Fifth and Seventh Avenues became the fasionable shopping area at the outbreak of World War I. After the War, many stores began relocating up Fifth Avenue to the Fifties, but most department stores remained around 34th Street (Nevins, 1948, pp. 148-149). During the 1920s, however, another shift in the location of Manhattan's department and better specialty store shopping district occurred. Many stores moved up Fifth Avenue,

between Forty-Ninth Street and the Fifties, while others remained in the Thirties (Birmingham, 1978, p. 4).

As a socio-cultural center, New York was said to have been both "beautiful and ugly" during the time examined in this study (Nevins & Krout, 1948, p.l 96). It was considered a great center of the western world, both "cosmopolitan and provincial." McKelvey (1963, p. 4) writes that New York was at the time "in some ways the most typically American city."

Boston

Boston was also one of the nine largest cities and ports in the U.S. by 1860 (McKelvey, 1963, p. 4). In 1892, Herndon (p. 1) wrote that "among American cities Boston holds a unique positon. It is to-day at once the most famous of the few historic cities of the republic and in the best sense the most progressive."

By the 1890s, writers such as Herndon (1892, p. 1) considered Boston a modern metropolitan city. In 1900, Boston "sprawled over a ten mile radius and contained thirty-one cities and towns" (Warner, 1962, p. 1). Boston's population grew five and a half times from 25,000 in 1800 to 450,000 by 1890 (Herndon, 1892, p. 2). This population constituted over 30% of Massachusetts' total.

Boston boasts "a deep, sheltered harbor," and two rivers that permit easy access inland (Seaburg, 1971, p. 1). "Industrialization and immigration together fired

the economy of nineteenth century Boston" (Warner, 1962, p. 5). Boston's leading economic position among U.S. cities was primarily a result of manufacturing and trade. Boston led in domestic trade of wool, leather, furniture, metal goods, ready-made clothing, machinery, produce, printing and publishing in 1892 (Herndon, 1892, p. 6).

Boston was regarded as an intellectual and literary center, as well as a conservative business center by the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was known for a fine educational system, universities and colleges, a Public Library, Art Museum, and a Museum of Natural History (Herndon, 1892, p. 2).

The city "developed the prototype of the metropolitan region" with its thriving suburbs by 1860 (McKelvey, 1963, pp. 5-6). Between 1860 and 1870, many advances in transportation technology were undertaken to meet the changing demands of the commerical environment. These include the completion of Hoosa Tunnel, the Grand Junction Railroad, and new steamship lines and terminal facilities (Herndon, 1892, p. 5). In 1860, "there were 88.8 miles of streetcar lines in the city, increasing to 222.5 in 1880 and to 470.2 miles by 1887" (Seaburg, 1971, p. 273). Migration to the suburbs after 1865 was commonplace for Boston's middle-class families (Seaburg, 1971, p. 273). "By 1900 about half of the families of metropolitan Boston had come to share this new environment" (Warner, 1962,

p. 160). Also, by this time, the Boston middle-class were "the dominant class in society" (Warner, 1962, p. 157). "The suburb, [became] the home of property owners and settled family life . . ." (Warner, 1962, p. 158). Sam Bass Warner (1962) refers to Boston during this time period in his book, The Streetcar Suburbs.

To help accommodate the growing Boston population, land filling of the Back Bay occurred about 1870 to provide more residential growth (McKelvey, 1963, p. 77). Improvements in transportation continued, with the building of the first American subway in Boston during 1898 (Seaburg, 1971, p. 274). Boston's boundaries expanded, and by 1911 included the neighboring towns of Dorchester, Thomson's Island, Roxbury, Brookline, Charleston, Brighton, and Hyde Park (Seaburg, 1971, p. 301).

As other large cities, Boston segmented business geographically. In 1872, a fire occurred which destroyed about 65 acres in the downtown business district. Within a year, however, the burnt district was largely rebuilt (Herndon, 1892, p. 6). The reconstruction shifted the location of Boston's business center districts. The retail shopping district expanded from Washington and Tremont Streets to Beacon and Bolyston Streets, and even into the Back Bay district. The ready-made clothing industry followed into the dry-goods trade area; however, the

financial center remained on State Street (Herndon, 1892, p. 8).

Economic Factors

Market System

"The mobilization of goods for their rapid interchange and distribution was the great achievement of the market economy . . ." of the late nineteenth century America according to Mumford (1961, p. 419). The completion of the country's basic railroad and telegraph network, in addition to the perfection of its operational methods, "opened up the largest and fastest-growing market in the world" (Chandler, 1984, p. 474). By 1870, private enterprise was acquiring a firm hold on the urban-industrial society. They helped promote the rise of corporations, unions, and employee associations, while also encouraging community control and civic pride.

By 1880, 6,532 banks with national, state, or private charter--one to every 2,000 urban residents--served a variety of functions, among them the promotion of city growth (McKelvey, 1963, p. 40). Glaab and Brown (1967, p. 142) state that "private expenditure for construction was the single most important contribution cities made to the economy in the late nineteenth century." Cities were undergoing an economic vitality never before witnessed. The growth of railroads helped establish the

development of national markets in the cities through the movement of raw and finished goods. By 1870, advances in urban transportation such as elevated steam railroads, horse railroads, and omnibus lines had made the city a major transportation center (Glaab, 1963, p. 178). People and goods could now be moved rapidly and efficiently.

Population was another aspect of society that changed the pattern of the economy during this time in history. The commercial and industrial demands of the city required a large and varied urban labor force (Glaab & Brown, 1967, p. 136). The urban economy was witnessing a rising proportion of women and immigrant workers. A sexual division of labor was present, however, which restricted the type of work many women could choose to perform.

Within the modern city, the economy was geographically divided by types of business. "Tradition and convenience combined to center like businesses in one district" (Rischin, 1962, p. 7). For example, wholesalers located near railroad sidings, while retailers located near local transportation systems. This division of industry still exists today in large cities where there is grouping of like businesses into districts, such as a wholesale district or a financial district.

The growing urban population supplied a varied pool of labor--foreig· and native Americans, men and women.

A division of labor arose to meet the needs of the changing work environment. This social division of labor, according to Mumford (1938, p. 480), served not merely the economic life, but also the cultural processes.

With the change and increase of jobs available in the city, emerged a new middle-class society. According to Warner (1962, p. 8), middle-class Americans in the nineteenth century worked hard, were thrifty, and valued education. Enriching one's life was important. These were the ideals shared by this social group and those who aspired to belong to it.

The degree of the family's financial success and property ownership qualified them for middle-class status. "Middle class" meant that the family was "sufficiently well off to live by the income of one member of the family" who was traditionally the husband (Warner, 1962, p. 8). The income earners' hours were long, but "their places of work tended to be stable" (Warner, 1962, p. 55). "The central middle class," Warner (1962, p. 53) states, were "the owners of small downtown stores, successful salesmen and commerical travelers, lawyers, school teachers, and the large contractors." This research reveals that middle-class women in the nineteenth century began working outside of the house in larger numbers than ever before. Some worked without monetary compe sation, others were paid. "Production and consumption had become distinct

activities, a fundamental rearrangement in the way people apprehended their material world" (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 58). The home was no longer the production place, but that of consumption.

Consumption. "It is no accident that a mass culture--a social landscape marked by consumer industries, mass media, and merchandising--developed just when a formerly rural or otherwise non-industrial people were being transformed into a permanent, mass industrial population" (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 57). Consumer products, with brand names and trademarks, seemed to provide a bond or bridge between "otherwise culturally heterogenous" people (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 58). By the nineteenth century, McCracken (1988, p. 22) felt that "the consumer revolution had installed itself as a structural feature of social life." The end of the century saw consumerism grow, with people able to purchase goods in abundance, whereas in the past the production of goods outside the home was scarce (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 72). The advances in technology that led to mass production made it possible for people from all socio-economic levels to purchase and consume goods unavailable and unobtainable in the past. Urban American culture was converting to a "consumer culture" (Leach, 1984, p. 320). Ewen and Ewen (1982, p. 70) write that ". . . department stores helped shape consumption as a

palpable system of belief by providing an institutional structure for mass marketing." Many of the changes of this period in history help lead to the understanding of consumption today. More detail on consumer culture is given in the "Socio-Cultural Factors" section.

Production and distribution. Ewen and Ewen (1982, p. 58) refer to "the double-prong of Americanization--mass production and mass consumption" that dramatically changed the "social landscape of American life by the early twentieth century." "The railroad, telegraph, steamship, and cable made possible the modern mass production and distribution that were the hallmarks of the Second Industrial Revolution of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (Chandler, 1984, p. 474). The advances in transportation technology seemed paramount in the city's leading role in production and distribution. These improvements helped move more people and goods in and out of the city, at a faster and more efficient rate than previously possible.

The first American subway was completed in Boston in 1895 (McKelvey, 1983, p.1 5; Schlesinger, 1951, p. 47). It ran one and a half miles and cost the city about four and a quarter million dollars (Glaab, 1963, p. 179; Glaab & Brown, 1967, p. 152). New York City's subway system opened a short time later, in 1904 (Glaab, 1963, p. 179; McKelvey, 1963, p. 83).

For those city dwellers who preferred and could afford private or public transportation, bridges were being built that allowed increased mobility beyond the city's urban center. The longest suspension bridge in the world, the Brooklyn Bridge, was built in 1883 (Schlesinger, 1951, p. 47). Transportation in and out of the city was extremely important to the growing middle class population who worked in the urban center, yet may not have lived there.

Manufacturing technology improved after the Civil War, and new consumer products were now being mass produced. Mass production allowed more people from various economic classes to obtain goods previously unavailable to them.

> Against the disruptive changes experienced by people undergoing industrialization, apparent stability and aesthetic allure began to reorganize the structure and meaning of need. If consumption was alien to a customary way of life, the genesis of the national marketplace was the historic passageway for the transition. (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 70)

New marketing techniques, such as advertising, added value to products. The emergence of the department store contributed to the "nature and context of purchase activity as well as the nature of information and influence to which the consumer was subjected" (McCracken, 1988, p. 22). Both of these developments helped develop new consumer lifestyles, based on the interaction of "persons and things" (McCracken, 1988, p. 22).

Retailing. Retailing "includes any activities included in the sale of products or services to the ultimate consumer for personal or household consumption" (Beisel, 1987, p. 3). It is considered the last channel step in getting the goods and services from the manufacturer to the consumer, and a labor-intensive industry, dependent on people.

Retailing has undergone many changes in U.S. history. One of the major and most dramatic retailing changes was the creation of the department store. With its rise and development from the late 1860s to the 1920s, according to Mumford (1961), "buying and selling became not merely an incidental traffic in the conveyance of goods from producer to consumer, it became one of the principal preoccupations of all classes" (p. 435).

The department store brought manufactured goods directly from the factory to the consumer, which eliminated the wholesaler (middleman) and reduced the consumer's retail cost. "America's department stores constituted an absolutely essential link in the technological chain between the inventor/manufacturers and the consumer" (Harris, 1979, p. 140). As a result of lower costs, merchandise was more affordable to a greater majority of consumers. "In many respects retail selling has been turned topsy-turvy by the department store, and yet its influence extends beyond the retailer" (Adams, 1897, p. 4).

The small retailer believed that the department stores were monopolizing business, and worked toward their demise. "Within the years of creation, however, the department store succeeded in establishing itself as a permanent institution despite opposition from the small retailer and reformers" (Tyner, 1899, p. 201).

Employment - Human Resources

The changes in the market system occurring from 1870 to 1920 had an immense effect on labor. New and improved technology, resulting in mass production and distribution, created new jobs and a restructuring of old ones. In addition, the flood of immigrants into the U.S. changed the composition of the working classes (Evan, 1989, p. 130). The rising middle-class held new jobs, created from the changing work environment.

Women and Work. Two types of working women emerged around the mid-nineteenth century: women who had to work and women who wanted to work. General circumstances and goals differed between these two types of working women (Weiner, 1985, pp. 4-6). The woman who wanted to work was generally the middle-class "new woman" who was proud, self-supporting, and found her work fulfilling. She sought work for the fulfillment of her life, rather than financial need. The woman who had to work was doing so to survive, meeting basic needs such as food and shelter. This woman was usually a member of the lower, working class.

The economy was dependent on women as a part of the labor force after the Civil War because more people were needed than the men available to meet the labor supply demands of the economy. Capitalism was considered the impetus that drew more women into the labor force (Matthaei, 1982, p. 155). Mass production and mass distribution opened new job opportunities to women, other than teaching, nursing, working in a factory and doing domestic work.

Two major changes occurred with women who worked from 1870 to the 1920s. One was simply that more women began working. Another was that many of these women were single and members of the middle- and upper-classes (Matthaei, 1982, p. 155). In addition, more types of work opportunities were created. "A major readjustment was indeed underway in the work arrangements of middle-class women" (Leach, 1980, p. 168).

Prior to the time period focused on in this research, domestic service, sewing, teaching and nursing were stereotyped as women's work (Baker, 1964; Evans, 1989, p. 133). Although the methods varied, "The production of cloth, clothing, the preparation of food, the care of the sick, and the training of children have been women's activities both in the pioneer period and in the present highly developed economy" (Hooks, 1947, p. 8). Service lay at the base of sex-typed work roles for women. "The

labor force participation of a female was either the subordination of herself to the needs of her family as a daughter or homemaker, or the subordination of herself to the needs of society in a 'women's profession'" (Matthaei, 1982, p. 188).

In 1870, less than 10% or less than two million of the total female population of all ages were gainfully employed (Hooks, 1947, p. 3). By 1890, 19% of women over 16 were in the labor force. Never married women constituted 68% of these working women, and 14% were married (Weiner, 1985, pp. 4-7). From 1870 to 1910, the total of gainfully employed women increased five times (Hill, 1929, p. 140).

Brownlee and Brownlee (1976, p. 3) compiled data from an extensive study on the participation of women in the American labor force from 1800 to 1970. A number of U.S. labor publications were used for their survey, however, percentages by year are not truly comparable because the ages of working women included in reported figures differed from year to year. Prior to 1890, all females over ten were included, and from 1890 to 1950, only women over 14 were reported. Even so, the percentages of total women in the labor force and working women in the female population show a steady percentage increase from 1870 to 1920 (except the percentage of working women in the female population in 1920). These are worth noting in

Table 2. A comparison of the percentage differences from 1870 to 1920, of the two reported groups reveals two interesting facts. There is about one percentage increase in women as a part of the total labor force from 1870 to 1920. This percentage almost parallels the total percentage of working women as a portion of the female population.

At the beginning of the period of history this research is concerned with, women were warned of the dangers of occupations. Early books questioned the respectability of working outside the home (Eisenstein, 1983, p. 98). In addition, "the common opinion was that the feminine mind was unfitted for executive duties" (Riegel, 1970, p. 159).

Popular literature defined the standards of acceptable female occupations and the proper behavior that should coincide with the jobs (Eisenstein, 1983, p. 80). After the turn of the century, literature was written that advised and directed, rather than discouraged, young, working girls (Candee, 1900; Filene, 1920). Moving up and getting ahead in occupations was advised (Eisenstein, 1983, p. 105). Advice is also found that is aimed at the upper- and middle-class women who want to work. These books and guides emphasize training and education for jobs, and assume that working women are respectable (Eisenstein, 1983, p. 98).

Table 2

Participation of Women in American Labor Force, 1870-1920

Year	Women's Share of Labor Force (%)	Working Women in the Female Population (%)
1870	14.8	13.7
1880	15.2	14.7
1890	17.0	18.2
1900	18.3	21.2
1910	20.0	24.8
1920	20.4	23.9

Source: W. E. Brownlee and M. M. Brownlee (1976), Women in the American family: A documentary history, 1675-1929 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), p. 3.

Mid-nineteenth century American "culture did not legitimate professions for women . . ." (Antler, 1977, p. 3). Woman's proper place was in the home. Her respectable and accepted roles were those of mother and wife. To turn from the home was considered deviant. "The public life was male, and individualism a male legacy that only a few women dared claim as their own" (Leach, 1984, p. 319). Those who did were often regarded as odd, for leaving their proper place in the home. Opposition to working women was often present, "even when women accepted sex-stereotyped professional roles" (Antler, 1977, p. 13).

The new and emerging culture, resulting from the growth of modern cities, had the power to alter the behavior of many women. The "culture of consumption" had a specific effect on women who wanted to enter the public world (Leach, 1984, p. 320).

> The American woman, like the American man, has gone down into the market-place. Like him, she has become crazed with desire to gain money, social position, and power. She takes up professions, trades, politics, charity--good things enough in their way, but not her work. (American Woman, 1900, p. 19)

There were a "few professions that women gradually, quietly came to dominate" (Weibe, 1967, p. 122). The two major professions that women became increasingly associated with were teaching and social work (Antler, 1977, p. 397; Riegel, 1970, p. 159). By the end of the nineteenth century, teaching was the major professional occupation

of female college graduates (Antler, 1977, p. 379; Riegel, 1970, p. 155). The most popular non-teaching profession was social work (Antler, 1977, p. 397).

From 1880 to 1920, some women were adopting new work roles that moved them out of the home into the "male world" of politics and public policy. Kerber and Mathews (1982, p. 211) refer to "Political Motherhood" as the role women took when working for women's causes or with many of the new settlements and societies created for the betterment of the lives of women and children. Ryan (1975, p. 233) and Matthaei (1982, p. 173) label this work "social housekeeping."

"New kinds of white-collar work emerged that employed primarily white, native-born young women" (Evans, 1989, p. 134). Office work was considered one of the most acceptable and "ladylike" of these occupations, as it was not physically demanding (Eisenstein, 1983, p. 80; Weiner, 1985, p. 29). The office, which was once considered a "male preserve," became a public environment when women began working in it (Evans, 1989, p. 183).

Another new position for women which gained rapid popularity was working in the department store. Books were published citing department store work as a viable option for women as early as 1910 (Gilbert, 1916; O'Leary, 1916; Marion, 1910). Rothman (1978, p. 18) believed that "no change better exemplified the ways in which technology

increased women's efficiency and encouraged their movement outside the home than the department store." The department store, however, demanded personnel who had basic arithmetic skills and were able to converse easily with predominently female customers (Evans, 1989, p. 235). By 1880, women were considered more fortunate if they worked in a department store (Leach, 1984, p. 163).

Much was written on the "plight" of the single working woman, once she started growing in numbers (Baxandale, Gordon, & Reverby, 1976; Donovan, 1929; Richardson, 1906). Often, she was pitied and some felt that morally she would go down the wrong path working in the city. Harper's Bazaar ("Girl Who", 1908, p. 54) sponsored a contest for working girls from 1908 to 1909, to submit written personal experiences that could be shared with subscribers. Justification for the need of these personal accounts follows:

> How many girls, the land over, come to the cities every year to find work or begin a career, no government statistics yet show. But every one knows that the number is great, and yearly increasing. A girl is a girl in the first place. She does not and cannot come to the city on a level, as to chances, with the young man who starts in to find his place in city life. He can encounter hardships and do without conventionalities, where she cannot. She is limited as to kinds and grades of work, for the same reasons. Adrift in the city, she is far more helpless and in peril than a man in the same straits. She needs all the knowledge she can get, and needs it before she leaves home, so as to weigh and consider the question of leaving home at all. She needs that some

> one, who has fronted the conditions, shall give her the benefit of experience. (p. 54)

It seems that Harper's Bazaar realized that single, working women were a reality in the city, and they wanted to help them improve their situation and lives in the unpleasant environment.

Others felt that single, working women were contributing to the breakdown of "sacred family life" and "motherhood" (American Woman, 1900, p. 19). In addition, this life was considered perilous and against nature.

> The Bachelor Maid in all cities has her work and her friends uncontrolled by her parents. She has her own latch-key and goes and comes alone by day or night. (American Woman, 1900, p. 19)

Although single working women lived independent, individualistic lives that did not center on family, after marriage most returned to the family-orientation of Victorian ideology (Evans, 1989, p. 161). "Most women viewed work as a brief passage between childhood and marriage" (Cross & Shergold, 1987, p. 24).

Department store company newspapers, such as Filene's "Echo" and Macy's "Sparks," made reference to women leaving the employment of the store for marriage. Numerous citations in the "Echo" and "Sparks" bid farewell to women getting married who were leaving work to become traditional wives. Some examples of this may be found below.

> Miss Katherine Thompson has left the F.C.A. (for better or for worse), and was married September 23rd

> to Mr. Wilson O'Brien, Bath, Me. Best wishes Mr. and Mrs. O'Brien in your new home. ("Echo," September 1908, p. 4)
>
> We all love her and wish she could remain with us, but we must recognize the greater claim of Mr. Jensen. ("Sparks," August 1924, p. 15)
>
> . . . "the stage of matrimony is set and the curtain is about to rise on a new drama" for Miss Blythe. ("Sparks," January 1919, p. 5)

Some historians feel that women carried their motherhood role out of the house into society, through the majority of occupations they held (Weibe, 1967, p. 122). Many of the jobs available to women were considered gender-based.

> And even when they worked, or were allowed to work, it was for the most part in mother surrogate roles which they themselves defined as different from masculine orientations. (Antler, 1977, p. 15)

One of the major changes that occurred in women's working roles, after 1920, "was the growing tendency of married women to work outside the home--to the point where neither husband nor wife felt the need to explain or apologize" (Riegel, 1970, p. 323).

Organizations

Mass production required larger businesses, employing more people. The increased urban population and mass production created a need for bigger businesses to accommodate the needs and wants of the mass society. According to Mumford (1961), "technical advances depended socially upon the invention of new laws of corporate

organization and administration" (p. 447). Businesses had to reorganize to handle their increasing size and function profitably and efficiently. With the growth of organizations also came increased needs for expanded record keeping.

In order to meet the changing needs, businesses had to reexamine their organizations and structure their work force in a more manageable way. A more segmented division of labor was necessary to handle the changing work environment and masses of employees. Big business meant more supervision and more employees, with a new managerial class arising that controlled workers and rationalized the work process (Evans, 1989, p. 146).

"In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a new type of capitalism emerged. It differed from traditional personal capitalism in that the basic decisions concerning the production and distribution of goods and services were made by teams, or hierarchies, of salaried managers who had little or no equity ownership in the enterprises they operated" (Chandler, 1984, p. 473). Managerial hierarchies first appeared in the U.S. in the 1850s as a means to coordinate the movement of trains, goods, and messages. Shortly thereafter, they were adopted by the new, mass retailers, such as department stores, to help manage their business.

"Institutional developments nurtured the growth of professional workers and offered a new social orientation to urban residents" (McKelvey, 1963, p. 181). Public and private enterprises alike were reorganizing internally to meet the environmental changes and needs occurring in society. Bureaucratic organization, professional expertise, and scientific thought were all considered key aspects of modern life.

Organizational research. A review of the literature reveals that there is no one theory of organization (Silverman, 1976). Organizational theories have developed from many different disciplines: economics, engineering, psychology, sociology, social psychology, business, anthropology, and mathematics.

Traditional organizational theories are regarded as closed systems (Corwin, 1987; Katz & Kahn, 1966). Analysis is undertaken at the internal, organizational level, disregarding the external environment. These theories are only concerned with matters confined to the organization, without thought to the permeable boundaries and the outside environment. This provides a rather narrow, segmented perspective of the organization. Much of this early organizational research centers on the attributes of successful leaders (particularly the physical, rather than psychological context), division of labor, and structure. Most researchers have viewed the external

environment from within the internal (organizational) environment (Baker, 1973, p. 13).

The most current organizational theory building construct is based on open-systems and the contingency school approach. The open-systems view favors a general theory for the behavioral sciences that combines a micro (psychological) and macro (sociological) perspective (Baker, 1973; Corwin, 1987; Graham, 1975; Katz & Kahn, 1966; Miller, 1955). It is a broad perspective that synthesizes the interaction of the parts of an organization, the total organization, and the outside environment (Hodge & Anthony, 1988, p. 28). A system is "an identifiable process which can be divided into smaller identifiable processes" (subsystems) (Graham, 1975, p. 17). Organizations are constantly being challenged and shaped by outside or external influences. Therefore, a macro analysis of organizations should not be taken from any other view than the open-systems perspective.

Etzioni (1964) takes a structural human relations approach to the study of the organization. He believes that organizations affect the (external) environment and that the environment also affects organizations, or the internal environment. Therefore, a comprehensive study of organizations must view both aspects and their interaction.

The contingency school is based on the open-systems concept and is dependent on the situation. According to Hodge and Anthony (1988, p. 29), "organization's relationship with its environment is properly viewed as flexible and prescriptive rather than static and patent."

Organizational culture. Limited attention has been given to organizational culture from the marketing perspective. Until the 1980s, most of the business research focused on consumer culture rather than organizational culture. Since the mid-1980s, organizational culture has been studied in relationship to selling effectiveness and managerial effectiveness. The majority of organizational culture research has been grounded in organizational behavior, and it has become one of its most active areas of research within the last ten years (Deshpande & Webster, 1989). In Deshpande and Webster's (1989) review article on organizational culture and marketing research, they reveal that five major organizational culture approaches have been taken. All of these approaches take organizational culture as either a variable (what it has) or as a metaphor (what it is).

Organizational culture is sometimes regarded as a characteristic of the organization itself. Other times, it is viewed as a characteristic of a group or an individual within the organization. Still others see organizational culture as "both a process and outcome, because it shapes

human interactions and is also the outcome of those interactions" (Deshpande & Webster, 1989, p. 5).

This author concurs with Deshpande and Webster (1989, p. 5) that organizational culture is both a process and product. It is an individual, or group, that affects and is affected by interaction. In addition, the appropriate meaning of organizational culture is dependent on the theoretical base used and the problem addressed. For this research, culture exists at all levels of the environments and will therefore be examined at the macro and micro levels in order to use an open-systems approach.

The most basic unit of analysis in cultural organizational research, as in the analysis of any culture, is the individual within the organization (Baker, 1973, p. 109). Hodge and Anthony (1988, p. 74) refer to people within an organization as a "human factors system" (see Figure 1). Today, we refer to individuals who belong to an organization as employees, personnel, or human resources. In modern organizations, individuals are grouped according to the work they perform. Management is a group of individuals within an organization given the formal power and authority to direct the workers assigned to their supervision.

Management, leadership and power. Katz and Kahn (1966, p. 94) define management as "the controlling or decision-making aspect of the organization and its parts." It is

also considered a social process, where the actions are often "guided" or "shaped" by the outside environment and traditions of society (Schnee, Lazarus, & Warren, 1977, p. 1). Management is viewed as a subsystem of all organizations (Corwin, 1987; Goldhaber, 1979; Katz & Kahn, 1966). Managers work with people within the organization to coordinate their activities and realize organizational goals (Graham, 1975, p. 27).

The principles of management are present in every type of organization. These principles are: planning, organizing, motivating, control, and communication (Kast & Rosenzweig, 1974, p. 61; Koontz & O'Donnell, 1968, p. 5; Markin, 1971, pp. 28-32). The methods of applying these principles, however, are as varied as the types of businesses that exist. Businesses, like people, have individual characteristics and none are exactly alike. Similarities in business organizations do exist, which help to type the kind of business one wants to identify.

Leadership has various conceptual definitions, but according to Katz and Kahn (1966, p. 301) there are three major meanings. It is the attributes of a position, the characteristics of a person, or the category of behavior. These definitions designate aspects of management such as management positions, management attributes, and management style.

Fiedler and Chemers (1974, p. 6) state that "everyone whose work involves the direction and supervision of other people is in a leadership position." Organizational leadership is a combination of "social structural factors and particular characteristics of the individuals making up the structure" (Katz & Kahn, 1966, p. 308). The personalities and characteristics brought to an organization, as well as the characteristics developed within an organization, create and define the leadership style. Successful supervisory leadership, then, is a function of three situational factors: the individual, the group, and the organization (Blunt, 1981, p. iii). Effective communication is essential to effective management within an organization.

Goldhaber (1979, p. 13) diagrammed organizational communication in the paradigm shown in Figure 5. In Goldhaber's organizational communication paradigm, people relay messages back and forth within the organization, which is a part of the total environmental sphere. Formal organizational communication is either verbal or written. Written communication includes memos, letters, and company newsletters and newspapers. Verbal communication includes all formal and informal talks, including speeches and meetings. Informal communication also includes the behavior of members in the organization. According to Gudykunst,

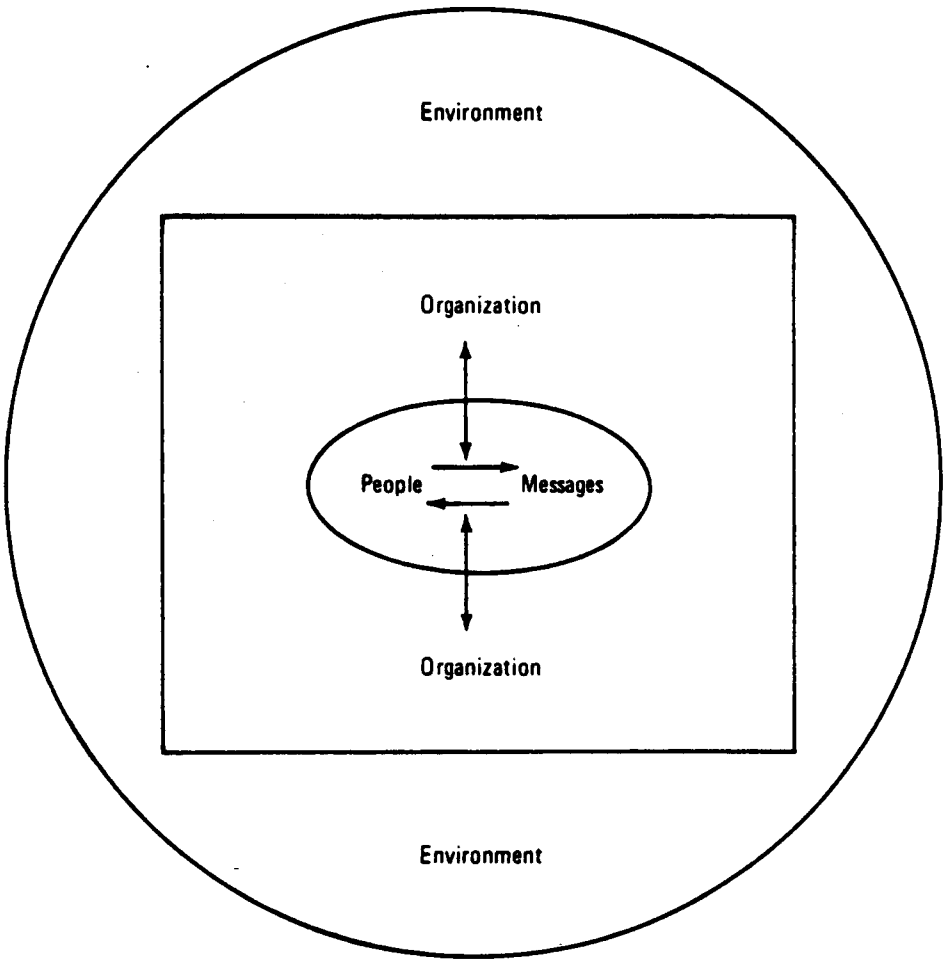


Figure 5. Goldhaber's Paradigm of Organizational Communication

Source: G. M. Goldhaber (1979), Organizational Communication (Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown Co. Publishers, p. 13)

Stewart, and Ting-Toomey (1985), communication plays a major role in organizational culture.

According to Corwin (1987), authority lies at the foundation of any organization. Authority is the legitimate power "to judge, act, or command" (Stein, 1980, p. 55). Official, or formal, power is that which is derived from an organizational position. It directly relates to the office held, rather than to the people. Authority, then, may be considered inseparable from the management subsystem of an organization. There are formal and informal leaders in organizations. The informal leaders' control ability is personal, while the formal leader "commands both positional and personal power . . ." (Etzioni, 1964, p. 61).

The response to the type of power is determined by the use of power and the participants' (leaders and subordinates) personalities (Etzioni, 1964, p. 61). The study of people is at the core of the management process, and the study of management depends on the study of people (Graham, 1975, p. 27).

Management research. The earliest studies on management and leadership investigated the traits of managers and leaders. The traitist approach has declined in favor, as different studies produce different lists of traits and inconclusive results. More recent research on managerial traits realizes that traits necessary for

leadership may vary under different situations and environments.

Blunt's (1981) dissertation research focusing on "Organizational Leadership: An Analysis of Supervisor-Subordinate Linkages Utilizing the Path-Goal Approach" attempts to identify and describe specific supervisory qualities fundamental to supervisory motivation of an organizational group. Public and private businesses are examined, through the administration of questionnaires to both supervisors and their subordinates. Results of the study indicate a significant association between supervisor-subordinate linkages, and a construct of subordinate motivation.

The most recent research by Graham (1975, pp. 322-325) and Stogdill (1974, pp. 5-6) takes a comprehensive view of managerial leadership. This research places greater emphasis on the relationships between leaders, followers, and situational factors. By doing so, a systems approach is undertaken.

Women in management. The literature reviewed did not disclose women as a managerial group until after the turn of the century. The emergence of women as serious individual contenders for managerial positions in the U.S. did not surface until the growth of large-scale manufacturing and ret iling organizations during the 1870s. With the growth in size of organizations, there came a

need for more employees, and women helped meet this need. Women supervising women was the next step. Leach (1980, p. 169) writes that "the expansion of the textiles industries fostered a demand for managerial female labor."

In the 1860s and 1870s, a small group of American women managed and owned fashion stores in large cities. These primarily consisted of specialty stores, but some like Madame Demorest of New York City successfully organized and ran one of the first large-scale import and wholesale companies in this country that was totally operated and managed by women (Leach, 1980, p. 169).

The National Retail Dry Goods Association, under the leadership of Mary Tolman (1921) conducted a survey and interview study of 500 merchants and 638 women who held "positions of responsibility in stores" (Tolman, 1921, p. 11). Findings were published in 1921 from 387 sources that represented 176 stores in 32 states.

The results were presented as department store job descriptions, with experience and training necessary, personal qualifications, and salary expectations. Merchandising, Advertising, Store Service (Operations), Personnel and Training, Accounting, Customer Service, and In-house Service positions (Nursing, Librarians, House Organ Editor, etc.) are all described as possible career paths for women. In addition, "allied work" outside of the department stores was presented. A lengthy appendix

gives the names of 27 colleges and universities where degrees could be obtained in "salesmanship and related subjects" (Tolman, 1921, pp. 100-102). These professional schools and courses included the "Prince School of Education for Store Service,"Boston; the "Research Bureau for Retail Training of the Carnegie Institute of Technology," Pittsburg; and the "Training School for Teachers of Retail Selling of New York University," New York (Tolman, 1921, pp. 105-112). All three schools included experience in the stores as a part of their programs, and gave preference for admission to college graduates and/or those who had had retail experience.

The majority of the research undertaken on women in management was done during the last 25 years. Then, however, most studies regarded women as a total group from various types of organizations, rather than isolated by type of business. Most of these studies utilized the survey method, with self-administered questionnaires employed.

The characteristics and competencies of female managers were researched by Berry (1980), Bryce (1969), Morrison (1981), and Moulliet (1979). Bryce's (1969) dissertation research was conducted to determine if significant differences characterize women holding high-level positions in four types of business industries. The sample of 226 women was selected from banking, manufacturing, radio-TV, and department and specialty store retailing companies

in or around Denver, Colorado. A self-administered questionnaire and inventory were given to the sample group. Findings revealed five trait differences among the groups: annual salary, marital status, ages, and advancement opportunities within each field. Of the 53 retailing respondents used, seven were Personnel Managers or Coordinators, five were Store Managers or Department Managers, and three were Advertising and Publicity Directors, three were Assistant Managers, eight were Divisional Merchandise Managers, six were in training or "other" positions, and the largest group of 21 were buyers (Bryce, 1969, p. 45). Table 3 reveals some of the disclosed traits of these women (Bryce, 1969, pp. 46-48).

Table 3

Retail Management Traits

Traits	Mean	Median
Years at present company	10.3	
Years title held at present company	5.2	
Total years worked	16.7	
Total years title held	6.8	
Current age		43.1

None of the retailing respondents had any relatives as superiors, and approximately 50% of the women had begun as salesclerks and worked their way up. The remainder

had been teachers, typists, secretaries, copywriters, stenographers, office clerks, and business machine operators (Bryce, 1969, pp. 47-49). Thirty-four percent of the women were married, 50.9% were single, 9% were divorced, and almost 6% were widowed. Over 30% had a college or high school degree, 26% had some college, and almost 8% had graduated from business school (Bryce, 1969, pp. 54-56).

Factors that this retailing management group felt contributed to success and advancement were: intelligence, decisiveness, self-assuredness, supervisory ability, willingness to succeed, hard work, a college education, and courses in business administration and education (Bryce, 1969, p. 45).

Diedre Moulliet (1979) researched the differences in personality characteristics and role orientations of women employed in managerial and clerical occupations. Unfortunately, the specific jobs that each individual held were not revealed. Surveys were administered to 156 women belonging to 11 business women's organizations, such as The American Business Women's Organization and The National Secretary's Association. No significant differences were found between the two groups studied in the number of years with their companies, number of years in current position, age, marital status, number of children and husband's occupation. Differences were found, however, in the education levels reached by the two groups. Four times

as many managers as clericals had college or professional degrees.

Job satisfaction was investigated by Krebs (1979) and Wilch-Jordan (1987). Leadership orientation, role conflict, and training were analyzed by Angus (1974), Ball (1970), Hudson (1987), Novit (1966), and Wentorf (1969). Role clarity and expectation were researched by Sutton (1986) and Wang (1987).

Political Factors

Urban expansion brought with it increased crime, corruption, and violence in the cities. In addition, new technology and the changing economic environment created situations where new controls and legislation were often deemed necessary. The major question from 1870 to the 1920s was not whether reforms were necessary, but what kinds of reforms and whether or not government controls and legislation were the manner in which to achieve the reforms. Private versus public was the major conflict.

With the growing population and construction boom of the cities, the scenery was dramatically changing. During the period of time studied, civic reform was primarily initiated by local businessmen, who preferred private enterprise to public ownership. In many cases, therefore, public ownership resulted only if private means failed to deliver the necessary reforms (McKelvey, 1963, pp. 113-114).

Enterpreneurship and private enterprise were literally building the cities. Businesses were making the rules and employees were forced to abide by them or look for work elsewhere. Private enterprises were often becoming monopolies and local independent businesses were threatened (McKelvey, 1963, p. 107). Many businesses practiced unfair and inhuman treatment. "Labor rights, in the early 1880s were virtually unknown in law and were beyond the concern of public opinion" (Rischin, 1962, p. 171).

Politics were considered "men's responsibility . . ." (Matthaei, 1982, p. 203). Women had little or no voice in law, banking, commerce, and industry, yet were often directly affected by their policies. They had not yet obtained the privilege of voting in 1870, and obtaining this right became of primary concern to many women until the right to vote was granted. Some historians, such as Vicinus (1985, p. 247), viewed the lack of vote a symbol of "women's secondary status."

Government and Legislation

Most city governments in 1876, including Boston and New York, were chartered state agencies, whose laws had to be passed by the state (McKelvey, 1963, p. 100). Decisions reached were often based more on "party strategy than on informed appraisal of municipal needs."

Existing urban government was in itself often deficient, weak or corrupt (McKelvey, 1963, p. 95). The

demand for municipal reform was said to have come from the city streets, where needs were evident among residents themselves. Concern arose over education, safety, health, public services and utilities, living and working conditions, and wages.

State regulation was seen by many, toward the end of the nineteenth century, as the only way to preserve democracy (McKelvey, 1963, p. 110). City planning and construction needed codes and controls. Legislative reform to solve practical urban problems, such a sewage, clean water, and electricity was hastened by literary exposes, unions, strikes, and reformers.

National government's "primary responsibilities" in the late nineteenth century were gathering income and appropriating funds (Weibe, 1967, p. 31). Federal legislation was, however, instrumental in satisfying many reforms during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Passage of child and labor laws, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, and the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission helped resolve major problems that had many concerned. Federal agencies, such as the Bureau of the Census, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the Immigration service, were in place by 1900 (McKelvey, 1963, p. 111).

Technological Factors

Technological advances helped reshape the physical and socio-cultural structure of cities. Inventiveness flourished. From 1870 to 1910, patent applications increased from 120,000 to over a million (McKelvey, 1963, p. 4). Industrialization used these inventions to create mass production and distribution. U.S. cities began to change their configuration, spreading upward and outward, after 1870 (Glaab, 1963, p. 173).

Major technological advances that contributed to production and distribution and the resulting city's economy were the railroad, trolley, automobile, electricity, telephone, and new forms of construction and building materials. Chandler (1984, p. 474) states that the "new high-volume technologies could not be effectively exploited unless the massive flows of materials were guided through the process of both production and distribution by teams or salaried managers."

Socio-Cultural Factors

Disorder and Reorganization

A major change in societal culture occurred in this country toward the end of the nineteenth century. "Out of the social pains of industrialization, its spiritual and material deprivations, a consumer culture was born" (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 71). The modern city brought with

it a new, mass culture, where tradition was being replaced with newness. Ewen and Ewen (1982, p. 57) describe this culture as "a social landscape marked by consumer industries, mass media, and merchandising." This new culture is often referred to by historians as "commerical" or "consumer culture" (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 70; Glaab & Brown, 1967; Handlin & Bouchard, 1963; Leach, 1984, p. 320).

The growth in all factors of the environment created disorder and confusion for many urban Americans during the late nineteenth century. Weibe (1967, p. 12) describes America during this time "as a society without a core." Problems arose never encountered before, evolving into a new way of life brought on by the changes occurring in society that resulted from growth and development. In addition, the mixing of different types of people in the city often created confusion and bewilderment.

Social disorganization was a major concern to many city dwellers (Glaab & Brown, 1967; Schlesinger, 1951). This social disorganization, according to Glaab and Brown (1967, p. 234) may have been in "reality only a complicated pattern of accommodation to the new environment." In order for people to enjoy the pleasures of the new order they had to abandon many old expectations" (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 71).

The increased standard of living resulting from industrialization created a new trend toward marrying later. "Middle-and-upper-class men and women were unwilling to marry until they could support a family in a suitable style" (Vicinus, 1985, p. 2). This then resulted in more single people who had time to do something with themselves between school and marriage.

There was debate over whether many of the problems that faced society, such as enculturation, should be handled at all and if so, privately or by local or state government. Fear arose that charity might demoralize some of the poor, or discourage them from productivity and self-sufficiency (McKelvey, 1963, pp. 143-145).

Others felt that education was the answer to resolving the plight of the "poor" immigrant. Teach them how to be middle-class Americans, and their problems will disappear. Humanitarianism, which had flourished during the Civil War, took a back seat during reconstruction, and only surfaced again once need was evident. The depression of the mid-seventies saw men and women out of work, homeless, and starving. Need was recognized in New York and Boston, among other cities, and then met through various private charitable societies (McKelvey, 1963, pp. 144-145). Social responsibility was taken by sympathetic individuals, during the first few decades included in this

study. Around the turn of the century, however, the government began taking some responsibility.

The new, modern city required "a new social order that defined the character of a national culture" (Glaab & Brown, 1967, p. 134). With the growth of the modern city came "a decentralization of activities, primarily noted by the separation of work and residential areas and the establishment of divided domains" (Glaab & Brown, 1967, p. 272).

There was residential growth away from the city and into the suburbs by the turn of the century which attracted the growing middle-class. The "suburbs gave a safe, sanitary environment, new houses in styles somewhat in keeping with their conception of family life, and temporary neighborhoods of people with similar outlook" (Warner, 1962, p. 157).

Time and scheduling were fundamental to the efficient success of the city. Work and leisure were dependent on time. People reported to work at a certain time, hours were kept, public institutions had hours, and transportation ran on a schedule.

"Cultural homogenization" was the goal of American political and social leaders from the late 1800s until World War I (Brownlee & Brownlee, 1976, p. 29). The rise in population, due to massive European immigration consisted of an ethnically diverse group of people with

different languages and customs. The problem of assimilating these groups of people into American culture was of paramount importance to most middle- and upper-class urban citizens.

The complexity of urban life increased and hastened the establishment of new institutions designed to work with special groups in the community" (McKelvey, 1963, p. 147). These included such organizations as the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., settlement houses, women's clubs, and charitable organizations supported by churches and synagogues. Often these organizations provided low cost housing, job opportunities, libraries, gymnasiums and instructional classes (McKelvey, 1963, pp. 145-147). The purpose of these institutions and clubs was to distill comradery between people of different backgrounds and aspirations, while bridging "the widening gap between the classes in American cities" (McKelvey, 1963, p. 150).

Culture in itself was highly regarded and sought after by the middle- and upper-classes from 1870 onward. Mumford (1938, p. 263) describes the metropolitan nouveaux riche as "culture-shoppers." Public places and occasions were created in the city that became places for those who wanted to see others, and desired to be seen. "Social and cultural institutions appeared to bridge the gap between immigrants and Americans . . ." (Rischin, 1977, p. vii). These included grandiose churches, restaurants, hotels, clubs,

parks, promenades, libraries, theaters and retail department stores (Leach, 1980, p. 220).

Cultural institutions were erected in the major cities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The city was the home of the theater, symphonies, the museum, and the art gallery. In the cities, "private associations took the lead in supplying urban cultural facilities" (McKelvey, 1963, p. 14). "Patronage of the arts was looked upon as a responsibility of the urban upper classes" (Glaab & Brown, 1967, p. 98). There was also an increase in the growth of other cultural institutions and agencies which supported civic pride, such as public libraries, historical agencies, and more universities.

The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston was begun in 1876. In the spring of 1880, the Metropolitan Museum of Art was opened in New York City (McKelvey, 1963, p. 209). The New York Symphony Orchestra was founded in 1878, and the Metropolitan Opera House was opened in 1883 (Schlesinger, 1951, p. 141). The Boston Symphony Orchestra was founded in 1881 (Schlesinger, 1951, p. 141). Boston's Public Library, one of the largest in the United States, opened in 1861, with almost 100,000 books (McKelvey, 1963, p 15).

