Gendering Consumption

by

Jayne Kaiser

A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

Approved April 2012 by the
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Victoria Thompson, Chair
Rachel Fuchs
Johnson Wright

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2012

ABSTRACT

In "Gendering Consumption," Jayne Kaiser explores the public consumption experience associated with late-nineteenth century Parisian department store within the context of the leisure travel industry. Capitalizing on increased travel abroad, the Bon Marché department store attempted to attract British and American tourists (and their money) to the store by marketing shopping as a cultural experience. The production and distribution of Souvenir booklets that mirrored the organization, content, and imagery of travel guides offered an opportunity for the Bon Marché to position the store among traditional cultural institutions. By focusing on the material and non-material experiences of men in the Bon Marché described in narratives and diaries, "Gendering Consumption" advocates for a more comprehensive and inclusive understanding of public consumption. Careful not to minimize the important role the department store played in the increasing agency of women, the author challenges historians to consider alternative spaces created by department stores as new products of masculine consumption. In an innovative approach, "Gendering Consumption" analyzes government documents to discover how American tourists used the new retailing model perfected by department stores such as the Bon Marché, to create opportunities for economic transgressions in the form of tariff fraud.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Contemporary social, cultural and economic studies challenge traditional narratives of gendered, urban, and leisure consumption developed during the nineteenth and twentieth century. As one of the earliest expressions of modernity, Parisian department stores offer historians an opportunity to explore how consumer institutions served as places of contested consumption.[1] In the following chapters, I explore conflicts and oppositions within one of the first public, traditionally feminine, economic spaces, the Bon Marché department store, to argue for an expanded understanding of this institution as a masculine and feminine space between 1870 and 1900. Specifically, I argue that the Bon Marché attempted to establish itself as a cultural and economic institution to be enjoyed by both men and women, represented a place in which both men and women exerted consumer influence and power, and offered both men and women opportunities to engage in economic transgressions.

My study focuses on the Bon Marché department store during the Third Republic between 1870 and 1900 from the perspective of British and American tourists who visited Paris in the wake of the Franco-Prussian war for two primary reasons. First, the completion of the Bon Marché department store structure in the late 1880s represented a total and intentional embrace of new retailing practices such as large volume, quick turnover, fixed prices, and diversification of goods. While Bon Marché proprietor, Aristide Boucicaut, never lived to see the completion of the store he began building in 1869, the space and experiences

[1] By "modern" I refer to the transition from the production of goods and services inside the home to the consumption of goods and services outside the home.

within the 52,800 square foot Bon Marché department store located near the junction of the sixth and seventh *arrondissements* and bordered by Babylone, Sèvres, Bac, and Velpeau streets in Paris completed in 1887 came to embody a "modern" consumption experience.[2] Second, leisure travel by American and British tourists to Europe reached its height in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century. The number of American and British tourists to Europe more than doubled between 1880 and 1900, from 50,000 to 125,000 and again between 1900 and its peak in 1913, from 125,000 to 250,000.[3]

Many department stores found today in the United States, Britain and France started in the 1830s, 40s and 50s as *magasin de nouveautés* and predominately sold dry goods.[4] The Bon Marché serves as an ideal case study as one of the first spaces of consumption to fully and consciously embrace new retailing methods that stores in London, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Boston would later adopt. My research builds upon chronologies of business history to consider the tourists and masculine consumer experience in the Bon

[2] Michael B. Miller, *The Bon Marché Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 19 and 42-3.
[3] Harvey Levenstein, *Seductive Journey: American Tourists in France from Jefferson to the Jazz Age* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 100, 125-6, 129, 140-1, 185-6.
[4] In the United States, many of the early *magasin de nouveautés* were established in the years preceding the Civil War in New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago and sold retail or wholesale dry goods or textiles: in New York one could find Lord & Taylor (1826), A. T. Stewart (1823), and Aaron Arnold (1824), in Philadelphia, Wanamaker's (1861) and Strawbridge & Clothier (1862), in Boston, Jordan Marsh (1851) and Filene's (1833), and, finally, in Chicago, Klein & Mandel (1855) and Marshal Fields (1866). As opposed to counterparts in the United States, department stores established in London, such as Whiteley's (1863) and Harrods (1849), developed into the modern department store form during the early-twentieth century due to the middle-class cooperative movement, the advent of Selfridge in 1908 and the economic upheaval of World War II. John William Ferry, *A History of the Department Store* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1960), 103, 108-9, 112, 117, 126-7, 143 and 191-2 and Hrant Pasdermadjian, *The Department Store, its Origins, Evolution, and Economics* (New York: Arno Press, 1954), 5 and 8.

Marché department store.[5] Extending analysis of the *grands magasins* beyond these basic development narratives, twentieth century social historian, Michael Miller's 1981 *The Bon Marché* provided a new approach to the study of business history. A departure from traditional labor or economic analysis, Miller argues that corporate paternalism in the professional and personal lives of Bon Marché employees reflected traditional bourgeois values of family ties. Miller explores how the Bon Marché established itself in print culture as a national institution through the promotion of guided tours, concerts, art exhibits and participation in international expositions.[6] While Miller's work demonstrates how the Bon Marché mitigated potentially destabilizing effects of new retailing practices, naturalist novelists, such as Émile Zola, explores the tensions created between small, specialty shops and the new department stores that sold similar goods at lower prices.[7] By approaching the department store experience from the tourist and masculine consumer perspective rather than through the company or employee lens, my work differs from both Miller and Zola to rethink gender roles through leisure retail practices.

---

[5] Ralph Hower's *History of Macy's of New York, 1858-1919* published in 1943, Hrant Pasdermadjian's *The Department Store* published in 1954, John Ferry's *A History of the Department Store* published in 1960, Robert Twyman's *History of Marshall Field & Co., 1852-1906* published in 1976, Bernard Marrey's *Les Grands Magasins des Origines à 1939* published in 1979 each present straightforward narrative histories of British, American and French department stores.

[6] Miller, 173-5.

[7] Published in 1883, *Au Bonheur des Dames* considers the retail revolution primarily from the perspective of the main protagonist, Denise Baudu, a twenty-year old girl. Denise procures work as a sales associate at The Ladies' Paradise, a large, growing department store based on the Bon Marché and must learn to navigate interactions with predominately French, female bourgeois customers. Denise's experiences allows the capitalist struggle between the new, multi-department retail machines and older, independent, specialty shopkeepers, to emerge as a dominate plot conflict. While the novel covers a period of five years, the capital and technological developments recounted by Zola span multiple decades. Émile Zola, *The Ladies' Paradise*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), v-vi.

Historiography

My research argues for an expanded understanding of consumption to include both material and non-material products and experiences. Historian and previous director of the Cultures of Consumption research program, Frank Trentmann, provides excellent insight into renewed scholarly interest of theoretical debates about consumption driven, in large part, by a philosophical analysis of 'modernity.'[8] In his 2004 article, "Beyond Consumerism: New Historical Perspectives on Consumption," Trentmann argues that in the 1970s and 1980s, two consumption paradigms emerged with different periodizations and initiated by different economic groups. One project, seeped in anthropology and culture, identified the birth of 'modern consumer society' among seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Western European and Atlantic artisans and middle-class individuals who possessed a 'modern' desire to acquire commodities and novelties.[9]

The arguments contained in the following chapters emerge from a second project, advanced by social and gender historians, that focused on nineteenth-

[8] Frank Trentmann, "Beyond Consumerism: New Historical Perspectives on Consumption," *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, 3 (Jul., 2004): 373. Attempts during this same period to feminize theories of modernity through social historical analysis and better understand representations of consumption through cultural historical analysis brought new paradigms to the forefront of scholarly debate. The *flâneur*/*flâneuse* paradigm challenged the literature of modernity and its construction of the 'modern' urban experience and, subsequently, the defining characteristics of the *flâneur*, the *flâneuse* and *flânerie*. These clarifications become important when studying the development of iconic symbols of nineteenth-century France, such as the Parisian department store, and understanding who and how individuals participated in new forms of consumption. See Janet Wolff, "The Invisible *Flâneuse*: Women and the Literature of Modernity." *Theory, Culture & Society* 2, 37 (1985), and Keith Tester, ed., *The Flâneur* (London: Routledge, 1994), and Aruna D'Souza and Tom McDonough, eds., *The Invisible Flâneuse?: Gender, Public Space, and Visual Culture in nineteenth-century Paris* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2006).

[9] Trentmann, 374.

century mass consumption, shopping, the department store, and questions about the gendering of public spaces, identities and desires. This second group of historians contented that "a modern consumer society only developed once the large bulk of society, freed from the regime of need, were able to enter a system of ever-expanding goods and desires."[10] Trentmann argues that the standardization of material and non-material goods and services served as a distinguishing feature of modern consumerism; this approach opposes consumption studies that center modern consumer behavior on the expansion of a distinctly western "acquisitive individualist mentality." My research follows Trentmann's expanded definition of consumerism to include the consumption of services and experiences thereby taking into account the other functions of material and non-material acquisition and the production of new consumption spaces.[11] Combining cultural theoretical approaches with an expanded understanding of consumption, I explore how one Parisian department store, the Bon Marché, sought to position itself as both a cultural and economic institution. As a result, the late-nineteenth century Parisian department store emerges as a contested space that both upheld and challenged traditional narratives about gendered consumption.

This research not only responds to narrow definitions of materialist consumption but also, in chapter two, to explanations of gender, sex, and

[10] Trentmann, 374.
[11] Trentmann builds upon anthropologist Daniel Miller's early-twentieth century ethnographic study of London, *The Dialectics of Shopping*, that considers "…how shoppers struggle to make specific purchases that will not just reflect but act directly upon the contradictions they constantly face between the normative discourse that tells them who they and their family members should be, and how they find them in their specificity as individuals." Trentmann, 377.

masculinity solely rooted in biology towards a more expanded understanding of consumption in public spaces. In the 1999 publication of *Gender and the Politics of History* labor and gender social historian, Joan Wallach Scott, begins the Preface and concludes the final chapter with contemporary attempts to define the word "gender." The term gender became popular in the 1970s with historians hoping to bring women from the margins of historical analysis to the center of historical focus. While historians in the 1980s found gender, as an analytical category, useful "…precisely because it had an unfamiliar, destabilizing effect," by the late 1990s, Scott claims the term gender lost its ability to startle and provoke scholars and, in the United States, became a synonym for women, differences between sexes, and the biological determinism of "sex."[12] My approach is similar to Scott's as I reject preconceived, fixed knowledge about the terms "man" and "woman" and the relationship between the two.[13] My thesis follows Scott's approach more closely in revealing a shopping experience that blurred gender roles inside the department store environment towards a more dynamic understanding of both material and experiential public consumption.

In response to the increasing interest in gender studies, a number of historians sought to re-insert men into the new feminist paradigms. According to historian Robert Nye, our understanding of gender and, more specifically, masculinity remains limited,

---

[12] Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), xi.

[13] In addition, Scott also encourages scholars to consider "men" and "women" as regulating, yet unattainable, ideals. Scott calls for more textual, specific readings that acknowledge discrepancies in cultural norms and social roles between the sexes. Scott, 206.

> Compared with the extraordinary growth in the history of women and femininity, the history of men and masculinity is a comparatively underdeveloped field. Inspired as much by political as by scholarly concerns, women's history has sought to bring to light not only the contributions women have made to our civilization, but also how they have suffered, often silently and invisibly, in the thrall of patriarchal culture. This does not mean that only men have been well-served in the history written prior to the growth of women's studies; it could well be argued that men have been written about only as politicians, diplomats, generals, tycoons and like and not *as men*.[14]

Whereas Nye's attempt to rectify this historical hole with his 1998 publication *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* depends upon a static, biological conception of masculinity, my research considers masculine identity in the late-nineteenth century as a process of constant negotiation and reorganization.[15] The use of masculinity as an "imagined category" builds on Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality* and is consistent with the analysis used by historian Judith Surkis in her 2006 publication *Sexing the Citizen*. Surkis explores the processes that reorganized and re-imagined notions of sex and masculinity between 1870 and 1920 in France. While Surkis argues that republicans sought to use marriage as a social and sexual regulator, at the core of these efforts was a belief that moralizing men's sexuality would produce autonomous and socialized republican men. According to Surkis, the unstable nature of masculine identity resulted in policies designed to identify boundaries and establish normative

[14] Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 11.

[15] Robert Nye's seminal late-twentieth century text, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France*, argues that while French masculine honor codes excluded women, women remained in the field of focus because French culture socially constructed gender in binary oppositions. Nye contends that, in addition to the male body and its sexual hygiene, duals and honor codes acted as regulators of upper-class French male social relations. These duals only became possible with a "modern discovery of the difference between the sexes" that depended upon the construction of masculinity that all men, regardless of class, inherently possessed as males. Nye, 7, 11, 13, 186 and 215.

discourses for the male citizen.[16] In the chapters that follow, I argue that the entry of women into public consumption spaces, such as the department store, produced moments of crisis and negotiation for both men and women that can only be understood using a dynamic understanding of gender and masculinity.[17]

This research complements and challenges the work of historians that consider gendered consumption in the department store space such as Rosalind Williams, Lisa Tiersten and Erica Rappaport. In Williams's 1982 publication, *Dream Worlds,* the "the dream world of the consumer" refers to the non-material dimension of merchandise that can fill the needs of consumer imagination.[18] This expanded understanding of consumption found in the "dream world of the consumer" produced a new form of leisure activity for women, shopping, and offered customers the opportunity to participate in bourgeois culture without an obligation to make purchases. At the same time, the department store eliminated the freedom to haggle over prices and the social interactions associated with these

[16] Judith Surkis, *Sexing the Citizen: Morality and Masculinity in France, 1870 – 1920* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 4-9.

[17] Historian John Tosh moves beyond the city of Paris to identify the home, a traditionally feminine sphere, central to Victorian masculinity dissolving a gendered public/private divide in *A Man's Place*. According to Tosh, the new ideal of home life that developed in the late-nineteenth century marked a shift in gender identity and economic family relationships. See John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the middle-class home in Victorian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 2 and 7 and Nye, 7.

[18] The "brutal barrier" between social classes dissolved as mass production of low-cost versions of luxury goods eliminated distinctions in appearance and material possessions. By the end of the nineteenth century, the illusion of wealth and bourgeois culture became accessible to the working classes. In discussing the American department store experience, historian William Leach confirms that the "dream" of the shopping experience traversed the ocean, "The culture of consumption was an urban and secular one of color and spectacle, of sensuous pleasure and dreams…blurring the lines between work and leisure." William R. Leach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890 – 1925" in *The Journal of American History* 71, 2 (Sept., 1984), 320 and Rosalind H. Williams, *Dream World Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 94-7.

negotiations.[19] Rewriting men into the leisure activity of shopping and exploring the intersection of masculinity and the non-material products of the department store experience produces a more complete understanding of public consumption in the late-nineteenth century. Continuing a focus on the female consumer into the early twenty-first century, in *Shopping for Pleasure* Rappaport argues that by the mid-nineteenth century shifts in the social, economic, political and cultural landscape of London's West End occurred that encouraged middle-class women to confront a masculine and aristocratic public space. Specifically, Rappaport finds that the department store offered a safe and emancipating space for urban women.[20] Historian Lisa Tiersten's 2001 contribution to the historiography of late nineteenth-century French consumer culture, *Marianne in the Market*, marries culture, politics and gender to create a history of bourgeois taste in the Third Republic. Tiersten argues that the female consumer navigated expectations promulgated in the marketplace during the Third Republic with discerning

[19] The innovation of fixed prices in nineteenth-century department stores revolutionized the shopping experience. Historian Rachel Bowlby emphasizes the change in social interactions and relationships brought about by the fixed price model, "…put an end to conversations of bargaining which focused attention on shopping and paying." In *The Virtuous Marketplace* historian Victoria Thompson contends that fixed prices diminished the authority of women in the marketplace that they had previously realized through the process of haggling. The fixed price model also allowed the *grands magasins* to undercut competitors with low profit margins on a high quantity of goods. Historian Philip Nord cites a markup on goods and services in the Parisian department stores at approximately 15 – 20 percent while small enterprises would charge up to 50 percent over the wholesale price. Rachel Bowlby, *Just Looking* (New York: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1985), 3-4 and Phillip Nord, *Paris Shopkeepers and the Politics of Resentment* (Princeton University Press: New Jersey, 1986), 62 and Victoria Thompson, *The Virtuous Marketplace* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 11.