There was concern in the large cities about preserving land that was rapidly being built up. New York had created a park commission headed by Frederick Olmstead by 1870, to plan Central Park (McKelvey, 1963, p. 116). Boston's

largest downtown public park, the Boston Common, was established in 1634, and served as the major park and playground for several hundred years (Seaburg, 1971, p. 286). By the 1870s, however, the growth of Boston's population made the city look for expanded parks and public grounds. Frederic Olmstead, the famous New York's Central Park planner, was called in to help (Seaburg, 1971, p. 287). At the turn of the century, more than 2,100 acres of park land had been developed in Boston proper.

With the rise and growth of the middle-class came increased leisure time to enjoy the urban cultural attractions that were now available. People could enjoy and broaden their lives through the new, cultural opportunities found in the cities. "Beauty and ease were claims that spoke loudly to people schooled by historic denial" (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 70). The progressive city life of these times reveled in cultural delights. Even though many writers of the time felt "that American culture ought to reflect democratic ideal," most of the newly created cultural activities could primarily be enjoyed by the privileged few (Glaab & Brown, 1967, p. 102).

One could not ignore the cultural images that surrounded the city. Signs, displays, and lights drew attention to the various goods and services available (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, pp. 191-192). The large cities, by 1890,

were said to have had a "festival" environment (Leach, 1984, p. 321).

> Consumer culture, as it took shape and ever widened like an enchanted circle until it touched every nook and cranny of city life, was above all an imaginative, improvisational, even surreal culture, freely mixing often contradictory elements into fascinating and original patterns that took somewhat different forms in cities from New York to San Francisco. (Leach, 1984, p. 322).

> By 1910 American culture can be said, in a number of senses, to have become urbanized, and this marked a significant change in the character of American society. (Glaab & Brown, 1967, p. 133).

Evans (1989, p. 160) states that "between 1900 and World War I, the old Victorian code which prescribed strict segregation of the sexes in separate spheres crumbled." Men and women began appearing publicly for activities aimed at pleasure and consumption. In addition, places of work, which were once reserved for men, were becoming populated with women.

Another way in which the urban dweller spent free time was joining a club. "Between 1865 and 1901 no fewer than 568 different fraternal organizations were founded" (Schlesinger, 1951, p. 142). During this time period, women were also organizing clubs. Sororal organizations often "expressed the unmet needs of middle-class women both for intellectual stimulation and for mechanism of upward mobility not totally controlled by their husbands" (Evans, 1989, p. 140). These organizations provided

training for public activity, as activities included preparing and giving speeches, and raising and managing money (Evans, 1989, p. 140).

Women's clubs were "truly urban" according to McKelvey (1963, p. 218). They began in New York and Boston around the mid-1860s, and gained momentum after the turn of the century. These clubs were organized for social, charitable and educational purposes. Many had the welfare of others in mind, while others were simply a collection of like minded women who shared common interests. "Like college, the woman's club was a place to shape and share individual aspirations, a giant step out of the suffoccatingly domestic Victorian home" (Brownlee & Brownlee, 1976 p. xxviii). The General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC) was founded in 1890, and contained approximately 200 clubs, with a combined membership of 20,000. By 1900, there were over 150,000 members, and by 1920 approximately one million (Blair, 1980, p.p. 84-85; Schlesinger, 1951, p. 114).

Other clubs that surfaced and gained rapid popularity were founded for the benefit of working girls and women. The most successful clubs for working girls were led by a "charismatic and devoted leader" or "conducted through a process of self-selection that eliminated all but the quietest and most submissive members" (Vicinus, 1985, p. 133). Many of the working girls' clubs had limited

success, however, as there was often a discrepancy between the actual needs of the girls and the perceived needs of the directors.

The Women's Educational and Industrial Union was begun in Boston, in 1877, by Mrs. Abby Morton Diaz. It sought secular benefits for women in cities and united the efforts of many religions. Programs were held in English, teaching practical skills such as sewing and stenography, and cultural subjects such as art and music. In addition, the union provided legal counsel, an employment agency, and facilities for noon lunches, restrooms, an exchange for the sale of articles made by women, and social entertainment (McKelvey, 1963, pp. 147-148). The Young Woman's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.) was an organization created to help young, single women who immigrated to the city (Schlesinger, 1951, p. 114). The first American Y.W.C.A. was founded as a boarding house in New York City in 1860 and the Boston Y.W.C.A. was founded in 1867 (Evans, 1989, p. 140; McKelvey, 1963, p. 147). By 1871, there were eight Y.W.C.A. chapters nationally, and by 1893, almost 40 (McKelvey, 1963, p. 147).

Male and Female Roles

"Every culture uses the biological differences between women and men to classify individuals and assign them social roles" (Harris & McNamara, 1984, p. ix). As earlier reported, during the early nineteenth century, women's

commonly accepted sphere centered on the home and family. "The public life was male" and "middle class Americans viewed women as dependent, emotional, deeply religious, and sexually pure beings who were supposed to tend the domestic fires and bear and rear children" (Leach, 1984, p. 319). Women's roles were restricted by what was socially described as feminine activities (Harris & McNamara, 1984, p. ix).

The Victorians had developed a "middle-class model of womanhood" (Ryan, 1975, p. 195). This ideal model of femininity revered the values considered feminine, such as affection, sympathy and nurturance (Antler, 1977, p. 8). Women were to run, organize and manage the household. Responsibilities included feeding, clothing, caring and educating her children. Her husband's financial status determined what tasks she performed and whether or not she had household help.

> Rigid social rules ensured the safety of the bourgeois family, within the home. Women were assigned a special position as caretakers of morality and religion, for their unique sensibility made them alone capable of child care and domestic responsibilities. (Vicinus, 1985, p. 2)

Respectable Victorian womanhood excluded wage-earning women. "Working outside the home was considered a clear contradiction of women's basic purpose in life--marriage and motherhood . . ." (Eisenstein, 1983, p. 94). "To go

beyond the home was in the eyes of many to go beyond womanhood" (Kelley, 1979, p. 267).

The very different roles that men and women played during this period in history is referred to by Vicinus (1985, p. 2) as the "doctrine of separate spheres." The preconceived ideas of female characteristics and "ideals of domesticity" excluded middle-class women from political, economic and social power (Vicinus, 1985, p. 3).

In essence, "women existed outside of and apart from the structure that defined and dominated their societies" (Harris & McNamara, 1984, p. x). They were confined to the domestic context, which some historians regard as a lower order of socio-cultural organization (Harris & McNamara, 1984, p. ix; Rosaldo, 1974, p. 79).

Women's Changing Status

"In the Progressive period--roughly speaking, the years 1890-1920--a generation of women set out on a restless quest for independence so remarkable, so thorough, and so unconventional that only in the last ten years (since the 1960s) with the rebirth and revitalization of feminism, has it begun to be equaled" (Antler, 1977, p. 1). Up until this time, generally "women existed outside of and apart from the structure that defined and dominated their societies."

Evans (1989, pp. 146-147) refers to this woman as the "new woman" who enjoyed more individuality and autonomy

than before by moving away from Victorian culture and communal domesticity. This new woman seems to have "transcended the domestic limits" that were socially imposed on her, by either entering the men's world of work or creating a society themselves (Rosaldo, 1974, p. 41).

The events and changes following the Civil War, including the rapid rise of the modern city, according to Evans (1989, p. 133) "combined to create a new stage in the female life cycle." These events and changes, Schlesinger (1951, p. 113) believes are responsible for changes in women which "jarred them loose from the traditional seclusion of the home. . . ." Evans (1989, p. 125) poetically descibes this period in history as a time when "the rhythms of many women's lives became detached from the earth's seasons" (Evans, 1989, p. 125).

The collective power of women emerged in the form of women's clubs, organizations, institutions, and associations which helped shape the new, modern America (Evans, 1989, p. 146). The prominance of women in the temperance, sufferage, social settlement movements and other humane enterprises attested to their changing role in society (Schlesinger, 1951, p. 113). Social welfare and humanitarian work became a new calling for women who had time on their hands, and the desire to help others (Brownlee & Brownlee, 1976, p. xxxi).

"Innumerable charities run by women, devoted to the welfare, education, and unemployment of working-class women appeared from the middle of the nineteenth century on" (Leach, 1984, p. 164). Volunteering for charities, often organized under the church, was a popular way for many middle-class women respectively to enter the outside world. Through these charitable organizations, many women were able to "demonstrate their female competencies through their own outstanding work" which "helped to eliminate skepticism involving women's capacities for professional work" (Antler, 1977, p. 423). McKelvey (1963, p. 181) also believes that these institutions helped nurture the growth of female professional workers. "Charitable work gave women freedom to talk and move in areas that were previously forbidden" (Vicinus, 1985, p. 270). In the name of charity, the streets were theirs.

According to Leach (1984, p. 321), the new emerging "consumer culture" of the times had "a transformative effect on women." "Women found themselves in circumstances that, more and more, defined them as consumers, a basic category of industrial life" (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 188). Consumer culture had an "emancipating impact" on two kinds of women, "working women who had power within consumer institutions and middle-class women who shopped and spent much time in such institutions" (Leach, 1984, p. 321). Leach (1984, p. 320) writes that the "culture of consumption slowly

blurred the lines between work and leisure, creating a new freedom from self-denial and from repression, a liberation that promised to expand the province of rewarding work and of individual expression for women."

"Traditional family responsibilities did not yield easily to the new beat of urban industrial life, and women were often caught in the middle" (Evans, 1989, p. 125). "The ornamental symbol of femininity stood in contrast to the experiences of growing numbers of white, middle- and upper-class women" (Kelley, 1979, p. 90). "The new urban world undercut the basis of traditional womanhood, forcing women to look in two directions simultaneously: to the past for strength to sustain life in the present and to the future to find new means of survival" (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 81).

The April 1900 Ladies Home Journal ("American Woman," 1900, p. 19) holds an article written by an American mother who addresses the changes in the role of women. She states that "during the last thirty years there has been scarcely a belief, a custom or a prejudice which they have not trampled under foot on their noisy march to victory." Grave facts, according to this article, prove "how rapidly the instinct of motherhood is dying out," the "rapid and enormous increase of divorces" and the "number of children's homes" ("American Woman," 1900, p. 19).

Women were readjusting to their own perceptions of "women's place," and considering their new options (Antler, 1977, p. 9). Public life was changing by 1915, through the transformation of work (Leach, 1984, p. 319). The development of the middle-class and resulting rise in income subsequently improved lifestyles, which made it unnecessary for many female members of families to work outside the home, where they once had to. Some women elected to do so, however, for reasons other than necessity.

By 1880, American women were getting married at an older age and having less children than before (Brownlee & Brownlee, 1976, p. 23). Between 1860 and 1910, births dropped by nearly 30% (Kessler-Harris, 1982, p. 110). At the end of the nineteenth century, approximately half of the women's college graduates did not marry. These women contributed to the "expanding pool of single women constricted in their movements by social conventions" (Leach, 1984, p. 168).

Many of those who did not have household responsibilities took an increasing interest in society (McKelvey, 1963, p. 15). It was also the first time in history that some middle-class women could afford to live on their own, without commitment to others (Vicinus, 1985, p. 6). Economic independence was becoming a viable option for educated, unmarried, middle-class women. "Perhaps the most striking evidence of change among women was the

emergence of the college-educated, frequently unmarried, and self-supporting new woman" (Evans, 1989, p. 147).

Education of Women

During the nineteenth century, "learning--for both men and women--was always seen as a part of a larger purpose, for service to God or mankind" (Vicinus, 1985, p. 123). Women were becoming more educated than men. "In addition education brought social standing, for people tended to associate class with different levels of training and rising scales of social reward" (Warner, 1978, p. 8). By 1890, two-thirds of the nation's high school graduates were women (Brownlee & Brownlee, 1976, p. 19).

Leaders of women's higher education movements promoted education as the foundation for change in women's lives. Between 1890 and 1920, colleges and universities helped launch female professional careers (Ryan, 1975, p. 232). The educational curricula of many women's colleges, however, reflected cultural gender roles (Antler, 1977,p. 22). Women entered college to improve their job prospects, but also as a way to take time learning before returning home, going into teaching, or getting married (Vicinus, 1985, pp. 123-124). College, for women, also promoted the importance of female friendship and female organized activities, along with self-awareness (Rothman, 1978, pp. 41-42). It was an interlude, "in which duty to self and community took precedence over all outside obligations"

(Vicinus, 1985, p. 124). Higher education could serve as "a period of autonomy between childhood and marriage" (Evans, 1989, p. 139). Here also, could leadership skills be developed and friendship networks build, often leading to a "power base for public work" (Vicinus, 1985, p. 3). Women's colleges offered the "opportunity for intellectual women to join others who shared their delight in study . . .," at the same time taking responsibility for their own time. Some, like Vassar, according to Rothman (1978, p. 39), duplicated "the life style of a well-ordered family ensuring that feminine sensibilities were not violated."

By 1870, 11,000 women were attending colleges and universities. This represented 21% of all the students and the percentage increased to 32%, or 40,000 women by 1880 (Filene, 1920, p. 238). Between 1865 and 1874, many state universities became coed (Schlesinger, 1951, pp. 113-114). According to Baker (1964, p. 259), by 1900, U.S. colleges had approximately 85,000 women enrolled. The percentage of women decreased by the turn of the century, however, to about 25%.

Upon graduation from college, "women congregated in professions of social service, public health medicine, legal, public school teaching, and social work (Ryan, 1975, p. 234). The college graduate had a lower marriage rate, wed later, and had fewer children than women who did not graduate from college (Ryan, 1975, p. 236).

Retail training. The turn of the century brought with it interest on the part of merchants and educational institutions in offering formal training for women and men who were interested in retailing occupations. Women had proven themselves competent by this time. There was a proliferation of various employment manuals and guides, along with specialty schools created to educate would-be retailers (Aiken, 1918; Kennard, 1918; Tolman, 1921). Further discussion of department store retail training may be found in the Women in Department Store Training segment (see pp. 109-114).

Mrs. Lucinda Wyman Prince, of Boston, pioneered a school, The Prince School of Salesmanship, which taught salesmanship and training for education directors. Today, The Prince School of Retailing is still a part of Simmons College. Under the auspices of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, she established her school in 1905, with the support of large department store heads who sent their employees to her classes, and in some cases helped financially support the school (Mark, 1945, pp. 128-129; Norton, 1917, pp. 7-67; Tolman, 1921, p. 10). Many organizational changes occurred at the school from 1911 to 1926, when stability finally prevailed.

In 1911, the school joined with Simmons College as a part of the School of Industrial Teaching with financial backing from the National Retail Dry Goods Association.

It became an independent school again in 1915, as the school of salesmanship, administered jointly by the union and college. After 1918, the union withdrew its support and the college entered in agreement with several "leading dry goods stores of Boston," with continuing financial support from the National Dry Goods Association (NRDGA). The school was now renamed The Prince School of Education for Store Service (Mark, 1945, pp. 129-130).

Controversy between the college and Mrs. Prince arose as to the kind of recognition students should receive from their year-long course work. Most students who enrolled already held a bachelor's degree. By 1920, the Prince School had graduated a total of 195 students, and 115 of them were employed with stores (Cannon, 1920 p. 371). Simmons College felt they should again be awarded, and graduation resulted in two bachelor's degrees. Mrs. Prince objected to this practice, and wanted a master's of science awarded to those already holding a B.S., and certification to those completing the course who did not have a B.S. After two years debate, Mrs. Prince affiliated with the School of Education of the Harvard Business School for supervision of candidates for the master's degree. In 1922, ten master's and 48 bachelor's degrees were granted under this program (Mark, 1945, pp. 130-131)..

The arrangement with Harvard only lasted two years, when the Prince School returned to Simmons College with

graduate school status, and continued support of the NRDGA and Boston merchants. In 1924, this new plan issued 35 master's and no bachelor's degrees. Grade requirements were increased in 1925, demanding only As and Bs for all coursework and a thesis leading toward a master's. Lower grades would contribute toward a bachelor's. Unfortunately, the higher standards immediately resulted in only half of the class obtaining master's, and in succeeding years, those numbers became smaller (Mark, 1945, p. 131).

The Carnegie Institute of Technology and New York University also began retail training courses for both men and women in the late teens (Cannon, 1920, p. 370; Tolman, 1921, p. 12). Merchants supported these courses and schools from the inception, and many felt "that the future of the merchandise business depends on attractive, educated women" (Tolman, 1921, p. 11). The importance of academic training for people interested in professional retailing careers finally gained momentum around 1919 (Tolman, 1921, p. 10). During this year, there was a marked increase in interest on the part of merchants to cooperate with universities and special schools toward training future retail executives.

The Internal Environment - Micro Socio-Cultural Level

The Department Store Organization

The department store is defined by Kreiger (1980, p. 26) as "a store organized into a number of individual departments and selling a great variety of merchandise, including men's, women's, and children's ready-to-wear and home furnishings." Ready-to-wear "refers to any article of apparel that is manufactured to sell in retail stores" (Kreiger, 1980, pp. 87-88). Mayfield in The Department Store Story defines the department store as "a large-scale store handling many lines of goods, or more accurately, it is a combination of single-line stores in which each is operated as a separate department" (Mayfield, 1949, p. vii). In 1897, Adams (p. 4) generically described the department store as a "great collection of shops gathered together under one roof, conducted as a single organization. . . ." As a business organization, the department store organized specialized functions under a centralized control.

> The department store has an organization which differs in many respects from that of other types of business. Though it has developed as the result of the general movement toward specialized functions with centralized control, it is still far from being a unit. It may be classified as a composite of smaller units called sales departments, which are held together by a common system of accou ting and delivery of goods. The degree of dependence of the departments upon the store management varies

> even within one store, as well as between different stores. (Kennard, 1918, p. 13)

The department store meets the qualifications of an open-system organization, in that it has the nine characteristics identified by Katz and Kahn (1966, pp. 19-25). It imports energy in the form of labor and merchandise, and transforms this energy into consumer uses of goods and services through the training of labor. Energy is exported from the organization to the outside environment through the meeting of customer needs and wants. Additionally, the department store acts as a catalyst for social, economic, and political reforms. The department store is cyclical, in that the output enables the continuation of the business. If successful, customer rewards are met and reinvestment occurs that enables growth. "Negative entropy" occurs at the department store when the merchandise provided exceeds the needs of the customers. Rules, policies, procedures and the evaluation of employees provides information input, feedback, and the coding of behavior. Illustrating a steady state and "dynamic homeostasis," department stores grow to meet the changing needs of the external and internal environment. The specialized functions of the department store provide differentiation (see Table 1). The department store, according to Ferry (1960, p. 29), "is probably the most complex of all business structures, having to meet almost

every material requirement of people in an ever-changing world, and therefore requiring executive control of exceptional ability."

Managerial hierarchies were quickly adopted by department stores as a means to manage their business and large number of employees (Chandler, 1984, p. 474). The division of labor was economical for the big stores, and was divided into "functional divisions: office, sales and stock, delivery, manufacturing, and maintenance" (Carter & Carter, 1985, p. 588). Carter and Carter's (1985, p. 588) study on early labor of two New York City department stores, Lord and Taylor and Hearn's, revealed that "each division recruited its workers from distinct gender, ethnic, social-class and educational backgrounds," and that "there was little or no employee mobility across the functional divisions by 1913. Also, supervisory and administrative positions were filled from outside the firm" (Carter & Carter, 1985, p. 588). The largest department stores by the turn of the century "employed as many workers as the very largest of manufacturing establishments" (Carter & Carter, 1985, p. 587). By the mid-1920s, the major department stores had adopted the use of an organizational chart that depicted their four divisions: buying, publicity, finance and accounts, and store management (Bitner, 1927, p. 5). A typical early department store organization chart is presented by Tolman (1921, p. 8)

in her book Positions of Responsibility in Department Stores and Other Retail Selling Organizations. Figure 6 shows its four major divisions headed by the Merchandise Manager, Advertising Manger, Store Superintendent, and Comptroller. Specific Macy's and Filene's organizational charts are described in their store segments of this chapter (see pages 161-222).

Pasdermadjian (1953, p. 22) writes that department stores represent typical applications of modern organizations. These include a division of labor, and the delegation of authority through organization structure.

History of the Department Store

The department store is primarily a result of mass-produced American clothing, a by-product of the Industrial Revolution and the growth of the modern city. Early department stores, according to Carter and Carter (1985, p. 587), had a "dual heritage." Some began as "single-line retail outlets," then branched out. Others "began as adjuncts to wholesaling firms." "Mass production has made mass distribution necessary" (Filene, 1927, p. 1). With mass-produced clothing came the need for a new type of retail outlet to distribute goods to the new, mass-oriented consumer society. Other merchants, such as Max Hess (1952, p. 3) felt that the department store was truly "characteristic of the country's industrial vigor, imagination, and enterprise." Glaab and Brown (1967,

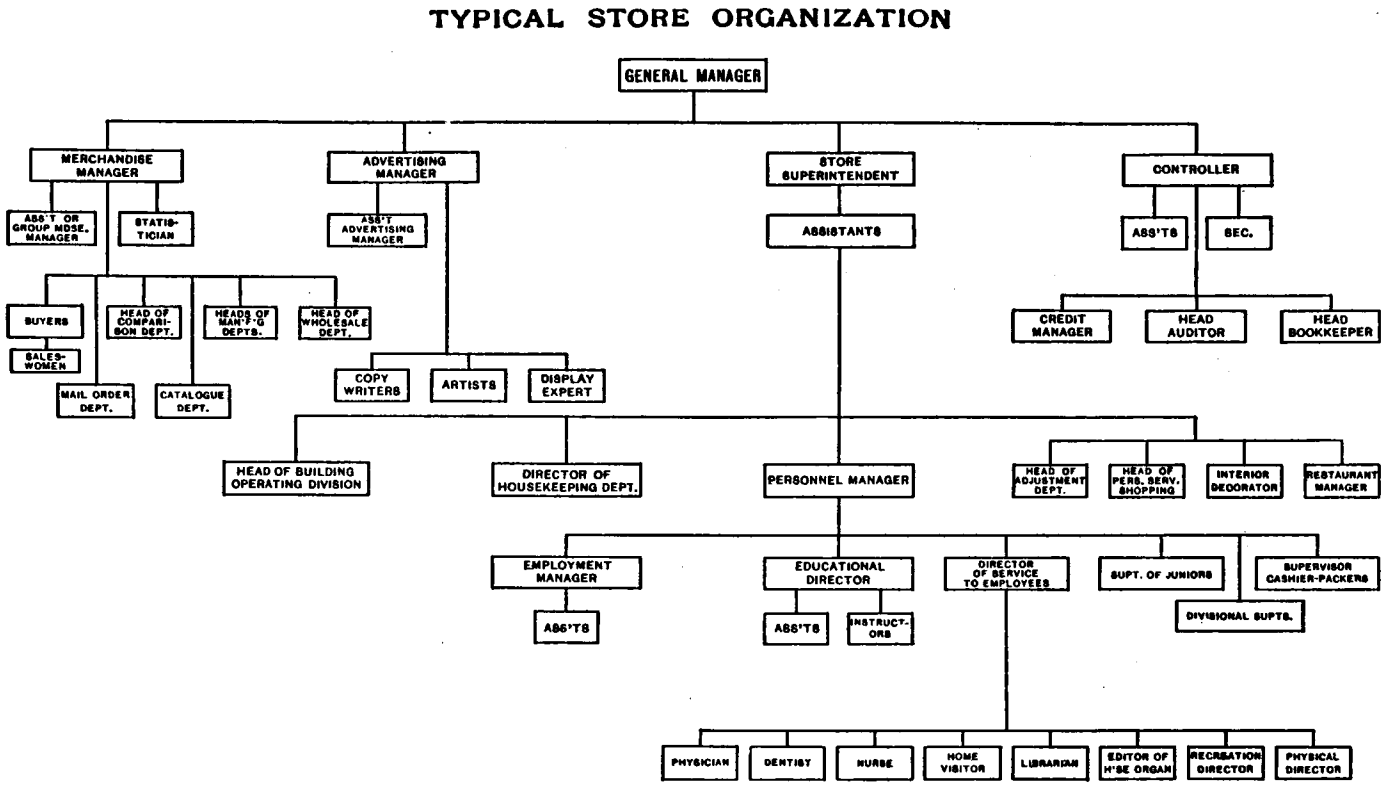


Figure 6. A Typical Early Department Store Organization Chart

Source: M. Tolman (1921), Positions of Responsibility in Department Stores and Other Retail Selling Organizations (New York: The Bureau of Vocational Information), p. 8.

p. 128) considered the department store an "organized civic enterprise" and "a major form of urban enterpreneurship." Some say they were the lifeblood of urban America, as they were the urban merchandisers.

> Between the Civil War and the beginning of the new century appeared grand and impressive edifices--Palaces of Consumption--in the principal cities of the nation and in the upstart cities that hoped to become great metropolises. (Boorstin, 1974, p. 101).

Most department stores were built from 1870 to 1920, and many such as Filene's and Macy's, that began as family-owned enterprises, are still in existence today. By 1897, there were approximately 1,000 U.S. department stores (Adams, 1897, p. 5).

> Every city in the United States with a population of 100,000 or more has at least one of these stores. New York has fifty, Chicago a score, Philadelphia and Boston nearly as many, and Brooklyn a dozen or more. (Adams, 1897, p. 5)

The original department store, according to most historic retailing authorities such as Harris (1979, p. 38), Hendrickson (1980, pp. 26 and 35), Leach (1980, pp. 221-222) and Mayfield (1949, pp. 35-36) was either Paris' Bon Marche or New York City's Stewart's Cast Iron Palace. Discrepancies exist between these authors as to the founding dates of these department stores. Harris (1979, p. 38) and Leach (1980, p. 221) state that the Bon Marche was built in 1853 and that A. T. Stewart built his store ten years later. Hendrickson (1980, p. 26) writes

that 1850 was the year that both the Bon Marche and Stewart's became department stores. Hendrickson considers Stewart's earlier store, the Marble Dry Goods Palace, built in 1848, a department store. Mayfield (1949, p. 35) attributes 1860 as the year the Bon Marche, Stewart's and Macy's were departmentalized. Macy's themselves, state that they became a department store by 1877 (Macy's publicity, p. 1).

Since most of the prominent authors agree that Alexander Turney Stewart built the first American department store, some discussion of this store is warranted. Two of the merchandising techniques attributed to the department store were first initiated by Stewart, including a small mark-up, and the cash system (Harris, 1979, p. 144; Leach, 1980, p. 233).

Stewart's Cast Iron Palace was opened in 1862, at Astor Place in New York City on Broadway between Ninth and Tenth Streets (National Division, 1873, p. 23; Ressigvie, 1964, p. 131). It contained 19 departments and rose eight and a half stories high, constructed at a cost of two and three quarter million dollars (Hendrickson, 1980, pp. 36-37; Leach, 1980, p. 223). It covered a "full block from Broadway to Fourth Avenue" (Ressiguie, 1964, p. 160). A picture of this store is presented in Figure 7. The store employed 2,000 people and catered exlcusively to women (Harris, 1979, p. 38;

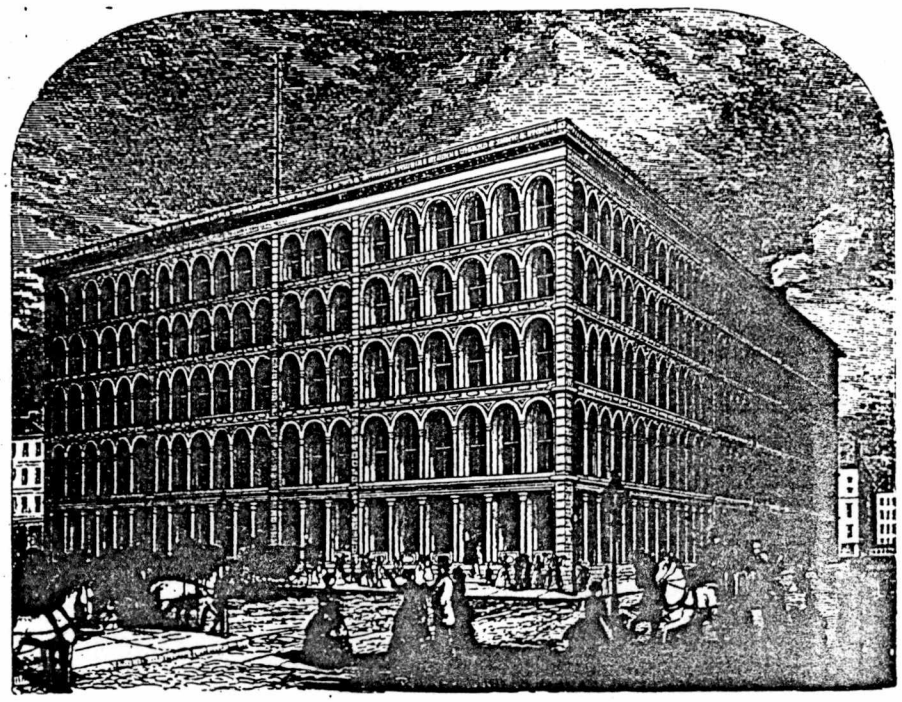


Figure 7. A. T. Stewart's Cast Iron Palace

Source: New York Illustrated (June 18, 1873) (New York: National Division, Sons of Temperance of North America; C. J. Bartran, Steam Job Ornamental Printer), p. 23.

Hendrickson, 1980, p. 35). The Sixth Avenue and Fourteenth Street elevated stop was in operation by 1878, and brought shoppers just a few blocks away (Leach, 1980, p. 223).

Stewart is attributed with standardizing retail work, and therefore allowing for the hiring of less qualified and lower paid personnel than were hired in other types of retail stores (Leach, 1980, p. 224). Writers such as Leach (1980, p. 224) say this practice was the entree for women salesclerks, because women would accept jobs for lower pay than men would. Others such as Jane Crowley, a nineteenth century fashion editor and feminist, held a more favorable view about Stewart's employ of women. She felt that women were gaining "a new domestic freedom" in the store (Leach, 1980, p. 226).

Stewart is credited with being "the first individual to institutionalize the function of retailing and make it big business" (Ressigvie, 1964, p. 131). He was the first American retailer to organize his own European buying system, the first to initiate "buying for cash," and also the first to organize "the generalized systematization of the business which led to departmentalization" (Ressiguie, 1964, p. 150, 158).

Most records describe Alexander Stewart as a cold man, who was disinterested in his people and their lives. His concern was for his store, not for the people t'at ran it, or his popularity. It is known that he paid poorly

and did not hold company leisure and social functions (Leach, 1980, p. 224). He did, however, build a hotel in Manhattan for women which opened in 1878 after his death in 1876 (Ressiguie, 1964, p. 162). Unfortunately, it closed shortly thereafter, as it was too expensive for working women to rent and there were legal ramifications to his estate after his death (NYT, March 17, 1878; NYT, June 5, 1878).

Stewart was considered "one of America's richest men" (Schlesinger, 1951, p. 52). His store was the first to reach an annual sales volume of ten million dollars (Ressiguie, 1964, p. 162). He collected art to display in private galleries, according to McKelvey (1963, p. 210) and may very well have displayed his treasures in his store. A. T. Stewart was named to the U.S. Treasury by President Grant; however, he was found to be ineligible under the law because he was engaged in trade (Schlesinger, 1951, p. 52). He was also instrumental in the establishment of the rapid transit system, backing the "West Side Association, an organization of many of the most powerful capitalists in the city, men who owned nearly a third of the taxable property in New York . . . " (Leach, 1980, p. 222). Six years after his death in 1882, Stewart's businesses were liquidated (Ressiguie, 1964, p. 162). Stewart's innovativeness and forward thinking, however,

led him to become one of the greatest American retailers in history.

The post-Civil War period brought with it a major retail revolution in this country. That period witnessed a revival of business, an improvement in the standard of living, and the consumer demand for more goals and an increased variety of goods. A better retail distribution system developed during this time in history to meet these needs; thus, the department store. Economically, the department store played a major role. It has even been referred to "as one of the great pillars of the American economy" (Hess, 1952, p. 164).

Some were opposed to the department store's rapid growth. "It became a giant of trade, a devouring monster, from the standpoint of the smaller establishments from which whose greed and rapcity no trade or profession was safe; until it finally arrived at its present proportions, and became a business world of itself" (Adams, 1897, p. 5). In addition, more available capital, low taxes, and cheap labor to build and staff stores also aided the rise of the department store. The small, cluttered general store of the past was now "eclipsed by a lavishly decorated palace of consumption, which not only presented goods in a well-organized and tempting way but also offered a variety of services and public accommodations" (Benson, 1981, p. 1).

According to Bluestone, Hanna, Kuhn and Moore (1981) in their book, The Retail Revolution, Market Transformation, Investment and Labor in the Modern Department Store, the department store tells more about capital investment, competition, and the U.S. labor process than many other types of industries. "In fact, the department store can be considered as one of the most characteristic forms through which the new forces released by the industrial revolution sought expression" (Pasdermadjian, 1954, p. 7). Pasdermadjian (1954, p. 21) accredits the increase of the rising middle class and that corresponding wealth as one of the contributory factors to the development of the department store.

The new economic and social conditions of the city helped stimulate demand for a new type of store. Leach (1984, p. 322) believes that department stores resulted from "the demands of the market, made possible by mass concentrations of capital and people and by the expansion of the transportation system. . . ." These stores needed to "turn capital over quickly, and to house, handle, and distribute merchandise for much larger and concentrated markets" (Leach, 1980, p. 221).

Doubman and Whitaker (1927, p. 14) list six primary reasons for the development of department stores:

1. Growth of urban centers;
2. Change in household economy;

3. Development of street and suburban railways;

4. Expansion of efficient delivery system;

5. The use of the modern newspaper as a selling device; and

6. The use of the telephone by the stores' customers.

The stores sold an array of goods, with fixed price-points to meet the needs and wants of the different socio-economic customers. Edward Filene (1927, p. 7) describes department stores as appealing "to all classes of customers," not being "exclusive, nor cheap, nor middle class;" selling "high priced, low priced and medium priced goods." More goods were now being offered to consumers than ever before. The department store enabled "democratized luxury," inviting people from all socio-economic strata to join a "consumption community" (Boorstin, 1974, p. 109).

Miller (1981, p. 7) also believes that the department store not only reflected the changing consumer behavior, but was instrumental in the creation and development of the new consumer culture. Department stores understood how to satisfy the changing needs of society, which included elegance and comfort (Pardermadjian, 1953, p. 124)

New merchandising principles were introduced in the department store. Merchants and historians alike state that the stores came to dominate ret..il trade by introducing novel merchandising principles, such as fixed-pricing,

cash transactions, low-markups, and newspaper advertising (Davis, 1907, p. 314; Hess, 1952, p. 164; McBride, 1978, p. 664; Phillips, 1905, p. 7). "In their democratic one-price-for-all policies and in the plenty they provide for their customers, American's department stores are unique" (Hess, 1952, p. 164). One significant merchandising technique was presentation. Huge spacious galleries displayed the goods inside the stores, while large display windows attracted the customers from the street. Extravagant interiors and new style of merchandising and display created a "dream world" according to Williams (1982, p. 65) where "imaginative desires and material ones" were joined together in a new environment. Consumers were encouraged to wander around the store partaking of the sensuous delights without obligation to buy. Shoppers were freely exposed to merchandise, but did not feel pressure to buy (McCracken, 1988, p. 26; Williams, 1982, p. 67).

Shopping in the department store became a social event for urban middle- and upper-class women who had new leisure time to enjoy. Women came to see and be seen. Services were designed "to lure women into the nest of the big store" (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 89). "Shopping furnished excitement: it afforded a special occasion for the lady of the house to dress up, to sally forth, to exhibit her own person" (Mumford, 1961, p. 435). The department store

offered the consumer the greatest possible number of wares under one roof and diversified the temptations to buy, at the same time as it concentrated the opportunity (Mumford, 1961, p. 438).

> But inside, temptation was inescapable, for one may not walk through a department store with one's eyes fixed on the floor nor turned toward the ceiling, unless one wishes to be made a shuttlecock." (Davis, 1907, p. 312)

The department store contributed many technological and social advances which helped build our society during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Electric lighting, glass display windows, the elevator, the escalator, the paper bag, indoor plumbing, and other inventions were all first commercially used in the department store. The department store merchant was also instrumental in social and political reform: helping to establish fair wages, training schools, vacation and holiday pay, sick pay, and labor and tax laws. Rural Free delivery, Parcel Post, in addition to the expansion of the railroad and urban trolley, were all a result of many retailers' hard work and backing (Ferry, 1960; Harris, 1979; Hendrickson, 1980; Leach, 1984; Mayfield, 1949; Mahoney & Sloane, 1966).

Major department stores, such as Macy's and Filene's created in-house company newspapers during the early development of their stores. Filene's "Echo" (1902) and Macy's "Sparks" (1919) were written by and for the

employees. They seem to have been very effective communication tools and were considered indispensible to stores with well-established "social and education departments" (Kennard, 1918, p. 139). Not only were business matters reported, such as promotions and upcoming events, but all socially related occurrences as well.

Service was another principle that the early department stores emphasized, "Looking after them (the customers) in such a manner that service is an attraction in itself, that shopping is made easy and comfortable" (Phillips, 1905, p. 8). The customer was not pressured to buy, shopping was considered visiting the store and was often a social event for many women. "The department store was more than a site for consumption, it was a sight of consumption . . ." (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 68).

In addition to helping the customer shop, most department stores housed libraries, lounges, restaurants, nurseries, reception and writing rooms, special exhibits, and musical performances (Adams, 1897, pp. 4-27; Hendrickson, 1980; Leach, 1984, p. 328). The department store was one of the few public places women could acceptably go alone (Leach, 1980, p. 234). It was considered a safe social environment, and became a place for many women to spend their increased leisure time (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 69). "They became homes away from home"

where women could "safely be social together" (Leach, 1980, pp. 234-235).

Delivery service was a novel and important service provided by department stores from their beginnings (Doubman & Whitaker, 1927, p. 211). By the 1890s major stores had horse drawn wagons to deliver, free of charge, purchases to the customer's homes. "The largest stores in various cities have from ninety to one hundred and forty wagons, and as many as three hundred and fifty horses" (Adams, 1897, p. 4). Anything and everything would be delivered. In the September, 1907, Scribner's Magazine (p. 321). Davis tells the extent of this practice in some cases.

> She bought the paper of hooks and eyes for which she had come to the store, paid five cents for it, and asked to have it delivered at her home in Orange, New Jersey. The saleswoman diplomatically asked if the lady couldn't take the little package with her--they didn't like to deliver parcels so easily portable. But the Shopper from the Suburbs really couldn't think of carrying the package, because her purse was full and she was going to make some calls. Besides, she couldn't see that it made any difference to the store; their delivery wagon passed her house every day. So the saleswoman said that the hooks and eyes would be delivered, and the Shopper from the Suburbs, bound to live up to the resolution, fled by a side door.

The early U.S. department store was a grand architectural fixture that was centered downtown in major metropolitan cities. "Within a single century it has established landmarks throughout the nation" (Hess, 1952, p. 3). "The huge three and four story department store

in the heart of the city became the leading symbol of urban mass consumer markets in this country" (Bryant & Dethloff, 1983, p. 320). These stores affected the cities in both "physical and psychological ways" (Leach, 1984, p. 322). They were much larger than any other existing retail establishments and held a wide variety of goods under one roof. Indeed, they were a spectacle to view and shop in.

> If the vitality of an institution may be gauged by its architecture, the department store was one of the most vital institutions in this commerical regime. (Mumford, 1961, p. 438)

They were built with elaborate interiors, balconies, rotundas, columns, and courtyards.

Numerous physical descriptions of the department store exist, but all are complimentary. The department store was described as "palatial" (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 194), "massive" (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 68), and even "a castle away from home" (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 62). It was considered the counterpart to the big metropolitan museum by Mumford (1938 p. 263). In the stores "goods were graced in momumental splendor" (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 68). Department stores pictured the desirable as did no other countemporary institution" (Leach, 1984, p. 322). The stores "served as an immense World's Fair of art and industry in which all the exhibits were on sale" (Mumford, 1961, p. 438).

Birmingham (1978, p. 44) writes a visually exciting account of the exterior and interior of the early department stores. One is returned through her words to the time when these retail palaces were a wonder and awe to consumers.

> Cast-iron and marble facades shone white and brilliant in the sunlight. They were trimmed with Moorish filigree and gimcrackery. The metal work was stamped with palm fronds and pineapples. Leafy vines were entwined among the rosettes. There were marble columns and marble arches and marble floors. Smart striped awnings were raised and lowered to protect the glorious window tableaux from the bleaching rays of the sun that flooded the wide thoroughfares. There were flags flying. The Ladies Mile was a grand pastry shop filled with delicious architectural Victorian wedding cakes.
>
> Inside the imposing confections were further marvels. Luxurious steam elevators, giant carpeted boxes, lifted customers up and down, disgorging them onto the galleries that surrounded the colonnaded rotundas. Rich, heavy chords, mixed with glistening arpeggios, poured forth from pipe organs to resound off the Carrara travertine, Portor, and Italian Rose floors and walls, and the stained-glass domes. Fountains rippled and palm fronds rustled. There were the windy pipelines of the pneumatic tubes that slurped and sucked and hissed and threw up the brass bullet carriers that sent money back and forth from a central cashier's office. Speedy transactions occasionally bogged down when suction, with the force of a tornado, would inhale a wisp of gift ribbon.

The department store strove for better efficiency and profits during the Progressive Period, just as all growing organizations did. The department store is a

service organization whose goal is to meet the needs and wants of consumers. Lincoln Filene (1924, p. 22) stated that the department store "has become itself a social force. Perhaps the leading social force" of the times. "The department store has thus appeared as one of the main instruments through which the forces of a new era have sought expression" (Pasdermadjian, 1953, p. 23).

Unique problems, however, surfaced in the department store. Problems arose due to the climate of the external and internal environment. In 1899, it was said that "a few years ago no reformer had a good word to say for the department store. It had represented inequity, as the source and support of the sweat-shop evil, of low wages, long hours and hard conditions generally" (Tyner, 1899, p. 290). That same year, social reformers such as Mrs. Florence Kelley, State Factory Inspector of Illinois, felt that "the department store is an immense step forward; they are far more humane, with all their brutalities, than the small employers."

The story of a department store is the story of people who work in it, as Mayfield (1949, p. 249) states. The majority of the employees hired by the stores were working-class women. Another role, held by a minority of women, was management.

Department Store Research

Much has been written on the U.S. department store. The majority of the historical research focuses on the establishment of the store as a socio-economic and consumer unit, and the founding fathers and families of the major department stores. Becker and Larson (1987, pp. 64-71) compiled a comprehensive bibliography of books on American retail merchants that was published in the Journal of Marketing Education. A number of these books are collective essays on the major department stores and their founders (Ferry, 1960; Harris, 1979; Hendrickson, 1980; Mahoney & Sloane, 1966; Mayfield, 1949; McNair & May, 1963). Other writings include biographies and autobiographies of the merchants (Conwell, 1924; Gibbons, 1926; Marcus, 1974; Penney, 1974; Werner, 1939). In addition, some examine the individual stores (Baker, 1953; Beasley, 1948; Ditchett, 1922; Emmett & Jeuck, 1950; Holmes, 1972; Hower, 1946; Tolbert, 1953; Webber, 1954).

Women in the Department Store

Women have always played an active, important retailing role. Retailing is a business whose customers have been primarily women and whose largest group of executives (buyers) today are women.

> The department store was pre-eminently the world of women, where women were encouraged to find their life's meaning in conspicuous consumption and where they increasingly found a role selling. (McBride, 1978, p. 664)

It is unfortunate that women who have paved the way for today's women retailer have, by the most part, been unrecorded and unremembered.

In the early years of U.S. retail, women family members were not encouraged to take an active part in stores. "Sons, grandsons, and male in-laws were welcomed into the stores; female heirs inherited real estate or assets other than stock in the store; that was reserved to male heirs" (Harris, 1979, p. 129). However, with the creation of the department store came a tremendous new work opportunity for women who were not necessarily related to the male owners. They did not have to compete with men for positions either, as they were sought as a labor source by the merchants. Historically, department stores have been major employers of women. Since 1900, the job of saleswoman has ranked among the top ten women's occupations (Baxandale, Gordon, & Reverby, 1976).

In the early department store years, however, many women who wanted to join the stores were met with opposition from society. The respectability of the job was questioned, along with women's proper role in society. Was department store employment considered "women's work"? Some say that department store work was an "extension of their domestic role" (McBride, 1978, p. 667).

As a result of the large number of women employed in department store sales, it became known as women's work.

Period women's magazines and employment manuals promoted department stores as women's domain (Aiken, 1918; Candee, 1900; Filene, 1920; Kennard, 1918; Leach, 1984, p. 339). Generally, department store work was considered "dignified" if one conducted themselves properly (Eisenstein, 1983, p. 85). "Department stores employed more native-born women than any other major woman-employment industry" (Butler, 1909a, p. 139). The department store woman of 1900 was cautioned to be discreet in her dealings with the public in order to prevent presenting a poor public image. Because service work was considered "unpleasant" and the department store woman was in a service role, care should be taken to avoid unpleasantry (Eisenstein, 1983, p. 120).

Since there were questions regarding the respectability of department store employment for women, many early department stores practiced paternalism in order to give society a more respectable image of department store employment. It is questionable whether this was the only motive, or if employers were also seeking to control their employees' lives. Many retailers, however, took it as their paternal role to provide and supervise their women's housing, meals, free time, and morals, while promoting a family-type environment. Rules, including proper dress, were strictly enforced by store management. More often than not, the total life of an early department st re woman revolved around the store, and the store was often

a substitute family for many whose blood family lived out of town and was unavailable to them.

Although the majority of women employed by the early department stores served as clerks, many others did not. Women also worked in buying, advertising, personnel, finance, accounting, and training. Much literature exists on the saleswomen in U.S. department stores with early monographs focusing on the plight of saleswomen (Butler, 1909; Donovan, 1929; MacClean, 1974; Smuts, 1959). Other works regard the department store clerk as a major position held by working women from 1900 to the present and describe her role (Baker, 1964; Baxandale, Gordon & Reverby, 1976; Hook, 1947; McBride, 1978; Wertheimer, 1977).

One dissertation was located which focused on early department store women entitled, "Faces Across the Counter: A Social History of Female Department Store Employees, 1870-1920," by Sarah Smith Malino (1982). It explores the origins and character of all women's department store employment, but predominantly centers on the sales clerk. Malino also focuses on the positive and negative aspects of department store employment for women.

Susan Porter Benson's extensive work on the department store from 1890 to 1960 primarily concentrates on the department store work culture of the saleswomen (Benson, 1978, 1981, 1986). She considers culture from the anthropological perspective as a "set of frameworks,

attitudes, and accepted standards of behavior" which enables one to deal with the circumstances within a society (Benson, 1986, p. 3). Benson contends that men primarily supervised the majority of the female employees (saleswomen) at the department store (1986, p. 284).

The path to promotion in department stores was often long and hard. Many women began as cash girls, then moved to stock girls or wrappers, next to sales, head of stock, and finally to assistant buyers and buyers (Baker, 1964, p. 248). Few made it to the top, as store superintendents, managers, partners, or owners, but those who did are noteworthy and many have been identified in this research.

Training

Training of women for department store work was obtained in two ways: inside the store and outside the store. It was both formal and informal in nature. Through the rise and development of the department store, training involved into a highly specialized field.

Early department store training concentrated on the salespeople, and focused on eliminating errors and behavior toward the customers (Benson, 1986, p. 150; LaDame, 1930, p. 391). Informal training was evident at the department stores from their inception. Employees were told and shown how to do their jobs, and often bulletins were circulated on rules and regulations (LaDame, 1930, p. 395).

Initially, department store executives and managers were responsible for training their employees as necessary. Some formal classes, lectures, and conferences were being held at department stores, such as Filene's, before the turn of the century, but these were not being regularly conducted (LaDame, 1930, p. 390).

With the growth in the size of department stores, and the necessary increase in the numbers of employees, came a need for more specialized and structured training. By the turn of the century, major department stores began supporting formal training programs. At first they went outside the store, then they organized internal programs.

Formal department store retail training for women was first introduced by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston in 1905 (Norton, 1917, p. 65). Mrs. Lucinda Wyman Prince directed a class for saleswomen with the cooperation of Boston's major department stores. In order to attract the "right type of girl," Mrs. Prince wanted to provide actual store experience and guarantee positions to its graduates (Norton, 1917, p. 9). William Filene's Sons Company was the first store to offer to take students one day a week--Mondays--for a small wage, and also consider graduates for store positions. Other Boston stores, such as Jordan Marsh Company and R. H. White, joined the program shortly thereafter, with superintendents of the stores invited to become members of an advisory

committee. By 1906, "it was soon clear that more practical work in the stores was needed for the best results," so school was conducted daily from 8:30 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., and work in the stores was undertaken the remainder of the time. The students received $3 a week for their "half-time work" (Norton, 1917, p. 10). In 1907, school room hours were rearranged and conducted only five mornings a week, from 8:30 a.m. to 11:30 am., and students began working all day Monday and Saturday, and afternoons the remaining weekdays. Full wages were granted the students for their work by the fall of 1907. Students were "selected from the selling force of the cooperating school" and received "full payment of wages," while they attended the twelve-week course (Norton, 1917, p. 11). From this time until 1911, no significant program changes occurred in the School of Salesmanship of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union (Norton, 1917, p. 10).

The School of Salesmanship also established a teacher's training class, introduced salesmanship into the Boston public schools, and officially united with the National Retail Dry Goods Association (predecessor to the National Retail Merchants Association in the ensuing years) (Norton, 1917, p. 65). Prince's School of Salesmanship attracted students from all over the country, but particularly the east coast. Major merchants in New York and Boston affiliated with the school. In 1911, however,

Mrs. Prince took her school to Simmons College and affiliated with them. This is further discussed along with other schools that provided retail training for women in Chapter II, Retail Training, pages 81-84. It was reported that in 1917, the majority of the total 80 graduates from the teacher's course, were employed as educational directors in "large stores" (Norton, 1917, p. 66). A total of eight women held positions in New York stores, while 21 held positions in Massachusetts stores. These stores include Macy's and Filene's (Norton, 1917, p. 78).

Formal training programs were established in major department stores shortly after the turn of the century. Filene's had established a training department in 1906, and Macy's shortly thereafter in 1915 (Hower, 1943, p. 379; LaDame, 1930, p. 354). According to Benson (1986, p. 14), training by the mid-1900s consisted of three broad focuses: general education, merchandise training and salesmanship training needs. Formal training was delegated as the responsibility of the welfare manager, social secretary or education director. A combination of classroom and on-the-job training was the method used. Formal training programs provided an opportunity for women to move up in the organization and an effective tool for promotion from within. Lincoln Filene (1924, p. 11) stated that the department store as a "business is a living thing, and

to last it must be able to renew itself from within." "It must generate its own leadership, preferably from its own ordinary rank."

Women who entered the department store in management positions were expected to have had formal training in a related area. Often, the welfare manager, educational director, and personnel manager had teaching degrees and experience. A college education was regarded by many retailers to be important (Sutton, 1920, p. 88; Tolman, 1921, pp. 19, 24). Many women, however, worked their way up to responsible positions with just a high school degree. Some also completed specialized training from schools such as The Prince School of Salesmanship (Tolman, 1921, p. 19). Store experience was considered necessary training for the woman who wanted to get ahead in the department store. "Experience in a New York or Boston store was considered most valuable" (Tolman, 1921, p. 19). Women who were responsible for training in the department store often gave lectures, wrote articles and books, and taught classes in their area of expertise away from the store, and thus became authorities on their subject (Cannon, 1920; Hirschler, 1913, p. 32).

Retail and department store training books began to be published in the first decades of the twentieth century. By the 1920s, an abundance of manuals were printed (Aiken, 1918; Badger, 1920; Benedict-Roche, 1914; Brisco, 1920;

Field, 1917; Fisk, 1914; Hall, 1915; Hutchinson, 1918; Kennard, 1918; Lehmann, 1917, 1918; Norton, 1919; Souder, 1917; Thompson, 1918; Whitehead, 1917). Beulah Kennard (1917-1918) edited a series of ten merchandise manuals that focused on different departments in the department store.

Toward the 1920s, specialized courses and training were conducted on all areas of department store work and full-scale internal training programs had been initiated by all major department stores.

By 1920, one New York department store, Macy's, was conducting a specialized training program for college men and women who were employed as members of a "special squad" for twenty-five dollars a week (Tolman, 1921, p. 27). This program seems to have been the precedessor to the modern day executive training program. The trainees worked from three to six months in various departments throughout the store, while also writing reports and attending training classes. Upon completion of their program, they were assigned permanent positions in a department.

Roles and Jobs

Women held an array of positions in the department store from its beginning. The primary positions they held have been separated by their major organizational division in this section, with a description of the major jobs held.

The four major organizational divisions are: merchandising, store services, advertising, and accounting.

Merchandising

The merchandising division "has the responsibility for buying and selling the merchandise carried" (Tolman, 1921, p. 90). The merchandise manager, assistant merchandise manager, assistant buyer, and salesclerk are organized under this division (in F.C.A. "Echo," March 1906, p. 7; Tolman, 1921, p. 8). In addition, this author has placed head of stock, wrappers, and stock girls under this segment because they have not been specifically identified with a division in the literature.

The merchandise manager supervises both the buying and the selling, and sees that the "goods are bought to the best advantage and sold as quickly as possible" (Davis, 1907, p. 318). It is an administrative position that involves budgeting the department or departments, guiding the buyer(s), and planning the movement of goods (Tolman, 1921, p. 16). The merchandise manager performs varied work and must possess wide knowledge. Tolman (1921, p. 16) considers the merchandise manager "in charge of the most responible office." Some early merchandise managers were also responsible for the store's advertising (Davis, 1907, p. 319). In 1907, Davis (p. 319) reported the salary range for merchandise managers between $15,000 and $50,000 a year.

The assistant merchandise manager was sometimes also known as the "group" merchandise manager (Tolman, 1921, p. 16). The major role of this individual is to assist the merchandise manager in all duties or specially delegated lines. The buyers assist the assistant merchandise manager and "direct their departments under her" (Tolman, 1921, p. 17). The reported salary range for assistant merchandise managers in 1921 were from $3,000 to $15,000 a year (Tolman, 1921, p. 20).

The position of buyer in the department store was considered the most attractive and desirable job for a lady. Women in department stores often felt that being a buyer was one of the most "satisfactory types of work" that was offered (Tolman, 1921, p. 22). A female buyer could use her "traditional skills and a lady's particular knowledge of what other ladies need" (Eisenstein, 1983, p. 85). From the beginning, there were a large number of women employed as buyers for department stores. Filene's and Macy's, along with other large department stores, in 1913 reported women as buyers (Malino, 1982, p. 122). In 1921, 87 large retailers reported that out of a total of 985 buyers, 459 or 46.5% were women (Tolman, 1921, p. 220). A buyer was responsible for the selection and buying of merchandise and selling the goods at retail to achieve a profit for a department. They act (Davis, 1907, p. 318; Sutton, 1920, p. 87; Tolman, 1921, p. 33) as the "head

of the department," with the entire responsibility of the merchandise (Adams, 1897, p. 12). Additionally, they may be responsible for the merchandising and display of their department, managing and setting the salaries of their department's sales force, and advertising, as well as assisting in "general executive work" (Davis, 1907, p. 320; Tolman, 1921, p. 23). As early as the 1890s, buyers often took two annual trips to Europe and sometimes to other countries as well (Adams, 1897, p. 14).

A good buyer was well respected as a "genius of money making" (Adams, 1897, p. 9). They were expected to increase sales every year and keep a clean inventory, stocked with desirable merchandise. Buyers needed a "broad" understanding of goods and people, a bargaining ability, self-confidence, and an ability to handle, analyze, and manipulate figures (Sutton, 1920, p. 88). In general, an independent thinker with executive ability and good business sense made a successful buyer (Eisenstein, 1983, p. 105). Adams (1897, p. 14) refers to the early buyer as a "prophetic soul."

Buyers, in 1897, who worked for the stores earned an annual salary of between $5,000 and $10,000, with some additionally earning a percentage based on the increase of sales over last year. Some of the largest stores were paying up to $30,000 a year (Adams, 1897, p. 19). In the "lower class stores," however, buyers could be paid as

little as $1,300 a year, with no percentage (Adams, 1897, p. 19).

By 1907, the majority of buyers were earning between $5,000 and $10,000 a year, but salaries dropped as low as $2,500 or went up to $35,000 (Davis, 1907, p. 320). The average buyers' yearly salaries in 1913 were between $600 and $2,300 (Malino, 1982, p. 122). In 1920, the reported annual salaries of buyers ranged from around $1,600 to $8,000 (Sutton, 1920, p. 88). These figures indicate that some early buyers made more money than buyers toward the end of the period studied, and even today.

The most successful buyers of 1920, had started in entry level store positions, such as a stock girl or inspector, and worked their way up (Tolman, 1921, p. 25). Ambition, experience, and holding the personal qualifications necessary to advance, were considered major factors related to success as a buyer (Tolman, 1921, p. 25).

An assistant buyer worked directly with the buyer to whom they were assigned. They assist their buyer in all ways toward the goals of the department and after have "extensive duties and powers" (Tolman, 1921, p. 30). Salary ranges in the 1920s (Tolman, 1921, p. 30) were from approximately $1,500 to $5,000 a year.

The head of stock position was hierarchially under the assistant buyer (Davis, 1907, p. 321; Hower, 1943, p. 199). Status-wise, these employees were on par with

the small shop keepers, as they supervised all of the department's goods (Eisenstein, 1983, p. 120). The head of stock in 1897, "arranges the goods" in their places on the shelves, and transfers their order from the floorwalker when he needs them to keep his department fully stocked (Adams, 1897,p. 16). Around the turn of the century, they were making from twenty-five to sixty dollars a week (Davis, 1907, p. 321). Head of stock was responsible for unpacking merchanidse, comparing invoices, making and placing the merchandise in storage until the departments needed it (Badger, 1921, p. 25).

The next level of employees in the merchandising division were the salesclerks (Eisenstein, 1983, p. 120; Hower, 1943, pp. 194-199; Rothman, 1978, p. 53; Tolman, 1921, p. 8). An abundance of literature has been written on the female salesclerk in the department store, as the department store is accredited with hiring women as a major proportion of their sales help. Major sources on the sales girl and saleswomen are mentioned earlier in this section on pages 105 to 108.

By 1897, "the duties of the clerks" were "so well-known" that Adams (1897, p. 15) did not feel it was necessary to explain them in his Scribner's magazine article. The major role of the salesclerk was, however, to wait on customers and attend to stock (Benson, 1978, p. 45; Campbell, 1893, p. 256). Salesclerks in the early

history of the department stores came primarily from the working class and were of English or Irish descent (Rothman, 1978, p. 55). Some retail clerks also came from middle-class families (Cross & Shergold, 1987, p. 41). By 1900, German and Eastern European females were also being hired for sales positions (Rothman, 1978, p. 55).

Many "salesgirls" joined the department store with aspirations to move up in the organization (Eisenstein, 1983, pp. 104-105). "Department-store selling also offered women workers the opportunity to behave like and associate with members of the middle- and upper-classes, albeit in a subordinate position . . . " (Benson, 1983, p. 191). Some women hoped to meet and marry fellow employees or customers (Davis, 1907, p. 322). In general, department store selling offered women an employment opportunity other than the factory, teaching, nursing or as a domestic servant. The department store also offered women the opportunity to work, meet and interact with people from socio-cultural levels of society that they may otherwise not have had the opportunity to.

Ferry (1960, p. 240) states that salesclerks were often chosen for their good looks "in order to appeal to those customers who might like to indulge in a little flirtation while making their purchases." Most of the customers that the early salesclerks waited on, however,

were women (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 69; Leach, 1980, pp. 234-235).

Benson (1983, p. 192) contends that:

> the qualities which managers most desired in saleswomen were exactly those which were the props of nineteenth-century women's culture: adeptness at manipulating people, sympathetic ways of responding to the needs of others, and a familiarity with domestic things--qualities which would enable the saleswoman to convince the woman across the counter to part with her money.

Because of the large number and variety of women employed by the department store, measures were taken to standardize their behavior. Rules and regulations were estabished, along with training to strengthen selling skills and manners in many of the department stores (Adams, 1897, p. 15; Benson, 1983, p. 200). McBride (1978, p. 665) considered the salesperson a part of the stores' presentation," helping to create an atmosphere of service and contributing to the seductiveness of the merchandise."

Department store women's sales hours were long, and beginning pay was low. Until labor laws were passed restricting hours for women, many worked from twelve to fourteen hours a day, six days a week (Ferry, 1960, p. 24). "In the 1870s, salesclerks started with a salary of three to four dollars a week . . ." (Birmingham, 1978, p. 37). By 1897, salespeople were earning between three and fifteen dollars a week (Adams, 1897, p. 15; Benson, 1978, p. 45). At the turn of the century, their pay increased from eight

to ten dollars a week (Birmingham, 1978, p. 34). In 1907, Davis (1907, p. 322) reported that saleswomen earned between six and eighteen dollars a week.

Rothman (1978, p. 53) writes that girls could work their way up into sales after about two years of service with their store, and upon reaching the age of approximately sixteen. Most likely the majority of department store female clerks were young, as they were most frequently referred to as sales girls. By 1920, the term "saleslady" was begun to be used more frequently, so perhaps their age was increasing (Baker, 1964, p. 249).

The stock girl was the entry level employee in the merchandising division (Baker, 1964, p. 248; Campbell, 1893, p. 256; Davis, 1907, p. 321; Hower, 1943, p. 144). Unfortunately, no formal job descriptions have been found on this employee, but it is probable that they helped carry merchandise to the departments, arranged the goods, and ticketed them. It is also quite probable that they worked under the head of stock. Rothman (1978, p. 53) states that they were paid from two to three dollars a week for their work.

Many personal qualities were considered by women in the field and trainers alike, to contribute to the success of women in merchandising. "Clear headedness," "persistence," "tact," "good judgment," "poise," "an ability to get along with people," the "ability to think

impersonally," and an "appreciation of the artistic and beautiful" were some of the qualities that were regarded highly (Tolman, 1921, pp. 19-20). In addition, a capacity for hard work, an ability to manage people, "aggressiveness, initiative and enthusiasm" were other qualities considered important (Tolman, 1921, p. 28). Another most desirable qualification was having a "style sense," and the capability of judging the salability of merchandise (Tolman, 1921, p. 28). Working as a team and recognizing authority, were also considered important qualities (Sutton, 1920, p. 88).

Advantages to merchandising included: opportunities for interesting work, unlimited financial renumeration, advancement opportunities, contact with interesting people, holding responsibility and being in a position of importance and influence, travel, and the opportunity to set standards (Tolman, 1921, p. 29). The only disadvantages to a career in merchandising were the long hours, and that most of the work was conducted indoors (Tolman, 1921, p. 29).

Store Services

The store service division is responsible "for the care of the building and equipment, the administration of personnel, and service to customers" (Tolman, 1921, p. 91). Within this division, is the store superintendent and assistants, the housekeeping department, the building and operations department, the personnel department, and other customer and employee service departments (Tolman,

1921, p. 8). As early as 1897, a store owner was refererd to as the manager (Adams, 1897, p. 12). The following excerpt describes the role of the owner-manager in the late nineteenth century.

> Undoubtedly, the chief outward exponent of the policy of the store is the manager. His interests are bounded by the four walls, the roof, and the earth underneath. Every detail is, or should be, under his grasp, and in matters of discipline his authority is seldom over-ruled or his judgment questioned. He is practically the court of final appeal in all matters pertaining to the management and conduct of the store. Often upon the disposition of the manager depends a store's reputation among the store people. A man who has a reputation for harshness, quick temper, and unfairness will have difficulty in getting first-class men and women behind his counters. (Adams, 1897, p. 12)

The second in command at the early deparment store was the "superintendent." Today, this individual is called the store manager. Tolman (1921, p. 15) explains that the superintendent commands the store's service. This position is varied and complex.

> Supplementary to the duties of the manager are those of the superintendent, who generally has assistants under him. Unlike the manager he is seldom a member of the firm. (Adams, 1897, p. 12)

An annual salary of $5,000 in 1897 for a department store superintendent was considered "good" (Adams, 1897, p. 12). "This [amount] was paid for years to a woman who held that office in one of the largest of New York departments stores" (Adams, 1897, p. 12).

The store superintendent often supervised assistants, who aided them in their many duties. Assistant department store managers could be paid as little as $700 year, which one 22-year-old New York woman received in 1897 (Adams, 1897, p. 12).

Floorwalkers are not placed on the typical department store organizational chart; however, a "floor superintendent" is placed on Filene's 1906 organizational chart (see page 222). Floorwalkers were referred to often in the literature and were also called "ushers," "aisle managers," "floor managers," or "section managers" (Adams, 1897, p. 14; Davis, 1907, p. 322; Hendrickson, 1980, p. 52). These individuals were responsible for supervising the salespeople's deportment, dress standards, all activities and adherence to the store's rules. The floorwalker acted as a "buffer" between the salespeople and the customers (Adams, 1897, p. 14). The early floorwalker walked around the store supervising the activity and also directed customers to the departments and merchandise that they were interested in. "They were to represent the proprietor on the selling floor, greet customers, assure that they were well served, and enforce rules evenhandedly in the face of departmental claims (Benson, 1986, p. 17). Adams (1897, p. 14) wrote that the public viewed the early floorwalker as "nothing more than a politely convenient living directory." The

floorwalker made between fifteen and forty dollars a week in 1897 (Adams, 1897, p. 14). After the turn of the century, the floorwalker became involved with supervising salespeople, and servicing the customers (Benson, 1986, p. 60).

Personnel

"The close relation of all the functions under the general heading of Personnel has caused different stores to assign different duties to their workers in the several departments of this broad division of department store work" (Tolman, 1921, p. 53). In a survey of 49 educational directors and assistants, conducted in 1921, six were doing employment work along with their education work. Employment managers were often also involved with educational work (Tolman, 1921, p. 68). By 1921, the personnel department was more clearly broken down into several major areas: employment, education, and employee services (Bitner, 1927, p. 6; Tolman, 1921, p. 8).

Around 1890, department stores began assuming an active role in employee welfare activities (Benson, 1978, p. 44). A welfare department and director, or manager, were established in major stores to direct and coordinate the activities of employees and establish services to help improve the conditions of employees. Filene's had employed the first professional "welfare secretary" by 1897, "to help manage its work force and coordinate the activities

of the many employee clubs and services the company had already established" (Carter & Carter, 1985, p. 588). In some stores, the "social secretary assumed the responsibilities of the welfare manager" (Davis, 1907, p. 333).

Carter and Carter (1985, p. 588) state that employee-welfare policies created a "paternalistic ambience" in the stores. Often, the welfare manager was called "mother" by fellow employees. She was involved in many activities and oversaw the store's employee services.

> Certainly it is more descriptive of her infinite activities. None in the great beehive is busier than she, none more beloved. She is everywhere preaching the gospel of clean living and cheerfulness. She mothers the whole establishment. (Davis, 1907, p. 333)

The services that this department provided often included: a hospital or clinic, with doctors, dentists, and nurses; a mutual benefit plan for insurance; rest and recreation rooms; a library; a gymnasium; restaurant; and a house organ (Tolman, 1921, p. 72).

"Welfare work" was the term used for the services department in the early years of the department store, however, it held an "implication of patronage" which went out of favor in the nineteen twenties (Tolman, 1921, p. 72). "By the twenties, the welfare departments were being transformed into personnel departments which took over the old programs and combined them with the newest

techniques of employee recruiting, testing, and training" (Benson, 198, p. 44; Bitner, 1927, p. 6).

The personnel director supervises the department responsible for employment, education and employee services. Many merchants felt, in the early part of the century, that "women are especially fitted to fill" personnel positions (Tolman, 1921, p. 53). Perhaps their educational training, accepted work as teachers, and socio-cultural role contributed to the acceptance of women for high level positions in personnel.

The educational director, a new position in 1920, was a member of the personnel department, and supervised all training and education in the department store (Cannon, 1920, p. 367; Tolman, 1921, p. 67). "She represents neither the merchandising nor the service nor the accounting of the store, but is concerned with the human element in all three departments" (Kennard, 1918, p. 189).

> The most delicate but most far-reaching function of the educational director is the task of interpreting the point of view of the management to the employees, and in turn making their position clear to the employer. This is not supposed to be included in her work, but it naturally develops out of it, and among other questions there are many involving the ethics of business which cannot be escaped. (Kennard, 1918, p. 183)

The educational director was commonly referred to as a woman in the literature. She was "sometimes a young woman, fresh from college" or a previous teacher (Badger, 1921;

Kennard, 1918, p. 4). "She should be recognized as the most valuable assistant to the general manager" (Kennard, 1918, p. 189). "This position is usually given to a woman, although sometimes a man is placed at the head of the department with one or more women assistants" (Kennard, 1918, p. 4). Kennard (1918, p. 156) states that there are a number of reasons for giving the work of educational director to women, however, she feels that the primary one is that most salespeople are women and young girls.

"A well-organized educational department is gaining recognition as an indispensible means of ensuring the efficiency of the employees of large stores" (Kennard, 1918, p. 99). The education department must supply motives to increase the efficiency of the store's employees, and these should include the provision of earned increases and promotion (Kennard, 1918, p. 99). Often the educational director originates new methods in the personnel and merchandising departments, and "she is sometimes the director of service for employers" (Tolman, 1921, p. 67). Kennard (1918, pp. 11-12) likened the educational director to the "dean of women in a college," who "must provide the environment in which girls can do their best work and the plan with which they are to cooperate." The difference between a teacher and an educational director is "profitability" according to Kennard (1918, p. 11). Kennard (1918, p. 1) also distinguishes the role of the educational

director from the "welfare secretary" or "store mother," as one who "cannot spend her time on details," but must look at the large picture. Beginning educational directors in 1920 made between $1,200 and $2,000 a year, and more experienced directors made from $4,000 to $5,000 a year (Cannon, 1920, p. 369).

Because of the varied and multiple work load assigned to the educational director, personnel director or welfare manager, assistants were often necessary. Long hours, and short vacations were disadvantages to this type of department store work, according to Cannon (1920, p. 369).

Two important and highly visible areas of work in early department store employee services were the clubs and store organs. The responsibilities for these two service, however, varied from store to store. They were usually directed by a department head in the personnel area, such as the educational director, training director, or welfare manager.

The clubs gave employees an opportunity for comradery and leisure activities. The department store offered "so much social life with its beneficial aids, socials, choral clubs, and store functions" by the early part of the twentieth century, that the clubs for girls and women offered outside of the store, such as the Y.W.C.A., had a hard time competing (Hogue, 1913, p. 122).

The store paper or "organ" was a communicative tool, often directed by the employees themselves, that relayed important store, environmental and personal news. Kennard (1918, p. 139) advocated the usage of a "store organ" as indispensible to large stores. "The difficulty in assembling large numbers of employees at any one time during business hours, and the varied interests of the different departments, make such a medium for the interchange of news and opinions necessary."

Business and/or professional experience, as well as an academic background in the particular department directing, were considered essential fo advanced positions in the service division (Cannon, 1920, p. 369; Tolman, 1921, p. 112). College offered a "broad foundation" and was recommended for women who aspired to managment positions in this division of department store work. For success in the personnel and educational areas, a "well-balanced" individual, who is "just in character," "free from jealousy," and holds "high standards" is recommended (Tolman, 1921, p. 12). According to Bernice Cannon (1920, p. 369), patience, a willingness "to work steadily and thoroughly" and having "a teaching instinct" are qualities necessary for an educational director to be successful. In addition, background and training which has provided a "social vision" are considered assets leading to success (Tolman, 1921, p. 189).

Accounting

The accounting division directs the "collections, credits, accounts and audits," handling all of the store's finances (Tolman, 1921, p. 92). In 1921, "very few stores" had "advanced women to executive positions" in accounting (Tolman, 1921, p. 82). This division holds a controller, credit manager, head auditor, head bookkeeper, cashiers, clericals, assistants and cash girls and boys.

The controller is the head of the accounting division, responsible for the administration of the finances of the store (Tolman, 1921, p. 82). The credit manager works under the controller and is responsible for credit transactions. The auditing department, headed by the head auditor or audit manager, balances charge, cash and mail order stubs and tickets, attends to all related ledgers, and other accounting duties. This department may also control the employee payroll (Tolman, 1921, pp. 83-84. The bookkeeping department, headed by the head bookkeeper, is responsible for recording all of the store's financial transactions.

The cashiers' department is "the pool into which all rivulets of coin in the place empty" (Adams, 1897, p. 16). In the early stores, this department was often housed in the basement (Adams, 1897, p. 16). The head cashier of Macy's, a woman in 1907 who had advanced from a cash girl, received a salary of $6,000 a year (Davis, 1907, p. 322).

In 1921, the majority of department store cashiers were women (Badger, 1921, p. 61). Traits that led to success as a cashier were described as a capacity for details and accuracy, a quick mind, and a quiet disposition (Badger, 1921, p. 61).

The cash girl aided the salesclerk by carrying the customer's money to the cashier and returning with the change (Baker, 1964, p. 148; Hendrickson, 1980, p. 54). These children were usually between ten and fourteen years of age, and almost always came from "poor homes" (Hendrickson, 1980, p. 54; Rothman, 1978 p. 53). They were often on their feet all day, and kept "exhaustive hours," yet they were the lowest paid department store employees, making about a dollar and a half a week (Birmingham, 1978, p. 37; Campbell, 1893, p. 256; Hendrickson, 1980, p. 54).

In addition to carrying cash, they often did odd jobs (Hendrickson, 1980, p. 54). Many aspired to become salesclerks, and often the salesclerk began as a cash girl (Campbell, 1893, p. 256). She "had to be well built, usually tall for her age, and quick to learn" for rapid advancement (Baker, 1964, p. 248). The cash girl became extinct in the stores with the use of the pneumatic tube, which John Wanamaker is attributed with introducing in the department store in 1880 (Hendrickson, 1980, p. 56).

In 1921, a clerical in accounting made from thirty to forty dollars a week. A bookkeeper's assistant, at the same time, made about twenty to twenty-five dollars a week. A female head bookkeeper was paid $4,000 a year during the same year (Tolman, 1921, pp. 83-84).

To reach management positions in the accounting division, "executive ability and a knack of managing people are essential," "as well as ease in handling figures and enjoyment of detailed work" (Tolman, 1921, p. 83).

Advertising

The advertising division "carries the largest responsibility of attracting custom(ers) to the store; its work is suggested by and carried on in support of the merchandise section" (Tolman, 1921, p. 90). Advertising in 1907 was "the largest single item of expense of a department store, apart from the money spent for goods" (Davis, 1907, p. 319).

The advertising manager or director is responsible for: buying advertising space, planning, assigning and supervising all copy, display, and all other executive work related to advertising and promotion (Tolman, 1921, p. 39). The manager may have assistants, copy writers, clerks, artists, and display personnel to supervise (Tolman, 1921, pp. 42-49). The advertising manager's "chief business" in 1907, according to Davis (1907, p. 319), was "to make sure that every five cents spent on advertising

shall bring in a dollar's worth of business." The early merchandise manager was also responsible for advertising (Davis, 1907, p. 319).

Success in advertising is dependent on initiative, imagination and hard work (Tolman, 1921, p. 49). In 1921, an advertising manager for the large stores annually made between $6,000 and $15,000; an assistant made approximately $1,300 to $2,600; copywriters made between $1,300 to $3,900; and artists from about $1,000 to $2,600. Clerical help in advertising were the lowest paid, earning between $800 to $1,300 per year (Tolman, 1921, pp. 42-49).

Department Store Managerial Women

With the rise and development of the department store came opportunities in management that were never before available for women. Lincoln Filene (1924, p. 11) considered the department store a source of energy that must be able to renew itself internally. He also felt strongly that the business "must generate its own leadership, preferably from its own ordinary rank," as with promotion from within. Benson (1986, p. 3) states that a new "managerial culture" arose as a result of the department store environment. With the high number of women hired came a need (perhaps in the minds of the male owners) for female supervisors and managers to train and develop the working class women.

Research on Women in Management

Today, women in management are getting more attention as their ranks increase. There is still, however, a limited amount of research undertaken on female department store management. Women's managerial status in the department store has been researched in three studies from 1949 to 1984. Gerstenberg and Ellsworth (1949), Gillespie (1977-1978), and Gable, Gillespie and Topal (1984) all surveyed the managerial positions that women held in department stores in relationship to men. Identification of the job titles and number of individuals holding the positions was determined. During the 36 year time period they studied, there was an increase in the number of women holding total managerial positions; however, there were still totally more men than women holding the highest positions.

Other studies, previously discussed in the "Women in Management" segment, have also included women in department store management (see pages 56-61). Many of these studies did not designate the type of business for individual women, so that those in department store management cannot be identified as a separate group.

Research has identified a small amount of work on the managerial women in American department stores during the period from 1870 to 1920. Only two biographies, and no autobiographies, on women department store leaders has

been found. Curtis Johnson (1965) wrote America's First Lady Boss on Margaret Getchell LaForge of Macy's; and Corwin (1977) wrote about the Boston Store's owner, "Molly Netcher Newburg: The Merchant Princess."

Benson's (1986) book, Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, reveals three managerial women: Belle Cushman, Margaret Getchell, and Diane Hirschler. In his historic retail epic Merchant Princes, Leon Harris (1979) acknowledges one managerial woman, Mary Ann Magnin of I. Magnin. Robert Hendrickson's (1980) identified one woman in The Grand Emporiums, Margaret Getchell LaForge, who held a leadership role during the time period researched. He also notes others who gained managerial status later, or were associated with other retail establishments than the department store. Malino (1982) mentions ten managerial women in her dissertation: Matilda Croissant, Margaret Fitzgerald, Mrs. Foster, Margaret Getchell LaForge, Abigail Golden, Diane Hirschler, Miss Kane, Sadie Levy, Isabelle Nye, and Mrs. Keiser. Ralph Hower (1943) wrote of Margaret Getchell LaForge, Martha Toye, Belle Cushman, Marie Bowyer, and Cora Crossman.

The literature on department stores has disclosed a total of 18 women who held leadership roles in six early U.S. departme.t stores during the time studied. The identified women by store are listed in Table 4.

Table 4

Title

Macy's - New York	Filene's - Boston
Marie (Lottie) Bowyer	Matilda Croissant
Cora Crossman	Margaret Fitzgerald
Bella Cushman	Estella Hand
Margaret Getchell LaForge	Diana Hirschler
Abigail Golden	Miss Kane
Diane Hirschler	"Mother" Keiser
Martha Toye	Sadie Levy
Siegel-Cooper - New York	**J. Barnaby - Boston**
Isabella Nye	Estella Hand
Baily Co. - Cleveland	**Boston Store - Chicago**
Mrs. Foster	Molly Netcher Newbury

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Working Hypothesis

The socio-cultural factors at both the macro and micro environmental levels contributed to the role of the department store managerial woman. Answers will be sought to the following questions regarding the macro and micro environmental levels.

Macro Environment

- What environmental factors attracted the managerial woman to the department store?
- What were the socio-cultural factors that led to women holding managerial department store positions?
- Did the department store managerial women's occupations parallel traditional socio-cultural female roles?

Micro Environment

- Did the women rise in employment status through the department store(s) ranks and did they hold previous positions of leadership?

- What were the managerial women's contributions, job positions, and roles?
- Were the traits held by the women considered to be contributory to their success?
- Who were the managerial women and what department stores did they work for?
- What background characteristics, physical and psychological traits, and skills did the female managers hold?

Sample

Twenty-five managerial women, identified through the literature search and field research, will be the sample in this study. They worked for Macy's, New York and Filene's, Boston. One of the individuals, Diana Hirschler, worked for both stores. Because they constitute the majority of the managerial women located, and New York City and Boston were two of the principal East Coast retailing centers from 1870 through the 1920s, these are the focus of this research.

A listing of the women and their affiliated stores is given in Table 5.

Data Collection

The traditional method of historic documentary research was employed to support the role of managerial women in the rise and development of the department store. The

Table 5

Sample

Macy's	Filene's
Marie (Lottie) Bowyer	Anna Bennett
Cora Crossman	Edith Brownlee
Bella Cushman	Matilda Croissant
Margaret Getchell LaForge	Bernice Cannon
Abigail (Abbie) Golden	Margaret Fitzgerald
Diana Hirschler	Eleanor Good
Estelle Hamburger	Estella Hand
Lena Robeneau	Diana Hirschler
Martha Toye	Mildred Ivy
Ada Winship	F. M. Keiser
	Margaret Jackson
	M. A. Jantzen
	Lilian Kane
	L. P. Minshall
	M. C. Sweeney

following primary and secondary resources were examined: official government records, department store archives, business school records, city directories, trade magazines, books, articles, and interviews with any appropriate and relevant people. A listing of the primary and secondary evidence sought is presented in Table 6.

Appointments were made to visit and work in libraries and archives in New York City and Boston during June 1989, in order to locate primary and secondary evidence for this study. These contacts included schools and universities, social organizations, public institutions, and private businesses. (See Appendix A for a sample letter.)

Inquiries were made to schools and universities that had sales and retailing studies and taught women during the time period researched. In Massachusetts, the Prince School of Simmons College, Boston University, The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Radcliffe College, and Smith College were contacted. New York University and the Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh were also contacted. Only the Prince School had any information on the women in this study.

Other New York institutions researched were: The New York Public Library, The Hunter College School for Social Work Library, The Fashion Institute of Technology Library, Sarah Lawrence College, The Brooklyn Public Library, The Brooklyn Historical Society, The Young Women's

Table 6

Primary and Secondary Evidence Sought

Source	Data
Primary	
Stores: Employee Records Performance Reviews Job Descriptions Company Newspapers Reports Memorandums Financial Records Organizational Information	Company and Employee Information: Position(s) Held and Tenure Income (Wages) and Benefits Personality Traits Performance/Skills (strengths/weaknesses) Work Performed Company History Company Size Chain of Command (subordinates, superiors)
Museums, Libraries, Historical Societies, and Personal Records: Taxes Real Estate Records Family Records Personal Records Diaries Letters Newspapers Magazines Pamphlets Serials Manuscripts Books Photographs U.S. Senate Reports Union Reports Women's Bureau Reports Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census Department of Labor	Demographic: Financial Status Residences Ancestry and Family History Physical Traits Race Religion Marital Status Children Education Occupational History Birth and Death Dates
	Psychographics: Outside Interests Associations/Clubs Values, Beliefs, and Attitudes Lifestyle

Table 6 (continued)

Source	Data
	Women and Work: Status of Women Retail Management Women Women and Work
	Environmental Data: Cities (New York and Boston)
Interviews:	Friends Relatives Store Employees
Secondary	
Books Articles	Supporting Evidence: Department Stores Organizations Management Women in Department Store Management Progressive and Reconstruction Period History Cities

Christian Association (YWCA), The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The New York University, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, Columbia University, Museum of the City of New York, The New York Historical Society, The New York Society Library, Sarah Lawrence College, and the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

Additional institutions in Boston and Massachusetts contacted were The Massachusetts Historical Society, The Boston Public Library, and the Baker Library at Harvard University.

Bibliographic information on the women researched in this study was sought through major reference sources. A complete alphabetized listing of these references may be found in Appendix A.

The majority of the evidence collected was found in the New York and Boston Public Libraries, the Baker Library at Harvard, and Macy's and Filene's store archives. Primary data were located in period books on New York and Boston, Macy's and Filene's handbooks, promotional brochures, in-house histories and organs, transcribed interviews, period newspaper articles, college and school archives, diaries, notebooks, speeches, letters, and photographs. Additional primary evidence came from public records and city directories. Supporting evidence came from secondary sources, such as books and articles on department stores,

organizations, management and the period of history examined.

Unfortunately, store employment and personnel records no longer exist that date back to the years covered in this study. Also, requests were made to the New York City and Boston public records divisions for birth, death, and marriage information. The disclosure of this information was denied, as the researcher was not the next of kin.

Trow's New York City Directory from 1870 to 1915 (excluding 1880-1881) and the Boston City Directories from 1870 to 1905 (excluding 1886-1901) were also searched for entries on the women in this study. The Trow's Directories were unobtainable from 1916 to 1920, and the Boston City Directories from 1906-1920 were also unobtainable. These records were searched as a means of determining residential ward for census information. Unfortunately, they did not reveal much evidence on the women in the study. Listings were irregular and sporatic, and therefore, unusable for further census data searching. Practically all of the women listed in the 1870 to 1900 Trow's were widows. Only after the turn of the century did some single women begin listing themselves with occupations. Those that did, and some may have been women in this research, are discussed under the Macy's presentation of results by individual managerial women.

The Boston Directories primarily listed widows and married women in the early years searched. Again, after the turn of the century only a small amount of women who were not widows or married were listed. Those that could be matched with the women considered in this study are presented in the Filene's discussion on results by individual managerial women.

Analysis

Qualitative analysis was done on the primary and secondary data. Interpretation of the data resulted in a synthesis of the women studied and their individual and collective roles at the department stores researched. The socio-cultural factors were examined at all environmental levels for an open-systems perspective. The individual, group, and organization, at the internal (micro) level were analyzed, and at the external (macro) level the cities, cultural, political, technological and economic factors were analyzed.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Much has been written on Macy's and Filene's, therefore, this researcher has focused only on information that is directly related to the role of the managerial women in the stores. Hower (1943) and Hungerford (1922) and Zola (1976) have written books on the history of R. H. Macy Company that present thorough accounts of the history and development of the store and its founders. LaDame (1930) and A. L. Filene (1924) have published complete chronicles on the history and philosophy of Wm. Filene and Sons. Other historians that have detailed information on these two great stores are: Birmingham (1978), Ferry (1960), Harris (1979), Hendrickson (1980), Holmes (1972), Mayfield (1949), and Mahoney and Sloan (1966).

The primary and secondary data sought and found in this study is presented in Table 7. The majority of the information desired was obtained. The individual financial status, ancestry and family history, religion, education, birth and death dates; however, were not available for

Table 7

Primary and Secondary Data Sought and Found

Data Sought	Data Found
Primary	
Company and Employee Information:	
Position(s) Held and Tenure	*
Income (Wages and Benefits)	general ranges for positions
Personality Traits	some
Performance/Skills (strengths and weaknesses)	some
Work Performed	*
Company History	*
Company Size	*
Chain of Command (subordinates, superiors)	*
Demographic:	
Financial Status	
Residences	some
Ancestry and Family History	little
Physical Traits	*
Race	*
Religion	
Marital Status	some
Children	*
Education	some
Occupational History	*
Birth and Death Dates	
Psychographics:	
Outside Interests	little
Associations/Clubs	
Values, Beliefs, and Attitudes	some
Lifestyle	some
Women and Work:	
Status of Women	*
Retail Management Women	*
Women and Work	*
Environmental Data:	
Cities (New York and Boston)	*

Table 7 (continued)

Data Sought	Data Found
Friends	some
Relatives	some
Store Employees	*
Secondary	
Supporting Evidence:	
Department Stores	*
Organizations	*
Management	*
Women in Department Store Management	*
Progressive and Reconstruction Period History	*

*Majority of information found

many of the women researched. The data found are presented in this chapter by store.

This section concentrates on the socio-cultural aspects of the department stores and their organizational culture. Major store contributions that influenced the micro and macro socio-cultural environments are discussed. Specifically, store customer and employee services, and the individual and collective profiles of the managerial women are presented. In addition, the identified managerial women and their store contributions and roles are examined.

The information contained in this chapter clearly reveals that the majority of the 26 women included in this research worked their way up in Macy's and Filene's department store organizations. They also played major roles in the founding and development of the department store as the retail phenomena that we are familiar with today.

Macy's

A short summary of the history of Macy's helps to explain the store's philosophy and the people who created and built it. Macy's had many policies, procedures, and systems that made it unique in department store history, and these will also be covered in this section.

Rowland Hussey (R. H.) Macy was born one of six children in 1822, on Nantucket Island, Massachusetts, of

Quaker ancestry (Hower, 1943, pp. 5-6). He came from a merchant whaling family and went to sea himself at the early age of 15 (Hower, 1943, p. 7; Reilly, 1966, p. 143). In 1841, he returned to Nantucket for a few years, then traveled to Boston to try his hand in retailing (Reilly, 1966, p. 143). From 1844 to 1848, he opened and closed two different stores and went to work for his brother-in-law.

During this time, he married Louisa Houghton in 1844 and had a son, Rowland Jr., in 1847 (Birmingham, 1978, p. 241; Hower, 1943, p. 11). Reference was made by Hower (1943, p. 1943) to a daughter, Florence, who got married. No mention of her in the literature by others was found, except Abigail Golden, (1922, p. 26).

Mrs. Macy must not have been included in R. H. Macy's business life, as few writers have mentioned her other than the date of her marriage to R. H., and that she was the sister of one of Macy's early business partners, George W. Houghton (Hower, 1943, p. 11). Rowland Jr. and his father never got along well. Over the years, Rowland Jr. did many things (such as drink excessively) that disturbed and displeased R. H., so that he never could trust him (Golden, 1922, p. 4; Hower, 1943, p. 123).

The spirit of adventure must have overtaken R. H. again; in 1849 he left his family and he and his brother Charles went to California in search of gold (Hower, 1943,

p. 12; Reilly, 1966, p. 143). The brothers formed a partnership with several others in 1850 and opened "Macy and Company" in Marysville, California (Hower, 1943, p. 12; Reilly, 1966, p. 143). Unfortunately, the business closed after two months, and by 1851, R. H. had returned to the east coast and opened a store with another brother, Robert, in Haverhill, Massachusetts (Hower, 1943, p. 16; Reilly, 1966, p. 143). This venture lasted until 1855, when Macy then traveled to Wisconsin and worked as a "broker" (Hower, 1943, p. 32; Reilly, 1966, pp. 143-144). By 1858 (at the age of 36), he had returned east, rejoined his family, and finally settled in New York City (Hower, 1943, p. 37).

Rowland Hussey Macy opened a small fancy dry goods store for women at 204-206 Sixth Avenue in New York City on Wednesday, October 27, 1858 (Macy's publicity, p. 1). R. H. Macy expanded his store in 1866, adding a store on 66 West 14th Street. Twelve departments were housed in the store by 1869 (Reilly, 1966, p. 143). In 1872, Macy's consisted of four buildings, four stories high, on Sixth Avenue, and Thirteenth and Fourteenth Streets (Macy's publicity, p. 1). This is the same year that Rowland H. took a partner, Abiel T. LaForge, into the store (Macy & LaForge, 1872, p. 1). Abiel had taken a position as lace buyer for Macy's in 1869 (Hower, 1943, p. 125). An officer in the U.S. army during the Civil War, Abiel had befriended and helped Rowland Junior out of trouble, during

the time Macy's son had served under him (Hower, 1943, pp. 124-125; LaForge, 1864).