[20] Rappaport work also shows how legal authorities and husbands interpreted "excessive" consumption as potentially challenging their social position rending the department store a space of potential contested consumption. Erika D. Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 8-11 and Trentmann, 377 and 388. See also Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) discussion of women as a part of audience in public spaces.

individualism while preserving bourgeois social and economic distinctions.[21] My conclusions support Rappaport and Tiersten's work in acknowledging a degree of agency and autonomy women maintained in managing and executing household budgets. However, this approach also argues that men continued to play a role as consumers and as financial regulators in the department store space. An expanded understanding of public consumption also challenges historians to consider the opportunities the department store presented to shoppers for financial transgressions. Michael Miller, Philip Nord, Lisa Tiersten, Ann-Louis Shapiro, Elaine S. Abelson, and Patricia O'Brien address the increasing problem of kleptomania that coincided with the rise of the department stores in the late-nineteenth century. My research expands this initial work to consider if and how the department store environment also offered male tourists the opportunity to exploit a new retailing model by circumventing tariff laws.

Methodology

Building upon theories developed by Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu, Henri Lefebvre, and Michel de Certeau in the second half of the twentieth century, I explore how the Bon Marché sought to position itself as both a cultural and economic institution, provided space in which both men and women exerted consumer influence and power, and created new opportunities for both men and women to engage in economic transgressions. In chapter I argue that the Bon Marché attempted to fulfill bourgeois cultural interests during the late nineteenth century and subsequently sold shopping and the department store as a cultural

[21] Lisa Tiersten, *Marianne in the Market* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 2001), 9.

experience to middle- and upper-class American and British tourists. Comparing and contrasting the content of travel guides and Bon Marché Souvenirs to reveals how the positioning of the Bon Marché as a cultural institution functioned as part of a marketing effort designed to combat the absence of the Parisian department store within travel literature. The limited space and emphasis travel guides placed on the department stores as cultural experiences rendered these spaces resources for travelers rather than destinations. The Bon Marché Souvenirs mirrored the organization of the travel guides and, through organization, content, and imagery attempted to position the department store as a space of material and cultural consumption.

The work of Michel Foucault and museum theory helps historians understand how the Bon Marché Souvenirs reflected the department store as a site of bourgeois social normalization yet also as a space where customers could actively participate in the consumption and production of culture. According to Foucault in his 1977 *Discipline and Punishment*, culture could be utilized as a resource in programs "…aimed at bringing about changes in acceptable norms and forms of behavior and consolidating those norms as self-acting imperatives by inscribing them within broadly disseminated regimes of self-management."[22] Foucault argued that governments formed and enlisted cultural institutions and practices as a vehicle to exercise new forms of disciplinary power and subsequently produce a better economy of cultural power.[23] British historian

[22] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory and Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), 23.
[23] Bennett, 19-23.

Tony Bennett challenged Foucault in his 1995 seminal text, *The Birth of the Museum,* to consider the development of the modern museum not only within the development of disciplinary or government power, but also within the context of transformations and 'creative adaptations' embraced by modern collecting institutions such as the department store and international exhibition. [24] Bennett understood the modern museum as both an exhibitionary and performative environment in which the participant's active seeing required participants to play a dynamic role in defining the value of objects. [25] Subsequently in 2006, anthropologist Fred Myers combined Tony Bennett's "exhibitionary complex" with Pierre Bourdieu's "field of cultural production" to create a useful

[24] Bennett also responded to British museum historian Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's 1992 publication *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* that considers contemporary conceptions of museum identity and how this changed over the course of history as a result of plays of power and the social, economic and political environment within which the museum exists. Rather than looking for the essential features of museums over time as done in traditional museum histories, Hooper-Greenhill's 'effective' historical analysis of four different case-studies placed each museum in its constitutive context. The four subsequent Foucauldian periodizations based on aristocratic and ecclesiastical power struggles include the Renaissance *episteme*, the classical age and the modern age. The modern museum age, rooted in conditions created by the rupture of the French Revolution, created an educational institution of state control self-regulated by the normalizing behaviors of individuals in public spaces. According to Hooper-Greenhill, this model dominated up until the end of the twentieth-century when museums shifted to more open architecture and spaces that provide a 'total destination' experience and facilitated closer audience relationships to the institution. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992), 1, 191-4 and 197-9 and Bennett, 19.

[25] In her 1998 publication, *Spectacular Realities*, Vanessa Schwartz argued that the consumption of "modern" and "popular" forms of culture and the spectacularization of urban life transformed early mass culture in *fin-de-siécle* Paris into a society of spectators. Schwartz explores the connection producers and consumers made between the written and visual texts that urban representations relied upon to create visual spectacular realities. Whereas earlier attempts to "read" the city thematically move between written and visual texts, Schwartz's semiotic analysis transcended different media to read the city and urban representations as a shared visual experience. *Spectacular Realities* responds to Tony Bennett's theory of voluntary self-regulation through active seeing that challenged Foucault's earlier theory of the disciplinary state and confining social institutions of power. Schwartz attempted to move beyond the state and its institutions and argued that the common culture and sense of shared experience created by visual representations of reality created a process embedded within the foundations of "mass society." Schwartz, 2-6.

"exhibitionary field of cultural production."[26] According to Myers, rather than consider culture as a repetitive representation of preexisting discourses, activities of education, such as museum exhibits, should be considered as a complex social process of representation production.[27] This recontextualization allows for agency on the part of the participants, such as male customers and British and American tourists who visited the Bon Marché and participated in the creation and production of different meanings of the shopping experience. Thus, developments in cultural history helped historians reconsider the active role of participants in material and non-material consumption production that took place in department stores and cultural institutions during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century.

The spatial analysis in chapter two challenges historians to reconsider historically gendered places towards an expanded understanding of the oppositions at work. Relying on the travel accounts and diaries from British and American tourists, this research isolates and explores the participation of men in the department store experience. My analysis of the Bon Marché incorporates contemporary paradigms of space and place challenging consumption and gender studies that identify nineteenth-century department stores as singularly feminine spaces. Building on the work of Henri Lefebvre and Pierre Bourdieu and space and place theory, I argue that the Bon Marché space must be simultaneously

[26] Fred Myers, "The Complicity of Cultural Production: The Contingencies of Performance in Globalizing Museum Practices" in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* eds. Ivan Karp, Corinne A. Kratz, Lynn Szwaja and Tomás Ybarra-Frausto (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 505.
[27] Myers, 506.

understood as a product of social and cultural relations and as an authoritative economic structure thereby revealing a public space of masculine and feminine consumption.

Sociologist Neil Brenner brings together a collection of writings in S*tate, Space, World: Selected Essays* completed during the 1970s and 1980s by twentieth-century French sociologist, Henri Lefebvre. The state, according to Lefebvre, "is to be found at the heart of modernity and the so-called modern world."[28] Lefebevre argues that the material processes and information structures of capitalism and neo-capitalism produce (or shape) an abstract space.[29] For Lefebevre, space is a product that cannot be separated from nature, forces of production, techniques, and knowledge, and the international division of social labor from authoritative structures.[30] Lefebevre's Marxist approach, therefore, locates the construction of space within processes and structures and inherently allows economic class to play a primary role in the production of space. While I invoke a more expanded understanding of consumption, beyond that of material acquisition, economic processes and structures such as transportation networks, urbanization, the expansion of credit, and fixed prices dominate the production of both a masculine and feminine department store space. In the last quarter of the twentieth century sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu argued that cultural practices such as expressions of taste, daily work and public behavior

[28] Chapter eight, "Space, Social Product and Use Value" is an essay initially presented for a colloquium series at Boston University that summarizes some of the main arguments of Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* published in 1974. Henri Lefebvre, "Space: Social Product and Use Value," in *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*, ed. Neil Brenner (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 1-2 and 187.
[29] Lefebvre, 185.
[30] Lefebvre, 188.

provide a better understanding of social and political changes. Bourdieu argues in his 1979 publication, *Distinction: Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, that within a system of class-based dispositions "…art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfill a social function of legitimating social differences."[31] In the third chapter of his text, Bourdieu explored the system of classification, or *habitus,* to illustrate how taste both classifies and classifies the classifier.[32] Both Lefebvre and Bourdieu demonstrate how spatial systems shape and allow for the creation of new collective and individual identities. As a socially constructed gendered space of power relations, the department store also emerges as a masculine space of opposition. My use of the term "spaces of opposition," therefore is inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's contribution, "The Berber House," which considers the internal organization and orientation of the residential dwelling of the Kabyle community located in the rural northern region of Algeria.[33] I argue that the department store represents a place of gendered tensions that establish and create meaning similar to the manner in which Bourdieu argues that the interior organization of the house represents gendered relationships of opposition expressed through convergent signs that establish and create meaning. The non-shopping masculine spaces of the Bon

[31] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* Translated by Richard Nice. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 7.
[32] Bourdieu, 6 and 170.
[33] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Berber House," in *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, eds. Seta Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 132-3. For example, the Bon Marché as a structure of capitalism, produced spaces such as menswear departments, billiard rooms, smoking rooms, and reading rooms that provided men an opportunity to partake in the department store experience within safe constructions of masculinity. The existence of these masculine spaces represents a gendered relationship opposite to the shopping spaces of the sales floor designed to appeal to the emotions of the female consumer.

Marché department store reinforced socially constructed conceptions of appropriate male behaviors just as much as the spaces excluded women from these same activities. Conversely, the creation of menswear departments inside the Bon Marché facilitated a consistent message of separate spaces for each gender – clothing for men should not mix with that of women. The application of recent theoretical advances in space and place historiography allows the traditionally feminine space of the nineteenth-century department store to be understood as a contested gendered place.

In chapter three, I argue that the Bon Marché provided an opportunity for male tourists to engage in commercial transgressions in the form of tariff fraud. Nineteenth-century newspapers raised moral and economic concerns about increasing number of kleptomania cases among women; however, few scholars consider how men also exploited the department store model. In his 1980 publication, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, French Jesuit scholar, Michel de Certeau, moved beyond Lefebevre's material representations of society to consider how the use of goods constructed new forms of production.[34] In doing so, he reinserted the agency of the consumer into the ordinary practice of life. The ability to navigate outside normative strategies resulted in the production of new 'tactics' that reconstructed environments and created new spaces from ordinary places.[35] In the case of the illegal importation of foreign goods by means of undervaluation, false classification, and small purchases obtained at the Bon

[34] Michel de Certeau. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Translated by Steven F. Rendall. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), xii-xiii.
[35] De Certeau, 115-18.

Marché, American tourists created new spaces of criminal transgressions from traditional economic exchanges and relationships. In direct violation of U.S. revenue laws, the new 'tactics' American tourists produced out of "irregular practices" of foreign merchandise purchased in the department store abroad and imported home became an ordinary 'strategy' of the travel experience.

Sources

The writings, resources and reports of British and American tourists provide a unique perspective as to how the Bon Marché represented a place in which both men and women exerted consumer influence and power, became a cultural and economic authority and institution to be enjoyed by both men and women, and offered both men and women opportunities to engage in economic transgressions. In addition to the first-hand observations and descriptions provided by tourists, travel guides and Souvenirs that acclimated this audience to the city help historians better understand how and where these tourists spent time while in Paris. Visiting Europe remained a sign of distinction and high status during the mid-nineteenth century and transportation improvements steadily increased the number of British and American tourists abroad. In 1842 Louis Philippe's government laid out the national railway network and paid private firms to construct nearly 7,000 kilometers of track.[36] Under Napoleon III, Baron Haussmann not only completed the railroad system, but also oversaw the construction of seventy-one miles of new roads.[37] While the Confederate

[36] Gordon Wright. *France in Modern Times*. (Chicago, Rand McNally & Company, 1960), 203 and Miller, 37.
[37] Levenstein, 86.

blockade prevented some Southerners from traveling abroad during the American Civil War, an increased number of wealthy, older, female tourists exempt from military service continued to travel to Paris. After the Civil War, nearly forty thousand Americans traveled to Europe including a significant number of tourists from the Midwest and literary men and women. By 1867, the year of the Paris Universal Exposition, only the British outnumbered the five thousand Americans residing in Paris who, as a group, represented the most wealth. The six month siege and bombardment of Paris during Napoleon's war with Prussia between September 1870 and March 1871 and subsequent Paris Commune disrupted tourism only briefly as popular tourist destinations quickly recovered to welcome returning American tourists in 1872. The number of American tourists to Europe more than doubled between 1880 and 1900, from 50,000 to 125,000 and again between 1900 and its peak in 1913, from 125,000 to 250,000. By the 1890s, steam-only boats carrying close to two thousand passengers crossed the Atlantic in six days. The increasing affordability of first- and second-class rail and steam travel by the end of the century made the trip possible for social and labor reformers, politicians, journalists, professionals, and, perhaps most visible, tourists.[38]

The first chapter of this study predominately utilizes travel guides and a Bon Marché Souvenir published between 1870 and 1915. I group travel guides as those publications organized around specific sites and locations and that often include logistical travel information. A review of travel guides published between

[38] Levenstein, 100, 125-6, 129, 140-1, and 185-6.

1870 and 1900 reveals a lack of emphasis placed on the Parisian department stores; most frequently cited are the *Grands Magasins du Louvre* and the Bon Marché.[39] Travel guides such as those written by British publisher John Murray III, English travel writer William Thackeray, German travel writer Karl Baedeker, and, popular among American travelers, Galignani's Paris guide, represent a spectrum of national perspectives and audiences.[40] The organization, content, and imagery of travel guides contrasts with that found in Bon Marché Souvenir booklets. The Bon Marché published these books in French and English starting in the early 1870s and distributed them to foreign tourists and French bourgeois upon visiting the department store. The *Souvenirs* included both a map of France and an extensive fold-out Paris street map in addition to information about the Bon Marché, store policies, transportation options, religious services and cultural institutions in and around the vicinity of Paris; in content, imagery and organization the *Souvenirs* mirrored the travel guides utilized by British and American tourists.[41]

---

[39] Information on actual department store clientele is limited due to a lack of records and the cash-only policies of the more prestigious department stores. While the institution and practice of extending credit increased as a result of the retail revolution in the second-half of the nineteenth century, most *grands magasins* mandated cash for purchases. As a result, credit records for individual customers rarely exist in company archives. While stores clearly targeted consumers of specific discretionary income, information on those who entered the department stores and more specifically, those who purchased from the department stores is limited. Historian Philip Nord agrees with Michael Miller's findings that the Bon Marché catered to a decisively bourgeois clientele. In government documents, Nord also found that the Grands Magains du Louvre appealed to those bourgeois less careful with money and a more youthful bourgeois clientele trended towards Au Printemps. Nord, 73-4 and 78-9 and Miller, 6 and 178.

[40] Travel guides by the end of the nineteenth-century often stated an intended audience which impacted the content of the guides. By reviewing multiple travel guides, I ensure that those guides written for a specific demographic are not more inclined to emphasize one department store over another.