From this time until 1877, Macy's was acquired and Macy's by 1877 occupied a total of eleven stores (Macy's publicity, p. 1). By this date, Macy's had 22 departments and claimed to have "become a department store carrying completely stocked departments of drugs, toilet goods, china and glassware, silver, house furnishings, sporting goods, luggage, toys, musical instruments, and even books" (Macy's publicity, p. 1; Reilly, 1966, p. 143). Macy's was now one of the largest retailers in New York City (Reilly, 1966, p. 143).

R. H. Macy and LaForge became good friends and their partnership continued until 1877 when R. H. died in Paris on a merchandise buying trip at the age of 54 (Reilly, 1966, p. 145). Unfortunately, LaForge also passed away in 1878, but by that date Macy and LaForge had taken a third partner, Robert Macy Valentine (Hower, 1943, p. 128). Valentine was R. H. Macy's nephew.

Two years after LaForge's death, Valentine went into partnership with Charles B. Webster, who had been a floorwalker at the store since 1876 (Hower, 1943, p. 158). Tragedy struck again in 1879, when Valentine died (Hower, 1943, p. 159). At this point (1879), Webster went into partnership with Valentine's brother-in-law, Jerome B. Wheeler (Hower, 1943, p. 159). Their "strained" and "tense"

partnership lasted until 1887. Wheeler then left the company due to an error in his judgment, and a falling out between the two (Golden, 1922, pp. 45-47; Hower, 1943, p. 159). Webster then formed a partnership with Isidor and Nathan Straus, which lasted until he sold out to the Strauses (Hendrickson, 1980, p. 65).

Isidor and Nathan Straus had opened a leased china and glassware department in the store's basement in 1874 which became "the most profitable department in the store" (Reilly, 1966, p. 145). Webster had felt the men had "ability," and he had worked "well with them" since they had joined the store (Hower, 1943, p. 213). Additionally, they had capital to invest in the growing company. The Straus brothers owned and ran Macy's as a team until 1912. Hower (1943), p. 213) says that "a new era in Macy's history" began with the Strauses.

According to Abigail Golden (1922, p. 27), Nathan Straus was a generous man who helped the Macy's employees whenever he could. He was never known "to go back on a friend or to forget a good turn" (Golden, 1922, p. 55). Nathan Straus threatened to give up his china business in the store once, according to Golden (1922, p. 41), because of the ill treatment of a scrub woman by a superintendent.

Nathan's charity went beyond the confines of the store and New York City. When a large earthquake shook Italy,

he sent a chartered ship filled with supplies (Golden, 1922, p. 58). Another time, he was responsible for beginning a filtering plant for clear water in Cuba (Golden, 1922, p. 58). In 1894, during the hard New York winter, Nathan rented vacant stores and set them up as shelters for the poor (Golden, 1922, p. 58).

An employee who worked under Isidor Straus said he was "a holy man . . . a saint on earth" who was always willing to help anyone (Golden, 1922, pp. 48-49). When he came to work for the company he was said to have "stopped everything that in any way oppressed his employees" (Golden, 1922, p. 48). He was also described as "patient" and "an easy boss" (Golden, 1922, p. 48).

Isidor would pay for the store girls' board in the country during the summers (Golden, 1922, p. 65). Mrs. Isidor Straus, on her birthdays or anniversaries, would treat the younger female employees to a Hudson River cruise or trip to the circus (Golden, 1922, p. 65).

The Strauses helped financially care for active and retired employees and their families in need (Golden, 1922, pp. 48-59). They also believed in the fair treatment of all employees, from scrub women and delivery men to superintendents. Both Nathan and Isidor were active in politics. Nathan was involved in local government, and Isidor in national politics (Hower, 1943, p. 298). Nathan was even offered the Democratic nomination for New York

City mayor, which he refused. Isidor was against protectionism and filled an unexpired term in the 1894 Congress. The two brothers were quite different, but worked well together as a team. Isidor was more of the idea man, while Nathan was instrumental in carrying out the ideas (Hower, 1943, p. 298).

Isidor and his wife Ida died with the sinking of the Titanic (1912) on their return from a buying trip to Paris (Harris, 1979, p. 47; Hendrickson, 1980, p. 65). At the time of Isidor's death, he and Nathan had equal partnership in the company. After Isidor's death, Nathan sold his interest to Isidor's sons, Jesse, Percy and Herbert, and they "ruled as a triumvirate" into the 1930s (Harris, 1979, p. 50). Macy's was incorporated as R. H. Macy and Co. in 1919, and public stock was offered in 1922 (Macy's publicity, p. 2). In the 1920s, Percy Straus helped establish and support the New York University School of Retailing (Hower, 1943, p. 153). This school "focused on training retail teachers and combined classroom work with field work in stores." Since then, Macy's has had five ruling generations of Strauses, followed by other ownership from that point onward.

Macy's was not physically like the other extravagant department stores of the time that had fountains, magnificent domes and exquisite, palatial interic.s (Mahoney & Sloan, 1966, p. 157; see Appendix B for some

early interior pictures). Technologically the store was advanced, since electric lights replaced oil lamps in the 1870s, and a state of the art ventilation system and telephones were being used by the store in the 1880s (Hower, 1943, pp. 165, 283). An addition in 1890 enlarged the store, that by then had over 30 departments and in 1891, six stories were added to the structure (Hower, 1943, p. 284).

Macy's "Herald Square" store was opened on November 8, 1902 (Macy's publicity, p. 2). It was nine stories high, and contained a basement and sub-basement covering a half of a block between Broadway and Seventh Avenues, and 34th and 35th Streets (Hower, 1943, p. 146). There were 33 elevators, four escalators, and a pneumatic tube system (Macy's publicity, p. 2). This store, however, was ten blocks north of the "fashionable shopping district" at the time (Hower, 1943, p. 43; Nevins, 1948, p. 148). Despite this, Macy's grew and prospered. The close proximity of the railroads and subway stops made shopping at Macy's convenient (Hower, 1943, pp. 317-318; Macy's publicity, p. 2). Macy's was "the largest store under one roof in 1907, with twenty-six acres of floor space" (Davis, 1907, p. 322). Two more stories were added in 1910, and more additions in the twenties and thirties increased the size of the store to a full block, with the exception of two small corner sites (Macy's publicity,

p. 2; Reilly, 1966, p. 146). The three New York City Macy's stores (from 1858 to 1919) are depicted on the cover of the first issue of "Sparks" (January 1919) in Figure 8.

Fundamental principles of Macy's included buying and selling for cash, and underselling competitors (Hower, 1943, p. 4). The organization traded in cash even after most department stores granted credit. They did not change their policy until the 1930s (Hower, 1943, pp. 281-228). Accepting only cash helped keep the store's retail prices down, and they were able to guarantee merchandise at "six percent less than the stores that granted credit" (Mahoney & Sloan, 1966, pp. 162-163). As other department stores of the time did, Macy's sold merchandise on a one-price fixed policy (Hendrickson, 1980, p. 28). Hower (1943, p. 50) states that Macy's did not invent "selling for less," but made it a standard store policy. The use of vigorous advertising was also a Macy's concept (Hower, 1943, p. 24). Another policy that Macy's stressed was guaranteed customer satisfaction (Hower, 1943, p. 282).

Macy's is credited with being the first retailer to use private-label. In 1860, R. H. Macy introduced "private-label hoopskirts" (Reilly, 1966, p. 144). Odd-pricing (e.g., $18.69, $2.24) is another merchandising technique attributed to Macy's ingenuity (Hower, 1943, pp. 52, 224; Leach, 1980, p. 228). The comparison shopping department also began at Macy's (Mahoney & Sloan, 1966,

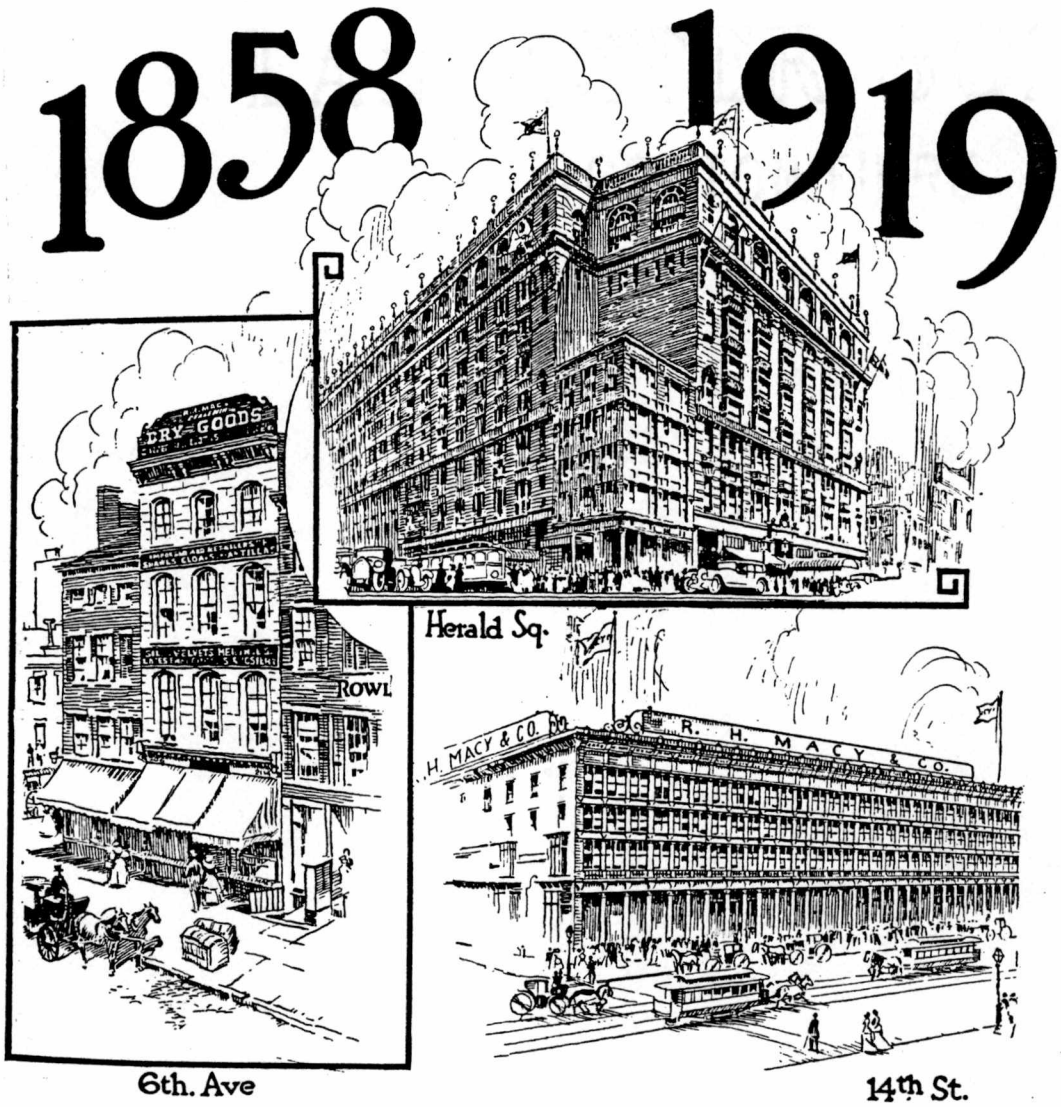


Figure 8. Macy's Stores from 1858 to 1919

p. 162). It was established to ensure that Macy's prices were "kept below those of rival firms," and, by 1917, it also monitored the service and stock at Macy's (Hower, 1943, p. 373). The first use in a store of the telephone, window displays, and lighted windows occurred at Macy's, according to Leach (1980, p. 228).

From the onset, Macy's strove to reach the new, emerging middle class (Mahoney & Sloan, 1966, p. 156). They continuously widened their merchandise assortment as a way to increase sales (Hower, 1943, p. 234). Sales were also regularly held at Macy's to clear out old stock and make room for new (Hower, 1943, p. 52). Mahoney and Sloan (1966, pp. 157-158) believed that the Quaker ideals of simplicity and fairness were incorporated into Macy's business philosophy. Perhaps these ideals, blended with the aggressive merchandising techniques that Macy's used, both contributed to the success of the store.

As early as 1871, Macy's was using a functional division of labor according to Hower (1943, pp. 126, 192). "The store superintendent served as Macy's assistant and substitute in the direction of operations handling customers' complaints, hiring employees, maintaining store discipline and the like" (Hower, 1943, p. 115). Each department was headed by a buyer, and floorwalkers directed customers, supervised the clerks and helped the owners with other duties. There were also clerks, cash girls,

cashiers, parcel clerks (or wrappers), receiving room clerks, porters, milliners and seamstresses, deliverers, a watchman, a carpenter, an artist, bookkeepers, and scrubwomen (Hower, 1943, p. 15). "By 1873, if not earlier . . . a number of functional activities were handled by separate divisions, controlled by Macy and the superintendent . . ." (Hower, 1943, p. 117).

From the 1870s onward, men and women at Macy's worked side by side and were often employed in the same positions. Leach (1980, p. 228) states that Macy's was the first store to employ more women than men. Malino (1982, p. 120) found that from 1869 to 1873, "women managers earned wages comparable to those of men." Until 1887, all store superintendents were women at Macy's (Hower, pp. 65-66). At the turn of the century, there were five female buyers at Macy's. By 1918, 25 of the total 59 buyers (42%) were women (Malino, 1982, p. 122).

The earliest organizational chart found was dated 1922. It was redrawn from a Macy's chart by Hower (1943, p. 371) and shows primarily the same structure that Macy's had in 1919. A copy of this chart is found in Figure 9. The four major divisions are: Merchandise, Management, Finance, and Publicity. An "Advisory Council on Mdse." and an "Advisory Board on Mgmt." is shown on the same level as the four divisions and i shown to have a direct interactive role.

CHART II. ORGANIZATION CHART, 1922
The organization was substantially the same in 1919

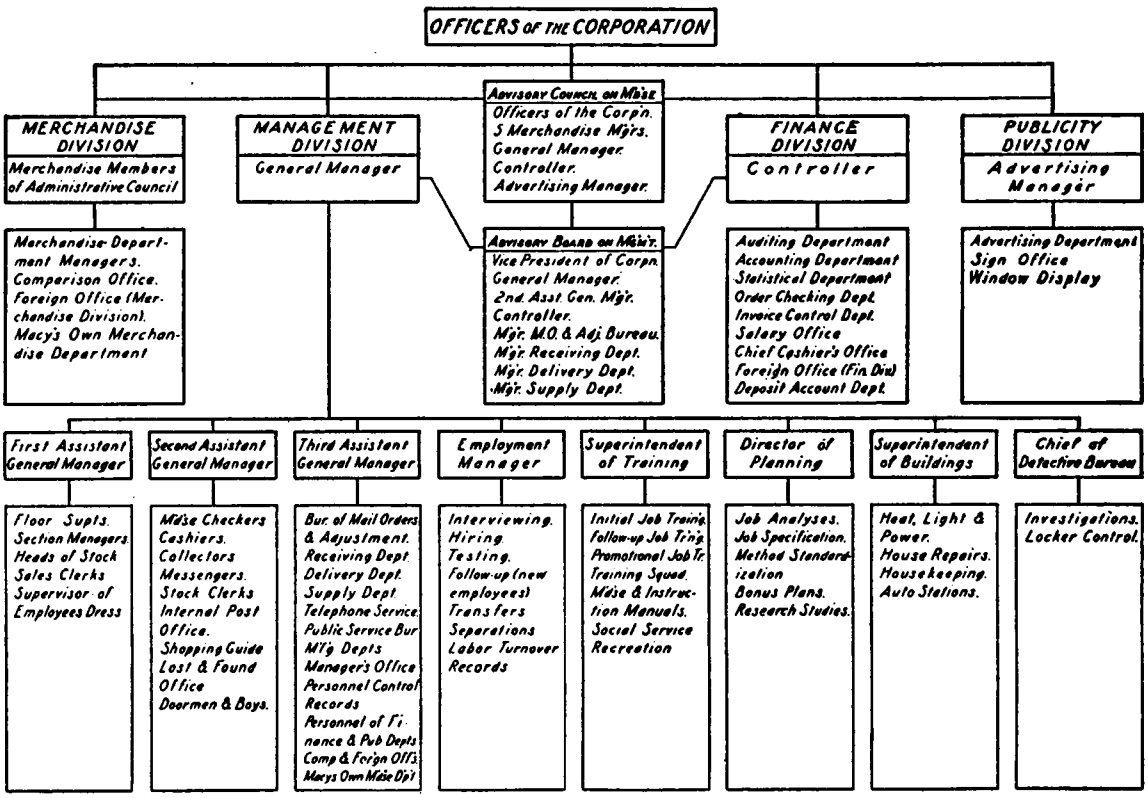


Figure 9. R. H. Macy and Co. Organizational Chart (1922)

Source: R. M. Hower (1943), History of Macy's New York, 1858-1919 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 371).

Under the Straus ownership, Macy's created some committees and boards. "The three brothers advanced ideas for consideration and encouraged their subordinates to do the same, but the final decision in all matters was invariably made by the Strauses, not by any of the administrative committees (Hower, 1943, p. 374).

The Macy's Managers' Association was founded in 1908 by the buyers (Hower, 1943, p. 367). It served as a social, as well as a business, group according to Hower (1943, p. 367). The "Board of Operations" was formed about the same time and consisted of the general manager, and representatives of "nonselling divisions" such as control, delivery, and adjustments (Hower, 1943, p. 367). It met weekly and helped to "coordinate all Macy activities having to do with employment, equipment, store systems, . . . delivery service, housekeeping and building maintenance . . ." (Hower, 1943, p. 367).

In 1914 an Advisory Council was established "to help improve the merchandising and publicity functions" of the organization (Hower, 1943, p. 367). Members of this council included "the three partners, the general manager, the controller, the advertising manager, and five managers of merchandising departments" (Hower, 1943, p. 367).

Since R. H. Macy's heir never joined the company, R. H. had to look to other members of his family and non-relatives to help build his business. Macy was not

opposed to hiring friends and relatives of employees. "We know that practically everyone in the store, from Rowland Macy down to the cash girls, brought in relatives or friends who wanted to work" (Golden, 1922; Hower, 1943, p. 199). A major percentage of the early Macy's employees had no previous retail experience (Hower, 1943, p. 199). Almost all were New Englanders, English, Scotch, and Irish (Hower, 1943, p. 199).

Of the total 506 Macy's employees in 1870, 443 were women (87.3%) (Malino, 1982, p. 115). Almost half of these were salesclerks and 40% were cash girls. There were only eight female floorwalkers, one buyer, and eleven "desk" people. The remainder of the female employees were in receiving, delivery, and "scrub." By 1873, there was a total of 932 employees, and women held positions in all the same jobs as in 1870 (Malino, 1982, p. 116).

Macy's had approximately 3,000 employees by 1898 (Hower, 1943, p. 305), and in 1907 there were 4,622 employees at the store (Davis, 1907, p. 322). In 1911, of the total 5,207 employees, 61% were women (Hower, 1943, p. 383). Forty percent of Macy's female employees were salesclerks in 1913, and one percent were buyers or assistant buyers. The remaining were categorized as "other" (Malino, 1982, p. 118). "Other," "presumably included packers, telephone operators, stock girls, alterations women, waitresses, and an army of office employees"

according to Malino (1982, p. 118). By 1919, the number of Macy's employees had shrunk a little to 4,566 (Hower, 1943, p. 383).

Until 1887, all of Macy's superintendents were women (Benson, 1986, p. 25). "While Macy's was by no means the first or only store to employ members of the fair sex, such scraps of evidence as have survived suggest that the female predominence was somewhat unusual in New York" (Hower, 1943, p. 193). Rowland Macy even "urged his own daughter to come into the business," so he obviously went against the more common belief that "every women's place was in the home . . ." (Hower, 1943, p. 194).

Customer and employee service stand out as the two major functions of Macy's. It is therefore necessary to elaborate on these services.

Customer Services

Pleasing the customer and attracting their patronage seemed to be primary Macy's concerns. Along with advertising and promotions, Macy's offered other services that built customer loyalty and helped contribute to the success of the store.

Free delivery was first offered in 1868 by Macy's. An account of the number of delivery vehicles that Macy's had through the years reflects the growth and importance of this service. Below is an inventory of their service

vehicles from 1868 to 1922, according to Doubman and Whitaker (1956, p. 21) and Hower (1943, pp. 338-339).

1868	1 wagon
1873	3 wagons
1883	15 wagons
1902	100-200 wagons
1910	184 vehicles (wagons and trucks)
1922	250 vehicles

By 1875, Macy's was providing free delivery anywhere in New York City, Brooklyn, Williamsburg, Jersey City, and Hoboken (Birmingham, 1978, p. 119). This service was increased to a 100 mile radius by 1888, with a purchase of five dollars or more (Birmingham, 1978, p. 278). A picture of one of Macy's early delivery wagons is found in Figure 10.

Credit for the first lunchroom in a department store is given to Macy's, who opened one in 1878 (Hower, 1943, p. 160). The predecessor to this was a "soda fountain" opened in 1870 (Hower, 1943, p. 20). Macy's had "the largest department store restaurant in New York" in 1907 (Davis, 1907, p. 319).

Although Macy's was not as grand as many other department stores, they still offered many amenities and services. In 1877, they had telephones and telegraphs installed, and by the 1880s a post office annex and a Western Union branch were also in the store (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, pp. 69-70; Hower, 1943, p. 166). Prior to the turn of the century, Macy's also had a lost and found, a parcel

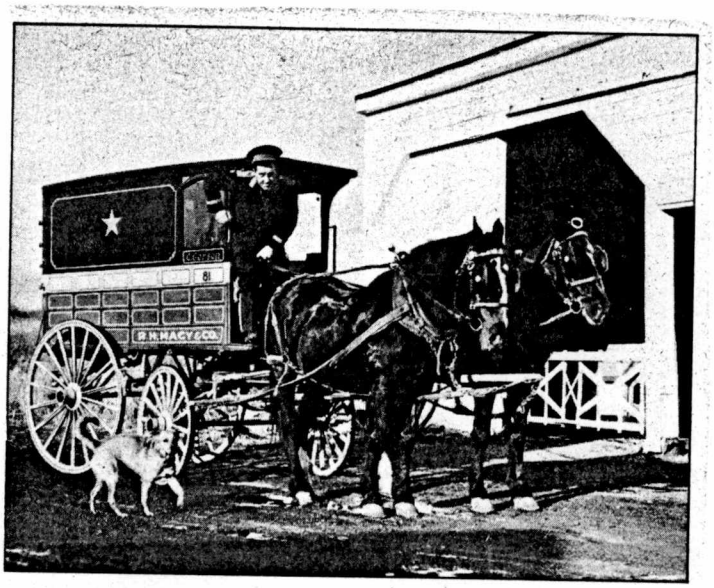


Figure 10. Early Macy's Delivery Wagon

Source: "Retail in Retrospect" in The Ultimate Guide to Shopping in New York, 1979, The New York Magazine Co., Inc., p. 46.

check desk, lounges, and a restroom (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, pp. 69-70; Hower, 1943, p. 166). In addition there were "special writing rooms supplied with paper and pens, an art gallery filled with oil paintings (historically the property of the wealthy)" (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 70). Daily newspapers were also provided in a reading room (Hower, 1943, p. 166). As Macy's business grew, so did their delivery territory. In 1906, free delivery was extended to include "any town from the Atlantic to the Pacific," for a purchase of $75 or more (Hower, 1943, p. 340). Macy's claimed in 1907, "to have the most perfect delivery system in the country" (Davis, 1907, p. 322). Special delivery service was also added in the summer and at Christmas, to ensure that customers got their merchandise, no matter where they were (Birmingham, 1978, pp. 280-281).

Providing the customer with quality merchandise was a concern of the organization as evidenced by the establishment of their "Bureau of Standards" in 1927 (Reilly, 1966, p. 148). The needs and wants of customers were of interest to Macy's, as early as 1917 when the store conducted interviews with customers to discover their likes and dislikes (Hower, 1943, p. 373).

Free bicycle lessons were offered to customers who purchased a bike in 1895 (Hower, 1943, p. 283). Free installation of stoves and ranges was also a customer

service at this date. Furniture purchased from Macy's could be stored free of charge for 60 days and packing and shipping services were also offered before the turn of the century (Hower, 1943, p. 283).

Advertising and Promotion

Vigorous advertising and promotion were implemented from the early days of Macy's. The store always used newspaper advertising aggressively, but also used other media as the years went by.

R. H. Macy always wrote his own advertising, and spent more than three times as much as his competitors on advertising (Hendrickson, 1980, p. 65). Mahoney and Sloan (1966, p. 156) write that there was a "bit of P. T. Barnum" in R. H. His early flair for promotion and advertising can easily attest to their statement.

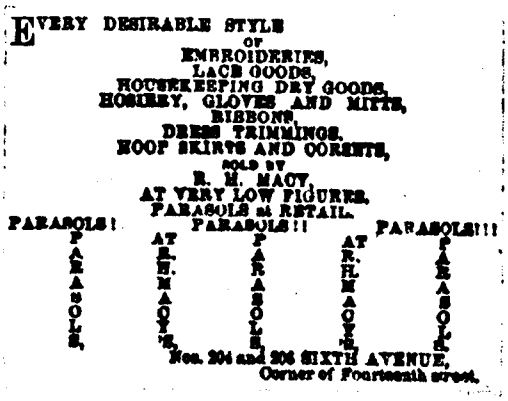
Early newspaper advertising focused on the stores' policies, services, and prices. The money-back guarantee, low-cash prices, and the one-price policy were all regularly featured in print advertising (Hower, 1943, pp. 50-65). The quantity and quality of merchandise was also stressed. Concept and institutional advertising was another technique that Macy's used prior to others (Hower, 1943, p. 164). Macy was always frank in his advertising, leaving little room for question by the reader. Hower (1943, pp. 58-64) quotes examples of early copy that reinforce this technique.

Another advertising technique that Macy's used was artistically spaced print in ads. He often did not fill all the space with print or pictures, which was an eye-catching technique. Several examples of this unusual arrangement of spaced copy are presented in Figure 11.

Macy's always advertised in multiple newspapers, and advertised more frequently than other retailers of the times (Hower, 1943, p. 164). In 1906, Macy's spent $400,000 in newspaper advertising, topped only by Siegel-Cooper Co. and John Wannamaker (Davis, 1907, p. 319).

As early as 1859, Macy advertised how convenient it was to shop at Macy's, advising women to "take the cars" that ran to Fourteenth Street and Sixth Avenue by the store (N. Y. Herald, Feb. 10, 1859). The convenience of shopping in the store was also advertised by Macy's. An 1882 ad (Misc. Ad., Oct. 1882, p. 3) guided the shopper around the first floor and is shown in Figure 12.

National advertising was achieved through magazines and catalogs. "Catalogs were issued twice yearly after 1879 to solicit mail order business . . ." (Hower, 1943, p. 164). Specialty catalogs were also issued, and early examples featured items such as perfume and toiletries, and grocery and liquor (Hower, 1943, p. 269). Magazine advertising is found as early as 1882, when Macy's used "Century Magazine" (Hower, 1943, p. 164). Other early magazine advertising was done in "Munsey's," "Ladies' Home

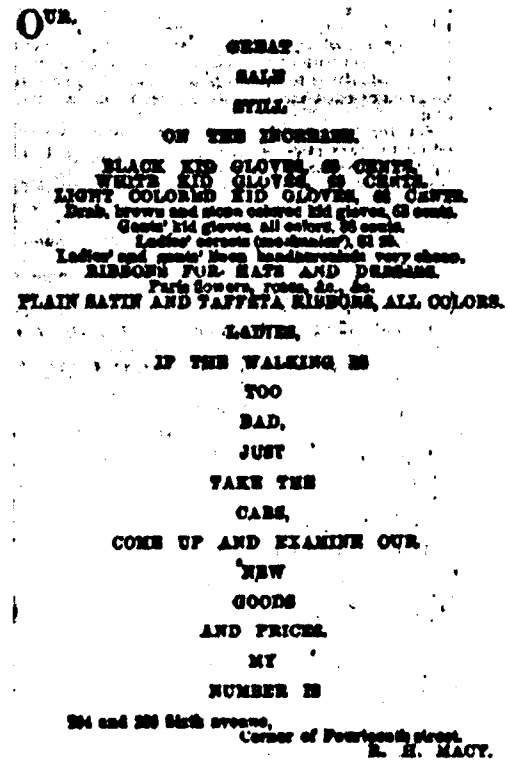


EVERY DESIRABLE STYLE
OF
EMBROIDERIES,
LACE GOODS,
HOUSEKEEPING DRY GOODS,
HOSIERY, GLOVES AND MITTS,
RIBBONS,
DRESS TRIMMINGS,
HOOP SKIRTS AND CORSETS,
SOLD BY
R. H. MACY,
AT VERY LOW FIGURES.
PARASOLS at RETAIL.

PARASOLS! PARASOLS!! PARASOLS!!!

PARASOLS AT PARASOLS AT PARASOLS

Nos. 204 and 206 SIXTH AVENUE,
Corner of Fourteenth street.



OUR

GREAT

SALE

STILL

ON THE INCREASE.

BLACK KID GLOVES, 50 CENTS.
WHITE KID GLOVES, 50 CENTS.
LIGHT COLORED KID GLOVES, 50 CENTS.
Brown, brown and stone colored kid gloves, 62 cents.
Gents' kid gloves, all colors, 75 cents.
Ladies' corsets (medium), 62 1/2.
Ladies' and gents' linen handkerchiefs very cheap.
RIBBONS FOR HATS AND BONNETS.
Paris flowers, roses, &c., &c.
PLAIN SATIN AND TAFFETA RIBBONS, ALL COLORS.

LADIES,

IF THE WALKING IS

TOO

BAD,

JUST

TAKE THE

CARS,

COME UP AND EXAMINE OUR

NEW

GOODS

AND PRICES.

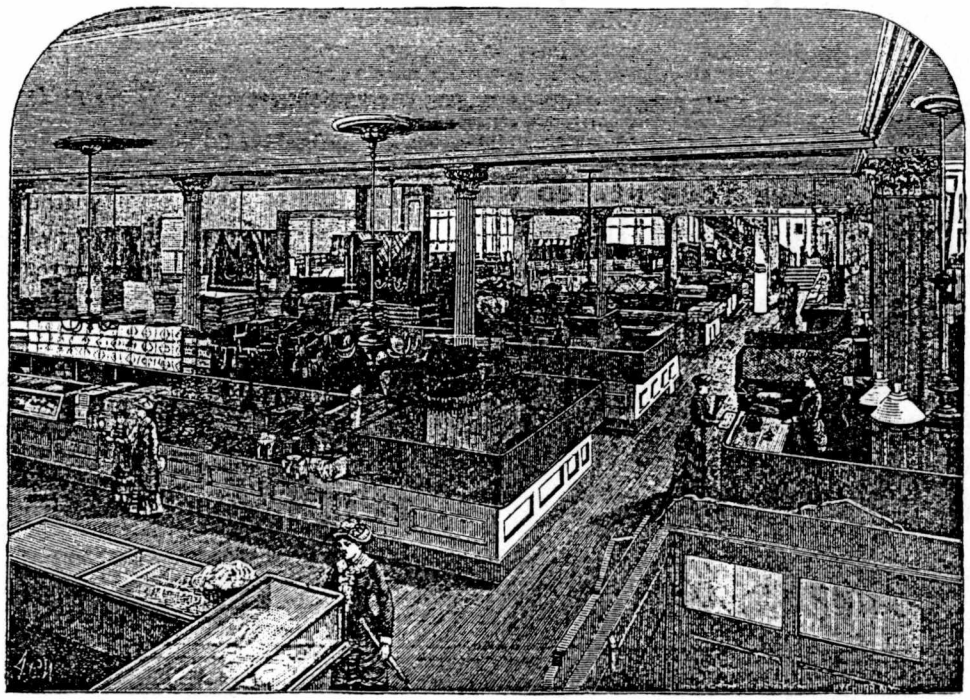
MY

NUMBER IS

204 and 206 Sixth avenue,
Corner of Fourteenth street.
R. H. MACY.

Figure 11. Examples of Early Macy's Newspaper Advertisements

Source: New York Herald, February 10, 1859 and March 12, 1859.



R. H. MACY & CO.

14th Street, 6th Avenue & 13th Street, New-York City.

GRAND CENTRAL FANCY AND DRY GOODS ESTABLISHMENT.

Our cut this month represents a section of our establishment as seen from the southerly staircase looking north, toward the corner of 14th Street and 6th Avenue; showing in the foreground, on the right, the telegraph office, and, further on, the mail and "found" desk, combined! Here postage-stamps of all denominations are kept on sale for the convenience of our patrons. To this desk is also brought all articles that are found in the store. A careful record is kept of them, so that customers can have no difficulty in recovering them, even if not claimed for months after they are found. This desk is also used for checking all articles that customers may wish to leave for safe-keeping. All pocket-books found are taken directly to the head cashier's office on second floor of the 13th Street side, and carefully kept until identified by their owners. Then follows a portion of the Notion Counter, which extends to the main-stairway on the 14th Street side.

Returning, on the left side of the passage shown, are the Untrimmed Hats, which take up the whole side on the 14th Street front, west of the staircase. Then follow Artificial Flowers and Feathers, from the medium to the finest quality imported; then Fans, Swiss Carvings, and Vienna Goods of all descriptions; next Gent's Furnishing Goods, Ladies' Hosiery, Silk Balbriggan, and Cotton Underwear. Our Handkerchief Department comes next; then Laces and Embroideries, and, still further on, the White Goods Department, which is a large store in itself.

The last Departments shown in the foreground are the Fringes, Worsted, Buttons of all descriptions for dress-trimming, and Worsted Goods.

We have exercised great care in showing these Departments exactly as they are located, so that our out-of-town patrons, who are not able to visit us daily, may find them without difficulty.

All orders by mail will receive prompt and careful attention, and Goods forwarded to any part of the world.

C. B. WEBSTER, } *Firm.* R. H. MACY & CO.
J. B. WHEELER, }

Figure 12. R. H. Macy & Co. Miscellaneous Advertisement

Source: New York: R. H. Macy & Co. papers.

Journal," and the "Delineator," among others (Hower, 1943, p. 268).

Macy's adopted a red star as their trademark symbol in 1862 or 1863 (Hower, 1943,p. 112). The reasoning behind the acceptance of the star is not clear. Hower (1943, p. 113) suggests that the star was linked to a sea experience that R. H. had. Early advertising also refers to the "Star of the Empire" and the "Star of Fashion." R. H. did, however, have a red star tattoo on his arm, a momento from his whaling days (Hower, 1943, pp. 113, 443). The "red star" was used on gift wrap, stationary, bags, delivery vehicles, and even private-label merchandise (Hower, 1943, p. 442). Giveaways were another promotional device that Macy's used. An example of a fan given to customers, when the store moved in 1902, is in Figure 13.

Macy's periodically held special events. In 1892, for example, "coaching expeditions" for $2.50 were sold (Hower, 1943, p. 276). During the Spanish-American War, Macy's hung out the "largest" American flag (Hower, 1943, p. 276). Also, merchandise was promoted that tied in with local, national, and foreign events. For example, the store carried Italian silver, and other Italian goods to correspond with the Columbian Centennial (Hower, 1943, p. 277). Demonstrations using Macy's goods were given in the store as early as 1899 (Hower, 1943, p. 276). Another promotional event that Macy's made history with,



Figure 13. Macy's Promotional Giveaway Fan, 1902

Source: "Retail in Retrospect" in The Ultimate Guide to Shopping in New York, 1979, The New York Magazine Co., Inc.

is their Thanksgiving Day Parade which began in 1924 (Reilly, 1966, p. 147). It was probably the biggest promotion in department store history (Hendrickson, 1980, p. 302).

Macy's believed in moving merchandise and holding sales were a device that they used to do so. Clearance and seasonal sales were always advertised. Early seasonal sales included a back-to-school sale (1888) and a February furniture sale (1898) (Hower, 1943, pp. 276-277).

Employee Services

The majority of the employee services and benefit at Macy's appeared toward the end of the 1800s and early 1900s. Prior to 1880, Macy's was providing paid vacations to employees (Benson, 1986, p. 25). Uniforms were provided to some employees as early as the 1870s (Hower, 1943, pp. 305-306). In 1888, Hower (1943, pp. 304-305) found evidence of doctor bills, funeral expenses, and pensions being paid to current and past Macy's employees. These payments, however, were at the direction of the owners, since there were no policies established at the time for such benefits. Golden (1922, pp. 22-23, 27) reveals many instances of Macy's owners giving financial support to needy employees and their families, and doing other gestures of kindness. "Gratuity lunches" were provided to cash girls, stock girls, and wrappers in 1888 by the store (Hower, 1943, p. 305). Employees of a higher position

could purchase beverages and food at "nominal" costs. By 1912, an employee cafeteria was operating (Hower, 1943, p. 384) that offered low priced food and free milk to "junior members of the staff." Sales bonuses were awarded to salesclerks who exceeded their quotas in 1896, but these did not apparently amount to much (Hower, 1943, p. 305).

A mutual aid society was formed by a group of Macy's employees in 1885. It provided "health and life benefits to employees at moderate cost" (Hower, 1943, p. 207). Membership was restricted, however, to employment of three months and benefits were only received after another three months. The success of this society was questionable, as an 1887 report "showed a total membership of 329, which must have been less than a third of the eligible employees at the time (Hower, 194, p. 208). Hower (1942, p. 207) believes that the dues required would have been prohibitive to the majority of the employees. By 1904, Macy's management required all employees to become members of Macy Mutual Aid, with dues automatically deducted from employees' pay (Hower, 1943, p. 386).

In 1907, a fund was established to "make small loans to employees" and, in 1908, there were nurses and a physician on staff (Hower, 1943, p. 386). In 1906, store hours were reduced from 8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., to 8:30 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. During the summer months, beginning in 1918, closing was set at 5:30 p.m. and the store was

closed Saturday afternoons during July and August. Although other stores were closed all day Saturday during July and August, Macy's did not do so until 1919 when the Advisory Council voted to make the change (Hower, 1943, pp. 384-385).

In employee welfare matters, the Strauses were more liberal than R. H. Macy or Webster had been (Hower, 1943, p. 304). They often gave help to employers out of their own pockets (Golden, 1922, p. 27). Isidor and Nathan Straus supported social affairs, such as "an annual sleigh ride for the cashiers" and "a summer picnic for the entire store" (Hower, 1943, p. 305).

No evidence was found on formal welfare, training, or personnel programs prior to 1915. The 1922 Macy's Organization Chart does show an "Employment Manager," under the Management Division (See Figure 8). The duties listed are, "interviewing, hiring, testing, follow-up, transfers, separations, labor turnover," and "records." This chart also has a "Superintendent of Training," whose job role includes "Social Service" and "Recreation."

Employees' errors and mistakes were subject to the owners' and management's judgment of seriousness during the early history of Macy's, and could often lead to unfair discharges (Golden, 1922, pp. 13-14, 47). Employee advancement was also subject to these individuals' discretion.

"Sparks," Macy's official organ and store newspaper was begun in 1918 (R. H. Macy, "Sparks"). This monthly publication was started by A. S. Donaldson, a former training department manager at Macy's (Ewen & Ewen, 1982, p. 92). According to Hower (1943, p. 479), "Sparks" was a "result of the firm's efforts to improve relations with the employees." Review of "Sparks" from 1918 to 1924 revealed that it contained announcements of upcoming company events, descriptions of past events, news on new or changed company procedures and policies, and articles of services available to employees. There are also letters to and from current and past employeess, profiles of employees, and honors awarded employees in "Sparks" (R. H. Macy, "Sparks, 1918-1924).

Beginning in 1918, "Sparks" reports leisure and entertainment activities that the employees enjoyed. A war benefit "costume" Ball was held in the store restaurant in November of 1918, with over 1,000 attendees (R. H. Macy, "Sparks," Nov. 1918, p. 2). There was also a "Revue" in 1924 where employees performed in skits and musical numbers (R. H. Macy, "Sparks," April, 1924, p. 8). An employee library is also mentioned in the April 1924 issue of "Sparks" (R. H. Macy, p. 8). How these services and activities were funded is a question. The January 1919 "Sparks" (R. H. Macy, p. 3) states that the 1918 "Costume

Ball" was held by the "Community Club." Unfortunately, no other mention of this club was found.

Training

Evidence indicates that Macy's did more informal training than formal training during its early years. Golden's (1922) "Memoirs" gives vivid examples of on-the-job training, and supervisors teaching their subordinates.

A separate training department was established by 1915 that instructed employees in "store methods and policies" (Hower, 1943, p. 379). Macy's 1922 Organization Chart lists a "Superintendent of Training" under the "Management Division." Figure 9 identifies four forms of training under this position. They are: initial job training, follow-up training, promotional training, merchandise and instruction manuals are also delegated to the "Superintendent of Training." Booklets and manuals helped standardize company rules and procedures and assist the employees to do a better job (Hower, 1943, p. 379).

A formal "Executive Training Course" was instituted in January 1919, to which "selected employees were given a special course designed to qualify them for executive positions" (Hower, 1943, p. 379). This program was initiated to help satisfy immediate employee needs, as well as to anticipate future needs (Hower, 1943, p. 401). For this program, Macy's "began to select young men and women mainly on the basis of their formal training and

general cultural background" (Hower, 1943, p. 401). The February 1919 issue of "Sparks" (p. 2) discussed the executive training class which consisted of 40 people, 14 of whom were women.

The January 1919 "Sparks" (R. H. Macy, January 1919, pp. 10-11) explained the opportunities and services of Macy's "Department of Training." Within the department, were seven different programs. There was a systems instruction for all new sales clerks, and a "Continuation School" for young employees who needed improvement in basic reading, writing, and arithmetic skills was set up on a three month program, that met for two hours every morning. Teachers from the Board of Education instructed, and a certificate was awarded upon completion of the program. Salesclerks' "conferences" were held three mornings a week for "those clerks who had been with the firm not less than one month and not more than three months." A "Junior Training Class," where "younger employees" were trained to "pass into the larger field of opportunity of selling," was another training program offered. "Senior Training Classes" were also held for salesclerks in textiles, and non-textiles merchandise. A "Seminar Class" was also offered "for buyers interested in the study of design and color" which met once a week. In addition, independent study was encouraged through th. "Technical Library" and consultation with any of the Department of Training staff.

This same "Sparks" issue (R. H. Macy, January, 1919, p. 5), contains an article "Learning Merchandise by Movie." In December 1918, a representative from a vendor that Macy's used showed a film to department members who were involved with selling feather pillows. The film depicted the making of feather pillows, and "the processes of the manufacture."

Apparently by 1922, the employees' welfare was a concern of Macy's, as the 1922 Organization Chart lists "Social Service" and "Recreation" under the training department (see Figure 7). Nothing more than what is reported under "Employee Services," was found on this matter.

Macy's Managerial Women

There are 13 women who held positions of leadership and management in Macy's from the late 1800s into the 1920s. The ten original women are: Marie Bowyer, Cora Crossman, Bella Cushman, Margaret Getchell LaForge, Abigail Golden, Diana Hirschler, Estelle Hawburger, Lena Robeneau, Martha Toye and Ada Winship. The majority of the information found focuses on two of these women, Margaret Getchell LaForge and Abigail Golden. Three more women than originally identified as Macy's sample were found to hold managerial positions with the store: Miss Lillian Kinnear, Miss Blythe, and Miss Sidney.

Abigail Golden (1922) and Hartsough (1930) also identified several others by name in their monographs,

but no further information was found on them. These were "Miss Mary Wilder" (Golden, 1922, pp. 3-8), "Miss Ponchre" (Golden, 1922, p. 13), "Miss Hasbrook" (Golden, 1922, p. 19), and "Miss Clark" (Hartsough, 1930, p. 73). These four women may have made significant contributions to Macy's, but more information will have to be uncovered before that can be determined.

Margaret Swain Getchell LaForge

Margaret Swain Getchell was born on Nantucket Island on July 16, 1841 (Johnson, 1965, p. 3). Her mother was Phebe Ann Pinkham, a native of Nantucket, and her father was Barzillai Getchell of Brunswick, Maine (James & James, 1971, p. 338).

A discrepency exists between James and James (1971, p. 358) and Johnson (1965, p. 3), as to Margaret's mother's name. Johnson (1965, p. 3) writes that Margaret's mother was Phebe Ann Swain Pinkham, born as one of four children to Phebe Ann Swain and George C. Pinkham in 1817. James and James (1971) write that her name was Phebe Ann Pinkham. Apparently, Margaret's mother was given the name of her mother. Also, Margaret's mother's 1860 entry in her daughter's autograph book was signed "Phebe Ann Getchell" (LaForge, 1859-1864) and in Margaret's will, her mother is referred to as "Mrs. P. A. Getchell" (LaForge, 1878, p. 1). Margaret's middle name was Swain.

Margaret was a distant relative of Rowland H. Macy, whose descendents settled Nantucket. Unfortunately, direct lineage could not be ascertained, through the Getchell, Pinkham or Swain family. Several Swains were married to Starbucks, one of the leading Nantucket families, but no Getchells of Nantucket origin were found. (See Appendix C for the Starbuck family lineage from Gardner's (1943) book, Three Bricks and Three Brothers.

A captain Seth Pinkham was a prominent Nantucket whaling captain in the early 1800s (Whipple, 1978, p. 9). He had one daughter, Elizabeth, who married William Cosby, a prosperous whaling merchant in 1837 (Whipple, 1978, p. 9). No information regarding any children of theirs was found. Another Pinkham, Tristram, was identified by Forman (1966, p. 178), but no heirs were revealed. Swain and Pinkham, however, were both old Quaker, Nantucket family names (Forman, 1966, Whipple, 1978). One of R. H. Macy's cousins was Josiah Reuben Pinkham (Birmingham, 1978, p. 240).

An autograph book (1859-1864), a diary (1855-1878), and a French language notebook (1858-1860) of Margaret's are held in Macy's Herald Square Archives. In addition, Margaret's will and a business agreement between her and Robert M. Valentine are also located in the Archives. All these sources help document her life.

Margaret had two sisters, Rebecca and Susan, and a brother, George, who died in infancy (James & James, 1971, p. 358; LaForge, 1859-1864, 1877, p. 2; Prentice, 1941). She lived in Maine with her parents for several years, before their divorce. Mrs. Getchell then moved back to Nantucket with her children (Johnson, 1965, p. 8).

For many years, Nantucket was considered "the women's island," because they "ran the shops and businesses," while most of the men were away from the island whaling (Birmingham, 1978, p. 240). In 1840, retailing was considered "women's business" and "unmanly" work on Nantucket (Birmingham, 1978, pp. 240-241). Could Margaret have become interested in retailing from some of her island friends or relatives? There is no evidence to substantiate this, but perhaps some exposure to retailing aroused her interest and gave her confidence to try her hand at it.

When Margaret was 12, she had a serious eye accident while playing with her sister, Rebecca. The eye injury later gave her problems, according to one of her daughters, Lilly LaForge Prentice (Prentice, 1941). Margaret graduated from the "Fair Street School" on Nantucket at 16 in 1857, leading her class (Johnson, 1965, pp. 8-9, 13). Margaret had a flair for writing, and even composed a tribute to her pastor at age 15 (Johnson, 1965, p. 9). She became "the unofficial poet laureate of the island" according to Johnson (1965, p. 9). Margaret's diary, which she

started at 14, gives some insight into her thoughts and literary interest. She made daily entries from 1855 to 1857, then wrote sporadically until 1871, when her first son was born. The first entries in her diary contain some writing expressing her thoughts on such things as education, beauty, and eloquence (LaForge, 1855-1878). Five poems, entitled "Our High School," "Agriculture Song," "Freedom," "Progress," and "Lives," are also presented in the diary. For a young girl, the seriousness of the poems is surprising (see Appendix C for two poems she wrote in 1856).

Margaret taught school for a year on Nantucket after graduation, then went to Lansingburg, New York in 1858 to teach (Johnson, 1965, p. 16). In 1859, she moved to the Laurenceville Female Seminary in Laurenceville, New York where she remained on faculty teaching arithmetic until 1860 (Johnson, 1965, p. 16).

Physically, Margaret was tall (almost six feet), had a turned-up nose, brown eyes, and brown hair (Johnson, 1965, p. 19). A picture of her in Figure 14 from the Macy's Archives shows her appearance. The date of the photograph is unknown, however.

In September 1860, Miss Getchell accepted a position with Macy's as a cashier. She had written Mr. Macy seeking a position before she went to New York (LaForge, 1855-1878). Most authors attribute Margaret's career change to her worsening eyesight (Hower, 1943, p. 65; Johnson,



MARGARET GETCHELL LA FORGE

Figure 14. Margaret Swain Getchell LaForge

Source: R. H. Macy Co. papers.

1965, p. 8). At 22 (1863), Margaret was promoted by R. H. Macy to the store's bookkeeper's position which placed her third in command at the store (Johnson, 1965, pp. 29-30). It is surprising that her failing eyesight did not hinder her in this position. At that time, most bookkeepers were male.

In 1866, Miss Getchell was promoted to "Superintendent of the Store," reporting directly to R. H. Macy (Johnson, 1922, p. 50). During her first year in the position the store tripled in size (Johnson, 1922, p. 53).

Margaret worked many hours, day and night, in her duties for the store. Johnson (1965, p. 24) wrote that in 1867, Margaret roomed directly across from the store, and was usually the first to arrive in the mornings and the last to leave at night. She did not even take a vacation from 1860 to 1865 (Johnson, 1965, p. 45).

Most authors who wrote about Macy's attribute some or much of the store's success, after 1860, to Margaret Getchell (Birmingham, 1978, p. 243; Hower, 1943, p. 65). Hower (1943, p. 65) agrees with Hungerford (1922, p.16), as do some of the past Macy's employees who worked with Margaret, that she was responsible for "a large part of" Macy's success (Golden, 1922; Hartsough, 1930).

Golden (1922, pp. 10, 14) expressed in her memoirs that Margaret was "quick," "intuitive," "clever," and all in all a "remarkable woman." Getchell was also described

as "a brilliant innovative merchandiser with a talent for display and publicity" (Birmingham, 1978, p. 243). She is accredited with initiating most of the innovations at Macy's (Golden, 1922, p. 79; Hartsough, 1930, p. 79). "Miss Getchell opened several departments, even one for cut flowers. If it was not a success, she dropped it" (Hartsough, 1930, p. 100). Margaret suggested better ways to handle the cash in the store and also made other administrative suggestions (Johnson, 1965, p. 22). She also had a "gift for knowing what would appeal to other women (Johnson, 1965, p. 62).

As a manager, Miss Getchell was often stern, but fair and just. There are mixed reviews as to her popularity with the Macy's employees. Johnson (1965, p. 21) wrote that she was well liked by the salesclerks and cashiers. Golden (1922, p. 15) reports that when she was a Macy's cashier she asked Margaret for a raise because she made less money than another cashier. Margaret did not give the raise, explaining that she could "use the other cashier, where I cannot use you" (Golden, 1922, p. 15). The same cashier, Abigail Golden, was ill near Christmas and told Getchell that she needed to go home. Miss Getchell did not show much sympathy when she replied, "I would rather have you out a month at any other time, than one hour now" (Golden, 1922, p. 16). Margaret did stand up for an

employee who was being wrongly accused of a theft, and got a confession out of the thief (Golden, 1922, p. 14).

On two occasions Margaret was described as cruel. Abigail Golden (1922, p. 10) recalls Miss Getchell calling her "to her desk one day, and told me to wash her green porcelian [sic] lamp shade." Upon lifting the lamp, Abigail burned herself, and Miss Getchell "laughed at my stupidity" (Golden, 1922, p. 10). Another instance, was when Miss Getchell put a girl in the coal cellar. According to Miss Golden (1922), several girls were outside Macy's selling shawl pins and Miss Getchell tried to "drive them away" to no avail. She then captured a girl, and "put her down in the coal cellar until she promised not to stand in front of the door again" (p. 10).

A turning point in Margaret's life occurred when she met Abiel T. LaForge. Margaret met Abiel through the Macys, who were instrumental in arranging their meeting (Johnson, 1922, p. 71). Abiel went to work for Macy's as the lace, embroidery, and trimmings buyer in 1869 (Reilly, 1966, p. 144). He had served as an officer in the Union Army during the Civil War and was honorably discharged in 1864 (LaForge, A. T., 1864, Military Service Records).

Margaret and Abiel knew each other and dated for about three years prior to their marriage (Maxson, 1941). The couple became engaged on New Year's Eve, 1868 (LaForge,

1855-1878). The marriage took place on June 8, 1869 and the LaForges took a three-week honeymoon to Nantucket (LaForge, 1855-1878). Margaret wrote in her diary that she told Macy that she wanted to continue as superintendent after her marriage, and he was pleased (LaForge, 1855-1878).

When the LaForges returned to New York City they resided in a five-room apartment above the Sixth Avenue Store until 1872. At that time, they moved to a larger, seven-room apartment, still above the store (Johnson, 1965, pp. 69, 87). It is unknown whether or not the LaForges paid rent for their apartment. The year 1872 was also the year that Macy took Abiel as his first partner (LaForge, 1855-1878). In 1872, the LaForges moved again, but this time uptown to a summer house on 52nd Street. Margaret did not go to work in the store from May to August, and she admitted missing it (LaForge, 1855-1878).

During their time as husband and wife, Margaret and Abiel worked diligently side by side for the growth and prosperity of the Macy's store and their future. Instances are recorded in her diary when she slipped down at night to tend to bookkeeping (LaForge, 1855-1878). Abigail Golden (1922, p. 18) also wrote that Margaret and Abiel would come down every night after dinner to help her "straighten out" her accounts.

The LaForges had five children, three boys and twin girls, between 1870 to 1875 (LaForge, 1855-1878). All

but the first born survived to adulthood (LaForge, 1855-1878). Margaret's diary indicates that after her children's births she did not work full time in the store or keep regular hours, but often helped with the books and inventory (LaForge, 1855-1878). Many remarks in Margaret's diary refer to the hard times she had after delivery of her children. While Margaret was raising a family and working, she had hired nurses and other domestic help. Her mother and sister-in-law also came to help quite often (LaForge, 1855-1878).

After Abiel became a partner, there is no indication that Margaret held a paid position for the store. On one occasion, while R. H. Macy and Abiel were on a European buying trip, Margaret was running the store in their absence. Margaret wrote in her diary that she had received a letter from her husband that mentioned Mr. Macy wanting to give her something for all the work she was doing. Abiel took the liberty of telling Mr. Macy that pay would be appreciated (LaForge, 1855-1878). Macy, however, did not give her a salary, but presented her with furniture as payment for her three months work. Whether or not Margaret was on the regular payroll after she started a family is questionable.

The LaForges moved to the suburbs in Washington Heights in 1875. They rented a large 15-room house, with spacious grounds and a barn (LaForge, 1855-1878). In 1876,

they moved back down to 106 West 52nd Street, as commuting was a strain on Abiel's health (LaForge, 1855-1878). In May 1877, another move occurred to Fort Washington, due to Abiel's poor health (Johnson, 1922, p. 87).

Although Margaret worked hard, she also took some time for a social life. Margaret refers to social occasions in her diary and others made comments in her autograph book (LaForge, 1855-1878, 1859-1864). She attended a high school reunion in 1865 and mentions several dinners at the R. H. Macys (LaForge, 1855-1878). In addition, she notes visits from friends and relatives, and describes her vacations to Nantucket. Margaret's uncle must have been quite close to her, as there are many references to him and his visits in her diary. He "came up" for Margaret and Abiel's seventh wedding anniversary, June 8, 1976 (LaForge, 1855-1878). An uncle, George F. Pinkham (her mother's brother), was bequeathed five hundred dollars in her will, so perhaps this is the uncle to whom she referred.

Margaret's autograph book has many entries from people she worked with and from family. Both R. H. Macy and his son signed Getchell's autograph book in 1861 and 1859 respectively (LaForge, 1859-1864). Other Macy relatives' entries include Eliza Macy, Louisa Macy, and Valentine. Other people that Margaret worked with at Macy's who also signed her autograph book include: Bella Cushman (1869)

and Alexander Lindsay (1864). There are, however, more male than female entries in this book.

Abiel died on February 11, 1878, while in Florida attempting to recuperate from ill health (LaForge & Valentine, 1878, p. 2). Margaret had taken her husband down there and felt that he was progressively getting better (LaForge, 1855-1878). After Abiel's death, Margaret only wrote in her diary five more months, and these entries were sporadic. She referred to her great loss after Abiel's death and the funeral services. The April 4, 1878 entry states "my loss is so great that I cannot bring myself to write the details. Margaret moved with her children to a leased home on 69 East 77th Street, after the death of her husband (Johnson, 1965, p. 15). There is no evidence that she returned to Macy's to work after Abiel's death.

Margaret was executrix of Abiel's will, and in May 1878, she signed a business agreement with Robert M. Valentine dissolving the LaForge-Valentine partnership. Margaret received $82,500 in the form of promissory notes for LaForge's interest in Macy's and was allowed access to the books of R. H. Macy & Co., "so long as any of the said notes remain outstanding and unpaid" (LaForge & Valentine, 1878, pp. 5-6).

Margaret Getchell LaForge died two years after her husband, in 1880, at the age of 38. She died on January 24, 1880, after being in a coma for two days

(Johnson, 1965, p. 161). She had been in poor health since her children were born, and had suffered "side pains" on and off for three years (LaForge, 1855-1878). Her death certificate states a "fatty heart," "chronic ovarity," and "collapse from metro peritonitis" as the cause of her death. Today these ailments translate into pelvic inflamatory disease and a heart condition. Some say she died of a broken heart (Golden, 1922, p. 24).

Margaret's 1878 will detailed the division of her estate upon her death. Her sister-in-law, Susan A. Potter, was assigned executrix of the will and guardian of the children. Susan Potter was given "control and superintendence [sic] of my household and attend to the education of my children" (LaForge, 1878, p. 3). Mrs. Florence Sutton (R. H. Macy's daughter) took the children to their aunt and uncle, and offered to adopt one of the twin girls. Mrs. Potter, however, did not want to separate the children (Golden, 1922, p. 26).

Margaret Getchell LaForge is said to have been "America's first lady boss" (Johnson, 1965) and "possibly" the first "female executive" (Hower, 1943, p. 65). She was the first woman executive at Macy's that has been documented in surviving memoirs and memorabilia (Golden, 1922; Hartsough, 1930).

Abigail Golden

Abigail Golden wrote her memoirs in 1922 after Jesse Straus suggested that she do so. This 69-page monograph is housed in Macy's Herald Square archives. She claims to have written her memoirs "solely to show you the wonderful friends I met on the long up-hill road" (Golden, 1922, p. 1).

Miss Golden was the oldest of five children for whom her widowed mother cared. She recalls being "quite young" at the time, and her mother was "in ill health" when a neighbor woman took her to Macy's to see about a job (Golden, 1922, p. 1). She was hired by the superintendent, Margaret Getchell, in 1869, as a "cash girl" for the holidays (Golden, 1922, p. 1; Malino, 1982, p. 121). Abigail's mother was poor and in ill health, so Abigail helped to support the family. After work and supper, Abigail, her mother, sisters, and brothers would work at home until eleven or twelve making parasol covers (Golden, 1922, p. 2).

After Christmas, Abigail was kept on as "Cash 13." Other duties she assumed in this position were: cleaning counters, opening the store door for customers, and running errands (Golden, 1922, pp. 1-2). As a cash girl, Abigail witnessed a theft by a buyer and reported it, which led to the employee's dismissal (Golden, 1922, p. 6). This action seems like a brave act for a young, newly hired

girl. She admits enjoying her days as a cash girl (Golden, 1922, p. 2).

From cash girl, Abigail was moved to the "parcel desk," where she helped wrap and take packages to carriages (Golden, 1922, p. 6). Her next promotion was to Assistant Cashier, although no big raise went with the promotion as she had hoped (Golden, 1922, p. 8). She remembers making three dollars a week, when another cash girl made twelve (Golden, 1922, p. 2). Another promotion was to the "Head Cashier's" Office, and by 1872 she was in charge of C.O.D.s (Golden, 1922, p. 18). Some time later, she was promoted to Head Cashier. Responsibility then included paying salaries and company bills (Golden, 1922, pp. 20-21).

Abigail's work did not come easy to her in the beginning. Many nights at home and Sundays were spent trying to sort her accounts out (Golden, 1922, p. 18). She also often stayed late at work trying to balance the books. Math was hard for her because she said that she did not have schooling in much math (Golden, 1922, p. 8).

Miss Golden admits to making a lot of errors when refiguring sales checks. Many of these cost her money, as differences were taken out of her pay (Golden, 1922, pp. 12, 15). Abiel LaForge was praised as a kind man who helped her balance her cash desk and keep her checks in order (Golden, 1922, p. 17). She also admits that the "intuition and brains of that clever woman Margaret

Getchell" saved her from being dismissed as a thief (Golden, 1922, p. 14). Once Abiel became a partner in Macy's, he and his wife Margaret came down many nights to help Golden sort out the books (Golden, 1922, p. 18).

Abigail acknowledges all of the other help she got from people at Macy's and outside the store in her memoirs (Golden, 1922, pp. 44, 50, 52, 54, 60, 65). These memoirs reveal that she had much interaction with all of the early Macy's owners which in turn gave her insight into their characters. R. H. Macy, Abiel LaForge, Robert Valentine, Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Webster, and the Strauses all confided in her (p. 45). She was on close, informal speaking terms with R. H. Macy, Abiel LaForge, Robert Valentine, Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Webster and the Strauses. LaForge and Wheeler sought her opinion and confidence on many matters (Golden, 1922, p. 41). A few times this intimacy caused Abigail great concern and stress. In one instance, she told Mr. Wheeler that she would leave the organization rather than cover-up the dishonesty of an employee (Golden, 1922, pp. 46-47). Luckily, the truth surfaced, and she did not have to quit.

Her honesty and concern for the store surfaced early in her employment. Abigail also admits to always following "orders to a T and working hard" (Golden, 1922, p. 9). In addition, she seemed to be quite self-critical, always wanting to do the best and believing that there were "no

excuses for me making mistakes" (Golden, 1922, p. 29). Most likely the owners valued these traits, which may have led her to her success in the company.

As the head cashier, Golden was "assisted by fifteen misses" (Hartsough, 1930, p. 72). She most likely directly supervised their work and coordinated the department. Counterfeit money was a problem to Golden and the store during the time she worked for Macy's (Golden, 1922, pp. 7-8). She was sent to Vermont once to identify a man who had written a bad $50 check. Her identification of him led to his arrest (Golden, 1922, p. 31). Often, Golden paid the personal bills of the owners as well as the company bills (Golden, 1922, p. 65). In 1907, her salary was reported as $6,000 a year--quite a large salary for the time (Davis, 1907, p. 322).

Conscious of the poor level of formal schooling she had, Abigail took full advantage of what she could learn through the store. Miss Golden got an education from the store in more ways than one. Many of the employees she worked with told her about art, and she borrowed books from some of the clerks (Golden, 1922, p. 4). Vacations were another way that Golden broadened her horizons. She went to Washington, D.C. twice, and through the store partners' introductions and connections toured the White House and the Treasury, and met Presidents Cleveland and McKinley (Golden, 1922, pp. 34-35, 51). While an employee,

she also went to Mexico and Europe. Abigail had wanted to visit Europe early in her career, but had been discouraged by Mr. Wheeler, who sent her (ticket paid) to D. C. instead (Golden, 1922, pp. 34-35). Europe finally became a reality, late in her career, when she went on a six-week tour of London, Paris, Rome, Naples, and Pompeii with best friends (Golden, 1922, pp. 55-56).

Abigail considered herself "independent." She also admitted a "love of beauty" (Golden, 1922, pp. 7, 20). According to a former fellow employee, she was "a very remarkable woman" who looked quite young for her age (Hartsough, 1930, p. 72). She was also a generous woman who paid her brother's family's bills for a year when he got sick, as well as took care of her sister when she was ill (Golden, 1922, p. 37). Golden's memoirs also note instances when she defended employees whom she felt were unjustly wronged or needed help (Golden, 1922, pp. 27, 41). After Golden had worked for the company some time, she was able to get people hired on her recommendation (Golden, 1922, pp. 37, 51). Unfortunately, one man who was made head of the Advertising Department was discharged for passing unauthorized newspaper bills.

Abigail admits that her highest ambition "was to own a home of my own." She needed $5,000 to do so and Mr. Webster lent it to her without interest (Golden, 1922, p. 54). The owners of Macy's were not only good and kind

employers, but friends who helped Miss Golden whenever she needed it, according to her memoirs.

Malino (1982, p. 12) writes that Abigail, or Abbie as she was called by her friends (Hartsough, 1930, p. 83), "remained as head cashier of the store until her retirement in 1924." Golden (1922, pp. 68-69) herself says that after her sister died in 1920, she had "a nervous breakdown" and "weak heart" and took her doctor's advice and retired. This statement was made in 1922, when she said she "gave up business . . . over two years ago." From her recall, she most likely retired around 1920, after 51 years of service. Golden does state that Macy's still paid her salary and invited her to dinners and reunions at the time that her memoirs were written (Golden, 1922, p. 69). She closes her recollections expressing her love for the business and the "great privilige [sic]" it was to serve the men she worked with.

Marie Bowyer

Miss Marie Bowyer was a superintendent of Macy's for 14 years, from 1872 to 1886 (Hartsough, 1930, p. 61; Hower, 1943, p. 194; Johnson, 1965, p. 100). She began in the store as a salesclerk and then became a floorwalker, buyer, and finally a superintendent (Hower, 1943, p. 194; Johnson, 1965, pp. 100-101).

"Miss Bowyer" replaced Margaret Getchell LaForge as superintendent. She was referred to by the employees as

"M. J. B." (Hartsough, 1930, p. 87). As a superintendent, she worked under the first five Macy's partnerships: R. H. Macy and LaForge; Macy, LaForge and Valentine; LaForge and Valentine; Valentine and Webster; and Webster and Wheeler.

Miss Prunty, a salesclerk under Miss Bowyer, recalls her fondly,

> If I could I would place her on a pedestal so all could see and learn from her example. She was the embodiment of dignity, courtesy, patience, and justice. The few years I served under her supervision I always look back to as a pleasure. She had no malice and was just to all, the cash girl, the buyer, the ____ it self. (Hartsough, 1930, p. 67)

"After Macy's death, Miss Bowyer decided to build up the mail order department" (Hartsough, 1930, p. 83). She is also accredited with introducing Macy's Christmas windows (Hartsough, 1930, p. 99).

Miss Bowyer must have been a friend of Margaret Getchell LaForge's. An entry in Margaret's diary on August 14, 1975 stated, "Miss Bowyer came out to spend Sunday" (LaForge, 1855-1878). Miss Bowyer died in 1886, and was succeeded by Miss Toye (Hower, 1943, p. 194). Marie also had a brother that worked for Macy's and became her assistant (Hartsough, 1930, p. 72).

Martha Toye

Miss Martha Toye worked for Macy's in the early years of its history. She was first employed as a floorwalker,

next as a superintendent (1886-1887), then in the millinery workroom (Hartsough, 1930, pp. 46, 67).

Toye was described by a former salesclerk, Miss Prunty, who worked with her, as "a tall, majestic woman with a coldly handsome face and stern manner" (Hartsough, 1930, p. 67). She came from Scotland, and was a fine looking lady with a splendid figure" (Golden, 1922, p. 39). According to Miss Prunty, all the Macy's employees feared Miss Toye; however, she found her "a sweet woman and not the stern cold creature she looked" (Hartsough, 1930, p. 67).

Golden (1922, pp. 39-41), who also worked with Toye, describes her as shrewd and antagonistic, an "awful woman." She also writes that she was extremely clean, but "not well educated" or "smart" (Golden, 1922, p. 39). Miss Golden (1922, pp. 40-41) reports several instances when Miss Toye upset fellow employees.

Obviously, many employees did not think very highly of Miss Toye and they worked toward her dismissal. The employees filed a "petition" against Miss Toye, which may have contributed to her later dismissal (Golden, 1922, pp. 40-41). Miss Toye was finally fired by Mr. Wheeler some time in 1887, when Wheeler and Webster were partners and Webster was in Europe (Golden, 1922, p. 42; Hartsough, 1930, p. 46). She was insubordinate to Mr. Wheeler and he discharged her on the spot.

Upon his return, however, Mr. Webster set Miss Toye up in a millinery store on 125th Street (Golden, 1911, p. 43). How long this lasted is unknown. Miss Toye was unsuccessful in her business, and she returned to work at Macy's (Golden, 1922, p. 43). They rehired her, giving her a position in the "millinery workroom," and according to Golden (1922, p. 43), she was a "changed woman." Trow's N.Y.C. Directory 1904-1905 (p. 1362) lists "Martha E." at "81 W. 126th." Her occupation is listed as "milliner." This woman may very well be the same Martha Toye who worked at Macy's. Whether this was her address when she went into business for herself, or during that time and also when she returned to the store, is uncertain. In any event, she must have worked as a milliner, in or out of Macy's, for about 18 years (1877-1905).

When Miss Toye returned to the store, she suffered from "neuralgia" (severe nerve pain) and did not stay in her position long. Later, she was found near destitute in a park by a doctor. Macy's supported her financially upon the doctor's plea the next few years, while she was in and out of the hospital until her death (Golden, 1922, p. 43).

Hower (1943, p. 213) has an interesting view on Toye, which leads one to think that there may have been something going on between Webster and Toye. He writes that

> At an early stage in partnership Webster had become interested in a strikingly handsome woman who was employed in the store as a floorwalker. (Her name was Toye, which in the circumstances, was rather appropriate.) He chose to reward her services by making her superintendent of the store, a position for which Wheeler felt, with considerable justification, she was unsuited" (Hower, 1943, p. 213).

It is known, however, that Miss Toye succeeded Miss Bowyer as superintendent upon her death (Harstough, 1930, p. 67). She was only employed as a superintendent for one year.

Belle T. Cushman

Miss Belle T. Cushman worked for Macy's at least from 1869 to 1871. She was an elderly relative of R. H. Macy, when Golden (1922, p. 4) met her as a cash girl in 1869. In 1855, Macy sold his Haverhill store to a Mr. E. F. Cushman and whether or not this individual was a relative of R. H. Macy or Belle is not ascertained (Hower, 1943, p. 30). Golden (1922, p. 4) remarks that Belle suffered from neuralgia, and was nervous when she spun around on the stools in front of her counter waiting to be called for work.

She was the "fancy goods department buyer" for Macy's in 1871, earning twenty-five dollars a week (Hower, 1943, pp. 65-66). "Miss Cushman" bought candy, drugs, toiletries, leather goods and jewelry (Hartsough, 1930, p. 71). Apparently, Belle was a friend of Margaret Getchell LaForge's, as she signed her autograph book March 15, 1869

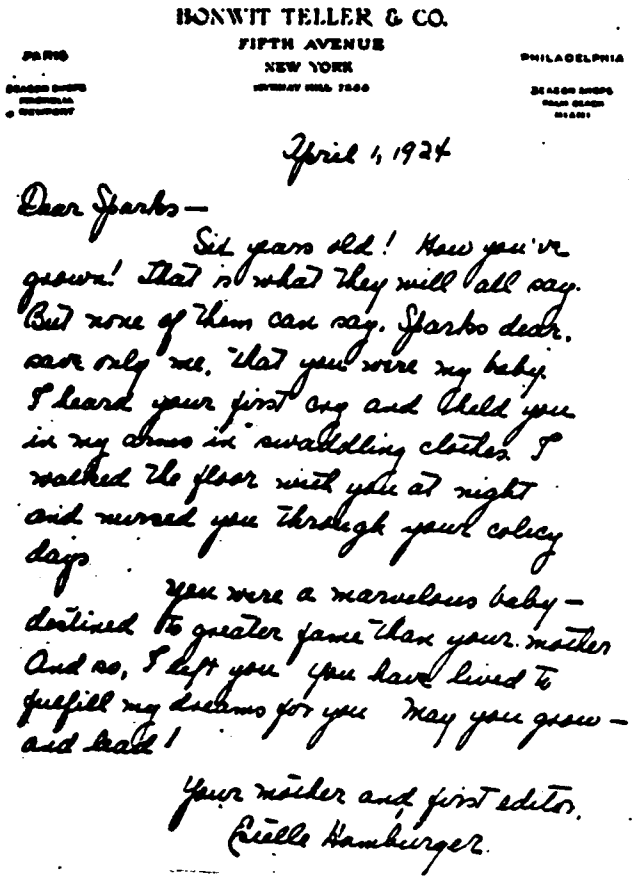
(LaForge, 1859). The inscription read, "If you have room for one more please accept--as your friend."

The 1884 to 1886 Trow's N.Y.C. Directories (pp. 376, 411) list "Isabella L. Cushman," a widow of "John A." who lived first at "320 Henry," then at "34 Willet." Another Cushman surfaces again in the directories, after the turn of the century. The 1904 to 1907 Trow's N.Y.C. Directories (pp. 296) lists a Belle V. Cushman who resided in a house on "54 W. 129th." It cannot be proven whether or not either of these are the same woman, Belle T. Cushman, who worked at Macy's. Whether Belle retired or died while employed at Macy's cannot be supported, as no further information on her was found.

Estelle Hamburger

Estelle Hamburger worked in advertising at Macy's from 1916 to 1920 (Harriman, 1958, p. 127). A small amount of other information on her was found in "Sparks." She was the first editor of the Macy's paper (R. H. Macy, "Sparks," March 1919, p. 6). Estelle was also one of four judges for the Macy's November, 1918, benefit "Costume Ball" (R. H. Macy, "Sparks," 1919, p. 2).

She went to work for Bonwit Teller after leaving Macy's. It is unknown if she went to Bonwit's directly after leaving Macy's, but a letter on Bonwit's stationery from her was found in the April 1924 "Sparks" (R. H. Macy, p. 9). The letter in Figure 15 congratulates Macy's on



BONWIT TELLER & CO.
FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK
PHILADELPHIA

April 1, 1924

Dear Sparks—

Six years old! How you've grown! That is what they will all say. But none of them can say, Sparks dear, save only me, that you were my baby. I heard your first cry and held you in my arms in swaddling clothes. I walked the floor with you at night and nursed you through your colicy days.

You were a marvelous baby—destined to greater fame than your mother. And so, I left you. You have lived to fulfill my dreams for you. May you grow—and scale!

Your maiden and first editor,
Estelle Hamburger.

Figure 15. Letter from Estelle Hamburger to "Sparks"

Source: R. H. Macy, "Sparks," April, 1924, p. 9.

the sixth birthday of "Sparks," and expresses her pride in being its "mother."

An "Estelle O." Hamburger is listed in the 1910 to 1913 Trow's N.Y.C. Directories (pp. 601, 638, 642). From 1910 to 1911, she lived at 1564 Madison Ave and was listed as a "stenographer" working at 231 Broadway. Her residence from 1911 to 1913 changed to 23 E 99th Street, but she was still listed as a "stenographer" who now worked at 95 William. This woman may very well be the same lady who started working in advertising at Macy's in 1916.

Cora Crossman

Miss Cora Crossman came to Macy's at the age of 13 (Hartsough, 1930, p. 83). No dates are known of her employment; however, she worked with early Macy's employees, such as Abigail Golden, so she was employed sometime between 1869 and 1908. Cora was still alive in 1908, as she wrote a letter to Abigail Golden, after leaving Macy's (Hower, 1943, p. 200). The letter reported that one of the pleasures she enjoyed after being promoted to assistant superintendent "was going out to lunch."

She had "charge of the mail order department" with an assistant, Miss Moss (Hartsough, 1930, pp. 72, 83). From Hartsough's (1930, p. 83) papers, it seems that Miss Crossman was promoted in 1877 to "assistant superintendent," in charge of the mail order department.

Ada Winship

Miss Ada Winship was an early floorwalker for Macy's. Miss Prunty, a salesclerk under her, remembered "her kind and gracious manner" (Hartsough, 1930, p. 72). She was also remembered as being "Kind and gentler to all particularly the little cash girl" (Hartsough, 1930, p. 72). No specific dates of employment are known, nor are other positions held. A Charles O. Winship worked as a "bill clerk" at Macy's in 1885 (Hower, 1943, pp. 204-205). Whether or not he was a relative is questionable. Also, Charles had an uncle who was a buyer for the store.

The 1904-5 Trow's N.Y.C. Directory (p. 1469) listed an Edith A. Winship, who was an "editor" on 85 5th Ave. and lived at 415 W. 118th Street. Also, the "Club Women of New York, 1899" (p. 311) directory listed "Winship, Edith A" at the same address who was affiliated with the "Women's University, N.Y."

Lena Robenau

Miss Lena Robenau began with Macy's in 1895, as a salesclerk in the glove department. She was promoted to "glove buyer four or five years later" (Hartsough, 1930, p. 85; Malino, 1982, p.121). She was the first buyer to go abroad and around 1905, she went to England to buy men's gloves. She later made trips to Scotland, Germany, Switzerland, Czechoslavakia, and Italy (Hartsough, 1930, p. 85).

As a buyer, Miss Robenau, "bought in large quantities rather than planning orders as fresh stocks were needed" and she sometimes bought "seconds" along with "firsts" in order to get a good price (Hartsough, 1930, p. 85). Purchasing overseas, she worked with firms that acted as "commissionares" for Macy's (Hartsough, 1930, p. 85).

Lena Robenau was described as a risk taker, who "was evidently inclined to take a chance when she found something good" (Hartsough, 1930, p. 86). She was with the store for 31 years, until 1926 (Hartsough, 1930, p. 85).

Diana Hirschler

Not a great deal is known about Diana Hirschler's life at Macy's. According to Malino (1982, pp. 64, 69), Diana worked for Macy's as "welfare secretary" in 1911 after leaving Filene's, Boston.

Her official title was "Efficiency Manager" (Malino, 1982, p. 71). Malino believes that this title is indicative of the changing role the welfare manager was undergoing. She (Malino, 1982, p. 71) writes that "store managers were participating in a process of unifying various strategies for employee supervision and motivation into a coherent and comprehensive policy."

Her work included educating employees on diet and health. Diana and the Macy's head nurse "published a circular for female employees on" 'How to Keep the Feet Comfortable'" (Malino, 1982, p. 65).

Diana's work with Macy's came as a result of her work with Anna Garlin Spencer teaching night salesmenship classes for the New York public schools in 1908 (Benson, 1986, p. 152; Malino, 1982, p. 72). How long she remained with Macy's is a mystery. Diana wrote several published works on her philosophy of salesmanship, when she may have been living in New York. An article in "Colliers" (August 23, 1913, pp. 32-34) is entitled "The Aisles of Trade." In this article, Diana recalls some instances of the way in which she worked with problem salesclerks (see Appendix D for a copy of the article). She also explains that her approach has been the mixing of "welfare" work with education. Diana concludes her article by stating that the success of a salesperson will result

> if we train them to see when they look, when they hear to listen, and when they touch to take notice. In other words, to gain the habit of close attention, or concentration is the basis of advancement. (Hirschler, 1913, p. 34)

Hirschler also published a book, The Art of Retail Selling, that was widely used, according to Benson (1986, p. 152).

Diana's 1912-1913 address was listed in the Trow's N.Y.C. Directory (p. 705), which reported her living at "4 W 103rd" Street. More information about Diana's work and life is found under the Filene's "Managerial Women" section. She is also analyzed with that group of managers,

because there is more information about her and her work at Filene's.

Lillian Kinnear

Lillian Kinnear began at Macy's in 1881, at the age of 14 (Malino, 1982, p. 122). She worked her way up in the store, and by 1896 she was a buyer in the "print shop," buying books and stationery (Hartsough, 1930, p. 113; Malino, 1982, p. 122). Miss Kinnear was described as "shrewd and clever," and one who "knew her stocks and her buying public," according to an employee who knew her (Hartsough, 1930, p. 87). She retired from Macy's in 1913, after 32 years of employment (Malino, 1982, p. 122). Lillian was 46 years old upon retirement.

An Anna Kinnear is listed in the 1915 Trow's N.Y.C. Directory (p. 1047), as the widow of Jas G. She lived at 601 W 137th Street. One cannot be sure that this is the same woman, but she may have called herself Anna, short for Lillian.

Miss Blythe

Miss Blythe began her career as a cash girl in the Toy Department at Macy's in 1895. After 30 days, she was promoted to cashier working under Abigail Golden (Golden, 1922, p. 33; R. H. Macy "Sparks," January 1919, p. 5).

Blythe worked at the "Transfer Desk" for a period of training, then in 1902 (and the opening of the Herald Square Store), she became "Transfer Cashier" (R. H. Macy

"Sparks," January 1919, p. 5). According to Golden (1922, p. 38), for years she collected and deposited money for employees who wanted to open bank accounts.

A picture and article on Miss Blythe was printed in the January 1919 "Sparks" (p. 5) bidding her farewell. Her picture is shown in Figure 16. She left Macy's, after over 23 years of employment, to be married (R. H. Macy "Sparks," January 1919, p. 5).

A Miss "Margaret" Blythe is listed in the 1915 Trow's N.Y.C. Directory (p. 348). Her occupation is given as "cashier," so she may be the same woman identified in this research. If so, she lived within walking distance of the store at 439 W 47th Street.

Miss Sidney

All of the information found on Miss Sidney's role at Macy's came from "Sparks." A letter from Mr. Percy Straus in the August 1924 issue of "Sparks" (pp. 14-15) that bids her farewell contains the majority of information.

She began at Macy's around 1914, as a salesclerk. Soon, however, she "was selected to supervise the social and recreational activities of the organization" (R. H. Macy "Sparks," August 1924, p. 15). In this position as Assistant Superintendent of Training, she organized a summer camp for employees, Camp Isida on Lake Marjorie. Miss



Figure 16. Photograph of Miss Blythe, 1919

Source: R. H. Macy, "Sparks," January 1919, p. 5.

Sidney was "advanced [to] Superintendent of Training," following Mr. Donaldson.

Mr. Straus describes Sidney as patient and willing to listen, with a "desire to help and judgment to advise" (R. H. Macy "Sparks," August 1924, p. 15). She was further praised as "cheerful" and "understanding," making "her way to the hearts of members" of the organization as a "good samaritan." The April 1924 "Sparks" (p. 10) includes Miss Sidney as a part of the Macy's "Revue" cast. She plays a character role, which she is attributed with doing so well with in past. A portrait of her is included as shown in Figure 17. Miss Sidney left Macy's in 1924 to marry Mr. Jensen, and was encouraged to come back and visit. The tribute was brief, but quite complimentary to this employee of over ten years.

Summary of Macy's Managerial Women

Ten of the thirteen managerial women of Macy's worked their way up within the store to their final position. Three began as cash girls, four began in sales, two as floorwalkers, and one as a cashier. The remaining three women, Cushman, Hamburger and Hirschler, began at Macy's in managerial positions. Cushman was only known as a buyer and department head, and Hamburger as an advertising manager. Hirschler came to Macy's from Filene's as a Welfare Secretary and Efficiency Manager. The top position held by four women was superintendent; responsible for

store service. Macy's had only female superintendents from 1866 to 1877 (21 years). The other highest positions achieved, and the number of women who held these positions, are: buyer (two), head cashier (two), assistant superintendent (two), advertising (one), floorwalker (one), and training (one). These women represented all store organizational divisions: merchandising, finance, store services, advertising, and personnel.

Six, or 46%, of the women held positions at the store for ten years or more. One worked for 51 years and two worked over 20 years. Only one employee worked less than three years for Macy's. Three women retired from their positions, one died while employed, and another took employment elsewhere after leaving the company.

The majority of the Macy's managers (nine) were single through their tenure. Two women left the store to marry, and one wed a fellow employee. The marital status of the remaining two women is unknown, but it is probable that they were divorced or widowed because they were never referred to as "Miss," like the majority of the others. The mention, or non-mention, of spouses also helps support the above conclusions.

Two of the women examined came from a single parent family, with other brothers and sisters under their mother's care, a d two women were relatives of the owners. Only one reported woman had children.



Figure 17. Miss Sidney, 1924

Source: R. H. Macy, "Sparks," April 1924, p. 10.

Physically, three of the women were described as attractive, and two were considered tall. Most were liked by their fellow employees and considered fair and just. Since the majority of the women began their employment greeting customers, as salesclerks or floorwalkers, it is most likely that the women were presentable and probably considered attractive.

Independence, self-initiative, talent, intuition, working hard, and taking risks were all attributes that many of the women held. The kindness, courtesy, patience, helpfulness, cheerfulness and gentility which most of the women possessed was also complimentary to their management style. A few women were labeled stern, shrewd, clever, and even cruel.

Only Margaret Getchell LaForge's educational background is known, and she graduated from high school. She also taught school for several years without any further education.

The women for whom there were any indications of lifestyle for, were Margaret Getchell LaForge and Abigail Golden. Margaret's records indicate that she spent most of her time working in the store until she got married and began having children. She and her husband must have been financially secure, as they moved residence several times and furnished the houses. Apparently, she was close

to her family as she recalls spending vacation time with them and had them visit her in New York quite often. Her immediate family (husband and children) also took a lot of her time and energy after 1872. Her will (1877) also describes jewelry and clothing that she treasured enough to pass on. Visits to and from friends and relatives and vacations, according to her diary (LaForge, 1855-1878), are how she spent any free time she had away from work, or tending to her sick husband. This free time, however, was limited as work and her husband used most of her time, and seemed to give her the most pleasure in life.

Abigail Golden (1922), according to her memoirs, spent most of her time working. She did, however, describe her vacations as enjoyable and meaning a lot to her. Abigail also writes about several friends in the store, but does not mention any outside activities that she was involved with. A house, which she finally buys, is her greatest ambition in life. Abigail does note, though, that it cannot be too far from the store.

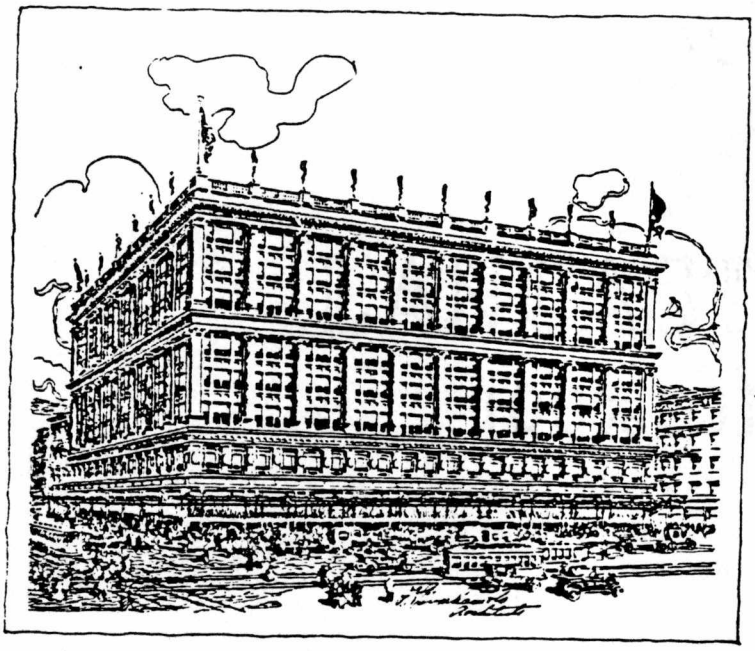
Filene's

A brief history of the founding of Filene's helps explain the store's philosophy which lasted into the 1950s. The founder of Filene's was William Filene, a Polish immigrant who was born in 1830, and moved to the United States in 1848. He married Clara Ballin in 1858, and had

two sons, Edward Albert and Abraham Lincoln (Holmes, 1972, p. 20). As early as 1849 he was in the retail business, with "a small merchant tailor shop" in Boston (Holmes, 1972, p. 20). William Filene moved between New York City, Boston and Lynn, Massachusetts from 1848 to 1881, opening different wholesale and retail businesses (F. C. A. "Echo," June 1911, pp. 2-4). Finally, in 1881 he moved back to Boston with his family and opened a small store on Winter and Washington Streets. From this time until 1912, Filene's grew through the expansion of three separate stores that were situated next to each other from 441 to 463 Washington Street (F. C. A. "Echo," June 1911, p. 5).

In 1860, William's health was failing and he turned his business over to his two sons (Holmes, 1972, p. 20). William Filene died in 1861, at the age of 61, and his sons continued to run the organization as he would have.

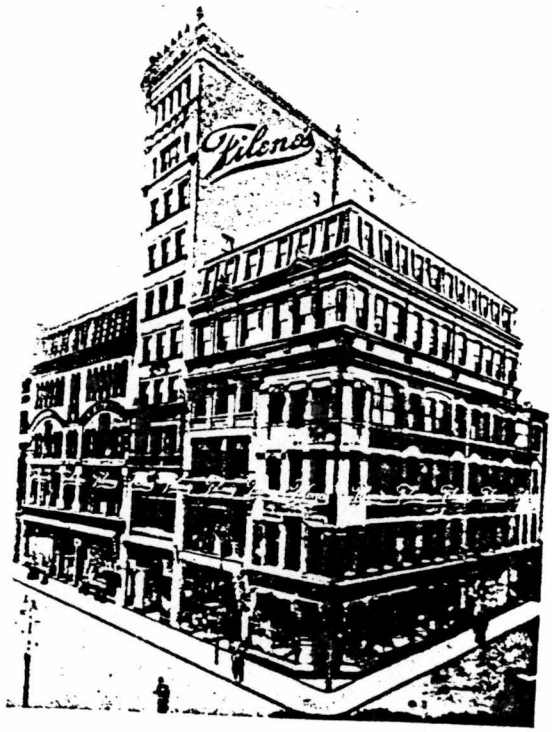
The store was incorporated in 1902 as Wm. Filene's Sons Co. and in 1912, Filene's moved to its current downtown Boston location on Washington, Summer, and Hawley Streets (Holmes, 1972, pp. 20-21). This store consisted of eight floors, including a basement and sub-basement (F. C. A. "Echo," June 1911, p. 5). The final store was built by noted architect Daniel H. Burnham (Holmes, 1972, p. 21). Pictures of Filene's stores, from 1890 to 1912, are in Figure 18.



NEW STORE, WASHINGTON, SUMMER AND HAWLEY ST.,
Boston, Mass.
1912.



STORE, 445 WASHINGTON ST.,
Boston, Mass.
1890.



PRESENT STORE 441-463 WASHINGTON ST.,
Boston, Mass.

Figure 18. The Filene's Stores from 1890-1912

Source: F. C. A. "Echo" (June, 1911) (Boston, Filene's, pp. 2-5).

Filene's has been considered both a specialty store and a department store (Hendrickson, 1980, p. 130; LaDame, 1930, p. 75; Mahoney & Sloan, p. 78). The literature reveals that it began as a women's specialty store, then grew in merchandise assortment and size to qualify as a department store. The Filenes, themselves, regarded their company a department store by 1912 (Holmes, 1972, p. 21). The "General Profit-Sharing Plan and Agreement of Wm. Filene's Sons Company" that was adopted in 1912, states that the store "is a department store in the City of Boston" (LaDame, 1930, p. 521). In 1926, this company consisted of a main store, a men's store, and an automatic bargain basement (LaDame, 1930, p. 75).

Important retailing contributions that Mahoney and Sloan (1979, p. 79) accredit Filene's with are: "advances in employee selection and training, sustained showmanship and community service, and merchandising innovations." Filene's were also a very strongly based customer and employee service organization. Their progressive personnel and employee orientation were instrumental in changing large scale retailing.