[41] The Souvenirs contained the following information targeted to assist British and American tourists: French Coins and their British and United States Value, Comparative Table of French and English Measures, Comparative Table of French and English Distances, postal and telegraph

Diaries, personal accounts and narratives provide historians the opportunity to better understand the consumption experience of male British and American tourists in the department store setting. Three diaries in particular provide a sense of day-to-day activities, challenges, and concerns of three men during their time in Paris. While the period of time these men spent in Paris varies, each one made visits to or mention of the Bon Marché department store. Due to the challenge in acquiring individual diaries, fictionalized narratives that describe the experience of men and women abroad complement the diary accounts; many authors wrote these narratives from their own daily experiences and first-hand observations. While the increasing number of literary men and, especially after 1850, women, offer additional opportunities for primary source material, not all those who published travel memoires considered themselves writers by profession. Physicians, politicians, lawyers and farmers provide their perspectives into the experience of the city and the shopping experience as well. I utilize the writings of both men and women and consider not only what these individuals do write about but also what these individuals do not write about in their narratives.[42] Throughout the nineteenth-century, travel to Europe by American and British tourists remained a privilege of the middle- and upper-class and as a result my ability to explore the consumption experience is limited by class. Professional activists, missionaries and industry professionals provide a

---

information specifically discussing communication with England and the United States, British and American religious services and churches, and contact information for the Great Britain and United States Ambassadors and Consuls in Paris.

[42]Given the theoretical basis for my argument in part two, it is important to include sources from both men and women.

glimpse at the use and the experience of the Bon Marché by men during the late nineteenth-century.

Government documents published by the United States concerned with the consumption practices of American tourists within the department store space and the subsequent importation of goods provide historians new insight into the uses of consumption. Men who purchased large amounts of material goods at the Bon Marché needed significant amounts of capital to fund these endeavors and, as such, the American tourists who engaged in this behavior represented a specific economic class. Although limited, U.S. newspapers and legal proceedings serve as an additional source to understand public sentiment towards tariff legislation and documented cases of tariff transgressions. At the urging of domestic department store leaders, the United States responded to the activities that potentially undercut domestic sales. The government, perhaps the biggest loser in these transactions, identified the problem and responded with investigations and legislation.

Conclusion

This research responds to contemporary studies that ignore the participation of men in the department store experience. Building on the work of Foucault and utilizing travel guides and Souvenirs, I argue that the Bon Marché established itself as a cultural and economic authority and institution to be enjoyed by both men and women. In promoting the department store as a cultural institution to both men and women, the Bon Marché became a site of bourgeois social normalization yet also as a space where customers could actively

participate in the consumption and production of culture. The built space of the late-nineteenth century Parisian department store, specifically the Bon Marché, represented a place in which both men *and* women exerted consumer influence and power. An analysis of personal accounts, diaries, journals, and travel narratives reveals that the Bon Marché represented a place in which both men and women engaged in the act of material and cultural consumption. The work of Lefebvre and Bourdieu provide a theoretical lens to understand menswear departments and spaces of non-material consumption in the department store as spaces of socially constructed gendered oppositions. In addition, street-facing display windows, cultural events sponsored by the Bon Marché, and professional journals in male dominated industries created new spaces within which men participated in the department store experience. The interior space of the department store reflected the gendered organization and power structures of the exterior spaces of consumption.

While nineteenth-century newspapers raised moral and economic concerns about increasing number of kleptomania cases among women few scholars consider how men also exploited the department store model. Working with de Certeau's concepts of strategies and tactics, congressional reports highlight one way men moved beyond the "everyday practice" of traditional strategies of consumption into tactics that circumvented tariff laws imposed on United States imports. The late-nineteenth century Parisian department store, specifically the Bon Marché, offered both men *and* women opportunities to engage in economic transgressions. The development of urban, economic retail institutions, such as

the Bon Marché in late nineteenth-century Paris, offered British and American tourists opportunities to challenge gender norms.

Chapter 1

POSITIONING THE BON MARCHÉ AS CULTURAL INSTITUTION

"Part opera, part theatre, part museum, Boucicaut's eclectic extravaganza did not disappoint those who came for a show."[43]

–Michael Miller, *The Bon Marché*

Owner of the first *grands magasin*, Aristide Boucicaut, created a spectacle of material consumption at the Bon Marché that rivaled the most popular cultural attractions in late-nineteenth century Paris. As one of the earliest expressions of urbanization, innovations in transportation, and new methods in retailing, the print culture produced by and about Parisian department stores, such as the Bon Marché, offers historians a unique perspective into the cultural environment constructed by economic institutions. I argue that the Bon Marché attempted to fulfill bourgeois cultural interests during the late-nineteenth century and subsequently sold shopping and the department store as a cultural experience to middle- and upper-class American and British tourists visiting Paris. Specifically, Souvenir booklets produced and given to patrons who shopped at the Bon Marché strategically marketed material consumption as a cultural, rather than purely economic, experience. I compare and contrast the content of travel literature and Bon Marché Souvenirs to argue that, while travel guides positioned economic spaces as a resource for travelers, the Bon Marché uniquely promoted the department store as a cultural institution. The Bon Marché Souvenirs mirrored the structural organization of the travel guides and, through content and imagery positioned the department store as a space of bourgeois cultural consumption. By

[43] Miller, 168.

capitalizing on the feminization of art and public taste, acting as an authority on bourgeois leisure time, taking advantage of the increased volume of tourists to Paris, closely managing the interactions between employees and customers, and creating visual links with other popular cultural institutions the Souvenirs mirrored many of the techniques utilized by travel guides to sell the leisure travel experience.

Methodology

The increasing popularity of cultural history in Western Europe and the United States during the 1970s and 1980s offered historians opportunities for innovative economic and cultural scholarship. New cultural historical scholarship challenges scholars to re-insert consumer and organizational agency into the consumption and production processes of material and non-material culture. In his 2004 publication, *What is Cultural History*, historian Peter Burke finds economic historians increasingly interested in consumption and alternative cultural explanations that go beyond the rational consumer model in which individuals make consumption choices based simply on maximizing pleasure or utility. Late-nineteenth century American historian of economics Thorstein Veblen, for example, argued that consumption represented a maximization of social utility. In *The Theory of the Leisure Class* Veblen's highly intentionalized status maximizers possess a "pure social orientation."[44] Recent studies of material culture in the 1980s and 1990s consider links between food, clothing and

[44] Juliet B. Schor, "In Defense of Consumer Critique: Revisiting the Consumption Debates of the Twentieth Century." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 611, The Politics of Consumption/The Consumption of Politics (May, 2007), 18.

housing and the role of advertising in stimulating the desire for goods in the imagination.[45] Along the same lines, Souvenir booklets produced by the Bon Marché department store challenge historians to expand their analysis of print culture towards a better understanding of how it functions to define economic and cultural institutions. Comparing and contrasting the organization, content, and imagery found in late-nineteenth century Bon Marché Souvenir booklets and travel guides reveal new understandings surrounding the consumption of culture.[46] While the debate surrounding the definition of "culture" persists, I will use this term in both its theoretical and concrete sense as presented by American historian, William Sewell, in his 1999 article "The Concepts of Culture." In a theoretical sense, I argue the department store and shopping as culture remained a distinct aspect of social life separated from the economy yet in a concrete sense bounded by values such as morality, service, tradition, and achievement associated with the bourgeoisie. The conceptualization of culture as an institutional sphere, according to Sewell, clusters institutions according to the specialized functions of social formations. I contend that the study of the activity and meanings produced within and by the first department stores, such as the Bon Marché, transcend conventional institutional clusters of economy and culture.

---

[45] Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), 67-8.

[46] Lynn Hunt's edited 1989 publication, *The New Cultural History*, includes eight essays that examine models proposed during the initial phases of the New Cultural History movement and possible innovations for the future. In one of these essays, "The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order," American historian Mary Ryan considers class, ethnicity and gender changes in both the organization and the composition of American parades between 1825 and 1850 and cultural meanings of these changes. In a similar manner, Souvenirs published in 1892, 1896 and 1911 illustrate how the Bon Marché modified content to continue promoting the department store as a cultural experience that matched the changing nature and meanings of leisure travel. Lynn Hunt, editor. *The New Cultural History*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 16, 133 and 136.

Traditionally, the profit-driven department store has been understood as an economic institution; however, I argue that the Bon Marché sought to associate the shopping experience with a clearly identifiable group of cultural institutions commonly grouped together in travel literature thereby overcoming the restrictive nature of culture as an institutional sphere.[47] The Souvenirs demonstrate how the Bon Marché produced expressive, artistic, and literary systems of meanings similar to a range of traditional cultural institutions. The 'constructivist' position advanced by Michel de Certeau in the late 1970s and early 1980s encouraged economic historians to consider the creative, inventive consumption 'practices' of ordinary consumers as forms of production in *The Practice of Everyday Life*.[48] Published in 1980 *The Practice of Everyday Life* moves the study of consumption away from material representations of society towards the ways consumers *use* these products as a production of consumption. Inverting Michel Foucault's concept of discipline and opposing Pierre Bourdieu's concept of 'strategy,' de Certeau offered economic historians useable paradigms to move away from deterministic social constructions of consumption and re-insert human agency.[49] This approach highlights the ways in which American and British tourists who visited the Bon Marché created new cultural meanings for the shopping

[47] Sewell, William H., Jr., "The Concepts of Culture" in *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, eds. Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 39-41.
[48] De Certeau, xii-xiii.
[49] While Benedict Anderson did not use the term 'construction' in his 1983 publication, *Imagined Communities*, Anderson identified an active and shared experience in the nation-building process. One of the dominant features of New Cultural History concerns the construction of identities and, extended further, the past, as argued by American historian Hayden White. Burke, 78-80 and 88 and de Certeau, 45-7 and 50-6.

experience.[50] In positioning the department store as something more than an economic conduit, the Souvenirs contributed to the way tourists understood the Bon Marché experience and to the creation of new cultural meanings.

Tourism

American and British tourists in France represented a significant opportunity of potential profit and wealth for Parisian institutions able to command their leisure time and financial resources. In Murray's 1848 travel handbook, *France*, he determined that "By official returns it appears that there are at present in France 66,000 English residences. Supposing the average expenditure of each to be 5 francs a day, the sum total will amount to about 4,820,000 pounds per annum."[51] The increasing number of lower- and middle-class visitors in Paris from the United States and the United Kingdom after 1850 forced upper-class interactions abroad into private spaces insulated from those considered inferior. Renting apartments, hiring private cooks, and employing carriage services kept wealthy Americans and English nobility consciously separated from the newly self-made rich; according to Harvey Levenstein "… the

[50] In her 1998 publication, *Spectacular Realities*, Vanessa Schwartz argued that the consumption of "modern" and "popular" forms of culture and the spectacularization of urban life transformed early mass culture in *fin-de-siécle* Paris into a society of spectators. Schwartz explores the connection producers and consumers made between the written and visual texts that urban representations relied upon to create visual spectacular realities. Whereas earlier attempts to "read" the city thematically move between written and visual texts, Schwartz semiotic analysis transcended different media to read the city and urban representations as a shared visual experience. *Spectacular Realities* responds to Tony Bennett's theory of voluntary self-regulation through active seeing that challenged Foucault's earlier theory of the disciplinary state and confining social institutions of power. Schwartz attempted to move beyond the state and its institutions and argued that the common culture and sense of shared experience created by visual representations of reality created a process embedded within the foundations of "mass society." Schwartz, 2-6.

[51] Alan Sillitoe. *Leading the Blind: A Century of Guidebook Travel 1815-1914*. (London: Macmillan, 1995), 6.

well-born were becoming alarmed that, once they crossed the Channel, touring nouveaux riches could camouflage their class identities and gain entrée into upper-class preserves … upper-class Americans were even more threatened, for class distinctions were much more blurred in America than in England …"[52] The American *nouveaux riches* traveled abroad to Europe as an outward sign of success and to make acquaintance with those who could offer entrance into exclusive European circles.[53] Travel guides, such as those published by British publisher John Murray III starting in 1836, provided objective information for the upper classes who could afford to hire a private carriage and employ couriers.[54] English travel writer William Thackeray observed in the Flemish transit harbor city of Ostend during the 1840s that, "Times are altered at Ostend now; of the Britons who go thither, very few look like lords, or act like members of our heredity aristocracy. They seem for the most part shabby in attire, dingy of linen, lovers of billiards and brandy, and cigars and greasy ordinaries."[55] As British and American tourists moved into private spaces to avoid the *nouveaux riches* when possible, class tensions in the public sphere played out in tourists attractions that brought upper- and middle-classes together into one space.

Cultural tourism remained popular during the last quarter of the nineteenth century for women seeking to educate their daughters in the arts, music, and

---

[52] Levenstein, 99.
[53] Foster Rhea Dulles. *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel*. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1964), 129.
[54] Sillitoe, 4.
[55] Sillitoe, 3.

languages and prepare them for upper class society.[56] As the century drew to a close, the controversial emergence of the "New Woman" challenged the American female tourist to navigate a fine line between cultural and recreational tourism. On the one hand, the "… bossy, social-climbing, culture-vulture American millionaire's wife …" emasculated her husband and reversed the natural order of proper family structure by taking an active role directing the touring experience. On the other hand, Frenchwomen looked down on single American women and girls who traveled to Europe "… only to shop, flirt and find titled husbands."[57] By the end of the nineteenth century, the increasing affordability of first- and second-class rail and steam travel meant more frequent class interactions between middle-class and upper-class tourists at points of departure and arrival. The democratization of travel abroad challenged those on both sides of the Atlantic to reconsider preconceived notions about aristocracy, privilege, culture, and republican principles.[58]

By the mid-nineteenth century, "tourist" was becoming a term of derision. However, the negative connotation associated with the term "tourist," which persists to this day, not only fails to consider the motivation of the individual traveler but also judges the leisure traveler. This was the approach taken at the turn of the century by Veblen where he defined "leisure" as the "… non-productive consumption of time."[59] Veblen's utilitarian definition implied that

[56] Sillitoe, 185-6.
[57] Sillitoe, 188-9.
[58] Dulles, 4-5.
[59] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class with an introduction by Robert Lekachman*. (New York: Penguin Books, 1899), 43.

leisure consumed time without any productive results; however, this approach fails to acknowledge how a leisure break potentially increases the productivity of an individual's non-leisure time. In contrast, and like social historian Harvey Levenstein in his 1998 publication, *Seductive Journey*, I use the word "tourism" to describe "… travel for culture and for pleasure," in a sense that carries with it the desire for self-education and could include visits to museums, cathedrals, tombs, monuments or other institutions that may shed light on a desired subject of knowledge. The second and more dominant form of travel today, "recreational tourism," is aimed solely at pleasure and might involve trips to the beach, ski holidays or pleasure cruises.[60] I find Levenstein's suggestion to categorize travel as either "cultural tourism" or "recreational tourism" useful because these distinctions account for the active agency of the traveler in making conscious decisions about the consumption of material and non-material culture.[61] The increasing popularity of travel books and the distribution of Bon Marché Souvenirs confirm the large number of cultural tourism experiences available to tourists visiting Paris in the late-nineteenth century. The focus of this chapter concerns upper-class American and British tourists who traveled to Paris primarily for cultural tourism at the peak of European travel.[62] While travel literature focused little attention on the *grands magasins*, the Bon Marché Souvenirs aligned the modern department store experience with traditional

[60] Levenstein, ix-xi.
[61] In addition, these definitions remove negative judgments and connotations associated with the term "tourist."
[62] The impact of other groups traveling to Europe during this period alongside upper-class British and American tourists such as abolitionist and pacifist social reformers, immigrants visiting family back home, popular entertainers, and artists who also helped promote cultural and social ties between the Old World and the New will be left for another time. Dulles, 87 and 143.

expressions of cultural leisure as presented in travel guides, by presenting the store in a manner that was similar to the organization, content, and imagery travel guides used to discuss traditional cultural institutions such as museums, theaters, churches or tombs.