In 1906, Wm. Filene's Sons Company created and adopted a four-pyramid organizational chart. It was published in the March, 1906, "Echo" (F. C. A. "Echo," pp. 7-8) for all employees to see and understand store services and the company's management structure, and

contained separate merchandising, publicity, and recording divisions. According to the store manager, T. K. Cory, the purpose of the pyramid system is

> to show you where to go to get things done; to whom you are responsible for your work; to whom those are responsible to that you are responsible to; who can remove you from your position or who can advance you in your position; what redress you have in case of dismissal or removal; and the general working plan on which you may build your future in this business.

A sketch of the store pyramid, with the individuals contained in it, and their positions are shown in Figure 19. Only one woman identified in this study is listed on the chart, Diana Hirschler.

March, 1913, saw a new store opening and a major reorganization of Filene's top management. The company was still headed by six executives according to the pyramid plan, however, stock in the company was distributed to each executive accordingly: 26% each to Edward and Lincoln Filene, and 12% each to Merchandising Vice President Louis E. Kirstein, Publicity Manager John R. Simpson, Store Manager Thomas K. Cory, and Comptroller Edward J. Frost. In addition to these six men, five others composed the company's board of directors (LaDame, 1930, p. 78; Mahoney & Sloan, 1966, p. 91). Business was run through this executive structure until 1928, when another reorganization occurred due to incorporation with Federated Departemnt Stores, Inc. and the company going public (LaDame, 1930,

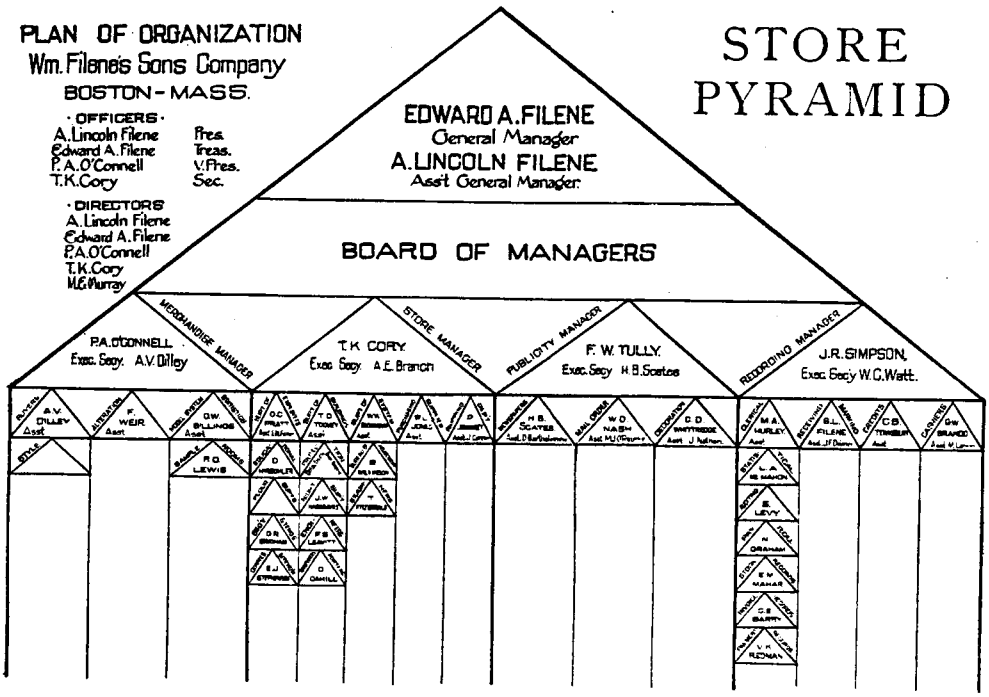


Figure 19. Filene's Store Pyramid

Source: F. C. A. "Echo" (March 1906) (Filene's Company Papers), p. 7.

p. 78; Mahoney & Sloan, 1966, p. 93). The Filene's influence was felt in the company until 1957, when Lincoln Filene died, at the age of 92 (Holmes, 1972, p. 22).

LaDame (1930, p. 108) classified executives at Filene's into two groups in 1926, "major and other." The "major" executives, who were all men, headed the five pyramids: merchandising of the main store; merchandising of the basement; publicity; control; and the store. Apparently, the pyramids had been expanded by 1926, from the original four in 1906 (F. C. A., March 1906, p. 7). "Other" executives included: division managers, superintendents, assistant superintendents, head of personnel, head of the "Expense Control Department," section supervisors, assistant comptroller, chief auditor, credit manager, head cashier, head of the "Statistical Department," head of "Stock Records Department," head of the "C.O.D. Department," the advertising Manager, the head of the "Decorating Department," the head of "outside sales," and the head of the "Clothing Information Bureau" (LaDame, 1930, pp. 108-111). There were a total of 145 "other" executives, with over one-third being women (LaDame, 1930, p. 111).

"Better paid positions held by women" in 1926, according to LaDame (1930, p. 93) were as listed below:

Divisional Manager
Head of the Training Department
Head of the Control Department
Head of the Women's Apparel
Head of the Alterations

Head of the Beauty Shop
Head of the Personal Service Bureau
Head of the Clothing Information Bureau
Head of the Comparison Department
Head of the Bureau of Standards
Manager of Individual Outside Shops
Style Expert

These women managers were interested in improving their store status and were more concerned about management and industrial relations than "women of the rank and file" (LaDame, 1930, p. 93).

Customer Services

Customer service and satisfaction were Filene's primary objectives. "According to the business philosophy of the Filenes, profit is an inevitable result of satisfactory service to consumers" (LaDame, 1930, p. 445). This philosophy was channeled from the owners to management, then to all employees. Several written examples emphasizing the company's doctrine were found in a standards brochure prepared by the main store floor superintendents and the Training Department (Wm. Filene's Sons Co., 1924, p. 1).

> Every customer entering our store shall receive a demonstration of the spirit of hospitality and courtesy that shall give her the impression of special attention paid to her individual requirements. (Wm. Filene's Sons Co., 1924, p. 1)

The above passage identifies the customer as a female, which reveals that as late as 1924 the male was not considered the customer. It also stresses that customers

should be given "the impression of special attention" through courtesy and hospitality. Whether or not actual "special attention" was given is unclear, however, the customer was to feel as if that is what they received through the employees' behavior.

Satisfaction, through a service orientation, is also emphasized on the last page of this employee brochure.

> It is a definite policy of the management that we expect to sell satisfaction as well as merchandise. One of the members of the firm says that our ideal should be "Mother Service." This means that we should serve each customer as carefully and with as much interest and consideration as if she were our own mother. (Wm. Filene's Sons Co., 1924, p. 22)

Not only is the employee expected to sell goods, but customer satisfaction was also stated as part of the selling function. Playing the role of "Mother Service," and respecting each customer as one would their mother, served to be the manner in which management could best express to the employees the level of consideration expected from them for the customer. Transferring societal mores of the reverence of motherhood to the store may have been a way to reach employee understanding. In addition, it may have implied that the store was to be a home away from home to many customers. The customer was to be treated as a "guest" in the store, and appropriate tact and consideration was to be administered (Mahoney & Sloan, 1966, p. 84).

Customer services that Filene's provided included a personal service balcony created in 1912. This balcony held a ticket bureau, a post office annex, a travel bureau, repair services, and a cash office. Filene's "opened Boston's first publicly available commerical wireless station" in 1913 (Holmes, 1972, p. 23). Other customer services were added through the years, and in 1919, Filene's even began an afternoon tea dance for young people (Holmes, 1972, p. 23). Filene's was also the first to use "cycle billing," and "charga-plate." Two services that were later instituted by other major retailers (Mahoney & Sloan, 1966, p. 79).

A retail phenomenon uniquely begun by Filene's was their "automatic bargain basement." This phenomenon broadened Filene's customer base by attracting customers who otherwise could not have afforded fashion apparel. Merchandise was presented in a no-frills environment, and automatically reduced a percentage on a given day. Initially, already reduced merchandise was priced at 25% off after 12 selling days. It was then marked down another 25% after six more days (18 total days), and reduced still another 25% after six more days (or 24 total days) (Hendrickson, 1980, p. 130; LaDame, 1930, pp. 84-85). After 30 days, all unsold merchandise was given to charity. It was operated as a separate store from its inception in 1909 (Holmes, 1972, p. 21; LaDame, 1930, p. 84). It

may have been the predecessor of the modern discount store, but in any event, they were the first with this concept that was later adopted by others as the bargain basement (Bluestone et al., 1981, p. 11).

Filene's was always active in Boston's community and civic enterprises. Lincoln Filene felt "that just making money out of a city and its inhabitants isn't the only thing to do" (Filene, 1924, p. 11). Edward was responsible for organizing the Boston City Club, the Boston Chamber of Commerce, and the National Chamber of Commerce (Harris, 1979, p. 21).

Lincoln helped found the Retail Research Association (RRA) in 1916 (Holmes, 1972, p. 21). This organization joined together retailers from all over the country to exchange information, to cooperatively study merchandising and store operations problems, and to establish a standard record-keeping system (Bluestone et al., 1981, p. 11; Mahoney & Sloan, 1960, p. 90). By 1918 this organization had become the Associated Merchandising Corporation (A.M.C.), with an expanded purpose to recruit and train employees, group buy, improve advertising, and better other aspects of the retail business (Bluestone et al., 1981, p. 11; Mahoney & Sloan, 1966, pp. 90-91). Members of this organization were from all over the U.S., and by 1927, also included international department stores and numbered

in total, over 20 store groups (Mahoney & Sloan, 1966, pp. 90-91).

Employee Services

Filene's people orientation was not only present in customer service, but was clearly evident in employee policies and procedures. Filene's philosophy incorporated employee participation in management, profits, and ownership (LaDame, 1930, p. 73). From the creation of the store, employees had an active say-so in its operation, organization, and their duties and benefits. Training, profit-sharing and Filene's Co-operative Association were all instrumental in Filene's employee orientation and successful growth.

The Filenes were "against absentee ownership and nepotism" (Mahoney & Sloan, 1966, p. 81; Reilly, 1966, p. 71). Employee participation in management was evident through the growth of Filene's. Lincoln Filene believed that employees learned their behavior toward the public by management's example (Mahoney & Sloan, 1966, p. 81).

In 1899, Filene's had approximately 100 employees and by 1905 they had between 600 and 800 (F. C. A. "Echo," October 1905, pp. 20, 22). By 1912, there were 3,200 employees of Filene's (Holmes, 1972, p. 26; LaDame, 1930, p. 46). In 1926 there were reportedly 2,956 employees working for Filene's. Of these, 2,05[illegible] were women and 55

(38%) were considered executives, while 115 (48%) were classified as "special" (LaDame, 1930, p. 10).

Training

Training at Filene's held an important organizational role. From the company's beginnings, the owners valued their employees as information resources. "They were indispensible participants in the evolution of better methods of storekeeping" (LaDame, 1930, p. 389). "To be required to make decisions and to stand the consequences of them was, in the opinion of the two Filenes [Edward and Lincoln], the most effective form of training" (LaDame, 1930, p. 73). Paralleling the growth of the store, was a developmental growth in training.

Filene's was a pioneer in the systematic training and evaluation of employees (Mahoney & Sloan, 1966, p. 83). Job specifications and duties were printed for employees in order for them to understand the importance of their roles and see how they fit into the overall operations of the organization. Company employees rules were published by 1900 (Holmes, 1972, p. 26). In 1898, lectures were held for employees immediately after work. The subject matter was of "general cultural interest," however, not direct education for the store (LaDame, 1930, p. 390). In 1901, a series of talks on textiles was being given to Filene's employees (LaDame, 1930, p. 390). New

employees were being taught the store policies and systems by the director of welfare and floor superintendents, by 1902 (LaDame, 1930, p. 391). In 1906, training became an independently organized function in the store (LaDame, 1930, p. 354).

Formal training at Filene's was divided into four historical periods by LaDame (1930, p. 391). The first period ran from 1902 to 1909, and included education and welfare work. Welfare work and education were separated into two areas in 1906 (LaDame, 1930, p. 392). Classes were taught through clubs and most training was decentralized (LaDame, 1930, pp. 390-394). The second period of training was from 1909 to 1912, and more classes, conferences, "efficiency bulletins" and "blunder sheets" were initiated (LaDame, 1930, pp. 394-398). From 1912 to 1922, the third period of training occurred, with emphasis on group training (LaDame, 1930, pp. 399-412). Between 1922 and 1927, was the fourth training period that concentrated on decentralized training, largely a result of the "Retail Research Association" (LaDame, 1930, pp. 413-425).

Filene's became active in training outside the store as well. Several female employees became involved in training through teaching, giving speeches, and writing. The accomplishments by individual women are written about in Filene's "Managerial Women" section (pp. 241-276).

Filene's clerks were considered among the best trained and polite in the country (Hendrickson, 1980, p. 132). In 1905, it was said that the sales girls were "so alert, attentive, and courteous, that it is a pleasure to deal with them or to watch them at their work" (F. C. A. "Echo," 1905, p. 21). A clerk herself admitted enjoying her work and finding it "fair," "as it's our business. I mean, we have an interest in it" (F. C. A. "Echo," 1905, p. 21). This interest was in the form of sales commissions and profit-sharing.

Profit-Sharing

Profit-sharing was begun by Filene's as early as 1904. By 1905, Filene's profit-sharing plan was of "two varieties" (F. C. A. "Echo," October 1905, p. 23).

> First, the sales force virtually share in profits through their commission on sales. Every sales girl gets a commission of two percent on all her sales each week beyond the minimum that is needed to justify her salary.
>
> Another large group of employees who . . . hold positions of considerable importance, such as managers, floor superintendents, buyers and their assistants, book-keepers, advertising men, and other office people etc., get their share of profits as dividends on profit-sharing certificates issued to them in virtue of the positions they hold and the value of the services they render.

Filene Cooperative Association

Employee suggestions were awarded as early as 1899, when $25,000 worth of rewards were given to employees

(Hendrickson, 1980, p. 132). An Insurance Committee "was also founded this year, and was the forerunner of Filene Co-operative Association (Holmes, 1972, p. 26).

In 1898 Filene's founded an employee management participation organization, known as the Filene's Co-operative Association (F. C. A.) (Holmes, 1972, p. 26; LaDame, 1930, p. 46). A constitution for the Association was adopted in 1903, and "every employee, by virtue of his employment, [became] a member" (LaDame, 1930, p. 47).

> At the moment when a name of a new employee is recorded on the roll, he or she automatically becomes a member and is entitled to most of the advantages. At the end of ninety days he becomes a full-fledged member. In order that none shall be left out for financial reasons, no dues are collected. The Association supports itself through fees and charges aided by the proceeds of its own entertainments or other social and educational activities, but many activities are cooperatively maintained because they help to business success. (Filene, 1924, p. 56)

The F. C. A., itself, wrote in the first volume of the "Echo" that it exists to bring into closer relation the different employees and the firm, in order that the work of the whole store body and of the individuals may be strengthened" (F. C. A. "Echo," July 1902, p. 2). Filene's Co-operative Association held four major purposes: "1) To give members a voice in their government, 2) to increase their efficiency, 3) to provide social gatherings,

4) to create and sustain a just relationship between employer and employee" (Holmes, 1972, p. 26).

LaDame (1930) accredits two events to the establishment of the Filene Co-operative Association. One, is the value that the founders of Filene's recognized in the early informal employee meetings they held. Another, is the owner's realization of "the ineffectiveness of welfare work superimposed by them upon their workers." Lincoln Filene stated the reasons for establishing the F. C. A. as twofold:

> We did it because it is good business. Because it pays. Good will is a factor, of course, and desire for just and harmonious relations, but the fundamental reason for adopting co-operative methods is that they develop efficiency and attractive service, relieve the management of many of the burdens formerly entailed by labor problems, and afford important financial advantages, aiding the expansion of business and the increase of profits. (F. C. A. "Echo," October 1905, p. 24)

The Board of Arbitration was formed in 1901, as a part of the F. C. A. (Holmes, 1972, p. 26).

> It was given power to settle, without interference from management, any matter regarded as an injustice to an employee, or group of employees, resulting from a rule, a discharge or a question of wages. (Mahoney & Sloan, 1966, p. 84)

Mahoney and Sloan (1966, p. 84) write that this board was a direct result of a complaint registered by a cashier, whose pay had been docked because of a shortage. The jurisdiction of the board included "all cases of controversy

between the company and an employee" (F. C. A. "Echo," October 1905, p. 21). Article V, Section 2 of the Co-operative Association states:

> The Arbitration Committee of the Co-operative Association (elected by secret ballot of your fellow-employes) [sic] shall act as a court of appeal on all cases of controversy between the Company and an employe [sic], including dismissals, and between one employe [sic] and another. It shall have no power to change a store rule, but if it deems the rule unjustly applicable the Committee may suspend such rule in the case on appeal until the Association has taken action on the rule.
>
> In case of dismissal, a two-thirds vote of the entire Committee for reinstatement shall be an order on the Superintendent for reinstatement. In cases of salary deductions a majority vote of the entire Committee shall be an order for refund. (F. C. A. "Echo," October 1905, p. 21)

The F. C. A. was responsible for initiating, organizing and running many of Filene's employee services. Early employee services provided included: a clinic with a medical doctor (1898), an insurance committee (1898), a library (1899), a Welfare Manager's office (1900), a club and lunch room (1903), legal advice (1903), a beach cottage for vacation or after work (1905), a credit union (1913), and a summer camp (1917) (Holmes, 1972, pp. 26-27).

Clubs and social activities were also a big part of F. C. A.'s work. These not only provided leisure and recreational activities, but also lectures and educationally work-related activities. A Girl's Club was organized in 1907, but divided in 1912 into two: "one for girls under

21 and The Young Woman's Club for those over 21" (Holmes, 1972, p. 27). A Men's Club was founded in 1910, and athletic clubs (for both men and women), a dramatic club, a choral group, a band and orchestra were all established by the 1920s (Holmes, 1972, p. 27). Almost any recreational, intellectual or social activity that anyone would want was provided at Filene's through the F. C. A.

The F. C. A. was also instrumental in improving the working conditions and establishing and changing rules of the store. Membership on Filene's Board of Directors was granted to the F. C. A. in 1914, when four of the eleven board members were elected by the Association (Holmes, 1972, p. 27). In 1904, the Filene's store was closed at 5:00 p.m. from June 15 to September 15. By 1913, a two-week paid summer vacation and a 20% discount was granted to employees and a paid winter vacation was also granted by 1923 (Holmes, 1972, pp. 26-27).

The turn of the century saw a progression of employee benefits and labor relation improvements at Filene's. The Welfare Manager's office was established in 1900. Welfare work and education (which were one and the same previously) were separated in 1906 (LaDame, 1930, p. 392). (See the Filene's pyramid on page 222.) In 1907, the former Welfare Manager was made Executive Secretary and Administrative Head of the F. C. A. (Holmes, 1972, p. 26). This office had the power "to hire and discharge employees,

to oversee [the] general welfare of employees, mediate between management and employees or between two individual employees and serve as executive secretary of the F. C. A." (Holmes, 1972, p. 26). According to an employee who was quoted in the October, 1905, "Echo" (p. 22):

> The Social Secretary, or Welfare Manager, is the head of the educational and welfare departments. She is an intermediary between employers and employes [sic], the organizer, educator, stimulator, and harmonizer-in-chief to both the Company and its employes [sic]. The fundamental purpose of her office is the development of efficiency through the establishment of just and reasonable conditions, and the training and stimulation of the employes [sic] to do their best. That her work shall make for the greater industrial efficiency of the store force, and so produce her own salary and more, is the first condition she must meet. . . . does everything that anybody else can do. She helps us get promoted, and if anything isn't right she fixes it. She is our chief adviser, and she gives us lessons about the best way to treat customers and how to do our work well.

An F. C. A. council was formed in 1905. Members were elected annually to serve on this legislative body that met biweekly and reported regularly to the employees (Holmes, 1972, p. 26). Matters that the council involved itself in were wages, hours, discipline, and grievances (LaDame, 1930, p. 139-189). In March of 1906, the F. C. A. had created a pyramid that showed the organization of the Association (F. C. A. "Echo," March 1906, p. 11). It was designed on the same lines of Filene's store pyramid, and is shown in Figure 20.

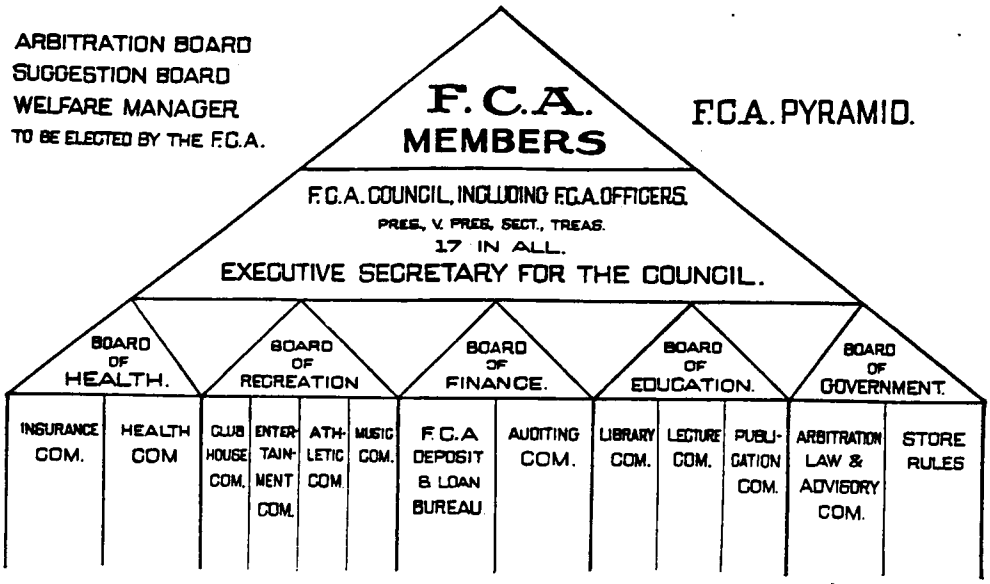


Figure 20. Filene's Co-operative Association Pyramid

Source: F. C. A. "Echo" (March, 1906) (Boston: Filene's Company Papers), p. 11.

The first issue of "The Echo," the official paper of the F. C. A., was released in July 1902 and is still housed in the Filene's Boston archives. The slogan of the paper was "Without labor thought is unhealthy. Without thought labor is unhappy" (F. C. A. "Echo," July 1902, p. 1). According to Filene's, it was published monthly until 1912, when it became a weekly publication for a short period of time. Later it was issued monthly again (F. C. A. "Echo," September 1912, p. 2; Holmes, 1972, p. 27). LaDame (1930, p. 54), however, wrote that the "Echo" was published weekly for twenty-five years, "except for a short time when it was issued monthly."

It was said to have been the product of a suggestion from Mr. James A. Reed, "at the time an employee of the store" (F. C. A. "Echo," May 1907, p. 1). In 1907, it was "known as one of the finest papers of its kind in the country" (F. C. A. "Echo," May 1907, p. 1).

Review of the issues from 1902 until 1920, substantiate the fact that the "Echo" was the official organ of Filene's Co-operative Association. It was "issued and controlled by the Association," and supported by a subscription fee and paid advertising until 1912 (F. C. A. "Echo," October 1905, p. 8). Then, the paper was supported by management, who "had no editorial voice" (Holmes, 1972, p. 27).

The "Echo" contained Association information, including proceedings and material about officers and members. It

also contained store organizational information and communicated store changes and growth activities. In addition, information on employees, training, activities, and customer and employee services was reported. The announcement of upcoming events, activities, and meetings, along with reports on past ones was written about. Also, tips on health, and attitude are presented. Editorials were also written on everything from how to advance, to pleas for new services. Speeches and letters, along with committee reports were also contained in the "Echo."

Lincoln Filene (1924, p. 72) called the "Echo" " not a trade journal or a house-organ, but a paper of personal news and gossip." This researcher feels that it was more than what Mr. Filene said it was. Yes, a column or two in each issue reviewed from 1902 to 1920 did contain personal remarks, gossip, and antedotes, however, other material dominated the paper. The paper seemed to be a very effective store communication tool, due to its longevity and the evident employee participation.

Through the F. C. A. the "welfare work of the business is conducted by the employees, who have many unusual democratic privileges in the control of business" (F. C. A. "Echo," August 1905, p. 10). It was the contention of the Filenes and management, that welfare work can be more effectively done if done by the people themselves" (F. C. A. "Echo," August 1905, p. 24).

F. C. A.'s work was regarded in the December, 1906, "Echo" (p. 1) by Mr. Tully, Publicity Manager and a chief executive in 1906, as the "religion of our business." His sentiment was stated as representing the entire Board of Managers. The owners and executives played active roles in the F. C. A., attending and speaking at many of their functions. The "Echo" recorded many of these occasions (F. C. A. "Echo," June 1903, p. 1; March 1904, p. 1; March 1909, p. 8). They also helped financially support many of the F. C. A.'s endeavors (F. C. A. "Echo," June 1903, p. 1; July 1905, p. 5).

The F. C. A. continued its active role at Filene's until 1935, when it was banned as a company union by the Wagner Act (Holmes, 1972, p. 28). For a complete account of Filene Co-operative Association, see Mary LaDame's (1930) book The Filene Store.

Many employees actively participated in the F. C. A., which served as a device for them to gain visibility and do other work within Filene's. Employee sentiment was strongly favorable toward the operation of Filene's, through employee participation in the F. C. A. One employee in 1905 (F. C. A. "Echo," p. 4) summed it up by affectionately referring to Filene's as "this profit-sharing, government-sharing store. . . ."

LaDame (1930, p. 24) wrote that in 1926, it was becoming very difficult for employees to serve both their

store positional job role and an official association role. Mahoney and Sloan (1966, p. 8) state that the leaders of the F. C. A. did not "evince any ambition to assume responsibilities of management." This statement is questionable, as some women who held managerial positions with Filene's were also very active in the F. C. A.

Filene's Managerial Women

Thirteen of Filene's prominent, early managerial women are presented in this section. The majority of the information on the managerial women of Filene's is compiled from evidence in the "Echo."

There was not enough information to compile profiles on three of the women originally selected as a part of the Filene's sample. These are Matilda Croissant, Estella Hand, and Mildred Ivy. An additional managerial woman from the sample, however, was documented: K. E. Coakley.

Diana Hirschler

Miss Diana Hirschler worked for Filene's for nine years, from 1900 to 1909. Diana herself states that she began at Filene's in 1900 (F. C. A. "Echo," April 1904, p. 1) as "social secretary." According to Diana, her role was to be an

> impartial person, to see that just conditions be established in order to enable the employes [sic] to do their best work, that with just and fair conditions from every standpoint existing, both sides would be benefited. (F. C. A. "Echo," April 1904, p. 1).

Malino (1982, p. 70), however, writes that she was hired in 1899 as a "floor manager" and "assumed the responsibilities for superintending the employees."

It is logical that in her position as "social secretary" that Diana played a leading role in Filene's welfare work. Diana was extremely active in the F. C. A.

Hirschler held many official F. C. A. positions throughout her Filene's years. She was on the "Echo" Advisory Staff in 1902 and 1904 (F. C. A. "Echo," April 1902, p. 6; July 1902, p. 1). Diana was also on the 1903 and 1904 "Suggestion Committee" and "Secretary" of the F. C. A. in 1904 (F. C. A. "Echo," February 1903, p. 2; April 1904, p. 4). In 1905 and 1906, Diana was on the "Board of Education Lecture Committee" and the "Library Committee" (F. C. A. "Echo," July 1905, p. 5; February 1906, p. 14). Diana was also the "Editor" of the "Echo" in 1905 (F. C. A. "Echo," May 1905, p. 2).

Hirschler was a popular speaker, both inside Filene's and away from the organization. She spoke at the first F. C. A. dinner in 1904 (F. C. A. "Echo," March 1904, p. 1). Hirschler attended "The Employees' Welfare Conference" in the spring of 1904, which was held in New York City (F. C. A. "Echo," April 1904, p. 1). The keynote speech she gave to this group was printed in the April 1904 "Echo" (pp. 1-3). In this speech, she introduces herself and

her role at Filene's. Hirschler also explains Filene's philosophy on welfare work and the F. C. A's history and role in achieving the welfare goals of the company. Miss Hirschler lectured for a course held at the Bigelow School in South Boston and the Lowell School in Roxbury in 1904 (F. C. A. "Echo," April 1904, p. 6). These lectures explained the training necessary to succeed in business, particularly for salespeople.

In 1905, she gave speeches at the Stenographer's Dinner and the "Profit Shareholder's Dinner (F. C. A. "Echo," July 1905, p. 4; May 1905, p. 6). Also in 1905, Hirschler gave morning conferences on "Store System for the Sales Force and Apprentices" in the F. C. A. Club Room (F. C. A. "Echo," July 1905, p. 4; September 1905, p. 4).

This same year, Hirschler attended and participated in a "Welfare Conference" in Philadelphia (F. C. A. "Echo," September 1905, p. 15). This conference attracted about 50 welfare managers from all over the country. This same year she was conducting a course on "Salesmanship Training," at the "South Boston Educational Center" (F. C. A. "Echo," November 1905, p. 2). In the fall of 1906, Hirschler was "connected with the new commercial high school" in Boston (F. C. A. "Echo," March 1906, p. 8). She taught classes in salesmanship at this school.

Hirschler's interest in helping employees extended beyond the walls of the store. Miss Hirschler even held

a "Psychology Class" on Tuesday evenings at her house, "open to all" (F. C. A. "Echo," 1905, p. 4). These were described as "very instructive" by a member.

Hirschler held a formal position in the Filene's 1906 store pyramid. She was head of the "Educational" pyramid (one of the third level pyramids) as seen in Figure (see page 222). Diana was given the title of "Executive Welfare Manager" this same year (F. C. A. "Echo," February 1906, p. 9). She worked directly under the "Superintendent of Employees," Mrs. O. C. Pratt, who reported directly to T. K. Cory, the "Store Manager." Working under Diana, are the "Floor Superintendents."

Miss Hirschler was also active in F. C. A. social activities. In 1904, Hirschler attended the "May Party" and the "Barn Party" held by the F. C. A. (F. C. A. "Echo," June 1904, p. 1; May 1904, p. 1). She also attended the first Girl's Club "Shirtwaist Party" and "danced as usual" (F. C. A. "Echo," November, 1905, p. 3). She admitted going to the opera "for purposes of character study only" (F. C. A. "Echo," February 1906, p. 4).

Hirschler advocated vacations for employees. Examples of this encouragement were found in several "Echo" issues. "The Welfare Manager and her office will give helpful advice about how and where to spend a delightful vacation" (F. C. A. "Echo," July 1905, p. 3). She believed in them

for herself, as well, and it is known that she took one at least in 1902 (F. C. A. "Echo," September 1902, p. 2).

Several examples of Hirschler's writing were found in the "Echo." In 1906, she wrote the "Soliloquy of a Lead Pencil" (F. C. A. "Echo," February 1906, p. 1). It is an amusing, yet serious look, at a salesclerk and her job through a pencil's eyes. A copy of this paper is in Appendix D.

Another paper was printed in the March 1909 "Echo" (pp. 2, 16). Hirschler was then the former Filene's Welfare Manager. It was a copy of an article that had been published in the newspaper, the New York Sun, and was entitled "The Psychology of Selling, Types of Customers and How to Handle Them." In the article, Hirschler writes about the various types of customers and suggests ways that salesclerks can work successfully with the various customers. A portion of this paper is presented in Appendix D. Diana wrote a touching two page memorial in the "Echo" to a salesclerk, Johanna L. Moran, who passed away in March 1905 (F. C. A. "Echo," pp. 1-2).

The specific educational and family background of Diana is unknown. It is known, however, that she was once called a "Philadelphia lawyer" (F. C. A. "Echo," November 1905, p. 2). Whether or not she was actually a lawyer, or this was just a figure of speech, has not been

ascertained. If she was, then she must have been a college graduate. A photograph of Diana is presented in Figure 21.

Diana certainly contributed immensely to Filene's early employee and store success. She also reached beyond the store for the education and advancement of women in department stores. Miss Hirschler left Filene's in 1909 to continue pursuing work she had begun in 1908 with Anna Garlin Spencer in New York (F. C. A. "Echo," March 1909, p. 2). Diana left Filene's because she had "outgrown the scope of welfare work" and had "become more interested in the larger problems of raising saleswomanship efficiency" (Teaching the Girl, 1912, p. 371). She worked with Anna teaching night training classes to saleswomen and later training sales teachers, through the New York public schools (Benson, 1986, p. 152).

Bernice M. Cannon

Miss Cannon was employed at Filene's from at least 1912 until 1925 (Prince Alumnae News, 1915, p. 58). She was a "Floor Superintendent" in 1912 (F. C. A. "Echo," April 1912, p. 4). Most of what was found on Cannon's contributions to Filene's was contained in LaDame's (1930) book on Filene's.

Bernice Cannon was appointed the "Director of Training" for Filene's in the spring of 1912 (LaDame, 1930, p. 398). In 1914, she was given the responsibility to organize and



Figure 21. Diana Hirschler

Source: F. C. A. "Echo" (November, 1905), p. 3

direct "a department for research" (LaDame, 1930, p. 400). Miss Cannon is attributed with establishing formalized group training through the development of "craft" groups (LaDame, 1930, p. 402). These "craft" groups were organized by the type of occupation and consisted of "floor superintendents of the main store, floor superintendents of the basement, floor clerks, merchandise clerks, automatic markers, chauffeurs, elevator operators, assistant buyers, and decorators" (LaDame, 1930, p. 403). Miss Cannon explains the purpose and function of the "craft" groups in the following quote:

> The organized group of people doing the same kind of work shall be considered as a very necessary instrument for use by the training and methods division to increase the opportunities for developing the leadership throughout the store and make for effective, co-operative effort on the part of the whole store. (LaDame, 1930, p. 402)

Three other forms of training, in addition to group training, were developed through Miss Cannon's department from 1912 to 1922. These were "initiation, job and resource training." Initiation training was a two week session for non-executive new employees and consisted of a store tour, three lectures on the store's organization, rules and Filene Cooperative Association (LaDame, 1930, pp. 404-405). Executive initiation training consisted of "individual instruction by the Training Department in the organization of the store, its directory . . ., the Filene

Co-operative Association, introduction to other executives and a tour of all departments" (LaDame, 1930, p. 406). "Job" training, referred to as on-the-job training, included supervisory instruction "at the employe's [sic] place of work" consisting of observation and performance of work (LaDame, 1930, p. 406). "Resource Training" was the training of a group for specific job promotion possibilities and included the training of all clerks (floor, stock and office), floor superintendents, assistant buyers, head of stock, and even "special training" for executives. Special training was similar to executive training programs of today. Members of this group were first recruited from within the store, then from outside the organization, returning to inside the store in 1920 (LaDame, 1930, pp. 407-410).

Search through the past issues of "Echo" did not reveal very much active F. C. A. participation by Cannon. She ran for election to the F. C. A. Council in 1912, but this researcher was unable to learn whether or not she won a seat (F. C. A. "Echo," April 1912, p. 5). She was, however, on the F. C. A. Educational Committee and "Counselor" for the Club House in 1912 (F. C. A. "Echo," September 1912, p. 3). Perhaps Cannon's duties as Training Director kept her too busy to participate much in the F. C. A., or its activities.

Miss Cannon also taught a free night course for Filene's, through the Retail Trade Board of the Boston Chamber of Commerce ("Training Department," 1926, p. 3). The course she taught was entitled "How to Teach," and prepared students to teach store employees. Cannon also gave talks on Filene's organization to new employees. "By this means she established a contact at once with all newcomers" (LaDame, 1930, p. 405).

Bernice wrote a chapter in Catherine Filene's (1920) book, Careers for Women (pp. 367-373). The chapter was entitled "Personnel Work, the Education Director." In her chapter Cannon explains what the Educational Director does, the nature of the work, and the qualifications necessary for success in personnel work. She recommends "having a teaching instinct," and analysis and planning skills for a career as an Educational Director (Filene's, 1920, p. 369). Cannon also suggests a college degree, or a high school degree with teaching or business experience and a particular store skill, as a basis for teaching that kind of work.

The author of The Educational Director (1918), Beulah E. Kennard, expresses her "deep thankfulness" to Miss B. Cannon for her help on the book. This book was one in a series of merchandise manuals published around 1920. Kennard acknowledges her "original researches," as "Educational Director Wm. Filene Sons Company, Boston."

Miss Cannon also "secured reports and information from United States counselor officials in foreign countries and made a compilation of data on the subject" (Kennard, 1918, p. ix).

Bernice M. Cannon graduated from the University of Minnesota (Training Department, 1926, p. 3). She was also a graduate of the "Prince School of Store Service and Education" (Prince Alumnae News, 1918, p. 17; 1919, p. 23, 1920, p. 34; 1921, p. 36; 1923, p. 46; 1925, p. 58). Where Miss Cannon came from and how she got to Filene's was not found through the research.

Two pictures of Miss Cannon were found in the F. C. A. "Echo," however, they were too small or not clear enough to copy (F. C. A. "Echo," April 1912, p. 5; March 1912, p. 4). She wore her hair pulled back, wore glasses, and was not smiling in either picture found. Cannon appears to have been older than most of the other Filene's managerial women that are included in this study. Bernice remained Filene's Director of Training until 1925 (Prince Alumnae News, 1925, p. 58; "Training Department," 1926, p. 3).

Margaret Fitzgerald

The first evidence of Margaret Fitzgerald at Filene's appears in the October 1905, "Echo" (p. 10). She was then an "Assistant Editor" of the "Echo." According to LaDame

(1930, p. 149), Margaret worked her way up from salesclerk to buyer.

Margaret won several prizes at Filene's for her worthwhile contributions to the organization. Margaret was the recipient of a $5.00 F. C. A. prize for "the most suggestions accepted during the month of March, 1908 (F. C. A. "Echo," April 1908, p. 4).

Another prize was awarded to "Miss Margaret Fitzgerald" of "Dept. 315," in September, 1912. She also won one of "The President's Contests" for "Advertising" (F. C. A. "Echo," September 1912, p. 4). This winning ad promoted Easter petticoats in every imaginable color. Part of the ad reads:

> We have them--in the new millinery shades--"Squadron Blue"--"Burnt Amber"--"Nell Rose"--"Royal Purple"--"Gold"--in the staple shades--navy, brown, emerald, cerise, wisteria, black and white. Petticoats--legions of them--to fit the purse, to please the eye, to appeal to the practical, to give the touch that means perfection to the Easter Outfit. (F. C. A. Echo," September 1912, p. 4).

During her years with Filene's, Margaret was quite active in the F. C. A. In the F. C. A. Department of Education, Margaret represented the "5th floor" in 1908 (F. C. A. "Echo," August 1908, p. 13). Margaret was an Assistant Editor of the "Echo" in 1905 and 1910 and became the President of the F. C. A. Girl's Club in January 1910, succeeding Anna Bennett to the presidency (F. C. A. "Echo," January 1910, pp. 8, 13; October 1905,

p. 10). The "State (Mass.) Minimum Wage Commission" in 1912 requested a young woman to represent Filene's employees and Margaret Fitzgerald was elected (LaDame, 1930, p.1 49). She remarked that she was happy that this position did not compromise her at Filene's.

Socially, Margaret and Anna Bennett, another managerial woman with Filene's, were close friends, according to the January 1910 "Echo" (p. 2). Margaret was also active in the F. C. A.'s social activities and apparently, Margaret sang well and/or liked to sing, as she did so at Girl's Club Meetings (F. C. A. "Echo," November 1910, p. 11).

Fitzgerald was described as having "tireless energy, much originality, and the ability to inspire others with her enthusiasm" (F. C. A. "Echo," January 1010, p. 13). There is a photograph of Margaret taken in October, 1912 (F. C. A. "Echo," October 1912, p. 6). She wears glasses and her hair is held in a bun, as shown in Figure 22.

The Boston City Directories from 1875 to 1904 reveal several Margaret Fitzgeralds. From 1875 (p. 31) through 1879 (p. 34), the directories listed a "Miss Margaret Fitzgerald" living at 100 Poplar in Boston proper. There were no other Fitzgeralds living at the same address. In 1880 (p. 356) she moved to "6 Porcelain Place" and in 1881, moved again to "2 Rossell Place." The 1885 Boston Directory (p. 401) listed a Miss Margaret Fitzgerald as a "coatmaker" who roomed in Cambridge. From 1886 until



Figure 22. Miss Margaret Fitzgerald

Source: F. C. A. "Echo" (September, 1912), p. 4.

1904, all of the Margaret Fitzgeralds listed were widows. In 1904, there was also a Margaret Fitzgerald who roomed at 11 Camden Pl (Boston Dir., 1904, p. 658). The 1905 (p. 946) directory listed a Margaret Fitzgerald who was a "teacher" that boarded at the "Hotel Ludlow."

Since Fitzgerald was a popular Bostonian name, and there were always some Margarets listed in the Boston Directory, it is difficult to determine if any of the Margaret Fitzgeralds might have been the same woman who worked as a manager at Filene's. What happened to Margaret Fitzgerald after 1912 is still to be learned. She was, however, active at Filene's for seven or more years.

M. C. Sweeney

Miss M. C. Sweeney was first found mentioned in the November 1905 (p. 3) "Echo." She was affiliated with the "Stenographers Department" and won a "box of chocolates as a result of her proficiency in orthography" (spelling). Her Filene's position and work is unknown after 1905, but Sweeney was active in F. C. A. activities until 1912 (F. C. A. "Echo," September 1912, p. 2).

Sweeney was the Secretary of the "Exposition Committee" in 1905 (F. C. A. "Echo," November 1905, p. 3). She was also on the "Entertainment Committee, Board of Recreation" for the F. C. A. in 1907 (F. C. A. "Echo," January 1907, p.12). In 1912, Sweeney was an "Assistant Managing Editor" for the "Echo" (F. C. A. "Echo," September 1912, p. 2).

Miss Sweeney was photographed as a member of the F. C. A. Exposition Committee" in 1905 (F. C. A. "Echo," November 1905, p. 3). This photo is shown in Figure 23.

Miss Sweeney's first name was probably "Mary" as in the January 1910 "Echo" (p. 2) a "Mary Sweeney" was thanked for "unselfishness" in playing her violin at F. C. A. Girl's Club affairs. The same report stated that "Miss Sweeney is also interested in the other club affairs." It is known that Miss Sweeney traveled to London and Paris during the summer of 1908. She wrote to fellow employees through the "Echo," of the "many," "magnificent" sights she was enjoying (F. C. A. "Echo," September 1908, p. 6). Whether this trip was taken for work or pleasure is unsupported.

A "Mary" Sweeney was listed in the 1877 to 1878 (p. 85) Boston Directory living in Boston proper at "305 East Eights." No other reference is found of her in the remainder of the Boston Directories. Whether "Mary Sweeney" listed in the early city directory is the same woman who worked at Filene's is unclear. The "Echo" provides evidence that M. C. Sweeney worked at Filene's from 1905 until 1912.

K. E. Coakley

Miss K. E. Coakley worked for Filene's from at least 1902 until January 1912, as revealed by the many entries referring to her in the F. C. A. "Echo." In 1902, she



Photo by Will Armstrong.

THE EXPOSITION COMMITTEE.

L. T. McMahon, Publicity. W. C. Watt, Exhibits. F. M. Spear, Exposition Mgr.
J. F. King, Entertainment. M. C. Sweeney, Sec. G. A. Pierce, Refreshments.

Figure 23. M. C. Sweeney, 1905

Source: F. C. A. "Echo" (November, 1905), p. 3.

was buyer for the "Underwear, Petticoat and White Skirt Departments." She received a good luck floral horseshoe wreath from "her girls," upon moving her departments to the new Filene's store in 1902 (F. C. A. "Echo," September 1902, p. 21).

In June of 1907, Miss Coakley went to Paris on a buying trip aboard the "Adriatic" steamship (F. C. A. "Echo," June 1907). This was her "second trip" buying abroad and another buying trip to Europe was reported in 1909 (F. C. A. "Echo," March 1909, p. 3). She must have still been buying for these departments in 1912, as her January New Year's resolution was to "change the style and make them wear more underwear" (F. C. A. "Echo," January 1912, p. 15).

Coakley was active in F. C. A. activities while she was a Filene's employee. She was a member of the F. C. A. "Insurance Committee" in 1904 (F. C. A. "Echo," March 1904, p. 4) and was the Vice-President of the "Profit Sharers' Club" in 1906 (F. C. A. "Echo," January 1906, p. 8). Miss Coakley was also active in F. C. A. social activities. On New Year's Eve, 1902, she attended the F. C. A. sponsored "Poverty Party," where members dressed in poor looking costumes (F. C. A. "Echo," January 1902, p. 3). Apparently, Miss Coakley bid on or was given a "bunch of bridal roses," at a 1902 Filene's "unclaimed packages" auction. She wore this corsage that evening

while all attendees thought they were quite becoming (F. C. A. "Echo," August, 1902, p. 5).

Three vacation trips taken by Coakley were reported in the "Echo." Miss Coakley was a friend of Misses Jackson and Jantzen (also Filene's managerial women), as they all three spent vacation together in 1908 at Kennebunkport, Maine (F. C. A. Echo," September 1908, p. 2). She also "spent a week's vacation at North Woodstock, New Hampshire gaining a well deserved rest after her strenuous summer abroad" (F. C. A. "Echo," October 1905, p. 4). Then, Miss Coakley drove some girl friends to Providence in her new Cadillac on June 17, 1911 (F. C. A. "Echo," July 1911, p. 23). For a woman in 1911 to have a Cadillac, must have been unusual. After Miss Coakley's trip to Europe, she was interviewed for the September 1905 "Echo" (p. 14). During the interview, she apologizes for not having time to write this month, but tells a humorous story about a woman on the train to Berlin. Miss Coakley also expresses gratitude for the kindness and thoughtfulness "which welcomed me upon my return."