Bon Marché Souvenirs and Travel Guides

The publication of Souvenir booklets in French and English starting in the early 1870s provided foreign tourists and members of the French bourgeoisie with a 'memory' of their Bon Marché experience and a resource of Paris. The appearance of the Souvenir booklets coincided with both the new Bon Marché department store structure begun in 1869 and an increasing proliferation of travel literature.[63] Among others, travel guides such as *Galignani's New Paris Guide*, Karl Baedeker's *Paris and Environs*, and *Bemrose's Guide to Paris* helped the tourist "employ his time and his money to the best advantage" while in Paris.[64] Travel guides and the Bon Marché Souvenirs both included maps of France, Paris street maps, traveler resources, transportation options, religious services information, and descriptions of individual points of interest. Similar to travel guides, the Bon Marché targeted the English versions of its Souvenirs towards British and American tourists by including specific travel resources such as monetary conversion rates, measurement comparisons, distance equivalencies for

[63] While Bon Marché proprietor, Aristide Boucicaut, never lived to see the completion of the store he began building in 1869, my thesis focuses on the 52,800 square foot Bon Marché department store located near the junction of the sixth and seventh *arrondissements* and bordered by Babylone, Sèvres, Bac, and Velpeau streets in Paris completed in 1887. Miller, 19 and 42-3.
[64] Karl Baedeker, *Paris and Environs with Routes from London to Paris.* (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1888), Preface.

French and English systems, and common French phrases.[65] In addition to this content, the Souvenirs also included information about the Bon Marché, store policies, philanthropic endeavors, paternalistic employee policies, and store history not found in travel guides published during the late-nineteenth century. Travel guides, on the other hand, rarely mention or describe the Bon Marché department store beyond its economic purpose and never alongside traditional cultural institutions such as museums, palaces, theaters, and gardens. Full-page advertisements helped department stores such as the *Grands Magasins du Louvre*, *Au Bon Marché*, and the *Grands Magasins du Petit Saint-Thomas* establish a presence in travel guides, such as *Galignani's Illustrated Paris Guide for 1885*, that otherwise ignored the existence of these institutions. Other travel guides, such as those published by Karl Baedeker in 1884 and 1888, pointedly highlighted the objectivity of content by excluding advertisements stating "To hotel-proprietors, tradesmen, and others the Editor begs to intimate that the commendations in the Handbook cannot be secured by purchase, and that advertisements of every form are strictly excluded."[66] William Pembroke Fetridge issued a similar statement directed specifically towards innkeepers in *The American Travelers' Guides* published in 1870 and noting that "… complaints of

[65] In addition, the Bon Marché Souvenirs contained postal and telegraph information for communication between England and the United States, British and American religious services and churches, and contact information for the Great Britain and United States Ambassadors and Consuls in Paris.

[66] The 1896 edition of Baedeker's *Paris and Environs with Routes from London to Paris* the proliferation of leisure travel and the increasing influence of travel guides prompted an additional alert to hotel managers from the publishers stating "Hotel-keepers are also warned against persons representing themselves as agents for Baedeker's Handbooks." Karl Baedeker, *Paris and Environs with Routes from London to Paris and from Paris to the Rhine and Switzerland*. (London: Dulaau and Co., 1884), Preface and Karl Baedeker, *Paris and Environs with Routes from London to Paris*. (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1896), Preface.

dishonesty or inattention, properly substantiated, will cause their houses to be stricken from the list of good establishments …"[67] Baedeker's travel guides provide the most descriptive information about Parisian department stores of all the guides consulted and the Bon Marché is described, along with other *grands magasins,* within a small section entitled "Haberdashery." In *Bemroses' Guide to Paris and the 1889 Exhibition,* the Bon Marché and the Grands Magasins du Louvre are both mentioned in relation to a section describing the "Rues" or streets of Paris. Bemrose recommends the Rue de Bac for "… books, prints and engravings, and above all the 'Bon Marché' Drapery and general establishment" and the Rue de Rivoli is recommended "…for photographs, books, toys, and the drapery establishment known as the 'Grands Magazines du Louvre' – a sort of Paris Whiteley's."[68] The retail business streets, as opposed to the Boulevards proper, according to Bemrose, offered lower prices "for the use of those on money-spending bent, and where English is generally understood."[69] When mentioned, travel guides bury the Bon Marché department store within sections devoted to shops and dry good establishments or within descriptions of retail business streets thereby contextualizing the department store as a purely economic form.[70]

[67] W. Pembroke Fetridge, *The American Traveller's Guide*. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1870), Preface.
[68] Sieverts Drewett, ed. *Bemrose's Guide to Paris, and the Exhibition*. (London: Bemrose & Sons, Inc., 1889), 51.
[69] Drewett, 51.
[70] Nearly all the travel guides reviewed did contain significant mention of the various Paris markets (i.e. *Halles Centrales*, cattle, horse, clothes, and flower markets, etc.) and many are included in geographically organized suggested daily agendas.

The publication of *Bon Marché Souvenirs* starting in the late-nineteenth century reflected the increasing authority of travel guides and the assistance these guides provided tourists in determining where and what to see during visits to Paris. In the Souveniers, the Bon Marché attempted to position itself as an authoritative guide and to situate the department store and shopping as a cultural institution and experience that encompassed Christian morals, tradition, creative expression, and intellectual achievement. By emphasizing characteristics found in traditional cultural institutions, the Bon Marché Souvenirs sold an experience similar to that which British and American leisure travelers sought in visiting museums, churches, theaters, gardens and other tourist attractions. Mirroring the organization, content, and imagery of popular travel guides, the Bon Marché created a marketing piece that served as a resource for travelers while simultaneously promoting the department store as a cultural experience.

Organization

The organization of information included in the Bon Marché Souvenir resembles that of travel guides published during the late-nineteenth century. The Bon Marché Souvenir placed travel resources immediately after sections promoting the Bon Marché, followed by specific cultural attraction recommendations and descriptions and, finally, street guides and maps. Approximately half of the sixty-eight page 1892 *Souvenir* provides information about the Bon Marché, store policies, transportation options, religious services

and cultural institutions in and around the vicinity of Paris.[71] Travel guides such as William Pembroke Fetridge's *The American Travellers' Guide, Galignani's New Paris Guide*, Bemrose's *Guide to Paris*, and Karl Baedeker's *Paris and Environs* all placed general travel tips and essential resources in the opening pages. After providing practical information for the traveler, travel guides offered descriptions of specific monuments of interest, museums, gardens, squares, palaces, libraries and tourist attractions organized by geographic location within the city of Paris. This organization facilitated easy planning and, if approached as presented in the travel guide, allowed tourists to see as many sites as possible during a single trip. *Galignani's New Paris Guide*, for example, organized the sites of Paris into twenty walks which allowed the tourist to "… see everything in a comparatively short space of time, and will pass over nothing that is really worthy of being examined."[72]

Travel guides adapted to the increasing ease of travel beyond the city center towards the end of the nineteenth century and began including information about daytrips to the Paris suburbs. Travel guides, such as Bemrose's *Guide to Paris and the 1889 Exhibition*, Baekeder's *Paris and Environs*, and Galigani's *New Paris Guide*, presented information about attractions within the city first and followed with additional sections describing tourist attractions in the outlying regions. The Bon Marché Souvenirs followed suit and in the 1911 Souvenir

[71] The Almanac, or calendar, on the second page of the Bon Marché Souvenir is one of the few indicators as to the 1892 publication date of the brochure. In the 1896 brochure context clues in the "Progress of the Boucicaut Provident Fund" chart and in the description of the Relief and Pension Fund allude to the publication year. *Souvenir of The Bon Marché* (1892), 2 and *Souvenir of the Bon Marché, Paris* (Imprimerie Lahure, 1896), 6-7.
[72] *Galignani's New Paris Guide*. (Paris: Galignani, 1874), Preface.

recommended British and American tourists visit Versailles (also recommended in the 1892 Souvenir), Sèvres, Saint-Germain, Saint-Denis, Chantilly, Fontainebleau, and Compiègne, all located in the *environs* of Paris. When visiting the outskirts of Paris, the 1911 Souvenir recommended tourists visit the forests, châteaux, shops, tombs, and chapels that mirrored the venues within Paris deemed worthy by the Bon Marché. In particular, these excursions spoke to the artistic and creative impulses of tourists and artists: "The Forest, bounded on one side by the Seine, is the most beautiful in France; its rocks, gorges and massive trees are a great attraction to all artists."[73] After the turn of the century, American and British upper-class tourists took advantage of Baron Haussmann's network of roads and hired drivers to explore the French countryside by car as recommended in both travel guides and the Bon Marché Souvenirs. Structuring and organizing the Bon Marché Souvenirs in a manner similar to late-nineteenth century travel guides linked the department store to leisure travel and cultural attractions both inside and outside the city of Paris.

Maps

Maps of Paris, including street maps, individual *arrondissements*, regions of the city, or transportation maps link the Bon Marché Souvenirs to the travel guides of the late-nineteenth century. The second half of the 1892 Souvenir included an extensive fold-out Paris street map that helped tourists, especially the British, who according to German travel writer Karl Baedeker, 'always journeyed

[73] *Galignani's New Paris Guide,* 31.

with good maps,' navigate the city.[74] Printed on the back cover of the 1892 Souvenir is a map in which the geographic position of Paris within the larger context of France is strategically identified by an illustration of the Bon Marché department store structure. While distinguishing Paris with an image of the Bon Marché image is singular to the Souvenirs and effectively promoted the store, the inclusion of maps is consistent with popular travel guides published during the late-nineteenth century.[75] In his 1884 *Paris and Environs*, Baedeker's travel guide also provided travelers with maps at the end of the publication, "The Maps and Plans, upon which the utmost care has been bestowed, will, it is hoped, be found serviceable. Those which relate to Paris itself (one clue-map, one large plan, five special plans of the most important quarters of the city and one omnibus-plan) have been collected in a separate cover at the end of the volume, and may if desired be severed from the Handbook altogether."[76] Even *Dickens's Dictionary of Paris*, 1882, a less conventional travel guide alphabetically organized by topic, includes maps on specific sections of Paris. Travel guide writers produced resources that could (and would) be carried along on daily excursions in the city either in their entirety or, as in the case of Baedeker's maps, in pieces. The inclusion of extensive street guides and city maps within the Bon Marché Souvenir distinguished this resource from other more dense travel guides. The lighter weight and practical usefulness of detailed street guides in the Bon

[74] Sillitoe, 32.
[75] *Galignani's Illustrated Paris Guides* grouped principal sites and monuments according to their relative position to the Palais Royal and Louvre which served as the geographic center of the capital throughout the publication.
[76] Baedeker, *Paris and Environs with Routes from London to Paris and from Paris to the Rhine and Switzerland*, Preface.

Marché Souvenirs provided a travel resource that could be easily carried and referenced throughout the day. Thus, the Bon Marché department store found a way, similar to travel guides, to become a part of the leisure travel experience amongst visits to museums, gardens, theaters, and other cultural attractions visited by American and British tourists.

Setting Expectations

The first page of the 1892 Souvenir, the Contents, provided information to British and American tourists regarding the topics included in the brochure and created an initial image of the Bon Marché as an institution of Christian morals, tradition, creative expression, and intellectual achievement.[77] Institutionalizing these bourgeois values into the corporate structure and daily operation of the Bon Marché helped upper-class British and American tourists align shopping with other cultural experiences that embodied similar principles. For example, by including a section entitled "American and English Churches" it is readily apparent that the Bon Marché assumes its patrons maintain a religious affiliation

[77] The individual section descriptions included in the 1892 Souvenir Contents fall into one of six categories that contribute to an overall image of a cultured bourgeoisie Establishment. First, the eleven sections categorized as culture include: Public Amusements, Places of Interest and Times for Visiting Them, American and English Churches, Musée du Louvre, Musée du Luxembourg, Musée de Cluny, Musée du Trocadéro, Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, Hôtel des Invalides and Musée Guimet, Hôtel and Musée Carnavalet, and Versailles. The seven sections categorized as services include: Philanthropic Institutions of the Bon Marché, Pattern and Shipping Services, Parcel Delivery Service for Paris and Environs, Post, Telegraph and Telephone, Cabs, and Ambassadors, Consuls, and American Bankers. Next, the six sections categorized as knowledge include: Almanac, List of the Different Goods Sold at the Bon Marché, Au Bon Marché (Notice), Comparative Tables of French, American and English Monies, Measures and Distances, Streets of Paris, and Plan of Paris. The Contents also list a section of Biographies of the Bon Marché founder, Aristide Boucicaut, and his wife, Madame Boucicaut, that help establish an environment of family values within the institution. A sense of tradition is created in the Contents with a section titled History of the Bon Marché. Finally three images portraying the grandiose structure of the Bon Marché building and a Recompenses Obtained at the International Exhibition of 1889 section allude to the achievements of the Bon Marché.

and supports these affiliations. The third section listed on the Bon Marché Souvenir Contents page, "Philanthropic Institutions of the Bon Marché," strategically highlights the service-oriented nature of the corporation. The achievements of the Bon Marché can be easily found in the sixth section of the Souvenir entitled "Recompenses obtained at the International Exhibition of 1889." Finally, the Contents promoted and established the Bon Marché as an institution of culture with a listing of specific museums that Bon Marché patrons would assumedly be interested in seeing. While some travel guides, such as Bemrose's 1889 *Guide to Paris*, William Pembroke Fetridge's *The American Travellers' Guide* in 1872, and Galignani's *New Paris Guide* for 1885 presented individual cultural attractions by category (i.e. Markets, Public Buildings, Libraries, Churches, Museums and Art Collections, Parks and Gardens, etc.), other travel guides, such as Baedeker's *Paris and Environs 1896*, presents these same destinations geographically. Regardless of the categorization, travel guides exclude the Bon Marché and retail institutions from these groupings. The 1892 Bon Marché Souvenir is similar to travel guides in the characteristics promoted within the Contents page and also in the specific listing of traditional cultural attractions that the Souvenir assumed its upper-class, cultured customers would also visit during a trip to Paris during the late-nineteenth century. While the 1896 and 1911 Bon Marché Souvenirs eliminated the Contents page, these two later documents continued to convey a tone of morality, service, achievement, and culture through content and organization that reflected travel guides.

Promoting Christian Morals

Promoting an environment of proper bourgeois respectability let upper-class tourists know the Bon Marché offered a safe and moral environment built on values promoted by Christian religious institutions. Throughout the nineteenth century, the French struggled to define the relationship between church and state. While religious issues complicated politics during the French Revolution and the Restoration years, efforts to reconcile Catholicism with the modern world and Enlightenment teachings slowly began during the Orleanist era. Early signs of a bourgeois return to faith and the emergence of a modern, post-revolutionary Catholicism in the 1840s further complicated matters. As the new *grands magasins* emerged under Napoleon III during the Second Empire and mass industrialization threatened a traditional way of life, August Comte's positivist doctrines of progress became increasingly popular.[78] The liberal and moderate republicans of the Opportunistic government that came to power in 1880 spent the closing years of the nineteenth-century navigating religious disputes between clerics and anti-clerics, debates over public and religious education, and growing anti-Semitism.[79] Despite these domestic controversies, the Bon Marché Souvenirs and travel guides aimed at British and American tourists highlighted the historic and architectural importance of churches in Paris. In the 1892 and 1896 Souvenirs, four religious institutions are recommended in the list of "Places of Interest and Times for Visiting Them" including: the Madeleine, Notre-Dame, the Sainte-Chapelle and Saint-Denis.[80] The Bon Marché added the Sacré Coeur

[78] Wright, 239-40.
[79] Wright, 316-19.
[80] *Souvenir of the Bon Marché*, 1892, 21.

in the 1911 Souvenir to the list of important places to visit. Travel guides consistently recommended these same religious institutions (and numerous others) to British and American travelers and often included these as important stops in suggested itineraries. Galignani's "Diary of Places that ought to be seen by a Stranger" highlighted no less than nine religious institutions (mostly churches) on a list of the most important sites for the visitor with only one week in Paris.[81]

Finally, the closure of the Bon Marché for religious holidays, as described in the Souvenirs, communicated to American and British tourists the priority of spiritual obligations over profit generation and blurred the image of the department store as a singularly secular establishment. The 1892 Souvenir Almanac explained to Bon Marché patrons that the store remained closed on Sundays and the following 'Festivals': New Years Day, Easter Monday, Ascension Day, Whit Monday, National Fête, Assumption, All Saints Day and Christmas Day.[82] Not only are three-quarters of these dates religious festivals, the combination of national civil holidays and religious celebrations integrated distinctly Christian values into the operation of the Bon Marché.

In addition to the Almanac that listed dates of closure, Souvenirs and travel guides offered information about religious services knowing that religious institutions provided spaces for travelers to connect with each other and establish social status abroad. The 'Religious Services' section of the Souvenir blurred the identity of the Bon Marché as an economic institution and established a distinctly Christian connection. Founded in the early 1850s and 1860s, respectively, the

[81] *Galignani's Illustrated Paris Guide for 1874*, unnumbered page.
[82] *Souvenir of the Bon Marché*, 1892, 3.

American Chapel and the American Episcopal Church offered the upper-classes a space not only for Sunday worship, but also a space to make connections and introductions with other American elite.[83] While the Souvenir provided information about the time and location of these and other Roman Catholic, Episcopal, Anglican, and Methodist services, tourists seeking Jewish and Muslim services had to look elsewhere for this information. During the second half of the nineteenth-century anti-Semitic feelings existed in France (as evident in the Dreyfus Affair), however; the social status and financial power of the Jewish bankers mitigated outward hostilities.[84] Travel guides, such as *Galignani's Illustrated Paris Guide* for 1885, warned travelers visiting the Temple market, or clothes market, "The stalls are chiefly kept by Jews, and the visitor is subjected to almost intolerable persecution at the hands of the vendors, most of whom are women. The second-hand articles offered for sale are so cleverly "renovated," that the visitor will scarcely believe that they are not new."[85] Despite the controversies surrounding religion in France, by the 1890s wealthy Jewish families maintained a definitive position in Paris and American Jews vacationed to France as a refuge from discrimination back home. F. Hervé du Lorin's *Paris before, during and after the War and its Insurrection published in 1873*, self-titled as "An indispensible guide to English and American visitors to Paris," provided hours of operation and services for multiple Christian services yet provided only an address for two Jewish synagogues. Nonetheless, the content of the 1892

[83] Levenstein, 100-1.
[84] Levenstein, 143-4.
[85] *Galignani's Illustrated Paris Guide*, 1885, 131.

Souvenir integrated Christian values into the department store experience and targeted American and British tourists who associated with these values.[86]

Employee Philanthropy and Customer Service

Not only did the Bon Marché Souvenirs market a corporate environment built on family values, moral behavior, devotion to church, and service to others, the store also advocated by traditional religious institutions through biographies and descriptions of paternalistic employee policies. An emphasis on morality within the Bon Marché Souvenir also addressed the concerns of Parisians unsettled by the mass, bureaucratic department store concept and the increasing number of kleptomania cases who "… were equally alarmed that the *grands magasins* were loosening the bourgeois community's moral fiber."[87] Devoted Catholics throughout their lives, Bon Marché founders Aristide and Marguerite, emphasized strong private and public moral character within their traditional family unit**.** The "Biography of Madame Boucicaut" in the 1892 Souvenir inserted a passive feminine voice into the traditionally masculine sphere of business and economics. Eliminating Aristide's wife's first name from her biography title reduced Marguerite to a secondary position of power within the context of the Bon Marché. Rather than mirror the style of Aristide's biography title "Biography of Aristide Boucicaut," the term "Madame" establishes a

[86] While the 1896 Souvenir does not contain a section devoted to religious services, this information reappears in the 1911 Souvenir. The section previously entitled "American and English Churches" in the 1892 Souvenir changed to "Religious Services," in the 1911 Souvenir. The specific churches listed remained constant in the 1911 Souvenir and the Establishment remained focused on upper-class Christians. *Souvenir of a Visit to the Bon Marché*, (Paris, 1911), 16.

[87] Miller, 193.

traditional family unit and created a domestic, submissive relationship between husband and wife.

Extending these Christian morals further, the 1892 Souvenir positioned the Bon Marché as an institution of service; service both to employees and service to the American and British tourists. The 1892 Souvenir informed British and American tourists of the efforts taken by the Bon Marché to create a cultured, service-oriented shopping experience for the customer. Growing signs of American tourists in Paris included the increasing number of new hotels with American names, restaurants claiming to serve American foods such as pumpkin pie and signs in shop windows advertising "English spoken here."[88] English-speaking travelers could also find religious services at the American chapel in Paris, tailor services, and an English newspaper, *Galignani's Messenger*, by midcentury.[89] According to historian Harvey Levenstein, American tourists gravitated to the *Grands Magasins du Louvre* not only because of its location across the street from the most popular American hotel, the *Grand Hôtel du Louvre*, but also because it employed English-speaking salespeople.[90] In response, the Bon Marché trained nearly two hundred and fifty employees to speak English and offered trips to London for those associates who showed exceptional ability and promise in mastering the English language.[91] The indirect promotion of these English services at the Bon Marché coincided with travel guides, and the "Twelve Good Rules for Visitors to Paris*"* in *Bemrose's Guide to*

[88] Levenstein, 91-2.
[89] Dulles, 77.
[90] Levenstein, 120.
[91] *Souvenir of the Bon Marché Paris*, 1892, 3 and 11 and Levenstein, 173-4.

Paris that advised, "In many shops the words 'English spoken' appear on the windows. It often means 'paying through the nose.' English is spoken in *all* first-class houses."[92] Bemrose advised travelers to avoid shops blatantly advertising the availability of English-speaking sales associates because this service was assumed by truly upper-class establishments. The Bon Marché Souvenirs reflected Bemrose's assumption and indirectly marketed an environment free of language barriers by promoting the "free classes, for the study of foreign languages" for employees and that "Interpreters in all languages are at the entire disposal of our customers or of anyone desirous of visiting the Establishment."[93] In emphasizing the complimentary nature of the English classes and the plethora of languages spoken at the Bon Marché, American and British tourists felt less the target of profit-driven ploys designed to take advantage of travelers.

In addition to providing customers with a service-oriented experience, emphasizing the philanthropic nature of the large corporation towards employees helped combat negative publicity directed towards what Dickens called, the "monster shops."[94] Baedeker's *Paris and Environs* of 1896 claimed that the *grands magasins de nouveautés* "… owing to the abundant choice of goods they offer are gradually superseding the smaller shops."[95] Aristide Boucicaut's biography in the 1892 Souvenir described how the proprietor built the Bon Marché to simultaneously achieve his humanitarian and financial goals:

---

[92] Drewett, 15.
[93] *Souvenir of the Bon Marché Paris*, 1892, 3 and 16.
[94] Charles Dickens, *Dickens's Dictionary of Paris, 1882; An Unconventional Handbook*. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1882), 233.
[95] *Paris and Environs with Routes from London to Paris*, 1896, 37.

> Once above the rank of ordinary employé, he undertook to improve the moral and material condition of his former fellow workmen, and in 1869, having succeeded in procuring the necessary building space, he laid the first stone of the model edifice which permitted him to realize his projects in creating a large Establishment, at once philanthropic and commercial. The welfare of his employés was always the object of his particular preoccupation and as the progress of the house allowed him, he improved their food and lodgings, diminished their working hours…increased their salaries and accorded them an individual interest on their sales.[96]

The Bon Marché added fourteen new sections to the 1911 Souvenir that emphasized increasing, rather than decreasing, financial, medical and cultural paternalism between the Establishment and employees.[97] The 1892 Souvenir introduced two employee funds, the Provident Fund and the Pension Fund, financed by Bon Marché founders Aristide and Marguerite Boucicaut. The 1911 Souvenir described the continuance of these two efforts, while the addition of the Relief and Pension Fund and the Fillot's Widow's and Orphan's Fund extended the financial support of Bon Marché employees.[98] The Bon Marché continued to offer medical services to employees after the turn of the century that included daily consultations, an infirmary and, for women, paid sick time. The 1911 Souvenir visually conveyed the depth of paternalism with the addition of images and expanded textual descriptions of the food provided by the Bon Marché for

[96] *Souvenir of the Bon Marché Paris*, 1892, 3.
[97] The new sections added to the 1911 Souvenir include four related to the financial and healthcare services offered to Bon Marché employees: Relief and Pension Fund, Fillot's Widow's and Orphan's Fund, Employee Current Accounts and Dining Hall and Kitchen. In addition the 1911 Souvenir clarifies and tightens the return policy. Finally, four cultural institution descriptions were removed including: Saint-Cloud, Sévres, Saint-Germain, Saint-Denis, Vincennes, Chantilly, Palais de Fontainebleau and Palais de Compiègne.
[98] The Bon Marché also eliminated the need for outside banking by allowing employees to deposit any portion of their earnings back into the Establishment. In 1892 the Bon Marché paid 6% on these deposits but in 1911 this dropped to a 5% interest rate.

breakfast, lunch and dinner.[99] In a new section entitled "Refectories and Kitchens," the Souvenir presented three new images of an employee working over a large stove, a large room of employees dining together, and a view of the expansive kitchen where the food preparations took place. While the text noted that "The House gives all facilities to assistants, whose health requires special diet, and allows them gratuitously any special food prescribed by the doctor," the three new images in the 1911 Souvenir celebrated the industrialization of food preparation and investment in new technology designed to serve many in short periods of time. Incorporating traditional values of family, faith, and service to others into the structure of the *grands magasins* through the Souvenirs helped bridge the gap between small shopkeepers, *magasins de nouveautés* and the new department store experience.[100] The adaptation of a paternalistic business structure to mass bureaucratic enterprises, such as the Bon Marché, in some ways helped to mitigate class conflict and establish similar values within the emerging petite-bourgeois sales associates and bourgeois customers.[101]

Bourgeoisie vs. the Petite Bourgeoisie

The Bon Marché Souvenirs and travel guides from the late-nineteenth century reflected the unique and complex ways social class shaped the presentation of the department store and in the leisure travel industry. The rise of the *grands magasins* occurred at a time of great social instability in France as the

[99] *Souvenir of a Visit to the Bon Marché founded by Aristide Boucicaut*, 1911, 6.
[100] Established in 1888, shopkeepers formally organized against the *grands magasins* as the *Linge syndicale du travail, de l'industrie et commerce*. Membership in the organization peaked in the mid-nineties at 140,000 and survived into the first quarter of the twentieth century. Nord, 7, 481, and 491.
[101] Miller, 10-11.

shifting political, economic and physical landscape challenged traditional standards and values among the working classes, the newly emerging petite bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie.[102] Baedeker's travel guides, for example, provided information on both "first-class hotels" and "those of humbler pretensions."[103] According to Baedeker, the 'voyageur en garçon' could select the "humble" hotel without sacrificing comfort while saving a considerable amount of money.[104] Bemrose attempted to carve out a niche for his 1889 Guide to Paris claiming:

> The almost faultless Baedeker and his close rival, Galignani, have both published Guides to Paris of the highest class, and so have others: but it is left to an English publishing house to produce a Guide in any way approaching to completeness at a price usually charged for a map alone, or a fourth of that at which the above guides can be purchased. The writer gives unstinted praise to these wonderfully accurate and reliable Handbooks: but they are for the few, whereas the present Guide is for the millions.[105]

Tensions between bourgeois classes determined to assert their social status though material consumption with newfound access to the same material representations of a bourgeois lifestyle and to the same cultural institutions played out all over Haussmann's Paris. The *grands magasins*, such as the Bon Marché, found themselves at the heart of this debate as the democratization of luxury and conspicuous consumption brought new white-collar employees and bourgeois

[102] T.J. Clark. *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 48-9.
[103] Baedeker, *Paris and Environs with Routes from London to Paris*, 1896, vi.
[104] Baedeker, *Paris and Environs with Routes from London to Paris*, 1896, vi.
[105] Drewett, Preface.

customers together into one public space.[106] The professionalization of selling and hierarchies found within the department store created an ambiguous group of white-collar workers:

> Tinged with a respectability denied factory work yet tainted with the immorality that attached to women who were too much in the public eye, weighed down by the burdens of low pay and regimented work conditions yet buoyed up by unusual possibilities for advancement and the exercise of initiative on the job, sales work was suspended more than most white-collar work in a web of contradictions.[107]

On the selling floor, social class produced barriers while gender created shared biological, domestic and family experiences. Working-class sales associates and bourgeois customers shared a newly available economic public sphere yet these two groups also remained separate based on their relationship to consumption. The personal sales service provided by the store employees identified the customer as a class of people that deserved to be served.[108] Within this sphere, department store managers, typically male, operated separately and attempted to keep employees happy while courting the customers "… with conveniences and attractions designed to convince them that the department store was a place of recreation and sociability as well as consumption."[109] Social historian Susan Benson's critical analysis of the American department store, *Counter Culture,* argued that the owners and managers realized only partial success in their efforts to transform working-class sales associates into "advisors as well as servants of

---

[106] See Thorstein Veblen's late nineteenth-century discussion of 'conspicuous consumption' and 'democratization of luxury' of the elite and middling classes in *The Theory of the Leisure Class*." Introduction by Robert Lekachman (New York: Penguin Books, 1889).
[107] Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890 – 1940.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), 1986, 6.
[108] Benson., 3-4.
[109] Benson, 4.

the customers."[110] Thus, in a society of mass consumption, the sales associates navigated tensions inherent in their roles as both consuming women and selling workers.[111] Travel guides and Bon Marché Souvenirs attempted to communicate to American and British tourists that while they would receive the high-level of customer service they deserved as members of the upper-class, their status would not be challenged by middle-class travelers. Promoting both the services available to customers and the paternalistic nature of the corporation towards sales associates trained to create an environment of high culture ensured that social distinctions and situations would remain separated within the department store experience. In addition to content that associated the Bon Marché with the values embodied by religious tourist sites of Paris, specifying acceptable traditional and non-traditional cultural institutions for men and women helped market the department store and the shopping experience as more than an economic space.

Traditional and Non-Traditional Cultural Institutions

Situating the Bon Marché within the same context as other traditional and non-traditional cultural institutions effectively promoted the Bon Marché and the shopping experience as a cultural experience. In doing so, the Bon Marché assumed a position of not only material authority but also of leisure authority for

[110] Benson's focus on customer-sales associate-manager gender and class contradictions inherent in the American department store model results in a later periodization than presented by Miller in *The Bon Marché*. Benson's failure to acknowledge the early paternalistic programs, or, in Benson's term 'welfare work,' found in the Bon Marché and other European *grands magasins* is a glaring omission. In addition, *Counter Cultures* identifies instances of individual agency on the part of sales associates during the training process when, for example, women consciously resisted or remained indifferent to product information managers taught to generate higher profits. Benson, 5, 143 and 156.