What happened to Coakley's Filene career after 1912 is a mystery. She was, however, an active Filene's employee for at least eleven years.

Mrs. F. M. Keiser

Mrs. Keiser began at Filene's in 1908 and worked at the store at least until 1912. "Mrs. F. M. Keiser" became

the "new" third floor assistant to Mr. Coburn, in December, 1908 according to the "Echo" (1908, p. 5). She grew to be quite popular with the "girls" in this position (F. C. A. "Echo," December 1908, p. 5). In 1912, Mrs. Keiser was a "Floor Superintendent," and also "Secretary" of the Floor Superintendent's Organization (F. C. A. Echo," September 1912, p. 3).

Perhaps because of the popularity Mrs. Keiser gained with the Filene's "girls," she became "Mother" to the F. C. A. Girl's Club in the winter of 1909 (F. C. A. Echo," January 1910, p. 1). Under her direction, the club was organized "with officers who have general management of the meeting and work" (F. C. A. "Echo," January 1910, p. 1). In this position, she was the club's "advisor" and "director" (F. C. A. "Echo," January 1910, p. 1). As the "Mother," she also participated actively in the Girl's Club outings and activities. In the summer of 1909, she was reported to be "adept" at playing ring games (F. C. A. "Echo," August 1909, p. 1).

It is known that she was still the Girl's Club "Mother" in 1910 (F. C. A. "Echo," January 1910, p. 1). After that date, there are no records that show her involvement in the club. Other F. C. A. and Filene's activities and duties may have taken her time. Mrs. Keiser became an F. C. A. council member in 1912 (F. C. A. "Echo," September 1912, p. 3).

Mrs. Keiser was described as generous with her time, and one who took a "personal interest in each individual girl" (F. C. A. "Echo," January 1910, p. 1). Several pictures of Mrs. Keiser were found in the "Echo" (November 1905, p. 7; January 1910, p. 3). One taken with other officers of the 1910 F. C. A. Girl's Club is in Figure 24.

L. P. Minshall

Miss L. P. Minshall was a manager for Filene's, from 1906 until 1908, according to the records found. She was involved in merchandising and the F. C. A. Miss Minshall was associated with the Corset Department from at least 1906 and was most likely the buyer, according to the evidence found. She hosted a dinner party for "the girls of her Corset Dept." on April 19, 1907 at her apartment (F. C. A. "Echo," April 1907, p. 20). After dinner, "singing and playing," Minshall presented the girls with souvenirs.

Miss Minshall is accredited with helping to start the F. C. A. Girl's Club in 1907 (F. C. A. "Echo," September 1909, p. 2). She began giving "a series of talks to groups of girls in the store" and management soon recognized the importance of this work and agreed to furnish a dinner at each meeting" (F. C. A. "Echo," September 1907, p. 2). Miss Minshall was also the Girl's Club Manager in 1907 and 1908 (F. C. A. "Echo," March 1907, p. 2; June 1908,



GIRLS' CLUB— TREAS. R. JUENGLING VICE-PRES. K. CLARIETY SEC. S. LOWE
COUNCELLOR E. GOOD PRES. ANNA BENNETT MOTHER KEISER

Figure 24. F. C. A. Girl's Club Officers Composite Picture, 1910

Source: F. C. A. "Echo" (January, 1910), p. 3.

p. 2). As such, she was called "Mother Minshall" (F. C. A. "Echo," January 1910, p. 1). She attended a July 6, 1907 Girl's Club outing at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln Filene with approximately 50 others (F. C. A. "Echo," August 1907, p. 6). Minshall also played the piano at Girl's Club luncheons (F. C. A. "Echo," March 1907, p. 2).

Minshall was also active in F. C. A. work other than the Girl's Club. She held offices such as "Chairman of the Library Committee" in 1906 and 1907, and was a member of the "House Committee of the Profit Share's Club" (F. C. A. "Echo," November 1906, p. 12; December 1906, p. 9; January 1907, p. 12).

Several articles written by Minshall were found in the "Echo." In the October 1906 issue of "Echo" (p. 3) is an article, "A Paper on the Direct Value of Cultural Education to Business." This paper advocates obtaining a cultural education for the betterment of oneself. Reading is the way that Minshall suggests obtaining this education, which helps lead to success in all aspects of life and career. A copy of this paper is presented in Appendix E.

Another Minshall article entitled "Taste" was in the May 1907 "Echo" (p. 2). She explains that taste is "the outward expression of harmony," and "unconsciously has a soothing effect on our entire nervous system." Minshall

further explained that the development of "good taste" can contribute to "a complete and perfect whole, thereby contributing our share to the actual joy of living." Her article seems to be a plea for the recognition and development of "good taste." A copy of the article is in Appendix E.

Minshall spoke at Filene's functions and also represented the store at outside speaking engagements. Minshall toasted Edward Filene prior to his "tour of the world" at an F. C. A. 1907 New Year's Reception and Dinner. Her toast was entitled "In the Soup" and went as follows:

> You may have wine when oft you dine,
> But with this crowd scarce ever,
> We'll drink your health and future wealth
> In this soup (all up). May you live forever!
> (F. C. A. "Echo," January 1907, p. 6)

In November 1906, she addressed the "Bigelow School, South Boston (F. C. A. "Echo," November 1906, p. 11, 15) on the "Points of Salesmanship." This talk also included a corset sales demonstration, which was well received by the many male attendees..

Several vacations taken by Minshall were mentioned in the "Echo." She went to Deep Harbor for vacation during the summer of 1907 (F. C. A. "Echo," July 1907, p. 4). In 1908, Miss Minshall went to her home in Kentucky (F. C. A. "Echo," September 1908, p. 2).

The last mention of Minshall was in the September 1908 (p. 8) "Echo," when it was reported that she "was

employed in Filene's Merchandise Office." The capacity she held was not identified, however. She began in the corset department and then became involved with the Girl's Club, and may have remained in corsets for more years at Filene's.

Lillian L. Kane

Lillian L. Kane was employed as a buyer for Filene's in 1918, and remained only through late 1919 or early 1920 (Prince Alumnae News, 1918, p. 7; 1919, pp. 23-33). Kane graduated from the "Prince School for Store Service and Education" in 1911 (Carino, May 1989, p. 1). Lillian submitted an article to the "Prince Alumnae News" which was published in the 1919 (p. 33) issue that alludes to her being a "Merchandising Scout." Lillian writes that the purpose of the scouts "are to get the buyers in touch with resources previously unused by Filene's, and to work on special merchandising problems" (Prince Alumnae News, 1919, p. 33). These scouts work "as a special" "scouting" "force at their New York Office." A copy of this article may be found in Appendix E. The concept that Kane writes about seems to be equivalent to a modern day buying office. It is interesting to note that Lillian refers to buyers as men in her article, yet she worked with many female buyers.

Lillian moved to Canada in 1919 or 1920, and took a buying position with Almy's Ltd. in Montreal (Prince

Alumnae News, 1920, pp. 35-36). She remained with them as "waist's [sic] buyer until 1923, when she again moved to Toronto and became a "Misses' and Juniors'" dress buyer for T. Eaton Company in 1925 (Prince Alumnae News, 1920, p. 33; 1931, p.56). Eaton's was an old, established department store that began in 1869 (Mayfeld, 1949, p. 42). Later, the "Prince Alumnae News" (1931, p. 56) reported that she became a Resident Buyer in Paris for Morgan's of Montreal, Canada.

M. A. Jantzen

Miss M. A. Jantzen was an employee at Filene's from 1902 until at least 1909. She may have begun in the store earlier, or worked beyond 1909, but documentation of her work at Filene's only exists for the eight years now written about.

Miss "Mamie" Jantzen was the "suit department buyer" at least from 1907 to 1909 (F. C. A. "Echo," September 1907, p. 2; March 1909, p. 3; January 1902, p. 2). She traveled to New York and Europe on buying trips (F. C. A. "Echo," September 1907, p. 2; March 1909, p. 3). Jantzen led a group of stenographers on a buying trip to New York in 1907 (F. C. A. "Echo," September, 1907, p. 2). This trip familiarized them with the work and activities involved in buying, and left them with a favorable impression of the work involved and the abilities of Miss Jantzen in the market.

Upon returning from a 1908 buying trip in Europe, she was welcomed with a surprise Valentine Reception Party hosted by her department (F. C. A. "Echo," March 1909, pp. 3, 9). It was held in the "club house library" on February 16. Miss Jantzen thanked the employees for "their good work done in her absence" and also the lovely party which she felt was "one of the most attractive and happiest little affairs I have ever attended" (F. C. A. "Echo," March 1909, p. 9).

Jantzen was quite active in the F. C. A. and she was on the "Advisory Staff" and "Insurance Committee" in 1902 and 1903 (F. C. A. "Echo," January 1902, pp. 2-3; April 1903, p. 2). In 1903, she was a member of the "Relief Committee" (F. C. A. "Echo," April 1903, p. 2). Jantzen also was acknowledged for contributing articles to the "Echo" (F. C. A. "Echo," January 1902, p. 2). None were found, however, signed by her so she may have just reported on her department.

Apparently, Jantzen, Jackson and Coakley, all managerial women at Filene's, were friends. They went on vacation to Kennebunkport, Maine in 1908 (F. C. A. "Echo," September 1908, p. 2). She also attended F. C. A. parties, such as "The Poverty" (F. C. A. "Echo," January 1902, p. 3).

Jantzen was described as "dainty" by a fellow employee in the "Echo" (F. C. A, March 1909, p. 3). Among Miss

Jantzen's 1902 New Year's resolutions was, "to wear my hair as my conscience dictates and not as my friends wish me to" (F. C. A., "Echo," January 1902, p. 3). She also states that she will try to deposit her year's savings, which she keeps in her pocket-book, into a bank.

No further information on M. A. Jantzen was found except that a Mary A. Jantzen was listed in the 1902 (p. 882) Boston Directory. No occupation was noted, but she boarded at "70 Hower" in Boston, proper. This could very well be the same individual that worked as a buyer at Filene's.

Margaret Jackson

She came to Filene's around 1902, from managing a "small factory" as "a business woman." The story of how she became employed by Filene's is rather interesting. One day she was shopping in the store's underwear department and was annoyed by "the presence of men in this department" (F. C. A. "Echo," April 1912, p. 4). This came to the attention of a supervisor, who then reported the incident to Mr. Edward Filene. Mr. Filene then spoke to the woman and suggested that she "call in some day and talk" to the supervisor. She did, and was hired as the "Floor Superintendent in the Underwear Department." Miss Margaret Jackson was Filene's first female "Floor Superintendent" (F. C. A. "Echo," April 1912, p. 4). In 1912, she had worked for Filene's over ten years, so she must have begun

some time in 1901 or 1902 with the company (F. C. A. "Echo," April 1912, p. 4).

Jackson was friends with M. A. Jantzen and K. E. Coakley and Jackson traveled to Kennebunkport, Maine with them in 1908 (F. C. A. "Echo," September 1908, p. 2). Her friendship with Jantzen seems reasonable, as she was the underwear superintendent during the same time that Jantzen was the buyer.

The 1902 to 1904 Boston Directories (pp. 876, 925) list a Margaret T. Jackson whose occupation is "dry goods" and place of employment in "Dorchester" (a suburb of Boston). Her residence is also Dorchester, therefore, it is unlikely that this woman is the same one that came from managing a small factory to work at Filene's.

Eleanor Good

Miss Eleanor Good was employed at Filene's from 1905 to 1912, as documented by the "Echo." Eleanor was "Secretary Stenographer" to Miss Hirschler, the Welfare Manager in 1906 (F. C. A. "Echo," February 1906, p. 9). Miss Good must have also been a stenographer in 1905, as she was the "Chairman" of the Filene's "Stenographer's Club" (F. C. A. "Echo," July 1905, p. 4).

Working under Miss Hirschler, it is not surprising that Eleanor was active in F. C. A. affairs. Miss Good was an Associate Editor of the "Echo" in 1905 and 1906 (October 1905, p. 9). She was also Secretary of the "Profit

Sharers' Club" and F. C. A. (F. C. A. "Echo," July 1905, p. 15; November 1906, p. 12) from 1905 to 1907.

In 1907, Eleanor was associated with the Post Office (F. C. A. "Echo," June 1907, p. 5) and by 1912 was the "Counselor" of the F. C. A. Club House, her office providing advice and classes (F. C. A. "Echo," September 1912, p. 3). This same year (1912) Eleanor had become an "Assistant News Editor" for the "Echo" (F. C. A. "Echo," September 1912, p. 2).

Miss Good worked for Filene's approximately eight years, according to the documentation found. Several pictures of Eleanor Good were found in issues of the "Echo" and a fairly clear one is in a composite picture with Mrs. Keiser, Anna Bennett and others in Figure 24.

Anna E. Bennett

Miss Anna Bennett worked for Filene's an unknown amount of time, but at least three years. The March 1907 "Echo" (p. 2) revealed that she was employed in 1907, and by 1910 she had "been in the store for several years" (F. C. A. "Echo," January 1910, p. 13). Bennett was recognized as a prominent member of the Girl's Club in January 1910 (F. C. A. "Echo," January 1910, p. 1). Bennett was honored for her "past and present service" and originating the idea of the Girl's Club and was the first president of the club in 1909 and 1910 (F. C. A. "Echo," January 1910, p. 1). Anna is praised in this article for "the thousand

and one things that she has done since the beginning" and the nice things that the Girl's Club does.

At a Girl's Club dinner, reported in the March 1907 "Echo" (p. 2), Anna "declared that she was going to be Welfare Manager" some day . . ." Anna and Margaret Fitzgerald were apparently good friends, according to the January 1910 "Echo" (p. 2). It stated, "Margaret Fitzgerald is always to be found where Anna Bennett is and vice versa . . ."

Anna was a fairly young woman while employed at Filene's, as evidenced by her 1910 photograph in the January "Echo" (p. 1) and in Figure 25. Whether or not Anna became "Welfare Manager," after Fitzgerald is not known and her official work role at Filene's was also never identified.

Edith Brownlee

Miss Edith Brownlee was an Assistant in Training at Filene's from 1918 until 1925 (Prince Alumnae News, 1918, p. 7; 1919, p. 23; 1920, p. 34; 1921, p. 36; 1923, p. 46; 1925, p. 58). She was a graduate of the "Prince School for Store Service and Education," (Prince Alumnae News, 1918, p. 17) but the year that she graduated, unfortunately is unknown. Brownlee was also a graduate of Smith College (Training Depart., 1926, p. 2).

Edith taught two night courses through the Retail Trade Board of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, as an employee of Filene's in 1926 (Training Dept., 1926).



Figure 25. Anna E. Bennett, 1905

Source: F. C. A. "Echo" (January, 1910), p. 1.

These were "Elementary Textiles" and "Advanced Textiles." The courses were offered free of charge at Filene's. Other roles Brownlee may have held at Filene's are not documented. She did, however, play an active role in Filene's training for at least nine years.

Summary of Filene's Managerial Women

The last, and highest positions held by Filene's managerial women were varied. They held positions of authority in merchandising, store service, and personnel. Four (and possibly six) were buyers, two were training directors, two were floor superintendents, one was the head of education, and two were secretary-stenographers. According to this research, seven of the total thirteen women rose through the ranks to positions of authority at Filene's. Two moved up from entry level positions, and five began in management positions, but were promoted to higher levels. Six of the remaining women who held management positions were not shown to have risen through the ranks. Perhaps they began at Filene's in management positions, or perhaps they worked their way up into management and were only recognized after they achieved managerial status.

Four of the Filene's women were directly involved in training and teaching fellow employees. Three of these women also got involved in teaching outside of the store. Literary skills were evident in five women with the

publication of a book, an advertisement, and many articles. Two of these women were also speakers at outside conferences in their field of expertise.

Seven, or over 50%, of the women began working at Filene's prior to 1905. One began in 1900, and by 1928 the remaining six other women had begun their careers at the store. By 1913, ten women were no longer working at Filene's according to the records. After 1912, records did not show six of these. Could something have occurred in 1912 to stimulate the exodus of these women?

The majority (almost 77%) of the Filene's women researched worked in the organization less than ten years. Three women worked for eight years, one worked for nine, and six worked five or less years. Only three women worked over ten years. Four women were known to have worked their way up in Filene's to their managerial positions. Two others, Diana Hirschler and Margaret Jackson, started their store employment in managerial positions.

Two women, Diana Hirschler and Lillian Kane, went to work elsewhere after they left Filene's. Both, however, remained in the same type of work that they had at Filene's.

Eleven, and almost 85%, of the 13 Filene's women were single. One had the title of "Mrs.," but it is unknown whether she was married, divorced, or widowed. The marital status of one women is unknown, as she was referred to by her first name or initials, and never called "Miss."

All of the women but one, were very active in Filene's Co-operative Association with most holding officer positions in the organization. Three were "Mothers," two had been president of the Girl's Club, and two were counselors. These women were represented from 1902 to 1912 on all but two of the five pyramids, "The Board of Government" and "The Board of Finance" (see F. C. A. 1906 Pyramid, p. 237). Seven women held official positions on the "Board of Recreation," primarily in the "Club House and Entertainment" committees. There were six women who sat on the "Board of Education" representing the "Library," "Lecture," and "Publicity" committees. Two women also held positions on "The Board of Government." As the "Head of Education," Hirschler held an official seat on the Filene's 1906 Organizational Pyramid as well (see Filene's 1906 Pyramid, p. 222).

The F. C. A.'s social activities seem to have played a large part in the women's outside work interests. Practically all of the women examined in this study actively participated in the dances, dinners, and outings sponsored by the F. C. A. Some sang, danced, and played instruments at these affairs.

Filene's managerial women seemed to live an active lifestyle, mixing work with pleasure through the store. They found time for recreation and social activities and seven traveled for work and/or pleasure.

Vacations were regularly taken by five of the women in this research. Two of the buyers took multiple trips to Europe for the company, as well, and seemed to mix business with pleasure from their accounts. There is also evidence that many of the women who worked together also socialized together.

Evidence was inconclusive on where they lived, and no information was revealed on their ancestry, families, and financial status. The "Echo" did indicate, however, that the majority of Filene's employees enjoyed their work and play associations with Filene's. These managerial women seem to be no exception to this.

The educational background of most of the women is unknown, however, two women, Brownlee and Cannon, had college degrees, and also graduated from the Prince School of Store Service and Education in Boston. Kane also held a degree from the Prince School. Another woman, Hirschler, may have held a college degree.

Some information on Filene's managerial women's personalities or work and personal traits were found through the "Echo." Several were said to have had a lot of energy and ability. One woman was described as generous with her time, with an ability to inspire others. All seemed to enjoy the company of others, either through teaching, training, counseling and advising, or socializing with fellow employees.

In general, a favorable attitude toward the Filene family and the work environment was expressed through contributions to the store paper. These women played a very active role in Filene's, so there is no reason to believe that they did not also enjoy working at Filene's and were happy with the conditions and their jobs there, although the majority of these women worked ten years or less. If the amount of work is any indication of the interest Filene's managerial women had, then they were extremely interested in their jobs and lives at the store.

The "Echo" also mentioned many other women who held managerial roles at Filene's not included in this study, because there was not enough information on them to create profiles. Most were buyers, superintendents, or in welfare work, such as Miss Kleist (F. C. A. "Echo," October 1912, p. 2), Mrs. Nellie Cady (F. C. A. "Echo," March 1914, p. 6), and Gertrude R. Brigham (F. C. A. "Echo," April 1906, p. 2).

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

As an open-system organization, the department store, as the micro or internal socio-cultural environment in this study (specifically Macy's and Filene's), has revealed that it affects and is affected by the macro or external socio-cultural environment. The economic, political, technological and socio-cultural factors of the times (1870-1920) indicate that the macro environment played a part in the development of the department store into the business organization it became. One is unable to directly measure, however, the degree to which these outside factors and the modern cities influenced the department store or its managerial women. In turn, it is also impossible to specifically determine the degree of influence that the department store, or micro environment, had on the modern cities within the macro environment and women in general.

This research does conclude, however, that at least 25 women held major managerial positions at Macy's and Filene's, and that these women had a major impact on the

stores employing them and the socio-cultural environment surrounding them. It is also evident that these women worked their way up in the department store organizations to achieve their professional success.

This study opposes many previous historians' views that department store work was a dead-end occupation for women. The managerial women at Macy's and Filene's, as shown through this research, had more of an impact than others such as Benson (1978, 1981, 1986), Hower (1943), Mayfield (1949), and Malino (1982) believe. Benson (1986, pp. 284, 289) writes that men were the primary managers of women at the department store. This research reveals that the direct supervision of most of the female department store employees (saleswomen) was by other women. Benson (1896) and Malino (1982) both recognize some department store women as powerful female role models. Their studies, however, focus on saleswomen and do not reveal just how much of a force these women were.

The socio-cultural open-systems model created in Figure 4, page 12, discloses the specific factors and subsystems investigated in this study. This model suggests the interaction between the two major environmental levels and the factors identified within them.

Since this research concentrates on the micro environmental level and the individual managerial women who worked at Macy's and Filene's, this summary also focuses

on the micro socio-cultural level. The questions presented in Chapter Three (pp. 139-140) will also be addressed in this section.

The literature reveals that the department store did not exist or prosper without influences from the outside. Evidence suggests, however, that the outside environment also grew as a result of many of the actions of the department store and its people. The macro environment provided the technological and economic advances that enabled the modern department store to become a reality, while politically and socio-culturally, the cities were undergoing tremendous change. The micro, department store environment provided the means to distribute goods and services, and also personally advance and enrich the lives of employees and customers alike.

The Socio-Cultural Environment in the Department Stores

In this study, the department store is shown to be the major retailing institution of the times. It played a major role in the new consumer culture created during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Not only did it eliminate the wholesaler and therefore provide goods at a lower cost to the consumer, but it was also instrumental in providing more goods to more people of various income levels. By doing such, the department store most likely contributed to the establishment and growth

of the middle-class urban society. New goods were produced that needed a more efficient manner of distribution and the department store provided the means for the mass distribution of these goods. In other words, mass production needed mass distribution and the department store provided this.

This consumer culture, according to Leach (1984) and Ewen and Ewen (1982), not only influenced women's role in society, but also helped reshape women's work role. The department store, as shown in this present research, created a new work culture for women, where large numbers of women worked under the direct supervision of other women.

This study, also discloses that as opposed to what others such as Benson (1986) and Malino (1982) contend, women were a viable force in the department store from a management perspective. Many were able to better themselves and advance to positions of authority at the department store. The accounts on the women included in this research also reveal that they helped shape the socio-cultural environment of the department store by actively participating in the decision making, teaching and training of other women who aspired to better store positions.

Physically and geographically, these stores helped reshape the modern cities' landscapes. The department stores created centralized downtown shopping districts,

and structurally rose upward instead of outward helping to preserve the limited land in the cities.

Macy's and Filene's were both privately owned organizations that began as small dry goods stores targeted toward women. The two stores first grew through the acquisition of adjacent stores, and finally with the building of large structures to accommodate the needs of the store. Organizationally, both stores developed structured, functional, segmented, divisions of labor with managerial hierarchies.

The department stores researched in this study were prime examples of growing organizations that segmented their labor into functional divisions. The early establishment of organizational charts within the companies (Filene's, 1906; Macy's 1922) depicted the hierarchial management structures and chain of command. As the needs of the organizations changed, the stores also changed their structures.

The department store as seen through Macy's and Filene's had an organizational culture like no other institution of the times. The organizational culture of the department store appears to be both a "process and outcome" as Deshpande and Webster (1989, p. 6) contend. Not only does the department store affect the individuals and groups within it, but the individuals and groups also affect the store. Although the culture of Macy's and

Filene's was similar in many ways, there were also some dissimilarities.

Both department stores in this study seem to support the emerging middle-class societal ideals of education, hard work, and the enrichment of one's life. Although their methods varied, training and education at both stores were stressed, and hard work resulted in the professional advancement and success of the women in this study. In addition, cultural and leisure activities were advocated as means to improve the quality of department store employees lives at Macy's and Filene's, just as they were promoted in the macro environment.

The literature reveals that department stores were often home away from home for many customers. Were the stores also homes away from home for the managerial women? Evidence indicates that they were. Close ties were frequently formed with fellow employees and the store owners. Work consumed most of these women's time, and the time not necessary for work was often spent in work-related clubs and activities.

Customers and managerial women alike were provided with amenities and services through the department store. The degree varied, but both levels appeared to supply and gratify what each group wanted: service to the shoppers on the one hand, and on the other, assistance and enrichment to the servers. These amenities and services greatly

contributed to the growth of the consumer culture that was surfacing and rising during the time of history researched.

In addition, the lifestyles and standard of living of some of the managerial women in this study were improved due to their jobs' income. Their level of life may also have been better than it otherwise would have been, due to such things as vacations, travel, and education provided by the stores. One managerial woman, Abigail Golden, did rise from a low, socio-economic status to an improved, and perhaps middle-class, position through the department store.

Macy's and Filene's both demonstrated that while achieving their goal of profit, they could also maintain an organization that cared for the welfare and personal growth and goals of their employees. The concern of employees was shown to be primary in this study. The research also revealed that the founders of Macy's and Filene's were people oriented, fair, civic minded, and philanthropic.

Although the methods differed, both stores seemed to have the welfare of their women in mind. Prior to the concern of the cities and states on the conditions of women at the department store, the store owners themselves initiated action to help ensure the health and happiness of their women. Many reforms, such as maximum work hours

and minimum wages, were initiated at the department store. In addition, through Macy's Mutual Aid Society and Filene's Co-operative Association, employees were able to help themselves. Many of the managerial women had an active voice in the rules, policies, and procedures of the stores.

Before Macy's Mutual Aid Society became an effective force in the organization, the owners themselves were taking care of their employees when necessary. Although this help was at their discretion, many of the Macy's female managers attested to the generosity of their employers. Filene's Co-operative Association, however, seemed like a more fair and equitable method of helping all employees. Department store owners may have felt morally responsible to look after their women because of the socio-cultural pressure from outside the store regarding the new form of work for women that the department store provided.

Since the department store was a new organizational institution at the beginning of the time period covered in this study, training was important to teach the employees their job roles. During this time period department training became formalized, and included education inside and outside of the stores. Training in both Macy's and Filene's was geared toward women and became highly organized and structured systems. Women were the department stores' customers, and women were the majority of employees at the department store. This could possibly be the reason

that most of the women in this study were responsible for training. Also, since women were the customers, the department store owners may have felt that female managers would best know their customers' needs and wants were. Formal department store training could have also helped to legitimize retailing as a profession for women.

Just as clubs were popular in the cities, they were also popular in the department store. The department store clubs helped foster store comradership and friendship, providing a way for women to spend leisure time. Many of the women included in this study helped create and administer these clubs. The department stores had two types of clubs with which the managerial women were involved. One was to provide entertainment and leisure activities, and the other was to nurture careers. Both associated women with other women who shared their interests. These clubs also afforded women the opportunity to develop their leadership skills, which may have helped them succeed professionally.

A check through the "Report of the Third Annual Convention New York State Federation of Women's Clubs and Societies" of 1897, showed no managerial women researched in this study holding any official position. The 1899 "First Annual Report of the National League of Women Workers" which had five associations and eighty clubs in Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New

York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland was also searched for names. Of the almost seven thousand members, only two of the women identified for this research could have been members. These are: Mrs. C. Crossman was a member of the "West End Woman's Republican Club" and resided at "W 83rd Street, N.Y." ("Club Women of New York," 1899, p. 125), and a Miss Edith A. Winship who resided at "415 W 118th St., N.Y." and belonged to the "Women's University, N.Y." ("Club Women of New York," 1899, p. 31).

Perhaps managerial women at Filene's and Macy's did not have the time or interest in outside clubs. Also, the stores' clubs may have satisfied the outside interest needs of the women. Could it also be that belonging to the department store fulfilled the women's need to affiliate with an organization?

At the department store, employees were exposed to people from dissimilar backgrounds and origins just as they were on the streets of the cities. Also, men and women often worked together and shared the same positions such as buyer, floorwalker, and superintendent. The various last names of the managerial women in this study reflect the diversity of nationalities that could be found in large cities during this period of time. Working side by side were Winship, Bowyer, Crossman, Blythe, Sidney, Hamburger, LaForge, Keiser, Jackson, Sweeney, Good, and Hirschler.

Communication appears to have played a major role in department store organizational culture. Proof of the managerial women's written and oral communication surfaced in the form of articles, speeches, talks, and meetings. The store organs were of great value in tracing the work roles of the women examined in this study. Filene's "Echo" was particularly important, as most of the information on Filene's managerial women was found in this paper. Additionally, the "Echo" and "Sparks" served as effective communicative tools relaying information to and between employees.

The Managerial Women

These managerial women helped to create the department store, drawing in the customers, and ensuring their return. This was achieved by their managerial role at the stores. As managers, all of the women supervised others, and therefore held leadership roles. The majority of the women studied gained managerial status by rising through the ranks at the stores. Most directly supervised other women, however, some such as the superintendents and personnel managers also worked directly with men.

Formal power was given to the managerial women by their job titles and descriptions. Collectively, the group of managerial women researched held positions of authority in all five department store organization divisions: store services, merchandising, finance, personnel (including

training and education), and advertising. Store services and merchandising had the highest, and equal number of, managerial women--seven each. All of the women in store services were superintendents and all of the women in merchandising were buyers. Personnel was the organizational division that five other managerial women worked in. Although only five women held formal positions in personnel, many others informally participated in training and educating other women. Descriptions of all the job positions held may be found in the "Roles and Jobs" section on page 114.

Both Macy's and Filene's managerial women had input in the operation and services at the stores. The evidence reveals that the women at Macy's had more informal involvement than the women at Filene's. Indications exist that Filene's Co-operative Associations provided the means for a more formal, and therefore direct, involvement. This study has also revealed that managerial women participated in the advancement of others outside the store, as well as inside the organizational boundaries, through their teaching and lecturing at schools and conferences.

The evidence in this research also indicates that traditional family and work roles were often reflected in early department store female managers. The department store owners ofter played the caretaker role for the women who served under them. Also, women who supervised other

women were often referred to as "Mother." Additionally, training, welfare work, and education were many women's entry into department store management, and these occupations had been acceptable women's work prior to the years covered in this study. The department store positions that most of the managerial women held were those that helped and nurtured others. Over a third of the women were buyers, however, and nearly a fourth became superintendents. It is known that men and women alike held these positions, so they were most likely not traditionally held female job roles.

Just as middle-class women in the home were running, organizing, and managing the household, women were also running, organizing, and managing the department store as revealed by this research. Contrary to the middle-class ideal of womanhood and woman's place in the home, the department store managerial woman left the home to earn a living. Several, however, left the stores when they got married.

None of the women identified and researched in this study held direct ownership in the stores where they worked. One Macy's employee, Margaret Getchell LaForge's husband, was a partner in the store. Why she was not made a partner, instead of her husband, is an unanswered question. Perhaps the times would not allow a female manager ownership, or maybe she did not want to be a partner

herself. Some of the Filene's managerial staff probably owned stock in the store, because it was company policy, but it is unknown how much, if any, stock was owned by the individuals.

What attracted these managerial woman to the department store is uncertain. Independence and money may have been two factors. An opportunity to grow and make something of oneself could have been another. Also, women could succeed without much of an education at the stores. The fact that department stores outwardly solicited female workers probably attracted some of these women to the stores.

Some of the women who rose to managerial positions were young girls when they entered the stores. Money was probably the motivation for these girls to work. The stores provided education and training for those girls lacking in the necessary skills for their advancement. There were only three college graduates, as managerial women of the stores. Two of these, plus another, attended the Prince School in Boston. Because many of the women were too young when they entered the stores to have had much of an education, they worked their way up in the stores.

Whether or not the majority of these women were financially independent is uncertain. Although the majority of working women during the time of this study earned low wages, the women in this study were atypical

and earned very high salaries (Tentler, 1979, pp. 16-22). Certainly, they could have been financially independent if they had so desired, as their incomes were high, even for men. Results showed that several women lived away from their families, who resided in different states. Since so many of their individual addresses were unavailable, it is most likely that they lived with other family members or friends as was common for single women to do during the times. One woman, Abigail Golden of Macy's, admitted helping to support her mother, bother, and sisters, but there was no information on any others.

The majority, or 20 of the 25 women researched in this study, were single when they worked for the stores. It is known that three women took positions in other stores after leaving Filene's and Macy's. Four women had worked elsewhere prior to employment at the stores. Fifteen (60%) of the women worked their way up in the organization to their managerial positions. Contrary to many historians, saleswomen were able to rise through the ranks at the department store, as several in this study did. Most of the women in this study were either buyers or superintendents, nine (36%) were buyers, and six (24%) were superintendents. The remaining ten were in training, education, advertising, and finance. The majority of the women worked eleven years or more, with one working 32 years and another working 51 years. Seven women, or nearly

a third, worked from six to ten years. The nine other women remained at the stores five years or less.

What has been revealed through this research on the individual women, and the managerial women as a group, indicates that the women were hard team workers, who worked their way up into managerial positions. Most importantly, women carved an important place for themselves in the previously only male work world through the department store.

The department store also provided these women with more than a place of employment. It was an environment where women became professional retail career women, continuously involved in their occupations. It also provided them with the opportunity to meet and know others, and become individuals in their own right. The stores may have even played a role in helping to maintain social cohesion by acting as surrogate family to those who were on their own.

The opinions expressed by both the Macy's and Filene's women indicate that they were happy with their work and lives at the stores. The long length of time that many of the women worked for their stores indicates that the women must have been reasonably happy in their positions.

Conclusions

This research historically interprets an elite group of women in terms of their interaction with the organizational business structure of the department stores (the micro socio-cultural environment) and the modern cities of New York and Boston or the outside environment (the macro socio-cultural environment). This study also attempts to recognize women's department store managerial role, and their efforts to redraw the boundaries that had defined women's life and traditional roles in the late nineteen and early twentieth centuries.

As an open-system, the department store is disclosed as an organization that was shaped, and also helped shape the outside environment. There is also evidence to indicate that the socio-cultural factors at both the macro and micro environmental levels contributed to the role of the department store managerial woman. The women examined in this study held significant roles in two major retail organizations from 1870 to 1920. The role of the department store was also significant in the growth and development of the consumer culture that arose during this period in history.

The department store provided the opportunity for women to explore a new profession, in which they could succeed and grow. At the department store, men and women crossed the boundaries that traditionally separated their

spheres by working side by side. Through this study, Macy's and Filene's were revealed to be major organizations that supported promotion from within for their female employees, giving women the opportunity to become leaders and managers in the business world based on merit. It often took women just a few years to rise from beginning positions as salesclerks or cashiers, to major supervisory positions. Hard work, a genuine interest in their jobs, loyalty, and dedication seemed to be the prescription necessary for advancement and success.

All but three of the women included in this research, Margaret Getchell LaForge, Abigail Golden and Diana Hirschler, were just briefly mentioned in the literature. The profiles generated through this research allow more recognition of Macy's and Filene's managerial women and the roles they played at the stores. At the department store a new work culture arose, where great numbers of women not only worked with other women, but were also supervised and managed by them.

These women lived and worked during a highly significant era in U.S. history and became a vital part of the new generation of working women, not necessarily belonging to the working class. These women worked for reasons beyond mere economic survival.

Women first began entering the professions in large numbers during the latter part of the nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries. Working outside the home was discouraged and frowned upon during the early period of this history. Later, the "right" jobs for women were promoted, and included department store work. The women in this study went against the socio-cultural norm, and were therefore pioneers in leading new, acceptable opportunities for women in the workforce.

Service lies at the base of sex-typed work roles for women throughout history according to Baker (1964), Evans (1989) and Hooks (1947). Service also lies at the base of department store work at Macy's and Filene's, as it does in many retail institutions. This does not, however, mean that department store work was necessarily a sex-typed work role, although later in history it became such.

By 1920, women were a majority in retail and fashion, with direct input into "the public culture of consumption" (Leach, 1984, p. 336). They were rising in the managerial ranks of department stores. However, as it still is today, men held most of the chief executive positions. After 1920, major changes occurred in the modern cities and department stores that would justify a different research perspective on women in department store management.

Future studies could look at department store managerial women beyond the scope of this study. Other periods in time could be researched, other stores, and specific positions could be researched in more depth.

How department store occupations became "women's work" could also be examined. Since most of the information disclosed in this study was derived from store sources, other information and evidence could be obtained from outside the stores. Specifically, demographic information on the women, lacking in this study, might be found. Much of this personal information, however, can only be traced through living relatives. Also, comparisons and contrasts could be made between department store managerial women and other managerial women, then and now.

Opportunities for women to advance were clearly visible at Macy's and Filene's. Although the majority of the women studied reached middle management positions, several became upper level managers.

The women who held early managerial roles at Filene's and Macy's were indeed a truly elite minority. Not only did working women constitute less than 15% of the total female population between 1870 and 1920, but the women who held management positions were very few. These department stores' managerial women played an active role in the social, economic, political and technological aspects of the changing environment.

The managerial women in this research were the forerunners, and possibly role models, of future department store managerial women. They were a part of the first

generation to show, and prove, that women could, and did, have a business role in retail.

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A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX A

Sample Letter

and

Bibliographic References

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE

Dear

Women who held managerial positions in U.S. department stores from 1870-1920 is the topic of my doctoral research at The University of Tennessee. In order to document their lives and work, it is important to locate primary resources, such as diaries, letters, pictures, and other documents.

It is extremely important in the planning of my research to locate this data. I would be most grateful if you would be able to let me know whether you hold any information on the individuals and/or stores that are involved. The following is a listing of the women and stores that I need information on:

Macy's - New York

1. Marie (Lottie) Bowyer
2. Cora Crossman
3. Bella Cushman
4. Margaret Getchell LaForge
5. Abigail Golden
6. Diana Hirscler
7. Martha Toye

Loehmann's - New York

8. Frieda Mueller Loehmann
9. Anita Loehmann

Siegel-Cooper - New York

10. Issabella Nye

Filene's - Boston

11. Matilda Croissant
12. Margaret Fitzgerald
13. Estella Hand
14. Diana Hirschler
15. Miss Kane
16. "Mother" Keiser
17. Sadie Levy

J. Barnaby - Boston

18. Estella Hand

The Prince School - Boston

19. Lucina Wyman Prince

You may know individuals who have information that would be of aid in this research. I would be most appreciative of your sending their names and addresses to me. A self-addressed stamped envelope is enclosed for your response; however, you may contact me by phone if you wish.

I look forward to hearing from you, and thank you in advance for your help.

Sincerely,

Judy K. Miler

Bibliographic References

Americans of Jewish Descent

Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Literary on the History of Women in America, The Manuscript Inventories and the Catalogs of Manuscripts, Books and Pictures

Biography and Genealogy Master Index

Directory of Archives and Manuscript Repositories

Dictionary of American Biography

Enterprising Women

Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the U.S.

Index to Women of the World from Ancient to Modern Times

Jewish History Who's Who

National Union Serial List of Manuscripts

New York Times Obituary Index

Notable American Women, Vols. 1 and 2

Obits on File

Who Was Who

Who's Who in America

Women and Work, Paid and Unpaid; A Selected Annotated Bibliography

Women at Work; An Annotated Bibliography

Women in Administration and Management; An Information Sourcebook

Women in Particular; An Index to American Women

Women's History Sources: A Guide to Archives and Manuscript Collections in the United States, Vols. 2 and 2

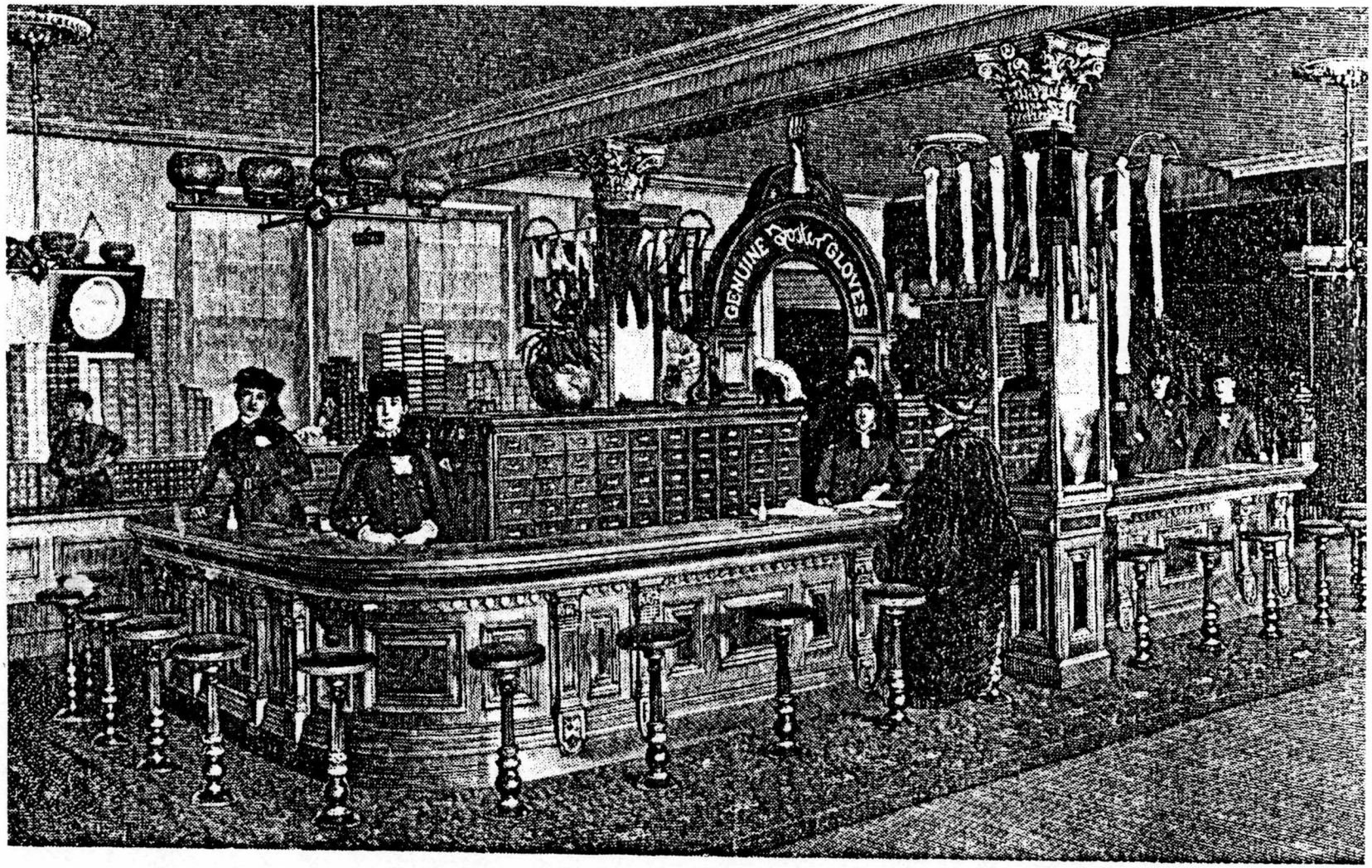
Women's Studies, A Bibliography of Dissertations

APPENDIX B

Early Interior Pictures of Macy's



BLACK DRESS SILK DEPARTMENT.



GLOVE DEPARTMENT—MAIN FLOOR—6TH AVENUE SIDE.

APPENDIX C

Margaret Getchell LaForge's Poetry Samples and Starbuck Family Ancestry

Our High School

You have asked me and I'll tell you,
Tell you of the mighty school-house,
Tell you of the School Committee,
Tell you of the patient teachers,
Tell you of the many scholars,
Toiling daily for their learning,
Toiling for the good and useful.
First, I'll tell you of the schoolhouse,
With its rattling, shaking windows,
With its stoves all cracked and rusty,
With its narrow ventilators,
With its desks both scratched and inky,
With its dingy, dusty blackboards,
Then I'll tell of School Committee,
Tell of men both wise and noble,
Regulating rules and precepts,
Visiting the schools and scholars,
Overseeing books and learning,
Building schools and mending others,
Next, I'll tell you of the teachers,
Kind, industrious, mild, and patient,
Who are striving daily, hourly,
To direct the young idea,
To impress upon the mem'ry
Of each scholar what he studies,
To encourage, cheer them onward,
To assist with kind advices.
Last, I'll tell you of the scholars
Bad or good or poor or wealthy,
They are worthy of a high school
Better than the one they now have.
When they have one, I will tell you
Where they have it, how constructed.
Should the Muse allow the freedom,
I will tell you more hereafter.

—Nantucket, 1856

Freedom

And can they, dare they scourge the black,
And stretch him on the torturing rack,
  Because he is not white?
Because he toils from day to day
A powerless slave beneath their sway.
  Is *this* a freeman's right?

Our holy Savior from on high
Said "Do as you would be done by;"
  A rule too oft forgot

By those who doom poor Africa's son
To toil till life's dark race is run,
  Detested slavery's lot!

The Southern States may count their wealth,
'Tis bought with Negroes, robust health,
  Forsooth! A worthy price!
For there they labor starving fast
And doomed to live and die at last
  In poisonous fields of rice.

Man makes a king, man makes a slave;
Death lays alike each in the grave.
  God made us equal all!
And dare we disobey his word?
No! Let the slaver be unheard!
  Respond to Freedom's call!

—Nantucket, 1856

THOMAS (4), JETHRO (3), NATHANIEL (2), EDWARD (1).

THOMAS STARBUCK (5), s. of Thomas and Rachel (Allen); b. 22–10–1749; d. 13–12–1830; m. Dinah Trott, b. 5–9–1743; d. 18–4–1824.