[111] Benson, 7.

British and American tourists. The distribution of the Souvenirs to customers visiting the Bon Marché clearly identified public spaces acceptable for American and British upper-class tourists to visit while in Paris. Department stores, museums, and other cultural institutions adopted free entry policies (although, some like the workshops or *ateliers* of the Mint, required the tourist to request a visit in advance).[112] Similar to the modern museums of the nineteenth century, the 1892 Souvenir promoted the opportunity for any customer to visit the store "… whether for the purpose of buying, making inquiries or exchanging one good for another."[113] The nineteenth-century *grands magasins* business model designed to quickly turnover large quantities of merchandise at low prices required a larger customer base to generate profits than the smaller specialty stores run by independent shopkeepers. As a result, the Bon Marché adopted a free entrance principle that brought large number of customers into contact with the merchandise without pressure to purchase; as Hrant Pasdermadjian stated, "[e]verybody could enter the shop and look at the merchandise without the moral obligation to buy which dominated the atmosphere of other shops."[114]

Quantitatively, cultural institutions including museums, government facilities, economic institutions, parks and gardens, churches, cemeteries, places of learning and monuments dominated the list of recommended "Public Amusements" in the 1892 Souvenir. In addition to the thirty-four cultural

[112] *Galignani's New Paris Guide* indicates which institutions require tickets in advance and which do not. In addition, the travel guide provides a sample letter that can be written to the appropriate individual requesting tickets. Galignani recommended requesting tickets two or three days in advance. *Galignani's New Paris Guide*, 1874, ii.
[113] *Souvenir of the Bon Marché Paris*, 1892, 16
[114] Pasdermadjian., 4.

amusements, the 1892 Souvenir also identified twenty-one theaters, eight cafés-concerts or cafés-chantants, and six circuses and varieties. According to the 1892 Souvenir the public consumption of artistic, musical, intellectual, religious, natural, and historic culture complemented the Bon Marché department store experience. Continuing to serve as a resource to British and American tourists, the early twentieth-century Souvenir continued to devote one-third of its contents to descriptive information about cultural sites of significance in Paris. The 1911 Souvenir also expanded conceptions of culture with the addition of listings, textual descriptions and images of non-traditional cultural institutions in and beyond Paris. The Bon Marché Souvenirs revealed how the Bon Marché strategically capitalized on the feminization of art, discussed below, while also creating connections to masculine leisure experiences that established a cultural identity for the Parisian department store among American and British tourists. The inclusion of non-traditional cultural opportunities represented efforts to take advantage of class and gender tensions in the public sphere and expand conceptions of culture that helped position the department store within the cultural tourism industry.

Museums

The development of the *grands magasins* as safe, public spaces for upper-class American and British female tourists correlated to the democratization of the modern museum and the increasing feminization of art. Similar to department stores, museums, especially art museums, offered bourgeois women a space to move freely among material representation of culture and apply female sensitivity

and good taste previously cultivated in private, domestic spheres. Not only did women continue to manage and direct the day-to-day operations of the household, they also served as the traditional authority for home design and decoration. The development of gendered "separate spheres" allowed women to achieve an ascendancy over art appreciation and their canons of "taste" subsequently came to be regarded as feminine aptitude. In the 1840s and 1850s this artistic influence expanded as women established themselves in the public art world as patrons of art museums. The increasingly popular Romantic and later Impressionistic approaches to art helped validate a feminized, emotional response to art. In addition, Baron Haussmann's expansion and renovation of the Louvre, the opening of art galleries, government support for the École des Beaux-Arts, the flourishing of private art schools and the training of foreign artists during the third quarter of the nineteenth century multiplied direct encounters with art in public spaces. [115] France's 'civilizing mission' ensured American and British tourists access to art and "… helped turn Paris into the visual arts capital of the Western World."[116] Thus, department stores capitalized on the growing public display of art and the increasingly feminization of art by including a significant number of Parisian art museums in the Souvenir booklets. The Bon Marché Souvenir booklet acted as a cultural authority for British and American tourists that linked the material consumption experience in the *grands magasins* to the consumption of authentic cultural artifacts in the traditional museum setting.

[115] Pasdermadjian, 111-2 and 114.
[116] Pasdermadjian, 114.

The "List of Goods Sold" in the 1892 Souvenir demonstrated the product diversification necessary for the success of the new business model found at the Bon Marché.[117] These products exposed customers to the material representations of cultures and societies very different from their own and subsequently served as a learning experience. Travel guides, such as Baedeker's *Paris and Environs*, celebrated the vast spectrum of goods offered in the new department stores,

> The *Grands Magasins des Nouveautés*, large establishments for the sale of all kinds of materials for ladies dresses, haberdashery, laces, etc., form a very important feature of modern Paris … The largest of these establishments, containing an immense selection of goods, is the *Grands Magasins du Louvre* … Nearly as large is the *Au Bon Marché* …[118]

While both the department store and the museum assembled, classified and stored material objects, these institutions approached these functions from fundamentally different perspectives. As private collections and museums took shape during the Renaissance, objects presented a circular, harmonious representation of the world reflecting a fluidity and multiplicity of meanings. By the end of the seventeenth century new connections between the way objects were seen and interpreted resulted in collections organized by visual features rather than symbolic meanings. Throughout the eighteenth century, old and new, real and replica objects occupied the same space and remained detached from their site of

[117] Many department stores found today in the United States, Britain and France started in the 1830s, 40s and 50s as *magasin de nouveautés* and predominately sold dry goods such as silks, woolens, cloths, ready-to-wear clothing, and hosiery retail and wholesale. Between 1840 and 1870 *magasin de nouveautés* on both sides of the Atlantic broke from traditional of merchandising practices with the use of fixed, marked prices, return policies, architectural innovations, low mark-ups and high, fast stock turnover, innovative marketing, and product diversification. Miller, 5-6 and 31.

[118] Baedeker, *Paris and Environs with Routes from London to Paris*, 1884, 37.

production and consumption.[119] British museum historian Eliean Hooper-Greenhill argues that the French Revolution led to the conditions within which the visual similarity and harmony of the morphological ordering was displaced and transformed collecting practices. New administrative and documentary procedures developed to accommodate the identification, cataloging and forcible removal of objects extracted from Napoleon's conquered territories.[120] Once at the Louvre, the French created the 'archives of civilisation' so scholars of the revolution could "… rewrite the histories in the spirit of the liberation of all nations."[121] The post-revolutionary classification separated those works of living artists from the deceased and displayed by 'schools' to illustrate individual 'histories.'[122] In addition, the decision to either display or store specific objects reflected political, military or social moments of the period such as military successes, religious events or commemorative celebrations of great heroes. The transition from displays of similar themes, materials or size to arrangements based on the identity of the relation between elements, function, as well as geographical and historical provenance resulted in a visual history of art.[123] Contemporary museums maintain the chronological arrangement of artifacts, rather than resemblances or relationships among visual features, brought about by the French Revolution. The inclusion of art-oriented museums and of military, scientific, heroic, and religious museums alongside the Bon Marché associated the

[119] Hooper-Greenhill, 140-1, 194 and 196.
[120] Hooper-Greenhill, 141-2, 167 and 176.
[121] Hooper-Greenhill, 179.
[122] Hooper-Greenhill, 181.
[123] Hooper-Greenhill, 179-80 and 187-8.

department store collection with both feminine and masculine spaces of collection and display.

Similar to the department store the museum offered those from all social classes the opportunity to visually and intellectually consume the material representations of creative, political, technological and scientific culture previously reserved for the educated, upper-class.[124] In his 1883 novel, *Au Bonheur des Dames*, French naturalist author, Émile Zola, explored the social and economic environment in France surrounding the emergence of modern capitalism. Zola described Oriental goods sold at The Ladies' Paradise, modeled after the Bon Marché, designed to attract art conscious, upper-class customers to a fall sale day and the cultural experience it provided,

> From the centre of the Place Gaillon could be seen this oriental saloon, composed solely of carpets and door curtains…The ceiling was covered with Smyrna carpets…from each side there hung Syrian and Karamanian door-curtains…long Ispahan, Teheran, Kermancha rugs, the larger Schoumaka and Madras carpets…Everywhere there was an immense display of marvelous fabrics: Mecca carpets…prayer carpets from Daghestan with a symbolic point, Kurdistan carpets…a heap of Gherdes, Koula, and Kirchur rugs…Turkey, Arabia, and the Indies were all there. They had emptied the palaces, plundered the mosques and bazaars. A barbarous gold tone prevailed in the weft of the old carpets...Visions of the East floated beneath the luxury of this barbarous art, amid the strong odour which the old wools had retained of the country of vermin and of the rising sun.[125]

Based on the invention of democratic culture, the new museum program shifted collections from private, domestic spheres into public spaces that "… exposed both the decadence and tyranny of the old forms of control, the ancient régime,

[124] Benson, 6.
[125] Zola, 79.

and the democracy and public utility of the new, the Republic."[126] While the Bon Marché adopted a free entrance principle to achieve high profit margins, the museum adopted this same principle towards the social conditioning of the working-classes.

In addition to promoting the services rendered to sales associates, the 1892 Souvenir heavily promoted the cultural opportunities available at and from the Bon Marché that extended beyond the material consumption process. The Bon Marché maintained an art gallery that showcased the work of contemporary artists and sculptors and made available those paintings for purchase.[127] The Bon Marché acted as an authority on art in the last third of the 1892 Souvenir, where it recommended and provided descriptions of the important works of art to take in at, among others, the Musée du Louvre, Versailles, and the Musée du Luxembourg.[128] While early museums established positions of superiority with the concept of expository space designed to privately exhibit material representations of culture in controlled environments, the 'disciplinary museum' of the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth century emerged alongside government-backed programs and institutions designed to improve the health, wealth and education of the population. According to Foucault, disciplinary technologies, such as the museum, function on the visible, cellular arrangement of individuals in monitored spaces that transform the population into useful state resources. Normalizing judgment and self-regulation emerges from the

[126] Hooper-Greenhill, 167-8.
[127] *Souvenir of the Bon Marché Paris*, 1892, 3.
[128] *Souvenir of the Bon Marché Paris*, 1892, 24-6 and 28.

hierarchical observation, examination and classification between human subjects. The French Revolution created conditions from which new truths, rationality and functionality emerged that challenged aristocratic and ecclesiastical collecting practices.[129] Republicanism, anti-clericalism and military success produced the concept of the public museum, democratic, state-sponsored institution, "The education of the population through 'museums' emerged as a new form of population management targeted at the collective good of the state rather than for the benefit of individual knowledge."[130] As museums and other cultural institutions began extending hours to accommodate the working classes, they also began providing instruction booklets that explained how these new visitors should dress and conduct themselves within the space.[131] The Souvenir booklets, on the other hand, assumed British and American tourists were well-versed in proper conduct, dress and etiquette and did not include this type of instruction. Thus, while the Bon Marché and other upper-class department stores operated on a principle of free admission and capitalized on the visual 'supervised conformity' between customers, the department stores did not attempt to educate their clientele about behavior through the Souvenir booklets.

Non-Traditional Cultural Institutions

The Bon Marché Souvenirs resembled travel guides with the inclusion of non-traditional cultural institutions such as government utilities, economic institutions and markets, public gardens, cemeteries, tombs and other spaces for

[129] Hooper-Greenhill, 72 and 168-71.
[130] Hooper-Greenhill, 171 and 174.
[131] Bennett, 73.

the dead, cafés-concerts and *cafés-chantants* and circuses and varieties. The number of recommended cultural attractions increased between the publication of the 1892 Souvenir and the 1911 Souvenir from thirty-four to thirty-nine (the Bon Marché as one of these recommended sites). The Bon Marché Souvenir published in 1911 added four new attractions to its list of "Palaces, Museums, Libraries and Places of Interest" including: the Arènes de Lutèce (Roman amphithéâtre), the Conciergerie (a prison), Sacré Coeur and the Musée Dupuytren. These new institutions expanded conceptions of culture affirming that newer institutions, such as the Sacré Coeur, provided cultural (and possibly political) value. Non-traditional museums, such as the Musée Dupuytren challenged patrons of the Bon Marché to engage in intellectual learning about the less aesthetic aspects of the body such as disease and infection. The inclusion of ancient ruins and a famous prison maintained the importance of history in understanding culture in the 1911 Souvenir. The Bon Marché listed itself among these traditional and non-traditional cultural institutions thereby asserting its position as a space of leisure travel significance in the 1892, 1896 and 1911 Souvenirs.

The inclusion of government utilities, such as the Paris sewer system, in the 1892 Souvenir list of "Places of Interest" helped expand traditional conceptions of cultural tourist attractions reducing the potentially unique positioning of the Bon Marché department store. Historian Harvey Levenstein found many Americans toured the Paris sewer system to learn about the innovative waste and water separation system working to keep the new

boulevards free of odor and disease.[132] While the contemporary tourist may not find government utilities a cultural attraction, according to German travel writer Karl Baedeker, tourists found Baron Haussmann's sewer systems "… so admirably constructed and well ventilated that parties, including even ladies, have frequently been formed to explore them."[133] To the advantage of the Bon Marché, a visit to the Paris sewer system undoubtedly highlighted differences among cultural experiences; the visual spectacle of monuments, museums, churches and the Bon Marché stood in stark contrast to that of public utilities.

In addition to non-traditional cultural experiences, such as the sewer system, the 1892 Souvenir also recommended that customers visiting the Bon Marché and their traveling companions partake in economic and environmental culture. The mix of traditionally masculine and feminine economic institutions in the Bon Marché Souvenir's "Places of Interest" including the Stock Exchange, the Mint, Gobelins tapestry manufacturer, a market, and, of course, the Bon Marché, expanded cultural opportunities in the tourism and leisure industries.[134] Haussman's public parks and gardens also offered environmental cultural opportunities for men and women and blurred conceptions of gendered public spheres. According to British museum historian Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, starting in the sixteenth century open gardens brought together the past and the present and signified "… a new sense of the possibilities inherent in a leisured and

[132] Levenstein, 109.
[133] Sillitoe, 32.
[134] For additional interpretation of the Paris Morgue visitors, see Vanessa Schwartz, *Spectacular Realities*. Sillitoe, 29 and *Souvenir of the Bon Marché Paris*, 21

cultivated existence, life lived with a sense of style."[135] Thus, the 1892 Souvenir expanded conceptions of cultural tourism to incorporate economic and environmental spaces that, similar to the Bon Marché, both capitalized on and blurred traditional gender lines. The 1892 Souvenir not only sought to align the Bon Marché with religious, educational and historic institutions and structures that embodied bourgeois values of morality, service, and culture, but also promoted itself as an institution of achievement through cultural attractions.[136]

Achievement

The 1892 and 1911 Souvenirs positioned the Bon Marché as an establishment of achievement to British and American tourists and listed numerous awards won at World Expositions starting in the mid-nineteenth century. The 1892 Souvenir promoted the two grand prizes, three gold medals, three silver medals and one bronze medal won in social economy furnishings, trousseaux and layettes, ladies' costumes, mantles and millinery, and gent's and boys tailoring won at the 1889 exposition.[137] Museum historian Neil Harris identified how tourists recognized and associated these awards with other cultural institutions in that "Juries and panels of experts awarded gold, silver, and bronze medals to distinguished entries, in somewhat the same manner that art exhibitors

[135] Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, 128.
[136] The institutions listed in the 1892 Souvenir "Places of Interest and Times for Visiting Them" have been categorized based on their designated use at the time of the Souvenir publication. For example, while the Panthéon served as a church between 1828 and 1830 and during the period of Haussmann's rebuilding of Paris between 1851 and 1870, for the purpose of my analysis, this structure is categorized as a mausoleum.
[137] *Souvenir of the Bon Marché Paris*, 1892, 12.

had traditionally been rewarded."[138] As the Bon Marché gained increasing recognition around the world, the 1911 Souvenir subsequently promoted awards won not just in Paris but also at expositions in St. Louis, Liège, Milan and London.[139] The 1911 Souvenir promoted a sense of achievement by including awards won at Expositions hosted by Paris in 1885, 1867, 1878, 1889 and 1900 that brought millions of visitors to the city; Paris hosted nearly fifty-one million tourists for the 1900 exposition. The massive structures and spectacular displays constructed for the Expositions mirrored the visual extravaganza shoppers experienced at the Bon Marché that came to define the city, "Paris did not merely host exhibitions, it had become one."[140] Paris, as the "cultural" capital of the world,' hosted expositions during the late nineteenth and early-twentieth century that allowed the Bon Marché to promote the department store experience as one of the city's many cultural achievements.[141]

The inclusion of cemeteries and other spaces where the French honored the dead in the Bon Marché Souvenirs list of recommended "Places of Interest," similar to late-nineteenth century travel guides, conveyed a singular sense of history and individual, heroic achievement. The juxtaposition of the new, modern Bon Marché department store alongside places celebrating the past helped the new department store insert itself within a larger context of French history. According to Levenstein, tourists also ventured out to cemeteries such as Père

---

[138] Neil Harris. "Museums, Merchandising, and Popular Taste: The Struggle for Influence" in *Material Culture and the Study of American Life*. Edited by Ian M. G. Quimby (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1978), 146.
[139] *Souvenir of a Visit to the Bon Marché,* 1911, 13.
[140] Schwartz, 1.
[141] Levenstein, 90.

Lachaise on the outskirts of Paris to "… engage in the popular mid-Victorian pastime of judging people by the cemeteries they keep."[142] The significance of visual presentation and appearance remained an important component of late-nineteenth century culture, even after one died, to secure and maintain upper-class status. The 1892, 1896 and 1911 Souvenir omitted the Paris Morgue, a spectacle of death that attracted tourists and local Parisians alike after it moved to a new facility on the Île de la Cité in 1864.[143] While Levenstein's discussion of the Morgue implies the predominance of the male visitor, travel writer John Murray described "A perpetual stream of men, women, and children [who] pour in and out of this horrible exhibition, to gaze at the hideous objects before them, usually with great indifference."[144] Given this conflicting information, a plausible explanation for the exclusion of the Paris Morgue from the Souvenirs related to the Bon Marché's attempt to sell a distinctly bourgeoisie experience. Published in English during the late nineteenth-century and utilized by the modest British traveler, Karl Baedeker's travel guides found the Morgue attracted those of the lower classes.[145] Thus, by excluding the Paris Morgue from the Souvenirs, the Bon Marché may have been attempting to distance itself from working class cultural leisure activities.

The Bon Marché Souvenirs inconsistently positioned the Bon Marché as a cultural authority and distinctly bourgeois establishment with the inclusion of eight different concerts and *cafés chantants*. Murray's travel books warn

[142] Levenstein, 109.
[143] Levenstein, 110.
[144] Sillitoe, 31.
[145] Sillitoe, 31.

'respectable people' to avoid the *cafés chantants* because "… The company is not the most select, and the performance tends to be immoral."[146] Creating a resource publication for a diverse set of American and British tourists meant, at times, the Souvenirs recommended an assortment of cultural options. The Bon Marché Souvenir also recommended a number of theaters; however, the Conservatoire de Musique, suggested in John Murray's travel guides for extraordinary classical music, failed to make the Bon Marché list. On the other hand, Murray found the Théâtre du Palais Royal 'not always exceptional' in character yet the Bon Marché recommended this experience not once, but twice, in the 1892 Souvenir.[147] The Bon Marché Souvenirs also omitted recommendations for restaurants. According to Levenstein, nineteenth-century propriety dictated that proper ladies eat in public only with male companionship or chaperones least they be subjected to immoral behaviors.[148] Despite this caution, English travel writer for the wealthy, John Murray, provided a list of restaurants available to the female diner "… without the slightest impropriety or feeling of annoyance."[149] The 1911 Souvenir subsequently removed all theaters, cafés-concerts and *cafés-chantants* and circuses and varieties recommendations and let the individual tourist determine the appropriate course of action. Thus, attempts to expand conceptions of culture while simultaneously creating a distinctly bourgeois image among American and British tourists in the Bon Marché Souvenirs presented a challenge that travel

[146] Sillitoe, 28.
[147] Sillitoe, 28.
[148] Levenstein, 154-5.
[149] Sillitoe, 27.

guides could directly address and explore in their more expansive and detailed descriptions and travel advice sections.

Imagery

The 1911 Souvenir took a decisively visual approach to communicate the similarities between an increased number of traditional and non-traditional cultural institutions and the Bon Marché shopping experience to British and American tourists. Many travel guides from the late-nineteenth century contain a separate contents page for images and dispersed images of the recommended sites alongside brief histories, descriptions, visiting hours, and directions to the location. In a similar manner, pictures that portray the grandiose structures of cultural institutions complement new images of the Bon Marché department store. Rather than textual descriptions, the physical structural growth of the Bon Marché is conveyed though the addition of interior and exterior Bon Marché illustrations and photographs. The presentation of the Bon Marché and an increased number of cultural institutions and regions in and around Paris is decisively more focused on large-scale physical structures in the 1911 Souvenir.[150] One of the most striking features of the 1911 Souvenir compared to the 1892 Souvenir is the addition of architectural images of the interior and exterior of the Bon Marché and ten images of traditional cultural institutions. The Bon Marché attempted to align itself with traditional cultural institutions in the minds of American and British

[150] Sections eliminated from the 1911 Souvenir include the Almanac, Biographies of Aristide Boucicaut and Madame Boucicaut, the List of the Different Goods Sold at the Bon Marché, Parcel Delivery Service for Paris and Environs information, Post, Telegraph and Telephone services, box office locations and performance schedule information for theater, cafés-concerts, circuses and varieties, Omnibus and Tramway routes to the Bon Marché information, and finally, descriptions of the Musée du Trocadéro, Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, Hôtel des Invalides and Musée Guimet and Hôtel and Musé Carnavalet.

tourists by visually portraying the shopping environment with images that resembled the most popular cultural institutions also found in travel guides.

Instead of providing a Contents section, the very first page of the 1911 Souvenir presented a general view of the Bon Marché main building and annex. Architect L.A. Boileau and engineer Gustave Eiffel pioneered the use of iron and glass in a single massive structure to replace the multiple buildings of the first Bon Marché *magasins de nouveautés*. Iron columns provided open bays that allowed vast crowds easy movement between large displays of goods. Massive skylights covering the top floor and windows on each floor around the entire perimeter of the building maximized natural light inside the new space. The Bon Marché housed corporate offices and residential accommodations for the sales staff on the top floor and merchandise on the lower floors. In addition, the first-level basement contained a massive kitchen and dining room that served staff meals once a day and a shipping, receiving and storage depot for incoming and outbound goods. Finally, heavy heating and lighting machinery necessary for the functional operation of the building occupied the second-level basement in the new Bon Marché building.[151] Strict zoning laws dictated that buildings along the new boulevards be no more than six stories high and conform to certain design elements. In addition to Haussmann's mandate that stores occupy the ground floors of apartment buildings on the main boulevards, innovations in lighting, plated glass and architecture helped the tourist experience shopping as a cultural experience. Technological improvements in the production of glass combined

[151] Miller, 19 and 42-3

with thin cast-iron framing transformed storefronts into spectacular showcases for cleverly arranged material goods.[152]

The three new images on the following page of the 1911 Souvenir helped the initial image achieve maximum impact because they visually demonstrated the progress and innovation of the Bon Marché site between 1812 and 1870. The first image of the Bon Marché in 1812 portrayed a picturesque scene of a small farm, farm house and windmill in a forest clearing. Presumably this is the site of the future Bon Marché. The second image is the Bon Marché *magasins de nouveautés* as it appeared in 1863 as it slowly began acquiring small storefronts and business and expanding its ever-diversifying product line. Finally, the third picture, similar to the image on the first page of the 1911 Souvenir identifies the first building Boucicaut constructed in 1870 after leveling the group of *magasins de nouveautés* he had amassed during the previous decade and portrayed in the prior image.[153] The 1911 Souvenir immediately established a tone of progress, modernization and achievement by placing an image of the final Establishment on the first page and then retracing the steps taken by the Bon Marché to arrive at this point on the following pages. The juxtaposition of the peaceful, serene solitude of the Bon Marché site in its 1812 natural state compared to the 1911 urban, artificial, uniform structure of the massive Bon Marché building surrounded by hundreds of people, horses and cars provided British and American tourists a dramatic introduction to *consumption*. A close-up photo of the main entrance exterior on Rue de Sévres halfway through the 1911 Souvenir provided

[152] Levenstein, 86 and 118.
[153] *Souvenir of a Visit to the Bon Marché,* 1911, 3.

an intimate look at the classical Greek façade statues, archways, and soaring roof that welcome the Bon Marché shopper.

In addition to these new exterior images of the Bon Marché, images of the interior customer (rather than employee) spaces included the Annex, the Oriental carpet gallery, the grand staircase facing the entrance on Rue de Sévres and the reading room. A Reading Room offered American and British tourists access to foreign newspapers and writing materials so they could keep up on correspondence from home and become informed about events abroad. While the Bon Marché Reading Room is never mentioned in the Souvenir, the *Souvenir of the North German* Lloyd, Bremen and *Galigani's Illustrated Guide to Paris*, among others, also included references to Reading Rooms in Paris.[154] In addition to an image of the Reading Room, the 1911 Souvenir included an image of the 18,000 square foot Annex added to the Bon Marché structure in the early years of the twentieth century that that housed furniture, carpets, and bedding and connected to the main building by underground passage. The image of the Annex included in the 1911 Souvenir, a long, ornate hall, with an ornate ceiling, windows along one side, archways, sculptures, and wall hangings, looked similar to another new image added to the 1911 brochure of the Gallerie D'Apollon in the Louvre. While the Gallerie D'Apollon image lacked the human component, the Bon Marché Annex picture came to life with ladies viewing, touching and discussing the goods available in the stately display room. Both images presented

[154] *Galignani's New Paris Guide*, 1874, 13 and 151and *Guide through Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, France, Belgium, Holland, and England* (Berlin: J. Reichmann & Cantor:, 1896), 448.

an upper-class experience; however, customers at the Bon Marché actively interacted with material representations of culture rather than the passive observation available in museums. The image of the Orient-Carpets Gallery (also housed in the Annex) portrayed customers interacting with exotic carpets and rugs; walking and sitting on the rugs along with the opportunity to discuss the items with available sales associates provided an opportunity for experiential learning.[155] The multistory gallery, a common architectural feature that took advantage of natural light coming through skylights in the ceiling, allowed those shopping to 'see and be seen.' The complete sensual experiences at the Bon Marché to see, touch, and smell the fabrics and hear from the sales associates about the rugs brought customers in contact with worlds they had, most likely, not visited.

The 1911 Souvenir included ten additional new images of cultural institutions in and around Paris including the Musée du Louvre, Palais du Luxembourg, Musée de Cluny, Palais de Versailles, Château de Saint-Germain, Donjon, Château Chantilly, Palais de Fontainebleau, and Palais de Compiègne. While the 1892 Souvenir listed or described many of these institutions, the addition of the image helped British and American tourists connect the visual cultural characteristics of these institutions to those of other non-traditional cultural experiences, such as the Bon Marché. Of the new images added, the Louvre's Gallerie D'Apollon, previously discussed, provided the only example of an interior depiction and the remaining new images in the 1911 Souvenir

[155] *Souvenir of a Visit to the Bon Marché,* 1911, 8.

presented the exterior of the institutions listed above. The initial image of the Bon Marché building reflected the same grandiose structure and window symmetry reflected in many of the new museum images added to the 1911 Souvenir. The addition of images portraying historic, royal homes and meeting spaces 'celebrated,' according to the Bon Marché Souvenir, for their interior decoration and workmanship spoke to the predominately female customers shopping at the Establishment. Connecting to female American and British tourists through their established authority in the public arts and domestic sphere, the 1911 Souvenir capitalized on the Bon Marché shopper interested in decorating their homes according to proper bourgeois standards. The Bon Marché sought to connect the store and the shopping experience to traditional and non-traditional cultural experiences with visual imagery that highlighted the similarities in architecture, artistic expression, achievement, and upper-class experience.

Conclusion

The Bon Marché established itself as a cultural authority for American and British tourists during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century by mirroring the organization, content, and visual imagery of travel guides in Souvenir publications. Souvenir brochures published in 1892, 1896, and 1911 by the Bon Marché positioned the department store as an institution of cultural significance similar to museums, monuments, churches, educational institutions and financial institutions. The Bon Marché Souvenirs reflected shifting class and gender norms and the feminization of art and public taste. In addition, these marketing brochures institutionalized bourgeois values of Christian morals,

tradition, creative expression, and intellectual achievement to create a new image of the department store as a cultural experience. As an authority on bourgeois leisure time, the Bon Marché Souvenir acknowledged that the new urban environment created by Baron Haussmann offered customers and employees choices in the consumption of culture. The department store's need to increase the size of their customer base beyond the hexagon of France and the early efforts of museums to serve as institutions of social conditioning resulted in a similar free entrance policy. The Bon Marché Souvenirs marketed paternalistic employee policies for the working-class sales associates and services offered to customers as a philanthropic endeavor. In selling the department store as an upper-class cultural opportunity yet maintaining a free entrance policy, the Bon Marché expanded its customer base to men and women and to the bourgeois and petite-bourgeois classes necessary for the new retail model of high volume, quick turnover, and low individual piece profit. The increased number of images in the 1911 Bon Marché Souvenir created visual links between the department store experience and other traditional cultural institutions such as museums, parks, historic homes and historic monuments. These interior and exterior structural images established a connection among economic and cultural institutions while carefully negotiating the increasing class and gender tensions inherent in the democratization of tourism during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. Information on actual department store clientele and audience size remains limited due to a lack of records and the cash-only policies found in the more prestigious department stores. *Grands magasins* adopted cash-only, fixed prices

to generate necessary operating capital and reliable cash flows to finance and supply enormous amounts of diverse products. While the institution and practice of extending credit increased as a result of the retail revolution in the second-half of the nineteenth century, most *grands magasins* mandated cash for purchases. As a result, credit records for individual customers rarely exist in company archives. While marketing campaigns clearly targeted the bourgeoisie, information on those who entered the department stores and more specifically, those who purchased from the department stores remains difficult to ascertain. Ironically, contemporary museums and department stores now engage in similar market analysis to create experiences that attract visitors or customers, deliver educational or material services, and measure effectiveness and success. While most museums remain rooted in a public service role, the organizational, operational and fiscal strategies adopted in recent years draws on profit generating business models that department stores adopted nearly one-hundred and fifty years ago. Contemporary museums offer the commodity of knowledge and justify their existence based on the educational role and service they provide to the public. As spaces in which "… we may come to know new things, and where our perceptions may radically change…" many non-traditional environments, such as department stores, may now be considered a museum.[156] The democratic nature of the Bon Marché department store offers opportunities to reconsider material and non-material consumption as an experience of knowledge acquisition for both men and women during the late-nineteenth century.

[156] Hooper-Greenhill, 2.