Children:

Reuben, b. ? ? 1762; d. 26–10–1801; m. Deborah Folger.
Simeon, b. 16–2–1765; d. 19–10–1850; m. Judith Folger.
Rachael, b. 22–9–1767; d. 8–4–1849; m. Alexander Swain.
Levi, b. 9–10–1769; d. 20–8–1849; m. Elazabeth Ramsdell.
Judah, b. ? ? 1771; d. at sea, 1792; m. Mary Coffin.
Joseph, b. 27–2–1774; d. 9–3–1861; m. Sally Gardner.
Benjamin, b. 28–12–1776; d. 1–10–1851; m. Hepsabeth Coffin.
Dinah, b. 12–5–1781; d. 21–10–1848; m. Elias Ceely.
Elizabeth, b. 14–2–1783; d. ? 6–1862; m. Albert Hussey.

JOSEPH STARBUCK (6) and SALLY GARDNER.

Their children and grandchildren.

SARAH (STARBUCK) GORHAM, b. December 25, 1797; d. October 26, 1874; m. Josiah Gorham.
No children.

EUNICE (STARBUCK) HADWEN, b. December 22, 1799; d. January 1, 1864; m. William Hadwen.
No children.
Adopted: Mary G. Swain.

ELIZA (STARBUCK) BARNEY, b. April 2, 1802; d. March 18, 1889; m. Nathaniel Barney.

Children:

Joseph S., b. 1827; d. 1905; m. Malinda Swain.
Sarah S., b. 1829; d. 1905; m. Alanson Swain.
Jethro S., b. 1831; d. 1832.

MARY (STARBUCK) SWAIN, b. January 15, 1804; d. ?; m. William C. Swain.

Children:

John H., b. 1823; d. 1908; m. Ann Maria Meader.
Mary G., b. 1825; d. 1877; m. George Wright.
Lydia H., b. 1829; m. Benjamin A. Barney.
Charles H., b. 1831; m. Mary Ann Rule.
Emily C., b. 1833; m. Abishai Swain.
Eunice H., b. 1835; m. Daniel Folger.
Phillip, b. 1838; m. Opheler F. Nason.
Sarah G., b. 1840; m. H. Augustus Lathrop.
Augustus, b. 1843; m. Susan E. Coffin.
(Two children died young.)

PHEBE, b. June 14, 1807; d. September 15, 1808.
GEORGE, b. February 15, 1809; d. January 18, 1810.

GEORGE, b. September 9, 1811; d. February 14, 1888; m. Elizabeth Swain.

Children:

George, jr., b. January 5, 1834; d. May 14, 1914; m. Arabella Kavanagh.

William Hadwen, b. October 23, 1835; d. March 29, 1896; m. Martha H. Defrieze.

Ellen, b. July 26, 1837; d. ?; m. Edwin Swain.

Marcus, b. October 24, 1839; d. September 25, 1890; m. Mary H. Tuck.

Sidney, b. October 23, 1842; d. February 28, 1910; m. (1) Eleanor Wiederholdt, (2) Laura Nichols, (3) Annie Whitford.

Arthur, b. December 8, 1845; d. ? 1881; m. Grace F. Ropes.

Susan, b. January 1, 1849.

MATTHEW, b. October 25, 1813; d. January 4, 1876; m. Mary Ann Morton (1); Catharine Wyer (2).

Children:

Caroline W., b. June 11, 1842; d. October 14, 1895; m. Edwin A. Merriam.

J. Bradlee, b. April 15, 1844; d. May 14, 1882; m. Anne E. Smith.

Horace, b. November 2, 1845; d. October 17, 1914.

Florence, b. May 22, 1848; d. ? ; m. Edward F. Palmer.

Maria, b. February 20, 1850; d. April 15, 1920; m. George H. Mackay.

WILLIAM, b. December 28, 1815; d. April 25, 1873; m. Sarah M. Allen.

Children:

Joseph A., b. May 12, 1835; d. ? ; m. Mary Abby Pitman.

Alfred, b. January 22, 1838; d. November 25, 1893; m. Elizabeth Maroney.

Martha D., b. August 11, 1840; d. ? ; m. David G. Baldwin (1); Enos Fenton (2).

Walter, b. April 25, 1843; d ?

ANN, b. September 1, 1818; d. November 11, 1819.

APPENDIX D

Samples of Diana Hirschler's Speeches and Articles

VOL. 3. FEBRUARY, 1906. NO. 12.

SOLILOQUY OF A LEAD PENCIL.

I may be only a lead pencil, but I've made my mark in the world. I belong to a salesgirl. I confess I used to have hopes of belonging to a police reporter, but I find there is as much excitement in the peaceful marts of trade as in a hold-up.

Now, come, I don't mean to insinuate that a sale is a "hold-up." I may be pointed at times and underhanded even, through the force of circumstances, but I'll be blunted if I'll ever go back on the profession that chose me. The excitement of the mart is of the quiet kind. It is not the "touch and go" sort, but the steady clash of mind to mind, and I thrill with pride that I, wooden as I am, set the final touches to every conquest. When I am called in I know this side wins. Naturally, after a day of heavy innings, I am much "used-up," but I have made a record which lives behind me in the shape of profits, wages and the good things they bring. Ah, but while I gradually fade before men's eyes, you have no idea at the time how much of a character student I become. If it was your fate to be guided by a human hand in the literal sense that a lead pencil is, would you detect the varying moods of the guide?

How many times I have reposed calmly in the coil of a girl's lustrous locks to be jerked out hastily, punched nervously into the yielding paper of the salesbook to make marks that turn the auditor's hair gray through despair? I know then that some customer has been ungentle in her effects and my girl has yielded to her own temperament too freely. Sometimes I can almost tell how much coffee a girl has drunk for breakfast by the disturbing effects upon me. Not that it disturbs me, oh, my, no, nothing disturbs me except her teeth. If she gets too nervous and uses her teeth, then I yield to a stronger force. But how I do rejoice in the steady, even hand that moves me regularly and quickly across the paper, making words and figures that any one who runs may read, that are really proud of themselves, that proclaim their real value without concealment to the whole world! You see, I like to be used well, because I give myself so unstintedly to my life work. Every time I move I leave part of my real self behind me, and I can never pick it up again. Like the mill, you can never use the pencil that is passed. Therefore, I do wish that humanity understood me better.

I am made to be used as a means of expression, and when I am robbed of the chance to do my best work it makes my heart sink like lead.

There She comes now, and I begin my character study again. Sometimes I change owners, for, alas! a lead pencil is like an umbrella, it fits every hand, and then I do interesting stunts trying to study my new guide. Come up close, I want to whisper something in your ear. At times a girl does not use aqua pura and Pear's soap in the morning! How would you like to be hugged by a hand like that? That accounts sometimes for my shady complexion. Ta, ta, by-by, glad to have met you. You know, a lead pencil always sees its finish, and if friends are to be made, it must make them quickly. Au revoir, when this you see, remember me.

D. H.

THE PHYSCHOLOGY OF SELLING*

Types of Customers and How to Handle Them

By Diana Hirschler, Formerly Welfare Manager at Filene's

It is the girl behind the counter who is specializing now. She has taken to psychology, though she may not call it that—the psychology of selling.

By a systematic course she is becoming familiar with the whims and fancies of women customers. If, for instance, a woman strolls leisurely past a counter glancing casually at the goods displayed the inference is she is only looking. If she stops in an indefinite way, pokes over the goods carelessly, the deduction is that she wants something but doesn't know what. If she approaches the counter with a firm tread, a determined look and a voice with assurance in it it's safe to say she knows what she wants and means to get it.

In the first case it is up to the girl behind the counter to attract her indifferent customer. It may be that this can be accomplished by a motion of the hand, a pleasant smile or the rearrangement of the goods in attractive fashion.

Attention once gained, the next point is to kindle interest. From interest the next step to closing the bargain should be easy to a good salesperson. In the case of the woman in doubt an attitude of well simulated decision on the part of the salesgirl and "Will you take it or shall I send it?" frequently has the desired result.

Among the types of women shoppers there are the intellectual, the woman who thinks; the emotional, the woman who feels; the volitional, the woman who decides. In order to tell them apart it is essential to know that the intellectual woman is logical in mind and has a fixed expression, while the emotional usually has large, wavering, sympathetic eyes, a voice of mellow tones, talks quickly and decides quickly. In her case the work on the part of the salesgirl is passive.

If the woman belongs to the intellectual class she, like the person from Missouri, must be shown. The value of the purchase must be presented to her. She must be convinced by reason. If she belongs to the emotional class she is a sure sale as things which appeal to eye and emotion catch her.

As to the volitional woman, all the talking in the world and all the winning smiles in the universe won't make her buy a cent's worth more than she wants. Her mind is made up, and the clerk will employ her time to better advantage by devoting her attention to the next customer.

A salesgirl should have a clear, distinct voice. It holds the attention and trains the eye along the line of observation. I think voice culture should be a part of the training of every business woman.

Emphasis should be laid on each important word when a customer asks the price of goods. For instance, often a girl will say "Twenty-five cents," emphasizing the cents, but swallowing the twenty-five. You know, of course, it isn't dollars, but how many cents is doubtful.

It is largely inattention that is to blame for this. To train the hearing is most important. The mind gets into ruts, the girl expects the customary thing, and when any unusual word or phrase strikes her ear it takes her a minute or two to wake up to it.

An example of this sort of inattention occurred when a friend of mine asked a clerk for two boxes of tooth paste. As the package was handed her with the change she asked from force of habit, "Is it tooth paste?" "Oh, no," returned the girl, "it's tooth powder. I thought it was that you wanted." She sells more powder than paste and expected the customary request without thinking.

Not only the attitude of mind but the attitude of body is of importance to the girl selling goods. If she stands erect she conveys an air of dignity. By moving toward the customer the idea of willing service is expressed. I tell my girls that their department is their home, not in the domestic sense but in a much larger way, and that the spirit of hospitality should pervade the place the same as in the home circle.

What a salesgirl should never say to a customer is "Anything in——?" If a woman is looking at hatpins don't say "Anything in hatpins?" when it is obvious that that is what she wants. Again, if the price is attached it is foolish to add "Fifty cents, madam," or whatever the price may be. Say nothing that is of no value to the customer.

The fewer words the better. Motion always helps a sale and obviates the necessity of talking. For instance, if it is silk by the yard, take it up, drape it, let it run through the

(Continued on page 16.)

* N. Y. Sun.

The Aisles of Trade

By Diana Hirschler

ILLUSTRATED BY MORRIS HALL PANCOAST

EXPERTS, such as the writer of this article, have in recent years developed a new science, that of creating efficiency in employees. Rules will not do it, nor will clocks or fines. But a keen, sympathetic knowledge of human nature, of mental machinery, will enable the expert to put the girl in touch with her own inner self, the source of all efficiency.



"CAN you see me a few minutes some time to-day?"

I looked at the girl who spoke and remembered her by no special incident of praise or blame. Those are the pegs memory hangs her recognition on in my work.

"Surely; come to the office in a half hour."

I have learned not to try to anticipate what the problem is of the sales girl who comes to me. It might be a stepmother, or a drunken father; it might be pain of body or trouble of mind, or an empty purse, or I might even be surprised with a song of joy.

So what Miss Anderson wanted, I made no attempt to foretell. As she had stood before me, I recognized a fine, sensitive face with its signs of quick recoil from much that would escape the phlegmatic. This was accentuated by an unusual silky fineness of her very yellow hair.

"Well, Miss Anderson," I said, as she appeared, "let's have our chat," and we shook hands to begin with. Nervous intensity gave my hand its mark through her grip, a further cue to whatever conditions her story might unfold.

"Miss Hirschler, I want to talk with you about my temper. I have a sharp tongue and it lost me my last position. I speak up quickly to the girls in the department, and then they get to dislike me. And I have to watch myself or I'll do it to customers. I'd like to get over it. Do you think I can?"

I HAVE said I could not always foretell the problem I was to face with a sales girl. But the general divisions of troubles are few, and the special one may be classified quickly. Here was an excellent illustration of what an educator business is in life.

"Do I think you can overcome irritation? I *know* you can. And I'll explain why. There is a Miss Anderson in you that is patient and gentle and soft of speech, and it is this Miss Nannie Anderson that has come to me this morning. And I'm pleased to meet her. For it is the permanent you; the other is the transient. You can remember as a child that this transient you slapped some one when it was angry probably, and now you don't. The real you has denied

"You annoy him to distraction. You are untidy. And you ask a customer how much she wants to pay"

the slap its place in your daily life, just as it stops us at a certain age from making faces at each other and sticking out our tongues.

"So the real you denies the tongue its right to hurt others by speech. Miss Nannie Anderson is therefore saying to herself right now: 'I want to be sweet and gentle and I will find a way.' The 'want to' spirit you roused in yourself made the 'will to' do it strong enough to seek me for advice. Do you see, my girl, you have now the only friend you need to accomplish self-control, your own will.

"Let's take that very word, self-control. It means control by the self, the real you, of the usurper self, the one that pretends to be you. To oust this one, you are now to think about the real you, its power, its kindliness, its patience, its true friendliness to others, and its refusal to acknowledge the shadow you as its own, or as having any power to use you. I shall give you some thoughts to center on as a daily exercise, especially before you go to sleep. This is to tell your will just what you expect it to carry out."

So begins my supervision of Miss Nannie Anderson to train her to do her work well.



In the creation of an efficient retail sales person is fulfilled the great law of service in its most personal form.

She is face to face in her work with the one who fills the pay envelops, eye to eye, touch to touch we might say often, and in the Helen Keller sense smell to smell, so human is each transaction. Every article that the great wheels within wheels of industry turn out must be transferred piece by piece to the environment of a consumer in her presence. The merchandise then becomes lost in the working out of human relations.

So, in my work of training retail employees to skill and also of training others to train them, I recognize the same aim the educator in school or college should have for them. And that aim is no less than a trained will, a wise judgment, an individuality that compels attention, and yet not attention that is personal.

Annie Sapra is in demand as an operator of waists by virtue of her manual accuracy and speed. No need for the personal radiation of those qualities that invite trust. Collarless her neck may be, beltless her waist, bent her back, unkempt her hands and feet. Minus charm, minus enthusiasm, she may be efficient.

Now, Annie Smith displays those same waists to the consumer for whom they were made by an efficient operator. But Annie Smith, to be efficient, must show the social courtesies and the personal drawing power of an interested individuality, combined with the art of making it all impersonal. She must attract personally, only to confer the resulting confidence to her merchandise.

I SEND for Miss Smith to see me privately. She enters swinging an arm with three bracelets on it rather defiantly, so they make a rattling sound. For she suspects they are to be mentioned.

"Miss Smith, you won't mind my being frank with you and saying the house prefers you not to wear much jewelry."

"It's very strange; I've worked in so many places and they never objected to what I had on."

Presuming on my smile and tone to make my remark friendly, I said: "Perhaps that's the reason you've been in so many places, Miss Smith, this house believes in you and wants you, or I shouldn't bother to tell you something unpleasant, for I don't enjoy saying it any more than you enjoy hearing it. But I'm going to explain why you make your work hard by overdress.

"You are here to center the minds of your customers on the hats you have to sell, not on yourself. The more quickly you do that, the more quickly you make your sale, isn't that so? Then, when you wear something that attracts them to it and you with it on, are you making the sale easier? You know you would rather make a good sale than be admired for having jewelry. Anyone who values her position would.

"You have several pictures hanging in the millinery salon. Describe the one you like best."

She did promptly. "What sort of a frame has it?"

She hesitates: "White and gold, I guess."

"You pay the frame a compliment by not remembering it. It is so appropriate it does not detract from the picture, it simply improves it. That is what dress should do—bring out your attractiveness but not detract the eye to itself. You are pleasing enough, Miss Smith, to rely upon yourself to attract, without overdoing the frame business."

And so we thresh it out together. At least, I prod the mind in front of me, unused to thinking, so that here and there reasoning gains ground. Anyway, she must leave me with a feeling of relief as regards the purpose of her visit. It might have been worse than the matter of her wearing many bracelets.

ANYONE could order Miss Smith to remove an inappropriate article of dress. But my department stands for promoting unity, for teaching reasons, for awakening the desire to be that success which means permanent position and more wages.

Miss Nettie Klein rushed into my corner one day and said: "Miss Hirschler, I'm hoodooed, positively hoodooed. I haven't sold a thing for two days, and this morning I've started out the same way. So I thought I'd come to you for a boost."

She let me laugh for a moment, then I said: "You certainly are hoodooed if you think you are. That's the only hoodoo there is. Nettie Klein is a good saleswoman, and there's nothing that can stand in the way of her selling but herself, so we'll change the hoodoo into a mascot, and you run along now and sell like—well, like yourself."

True enough, as I passed her on the floor two hours later, she beamed: "Say, I sold a $62.50 dress the minute I got back. It's all off," and she waved aside an imaginary fog.

But it is in the class work that I do the most consecutive training. For the

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"You won't mind my being frank with you and saying the house prefers you not to wear much jewelry"

The Aisles of Trade

(*Continued from page 20*)

training must be to get that alertness of mind so necessary to a business which deals first, last, and always with human nature, and on the side, deals with merchandise.

I began my work in Boston as welfare secretary before there was any name for it. A well-known merchant, Mr. Edward A. Filene, had conceived the idea of establishing some one as an intermediary between the house and its employees, an idea since become the basic principle of the welfare secretary movement in stores, factories, and mills. The object was to unite both employee and employer more closely in mutual interest, to make each more truly comprehend the needs of the other. I had recently graduated from a law school, with a special interest in the progress of women, and Mr. Filene and his brother, Mr. A. Lincoln Filene, induced me to try their new idea. I said I would join them for a month to see the possibilities in it and in me for it. The month never closed for me, so fascinated did I become with the widening outlook.

I WAS in the midst of life, rushing, throbbing human life. As a factor in life for life, the retail worker must, as it were, be developed on the run. And this development implied exactly those qualities which make an all-round man or woman, no less. To distribute the goods which commerce makes means to convince the human race of its merits. The best saleswoman or salesman puts mind and heart into willing service to another, and this exercises the great trinity, faith, hope, and love, and each in no small measure!

Remember, I said exercises. None of them have become saints yet. So the growth of efficiency plans—the word efficiency had not become the vogue then—was forced by the very problems that sought me.

MAGGIE MAGUIRE comes crying to me saying the head of her department "nags" her. Why, certainly he does, Maggie. You annoy him to distraction. You are untidy. ("But mother don't think so.") You can't do fractions and you make mistakes with your sales checks. ("I get nervous.") And you ask a customer how much she wants to pay. Unpardonable. ("But I didn't know I shouldn't.") But, Maggie, child, you are anxious and that's a good sign; anxiety is interest in germ. (Maggie doesn't know what germ means, but she picks up for I have told her she is something, instead of that she isn't.)

There's much to be done with Maggie, but if you dismiss her in the accustomed way, you will only get another Maggie in her place.

Eva Gottlieb approaches my desk in angry dignity. There's a girl near her, she says, who is a grabber, a regular grabber. Why, before Eva can get to a customer, she slips ahead of her, is *that* fair? She is quicker on her feet than you, Eva. ("She's little and I'm big.") But I've seen you dancing, my girl, and your feet seemed fairly to twinkle. (Eva smiles a bit.) Don't you think you'd better call her a hustler? Never mind, I didn't say you weren't one, but before she came you could take your time. Now she shows you that to a sales girl there is no such thing as your time." Time is madam's, and if Miss Schultz gets to her first, the real question is, Does madam like it? I'll watch you both for two days and keep in mind the important point for you, whether patrons are helped by this new situation or annoyed. Then I'll talk with you again. I know you haven't come here to hurt another girl's sales, only to see she doesn't hurt yours, isn't that it? Then put your *best* foot forward, and let's see. Is it a bargain? Eva Gottlieb had to learn that, instead of heavy feet that ailed her, it was a sleepy mind, and she was being waked up. But she needed great drafts of ideas to get over the half-awake period.

IN this way I launched a new profession, the training of retail sales people. The work of this store was the beginning for ever-widening circles of similar work in Boston, in which other stores became interested. The public schools have taken part as well, and so have such admirable philanthropic institutions as the Women's Educational and Industrial Union. Other progressive stores here and there throughout the country also began to recognize the value of doing for the worker what had not been done before he or she began to work. So now there may be discerned dimly an educational movement in this direction in modern store life.

In some cases the store carries out the "welfare" idea only. In my work I have always mixed the two. Or, rather, I have never been able to draw the line between the two. A girl's short sales may be due to short shoes. So I've learned to tell the how-my-feet-ache expression when I look at a girl. A man's absent-mindedness with a customer may be due to a home anxiety which tends to overwhelm him. The kindly manager of a dress-goods department observed that one of his best men on a busy Monday sale day was not up to his usual briskness. He decided to say nothing to him, as he usually needed no prodding. Late that afternoon the salesman approached the buyer, saying quietly: "Mr. I'——, may I go home a half hour earlier to-day? I lost my only son yesterday, and we bury him to-morrow; but I knew you needed me for the sale to-day, so I came in."

But sales people are not the only ones who have problems. There was the new buyer who sought private sessions. "You know in the smaller store where I came from I was assistant manager, and I used to go along and snap my fingers at some one and say: 'Look at the top of that shelf! There's enough dirt to shovel it off. Get a move on there.' But I find I can't do that here. And the fact is," he hitches his chair forward a bit and lowers his tone, "I like your way best here, and I want to get out of that dictatorial style." And he does. For he manfully faces my reports of his conduct, analyzes them from day to day, and sees it in the light of a new method—the old-new one of seeing in others yourself, and treating them as if you were they.

THE floor manager who comes with the whip-'em-in-line idea learns the meaning of my department and sees that "fair play" is the key to his permanency. "But, Miss Hirschler, you mustn't take away my determination." "But, Mr. Stone, can't you be determined and amiable too?" No answer. Then he laughs, and his new rôle has its beginning. I've shaken hands with many floor men since who say they like it better than the "shake" they got at our first meetings. But to shake is better than to be "shook."

I wonder if I ought to tell how *my* knees trembled the first time I told a manager that he spoke with unjust sharpness to a buyer. I knew it as a sample of what he had a tendency to do, and as it had just happened in front of me, the time and matter were evidently preordained.

So with apparent calmness I told him. (I was looking at his profile at the time.) There was a dreadful silence for a second. Then his eyes began to twinkle and the corners crinkle, and how he did laugh! He apologized to that buyer afterward, I found.

I TRAIN instructors in my method, and they, using this as their basis, have ample play for individuality. One of them, Mr. Charles W. Hoyt of Galesburg, Ill., has started the interesting plan of inviting the young people of the high school and other schools to evening classes, where he teaches the principles of business. Thus, as time goes on, the store may call from the number young people who will be thinkers at their work, and eventually fill the higher positions so often cryingly vacant.

IF a man is willing to pay the price of thinking in his work there is no field of labor so promising in advancement as the store. I mean in regard to pay, in freedom to use initiative and individuality, in chances to keep in contact with the executive minds above him. This statement surprises you. But with the extraordinary growth of retail business we note, as part cause and part effect, the rise of the modern merchant. He is a man of mental power, logical, and a keen business thinker. He is thoroughly alive to commercial conditions with competition nipping him sharply at every turn. He is kept close to business on account of the enormous amount of detail connected with the profitable turnover of merchandise at retail.

And the point I make here is that he needs lieutenants of like caliber expressing these qualities in varying degrees. There are positions with some executive necessary, from general manager, through a series of department managers and aisle managers, to the minor ones of heads of stock. Then there are the auxiliary offices to manage. There are the depots for the coming and going of merchandise, not to mention whole workshops for manufacturing or repairing. Often there are laboratories putting up products for the toilet table, the kitchen, and the dining room. In fact, we frequently have in the store movement many industries under one roof.

TRUE, if the 500 or 5,000 members of any store should simultaneously begin to work their brain cells with rapidity, with the natural outlet of action, that management might not be able to place in promotion each one of them. But there would be a rush at once from all over the country, a race, I might say, to see what store could get there first, and everyone capable of any degree of responsibility secured at salaries of from $20 a week to $20,000 a year.

But what about the statements now made that the atmosphere of stores is morally contaminating?

I am convinced that there is no cleaner, freer opportunity for a girl to maintain her purity than in the open aisles of a store. Protected on all sides by the presence of the shopping public, she has not the oppression the stenographer often has in private offices, where a homely girl has a hard time finding a position and a pretty one keeping it and her purity too. Serving women with countless yards of ribbon a day, girls may be in a safer position than in private offices with 50 per cent of their husbands; the percentage is not given from collected statistics, but I submit it to you as not underestimated.

Again, the very great need for good organization in a successful store teaches the heads that immorality should be eliminated and prevented. Immorality along one line points to possible laxity in another. It may lead to thieving, or to the small thieves of time, by frequent absences, tardiness, and gossip with others. So there is a growing tendency to reject applicants who show the marks of impropriety. And, what is better, there is an increased firmness by managements to prevent influences that might tend to immorality.

IN Los Angeles one of my graduates, Mr. H. W. Sjostrom, teaches classes in salesmanship, and graduates yearly with imposing exercises those who pass a thorough set of examination questions. The store where he is employed carries merchandise at and below popular prices only. Yet a sales girl who is roughly or rudely spoken to by a customer there may touch a button at the end of the counter, and a man from a "committee" appears. He waits on the customer, explaining that this girl to whom he had said: "Here, you counter jumper, wait on me," was used to courtesy and was selected with care by the store as one who would render courtesy. So they could not allow her to be addressed that way. Invariably the customer, through the tact of the "committee," becomes interested and a closer friend of the store.

This is wonderfully advanced, of course, over the average store. And, against this I might place the one store, also of the same type of merchandise, that I know of my own knowledge openly shrugs its shoulders over the indiscretions to which the women in the store may be subject by the men of the store. The second represents those stores which are on the decline and noted for an "atmosphere" in which the average middle-class woman shops little.

It is in the store as elsewhere. Those who let slip their womanhood easily find the way to do it. But no girl need be frightened and no mother fear to place her there if she holds herself simply sweet and pure, as thousands do, above thought of being aught else.

IN the training classes of a store those for the younger members—the stock girls, parcel clerks, and messengers—are important. We find them lacking in the rudiments of arithmetic. The multiplication table should be as much a part of them as their fingers and toes, but it isn't. They should add rapidly with accuracy, but they too often add slowly with inaccuracy. There the language needs attention.

EVERYTHING will come out well for them, however, if we train them to see when they look, when they hear to listen, and when they touch to take notice. In other words, to gain the habit of close attention, or concentration, is the basis of advancement. I have observation games to show that we see with the mind and hear with the mind and touch with the mind.

At the same time other ways are trod more securely, and loose steps made firm—enthusiasm that comes with the growth of thinking power, interest aroused by learning about things, accuracy improved through competition with others that do better, and desire to be so accurate created by increased interest.

MISS HIRSCHLER AT THE EMPLOYES' WELFARE CONFERENCE.

New York, March 16, 1904.

I shall take the keynote in what I have to say this morning from our chairman's remark that this was to be in the nature of an experience meeting, so I trust you will pardon any personalities.

I started at Filene's as social secretary about three and a half years ago. We had no definite plans, but the members of the firm had two general ideas about this work; they believed that someone should be placed in the store, an impartial person, to see that just conditions be established in order to enable the employes to do their best work, that with just and fair conditions from every standpoint existing, both sides would be benefited. Secondly, they felt, as most employers do, that there was a certain lack of efficiency, that employes were not giving their best efforts to their work and they believed there should be some one there to help direct and train them, or stimulate others to do so, that a more intelligent and efficient working body might result. While these two lines of thought merge into each other, they are fairly distinct in their actual application.

With these general ideas we started in. I knew nothing about a store, so I felt that the first thing to do was to study conditions and learn the organization of the place, what the duties of each person were, and everything connected with the working system. I went in, therefore, for three months as floor manager, which with us is a position somewhat larger than that of the ordinary "floor walker," requiring more executive. In that position I came in contact with every part of the store organization and system. I was put upon the busiest floor, the one containing the most people, and consequently the most effective and most influential floor in the house. It seemed the best floor from which to work, in order to get control of conditions.

After three months of work and study on the floor, I had a complete idea of store organization and an insight into the special conditions and limitations of our own store. From that floor standpoint, I was able to get a knowledge of the fundamental things that really make the conditions of store life. I also become acquainted with a large number of people and gained their confidence. Meanwhile nothing was said of my work in any other capacity. At the end of that time, I quietly went into an office. We said nothing about the work to be done. We did not name the office. We simply decided to work the thing out. One of the firm had up to that time the superintendency of the employes, adjusting their grievances and determining their promotions and positions. As the people came to his office with their difficulties he turned them over to me so that they gradually got into the habit of coming to me for all sorts of things; at the same time I was given the opportunity to recommend transfers and promotions in pay and position.

We have endeavored thus to work out these two lines of thought; and I believe they are a good basis for social secretary work elsewhere. Acting as intermediary in adjusting conditions, I came to realize that I was really a judiciary. One cannot justly represent the employe's side only. This would not even be of large value to the employe himself. The employe, being the one controlled and getting only a stated pecuniary interest, his interests and conditions naturally have to be watched more carefully than those of the employer, who is investing his capital in his employes' labor for his own personal return. So it naturally follows that the social secretary must watch more closely the needs and conditions of the employe.

But my experience as an intermediary convinces me that the position is essentially a judicial one. When a complaint comes up for adjustment, the facts on both sides have to be marshalled fairly and squarely, and the decision reached on the basis of what is fair and just, regardless of which side it hits. This frequently necessitates educating the employer himself and again the employe who must be convinced that he has not looked on all sides of the question. This gives the most valuable opportunity for developing the broad business intelligence needed by the employe, and the recognition of the "human element" by the employer.

The complaints brought in have varied from unhygienic conditions to what we consider fundamental things: wages and hours. Wages have been thrown open to the social secretary's office. In fact the superintendent expects recommendations from the social secretary as to increase of wages, transfers of positions, opportunities for the employe to do better work; and there is no change in wages as a rule without the signature of the social secretary, or her recommendation. I am expected at regular intervals to send in such recommendations and statements as affect vitally the condition and position of the employes. No question arises in the house that I do not have the privilege of entering into. I work with the superintendent, who fully expects my testimony shall come to him on all questions. He realizes that he is the one in power, but he is perfectly willing to hear facts presented to him of every kind and from every proper source, and that attitude has grown bigger and bigger until it has come to be a perfectly natural thing that the superintendent shall not represent a despotic authority, but an intelligently informed one, ready for just action.

Along the line of benefiting employes, we have had classes, lectures and talks in salesmanship, and in developing the personality of our people who come in contact with the public. The aim of this work has been to help them to become more efficient and thus earn more wages and better positions.

At the time we began to develop this office there was an organization already started that was instituted originally by the firm in connection with the most progressive people in the house, the idea being that the body of the people should organize together with the firm to work out a plan by which they might improve their own conditions. The firm had in mind distinctly the fact that there was no value in this movement unless it grew out of the development of the people themselves. They had already made several experiments of doing things individually, and giving things to the employes, and they had finally come to the conclusion that these efforts were failures. They decided that the really vital thing was to get the people to do things themselves, the firm simply being individual members of the organization together with their employes. The real basis, then, for the organization was that they should try together to work out some plan by which the store should govern itself, and by which the unsatisfactory conditions could be changed by the whole body itself. They named this organization "The Filene Co-operative Association." As a social secretary I have no connection with it, any more than the superintendent has as superintendent. The officers are elected by the Association, but it happened that I was elected secretary and have held the position more or less ever since, and, by the way, there is an election which takes place this

coming week and I told them I did not want them to think the position of secretary was a hereditary one.

The social secretary has never in any way forced herself upon the Association, nor has any one else connected with the store. I have simply been connected with the Association as an elected secretary and of course in that position I have been expected to push the Committees, and to more or less plan and direct the work.

The Association began its work with an insurance fund, which insures its members against illness, and has a death benefit connected with it. I am not going into details about it, but there have been several standing committees which are incorporated in the constitution, applying distinctly to the business of the store, and which I shall enumerate; but before doing so I wish to say that the aim of this Association, as stated in the Constitution, is to create a greater efficiency on the part of its members, and give them greater social opportunities.

The scope of the Association—and that is what you are particularly interested in—is the power to vote upon all general rules governing the store that affect the efficiency of the employes. I have here with me the new store rules issued this spring. You will find stamped in our store rules on the first page outside, a little notice calling attention to the fact that the members have the power to offer suggestions and criticisms, which will be taken up by the meeting of the Association. Inside you will find a statement of the scope of the Association: that they have the power to initiate, enlarge, or amend the rules affecting the efficiency of the employes, and that word "efficiency" is a very large word. You note we could take up the question of advertising policy, which may materially affect the efficiency of the employes, or the question of window dressing, or any business policy actually affecting the progress of the store. At the back of the book you will find several little statements that will show you that our Company (we are now a corporation) intend that this Association shall be distinctly democratic. And that they actually mean that the Association shall govern the store as far as it can according to these rules. This does not mean that any special officer or person may not issue his own rules, but it does mean that if any of these special people issue a rule which affects the general efficiency of the employes, the people may act upon it. A rule issued by an executive goes into immediate effect, the Association in that instance being an appellate body, within its scope.

Among the standing committees we have our "Suggestion Committee" with which many of you are familiar, offering a prize for suggestions. These suggestions are considered by a committee elected by the Association, so that the Committee has power to accept or reject suggestions. The prizes paid are fifty cents, and one dollar for the best weekly suggestion.

The committee which fundamentally affects life store and its government is the Arbitration Committee. This committee originated in this way. Our store had never had any system of fines, or charges for loss, and people in authority throughout the house felt that we should have. The question came up before the Association. Some one moved that a committee known as the Arbitration Committee be chosen, a member to be elected from each floor in the house by the people on that floor. The superintendent could then charge persons for any negligent loss or breakage, and such persons could then have the right of appeal to the Arbitration Committee. This committee was originated about three years ago, and this general outline applies today as it did then. It has broadened in its power, however, to take in every sort of complaint between the employes and the firm, between the employes and any one in authority, or between one employe and another, and this includes dismissals. One of the firm happened at one time to dismiss a man and he appealed to the other member and said he was unjustly dismissed, and the two members decided to permit him to present his case to the Arbitration Committee. Since then they have thrown open to the Arbitration Committee the privilege of appeal in all dismissals. Among the several dismissals acted upon, they have reinstated two or three people. In one case they recommended leniency on account of past good work. In another case they reinstated the employe on probation for one week. This Arbitration Committee has not only exercised its whole power, but has proved to be a body showing remarkable common sense and impartiality. It is actually elected by secret ballot from the people on the floors; the house has left it entirely alone, and accepted its judgments, and the result has been a body of people, who, acting without intimidation from the house or pressure from the employes, have rendered just decisions, so that they are in equally good repute with the house and with the employes. The decisions in favor of each side keep pretty close together in point of number, the small majority being in favor of the employes. The firm recommend arbitration committees, as I think Mr. Filene did at your previous gathering here, because our Arbitration Committee has proved to our people in authority that they can run the house and adjust the uncomfortable things with less friction through the Arbitration Committee than in any other way, and have a more contented and happier set of people, because facts are sifted and weighed and adjudged by their own representatives.

There are other committees that affect the government of the store. We have a Bank Committee, a Library Committee, a Lecture Committee. The distinguishing mark in all these things is that they are governed by our people themselves. Our doctors, dentist, etc., are chosen by the people, who pay for their treatment themselves. The firm pays nothing.

One committee that vitally affects us is the Club House Committee. We have a house in the rear of our building which is larger than the ordinary house usually provided by firms for an employes' lunch room. Outside of the rent, the Association pays the running expenses. The Club House Committee manages the luncheon room and the social room and everything else connected with our club house. The superintendent of the store has nothing to do with it except to provide for its protection. The object of the luncheon room is to furnish wholesome food at the lowest possible rates. We have little social tables where the people may sit. Every one mingles together there in the most democratic manner; the sales force, buyers, firm, apprentices, etc.

In our social room we have the library. The Boston Public Library has thought sufficiently of the movement to make a little centre there, and we have a branch of the Boston Public Library, but the work is under the charge of the committee elected by our people.

In short, in all these things, we stand for the democratic idea that we are all working together through these committees elected by us, and the members of the firm have each one vote just the same as any one in the Association. This is the fundamental idea running through the Association. This idea extends, also, through all the social secretary work. When a complaint comes in, there is this same democratic idea of how we can make this person bigger and stronger and better able to take a place in the store organization and earn better wages.

Last week we had the first dinner of the "Filene Co-operative Association." We have had a number of other things, but this

is the first thing we attempted in the way of a dinner, so we got the best person we knew, who stood for character, intelligence, and power, and that was President Eliot of Harvard University, who thought sufficiently of our Association to come as our guest, President and Mrs. Eliot. We had our own Association president preside. At the head table sat the chairmen of our committees. It was an affair of our own people in our own club house, and by our own committees, carrying out the keynote of all our work, the idea of doing the work ourselves.

Mr. Chairman, I shall now be glad to answer any questions.

Question: Has the Association made any changes in the rules?

At this point Mr. Harry Vreeland, the Chairman, was obliged to leave in order to keep an important engagement, and Mr. John H. Patterson, one of the vice-chairmen, took the chair.

Mr. Patterson: There was a question asked Miss Hirschler.

Miss Hirschler: The question was as to whether our Association has ever changed any rule. They have done so a number of times. One, for example, in relation to the method of stamping time. Some of the people objected to it and it was brought up before the Association. A motion was made that the method in question be abolished; the superintendent presented his side of the case; the vote went against him and the method was abolished.

Another thing that was a little more fundamental was the attempt to change the time of closing the store. In the early days of the Association several of the big stores determined to change their time for opening and closing, and the change in time was more of an inconvenience to the employes than the previous method. The matter was presented to the Association, and the argument at first was in the direction of no change. But some one got up and asked: Where would we be if the house across the street was open when we were closed? As our salespeople are paid the regular market salary, and in addition to that a commission upon their sales over a certain amount, they at once pictured shoppers passing by our closed doors, so the current turned along the line of their own interest which was identically that of the firm, and they voted to change the hours just the same as in the other stores. Afterward the stores went back to the old system, which we also did.

In another instance: Summer before last the fifth of July fell on Saturday. Many of the New York stores closed on Saturday, and many of our people wanted to close the store on Saturday, but none of the other stores in Boston intended to do so. The question came up before the Association; the firm refused to express an opinion, and after a free discussion, the Association voted to close the store on Saturday, making a three days' holiday. Our advertising manager at once issued circulars to all the stores in Boston telling them we were going to close on Saturday, giving them the same privilege before we came out with our advertisement on Sunday. They all refused and the result was that we were the only store that was closed on Saturday, and our people had a three days' holiday and it has been the universal feeling, even with the people in authority, that it was a very wise thing. In fact, the Association has never done anything that we have not found in the long run to have been the best thing. The consensus of opinion was better than the action of a few people.

We have had a variety of instances where the Association has voted on some rule and it has been abolished. Of course in all I have told you today the question naturally arises how vitally and extensively these things are being carried out. I can only say that at our dinner last Tuesday evening we had almost three-fourths of our people present and they were a happy family. We had on the tables, for example, a number of vases, I think eighty-four, and the next day they were all bought in a couple of hours by people who wanted them as souvenirs of the dinner. This response to the dinner, we feel, showed a wholesome spirit in the Association.

I have not mentioned our newspaper. We have a monthly paper which is never seen by the firm until it comes out and they pay their little five cents for it just as the rest of us do. That shows the confidence they have that we will not disclose business matters, as well as their willingness to allow freedom of expression. The paper is a year and a half old, and nothing has ever been printed in it which has been objected to. The editor and advisory staff are elected by the people; they edit the paper; it is not seen by any one in authority, or by anyone outside of the committee, except by their own seeking, until issued and sold. Our dinner the other evening was paid for by the people, the firm paying their share just as every one else did and no more.

Question: Do I understand that each member of the firm votes the same as any employe? Do the firm have any representation on any of these committees, and do they always vote?

Answer: They do not have any representation as such; they vote with their own floors the same as any other individual; the Arbitration Committee has no representation from the firm. The firm vote with the same floor on which their offices are located. There are naturally people in positions of responsibility who are elected on our committees. We have had as President of the Association our superintendent, our merchandise manager, members of the firm, and we have had people from the ranks. Our present President, who had charge of the dinner the other evening, was elected from the bookkeeping office and is now in charge of the receiving office.

APPENDIX E

Papers Written by Lillian Kane and L. P. Minshall

A Merchandising Scout

The merchandising division of Wm. Filene Sons' Company felt the necessity of keeping in closer touch with the New York market than was possible through the periodic visits of buyers. This necessity is intensified in the present market because of the increased cost of merchandise and the difficulty in getting prompt deliveries that is incident with rising prices and shortage of labor and materials. Consequently they have established a special "scouting" force at their New York office.

The duties of this force are to get the buyers in touch with resources previously unused by Filene's and to work on special merchandising problems. In enlarging the number of resources used, each scout specializes on one type of merchandise at a time. Let us take skirts as an illustration. As soon as fifteen or twenty new and apparently suitable skirt resources have been visited by the scout, the names of these resources are referred to the buyer who, either himself or through his assistant, gets in touch with the places so listed. In all cases new manufacturers whose merchandise promises to be useful to the store, are encouraged to bring their merchandise to the New York office for the buyer's inspection. As soon as the skirt buyer has enough new resources to keep him busy, in addition to his routine work of buying, for some few weeks, the scout is sent out on another type of merchandise. A follow-up record is kept of all new sources visited and found useful to the buyer.

In connection with the work on special merchandising problems, the work is lined up in this way. The Misses' dress buyer is anxious to get in touch with jersey dresses at a certain price, not having found a wide enough variety or adequate supply through the regular resources with which he is in touch. The scout combs the market for the particular type of merchandise, finally lining it up in the office for the buyer's inspection.

Such work, supplementing the file of regular resources used by the store, should eventually be a valuable source of information for the buyers, indicating to them very definitely just where certain types of merchandise may be obtained at a suitable price.

LILLIAN L. KANE,
Wm. Filene's Sons Co.

TASTE.

It seems strange that in order to be perfectly contented and happy, even though one has health and wealth, they must also have the outward expression of harmony, called Taste. Why is this a necessity? Because the every day life of a human being is made up of different phases. We have our desires for comfort, for knowledge, for sociability, and good taste is but the outward expression of our aesthetic side which appeals to the mind through the eye, and unconsciously has a soothing effect on our entire nervous system.

How often we find delight in a simple, inexpensive but harmoniously furnished home, and feel irritated in one of great splendor wherein vivid reds scream at awful yellows and other incongruous combinations. This same sense of the eternal fitness of things can be carried out through every part of our existence.

Our clothing, our homes, our studies, our pleasures, our friends,—all can be selected with a care to the building from the various parts, a complete and perfect whole, and thereby contributing our share to the actual joy of living,—only made possible through unconscious catering to the aesthetic side of our nature.

It is improbable that each should be born with this side of their nature a certainty, but it is a possible thing that one can be trained from the crudest ideas to the most discriminating judgment in selection and arrangement.

Is it not well worth while, then, to have a close, intimate analysis of ourselves and put our weak points under a good follow-up system; earnestly endeavoring to elevate ourselves and our surroundings to their highest point in the unconscious fineness and refinement of good taste?

Seeing anything through eyes trained to discriminate puts an entirely different phase of existence at one's command, and the little rough edges of living seem to gradually fade away, leaving moments of irritation and unhappiness as time goes on.

L. P. MINSHALL.

A PAPER ON THE DIRECT VALUE OF CULTURAL EDUCATION TO BUSINESS.

By Miss Minshall.

It may be difficult to realize that history, literature, in fact all branches of what is known as cultural education, aid us materially in becoming efficient business men and women. Knowledge of human nature, human interests, and possession of human sympathy are essential in being successful in our line of work, and our capacity for these essentials is greatly broadened by general studies. It may seem a fallacy to claim that book learning lays the only safe foundation for executive work, but such is the case. Application to study means future ability to concentrate one's mind on whatever matters may arise, gives one self-confidence in addressing people under conditions where a wavering manner would lose the case. It creates a perfect poise and self-control that instantly imbue your customers with confidence in your ability to aid them under all circumstances. If your environments have been such that your studies have been limited, make up your mind and decide at once upon some one or more branches to take up this winter, giving possibly one evening a week to them. This does not necessitate going to a school, but simply plan out or have planned for you a course of reading along one or two lines and adhere to it throughout the season. Take a keener interest in our sales-classes when they open again, inasmuch as this season they will give actually practical suggestions that properly applied will enhance your value to yourself, your family, and our firm, as well as prove most interesting.

By reading standard literature we unconsciously acquire the use of good English and the ability to paint mind pictures, both of which are strong factors in impressing the superior merits of our business upon the public, the first also being necessary in our dealings with manufacturers, because good English is impressive and presents arguments and needs in a most effective manner. Study makes one a keener observer of things in general, the result of which is the unconscious training of the eye, and this in conjunction with the ability to think rapidly and accurately is a big asset for a future executive.

VITA

Judy Kaye Miler was born in Sapporo, Japan on June 13, 1950. As an American dependent, she lived and attended elementary schools in Thailand, the Philippines, and Ethiopia. She graduated from Woodrow Wilson High School in Washington, D.C. in June 1968. The following September she entered the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, and received a Bachelor of Science degree in Home Economics, with a major in Merchandising, March 1973. Her last semester was spent at the Fashion Institute of Technology, State University of New York.

Upon completion of her B.S., she worked in Merchandising and Buying for Lord and Taylor, Levi Strauss & Co., H. H. Brown, American Clothing Company, and Allied Stores for thirteen years, throughout the United States. In the fall of 1985, she accepted a teaching assistantship at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville and began study toward a Master's degree in Retailing/Merchandising. This degree was awarded in June of 1987.

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The author is a member of Omicron Nu Honor Society, the American Home Economic Association, American College Professors of Textiles and Clothing, American Collegiate Retailing Association, and the Costume Society of America. The author is now an Assistant Professor at Florida State University, Tallahassee. Ms. Miler teaches retail merchandising courses.