Chapter 2

GENDERING THE BON MARCHÉ SPACE

Less than ten days after his arrival in Paris, sixty-one year old New York stockbroker Marshall Pepoon made his first trip to the Bon Marché department store accompanied by fellow touring American, Salem Wales. According to the diary he kept of his time in Paris between September 5 and December 11, 1874, Pepoon would make at least five additional solo trips to the Bon Marché. While it would appear that Pepoon's wife, Charlotte, managed the family budget and regularly provided Pepoon with spending money, the writings in his diary reflect an acute awareness of finances and the relationship between product prices and quality. For example, after purchasing two woven shirts for 33 francs from the Bon Marché at the end of September, Pepoon advises, "Memo: never order a thing made to order, they charge 1 franc each more these shirts than for the one bought out of the store."[157] Throughout his time in Paris, Pepoon notes with clear triumph the products, meals and lodging he secures at good prices and, alternately, instances of overpayment, poor quality and consumer regret. Diaries, such as the one kept by Marshall Pepoon, in addition to personal accounts, travel guides, and Bon Marché Souvenirs written and used by British and American tourists provide contemporary historians a clearer understanding of the late-nineteenth century consumption experience in the new department store space.

[157] Marshall Pepoon, *Diary of European Sojourn, August 18 – December 29, 1874* (Winterthur, DE: The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemra, 1874), 54-5.

Gender historians in the 1970s and 1980s identified public economic and political spheres as masculine and private, domestic spheres as feminine.[158] Later historians argued that one of the earliest expressions of modernity, the department stores, existed as a distinctly public feminine space thereby complicating traditional gendered understandings of public and private spheres.[159] The shopping experience and subsequently interest in fashion and appearance became an activity and concern associated with the vanity of women. Re-inserting men back into the late-nineteenth century Paris shopping experience challenges historians to understand the department store as both a masculine and feminine space. The Bon Marché, arguably the first institution to fully embrace modern retailing practices, offers historians the opportunity to explore how the department store served as a place of contested consumption. Specifically, the Bon Marché represented a place in which both men and women exerted consumer influence and power through the act of material and cultural consumption. Menswear departments and spaces of non-material consumption within the built structure of the Bon Marché provided men the opportunity to partake in the department store experience and regulate female consumption. In addition, street-facing display windows, cultural events sponsored by the Bon Marché and professional journals in male dominated industries created new spaces within which men participated in the department store experience.

---

[158] See Rachel G. Fuchs, *Gender and Poverty in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) and Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860* (New York: Knopf, 1986).
[159] Rappaport, 8-11 and Schwartz, 66-8.

Consumption, consumerism, gender, modernity, and space theory merge within the traditionally feminine public space of the Bon Marché. Historian Frank Trentmann argues that the standardization of material and non-material goods and services served as a distinguishing feature of modern consumerism; this approach opposes consumption studies that center modern consumer behavior on the expansion of a distinctly western "acquisitive individualist mentality."[160] His approach is useful because it extends the definition of consumerism to include the consumption of services and experiences and takes into account the other functions and spaces of material and non-material acquisition. This expanded understanding of consumption allows the nineteenth-century department store to emerge as a space that both upheld and challenged traditional narratives about social status and gender. In addition, paradigms that gender the spaces of public and private life, such as the department store, limit our understanding of the public consumption experience. Future studies integrating the economic impact of public male consumption and the behavioral and psychological influence of women on men during the shopping experience offer historians a more complete understanding of public consumption in the late nineteenth-century.[161]

[160] Trentmann, 376 and 377-9. See the dynamic nature of social relations determined by object-subject relationships in Daniel Miller, *The Dialectics of Shopping* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 184.

[161] Sociologist Mark A. Swiencicki demonstrates one recent attempt to understand the consumption of American men in the late nineteenth-century through the valuation of the individual and recreational goods men and women consumed and the exploration of the consumption of good associated with male leisure time outside the home. Utilizing the 1890 U.S. Census of Manufacturers, Swiencicki concludes that men consumed twice as much as their female counterparts and that men lavishly consumed material goods and nonmaterial experiences into their daily routine. Mark A. Swiencicki, "Men's Culture, Style and Recreation as Consumer Culture, 1880-1930." *Journal of Social History* 31 4 (Summer, 1998), 774.

In his 1998 publication, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France*, Nye argues that, in addition to the male body and its sexual hygiene, duals and honor codes acted as regulators of upper-class French male social relations. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Nye identifies four types of duals: journalistic duals, political duals, spontaneous duals, and gallant duals that touched on issues of private life.[162] I would add to this list a fifth type of dual, the modern consumption dual, in which the act of consuming regulated male social relations. This dual only became possible with a "modern discovery of the difference between the sexes" that depended upon the construction of masculinity that all men, regardless of class, inherently possessed as males.[163] Men fought this consumption dual indirectly through the consuming habits of their wives and directly through their own consumption of material goods and non-material experiences. While Nye's argument depends upon a static, biological conception of masculinity, the consumption dual that emerged in public spaces during the late-nineteenth century reveals a masculine identity undergoing a process of constant negotiation and reorganization. Masculinity, as understood by philosopher Michel Foucault, can be defined as an "imagined category," which allows historians such as Judith Surkis to explore the unstable nature of masculine identity and the policies and discourses that attempted to identify boundaries and establish normative discourses for the male citizen.[164] The physical spaces of the

[162] Nye, 7, 11, 13 and 186.
[163] Nye, 215.
[164] Surkis, 4-9 and Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (1980), 154-5.

Bon Marché department store reflected the unstable nature of masculinity while capitalizing on traditional notions of femininity.

In addition to the built structure, the selection of goods sold, marketing promotions, and the non-shopping experiences of the department store engaged men in the consumption experience. University of Edinburgh historian, Chris Breward, provides a unique perspective to the study of material consumption and masculinity in his 1999 social and cultural analysis, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860-1914*.[165] *The Hidden Consumer* challenges scholars who identify the acquisition of material goods for consumption as a socially perceived feminine task stating,"…in contradiction to those claims and in response to its particularized representations, that the meaning attached to the 'task' of consuming relied very much on the nature and type of consumption taking place rather than an over-arching conception of sexual and social control."[166] Responding to recent studies that define and divide consumption through gender difference, Breward argues that the narrower assortment of masculine fashions available and increasing notions surrounding the 'un-manliness' of the clothing industry during the Victorian and Edwardian period positioned men at the heart of debates about fashion and 'modern' consumption.[167] British tourists, especially women, transported this debate across

---

[165] Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinity, Fashion and City Life 1860-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973), 1 and *http://www.ed.ac.uk/schools-departments/edinburgh-college-art/about/eca-merger/new-eca-principal* accessed October 25, 2011.

[166] Breward, 101.

[167] I use the term 'modern' to refer to the new consumption practices of the late nineteenth-century that resulted from retailing innovations such as the consolidation of goods within department stores, the increasing availability and distribution of ready-made clothing and globalized

the channel when they visited Paris in their "tasteless" attire looking like, according to one American observer "they come from a land where the dress-maker's art was a thing unknown-a region far from the civilizing influences of the fashion-plate and the paper pattern."[168] Historian Brent Shannon also explores the role of advertising and the gendering of the shopping experience in London department stores in "Refashioning Men: Fashion, Masculinity, and the Cultivation of the Male Consumer in Britain, 1860-1914." Shannon contends that the development of the department store, its expansion into material goods, and its creation of masculine spaces increased the range of "acceptable masculinity that mainstream middle-class men could perform."[169] According to Shannon, marketing strategies specifically targeted at men not only worked against the 'Great Masculine Renunciation' but also helped make interest in shopping and fashion 'safe' within the norms of masculinity.[170] Shannon's work highlights the increasingly open and public relationship between men and material goods: this period, according to Shannon, marked "a growing public awareness and cultivation of the male body, men were presented as both subjects and objects, as

---

marketing techniques. This follows Frank Trentmann's argument that the rise and spread of the department store cannot be explained simply by modernization narratives of urbanization and industrialization. For example, France, or more specifically Paris, ensured a place for luxury goods and older forms of production through the reorganization of highly skilled artisan traders. See Mary Jo Maynes's *Taking the Hard Road* published in 1995 and Trentmann, 381.

[168] Lucy H. Hooper, "The Traveling American," *Appletons' Journal* 12, 289 (Oct. 3, 1874), 425 and Swiencicki, 785.

[169] Shannon utilizes department store catalogs, etiquette manuals, and popular and commercial literature published during the late-nineteenth century and early-twentieth century but notes that determining the exact amount men consumed remains virtually impossible given the nonexistence of market research or financial records. Brent Shannon, "Refashioning Men: Fashion, Masculinity, and the Cultivation of the Male Consumer in Britain, 1860-1914," in *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (Summer, 2004): 599.

[170] According to J. C. Flugel in his 1930 publication, *The Psychology of Clothes*, men at the turn of the nineteenth century relinquished aesthetic control over their clothing and replaced rules of taste with rules of propriety and modesty in their dress.

both views and displayers of visible, sexual bodies."[171] Shannon concludes that male consumption moved out of small, traditional, exclusively male tailor shops and into formally exclusively female spaces including the large-scale, modern, mixed-sex department store. As a result of the modern commodity culture and through goods purchased at the department store, the male body subsequently came to be seen as an object of public display that could be altered, decorated, and "made into spectacle."[172]

Contemporary social, cultural and economic studies challenge traditional narratives of gendered, urban, leisure consumption developed during the nineteenth and twentieth century. Exploring gendered conflicts and oppositions within public, traditionally feminine spaces, such the department store, provides scholars new ways to understand space and place. The work of Henri Lefebvre and Pierre Bourdieu challenges consumption and gender studies that identify the nineteenth-century Parisian department stores as a feminine space. Consistent with Lefebvre's Marxist understanding of space as a product, the Bon Marché efforts to create a bourgeois shopping environment for both men and women heavily influenced the physical and non-material spaces of modern consumption.[173] The economic processes and structures of the new retail model

[171] Shannon, 618.

[172] In *Spectacular Realities*, Vanessa R. Schwartz considers the urban "spectacle" that emerged alongside the culture of consumption in late-nineteenth century Paris. While Schwartz does not specifically address men as spectacles in and of themselves, she argues that the consumer culture created a shared experience among urban crowds that transformed them from consumers into spectators. Department stores represent one example of modern urban life re-presented as spectacle through the use of iron beams, plated glass and lighting. Schwartz, 5-7 and 21 and Shannon, 625-6.

[173] Lefebvre argues that the material processes and information structures of capitalism and neo-capitalism produce (or shape) an abstract space. For Lefebvre, space is a product that cannot be

demanded the production of a feminine and masculine department store space. Bringing Lefebevre's approach together with that of twentieth century philosopher, sociologist and anthropologist, Pierre Bourdieu, means that the system of classification, or *habitus*, illustrates how gendered taste classifies material goods and also classifies the classifier in the department store space.[174] Drawing on the work of Henri Lefebvre and Pierre Bourdieu allows us to see how the Bon Marché space was constructed as an authoritative economic structure that produced a socially constructed public space of masculine and feminine power relations, consumption, and opposition.

Pierre Bourdieu's 2003 contribution, "The Berber House," considers the internal organization and orientation of the residential dwelling of the Kabyle community located in the rural northern region of Algeria. Similar to the manner in which Bourdieu argues that the interior organization of the house represents gendered relationships of opposition expressed through convergent signs that establish and create meaning, the department store also represents a place of gendered tensions that establish and create meaning.[175] According to Bourdieu, the significance of these oppositions cannot take on full meaning unless the terms of the relations are seen as divided according to the principles which oppose each other. The application of the *principium divisionis* that forms oppositions in gendered spaces simultaneously provides consistency and unification of the

---

separated from nature, forces of production, techniques, and knowledge, and the international division of social labor from authoritative structures. Lefebvre, 1-2, 185 and 187-8.

[174] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 6-7 and 170.

[175] Bourdieu, "The Berber House," 132-3.

opposed areas.[176] The point of view from which the space is considered determines which system of opposition takes prime importance and thus, the department store could be considered a place of female independence just as much as it could be considered a place of male exclusion. Also important in Bourdieu's anthropological analysis of the Berber House is the structural orientation of the house that maintains the gendered terms of opposition in the movements and cultural activities that take place in and around the space.[177] Bourdieu concludes that the feminine interior organization of the Berber home retains a fundamental orientation and identity from the masculine point of view. I also argue that the Bon Marché offers a 'mirror-reflection' of the external male space thereby passively and actively reflecting Foucaudian power relations of gender.[178] The application of recent theoretical advances in space and place historiography allows the traditionally feminine place of the nineteenth-century department store to be understood as a tensioned gendered space. Menswear departments, smoking, billiard, and reading rooms inside the built structure of the Bon Marché provided men the opportunity to partake in the department store experience and regulate female consumption. In addition, street-facing display windows, cultural events sponsored by the Bon March*é,* and professional journals in male dominated industries created new spaces within which men participated in the department store experience.

Men in the Marketplace

[176] Bourdieu, "The Berber House," 136.
[177] Bourdieu, "The Berber House," 137-8.
[178] Bourdieu, "The Berber House," 140.

The increased number of travelers to Europe after 1872 altered the landscape of public leisure and economic spaces as new stereotypes of tourists emerged. While twentieth-century social historian Harvey Levenstein simply identified recreational and the cultural tourists, native Philadelphian and European newspaper correspondent, Lucy H. Hooper, identified four distinct types of American tourists in Paris, in her 1874 article, "The Traveling American." Hooper's experience abroad asserted that visitors to Paris included the "sad tourist" who visits Europe to secure social status and cannot be bothered to learn the language, culture or history of the region, the shopping tourists whose "souls, even more than their bodies, are wrapped up in their clothes," the American snob snubbed by society back home yet welcomed by French nobility and, finally, the "educated, intelligent, refined and sensible women."[179] Most numerous of the types of tourists in Europe by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, according to Hooper, were the intelligent and cultivated traveler, the 'true' American abroad. The conspicuous social, shopping and snobby American tourists she claimed "are too frequently taken as a specimen of a class of which they are but excrescences and distortions" and created a negative image of Americans abroad.[180]

In addition to American tourists, British tourists too found their way to Paris in large numbers after the Franco-Prussian war and Commune. In preparation for the Paris Exhibition of 1889, Walter F. Lonergan published *Paris*

[179] Hooper, 423-5.
[180] Hooper, 425.

by Day and Night to help English tourists get the most out of their time in Paris. After spending nearly twenty years in Paris, Lonergan claimed that,

> … whether Paris is Imperial or Republican, it will always be the same gay and smiling city to foreign visitors – Paris of the boulevards, the cafés, and the spacious sylvan highways, where the English tourist finds himself in a new atmosphere altogether unlike that of London, and in which he gains his first glimpse of the many-hued life of foreign cities – Paris which all, even the travelled Briton who has seen and "done" every place worth doing, revisits with unfailing interest and delight.[181]

The multifaceted American and British tourists represented significant revenue opportunity for institutions catering to the various types of tourists in Paris including hotels, restaurants, shops, cultural attractions, and consulates and embassies. Institutions, such as the Bon Marché, able to attract and accommodate the needs of those visiting Paris for leisure, cultural, educational, and professional obligations realized new revenue streams that complemented the needs of the modern retailing model. The travel logs, narratives, social commentaries, observations and analyses these individuals produced allude to the production of a consumption environment in which both men and women participated.

Masculine Consumption – Interior Spaces

Menswear departments, smoking, billiard, and reading rooms located inside the built structure of department stores provided men the opportunity to partake in the shopping experience and regulate female consumption. The construction of spaces that provided opportunities for learned male behaviors such as billiards, smoking, higher learning, and public eating within, yet separated, from the main shopping space of the department store established and created

[181] Walter F. Lonergan, *Paris by Day and Night*, (London: Ward & Downey, 1889), 17-18.

meanings about gender differences. A Paris correspondent for *The Warehousemen and Drapers' Trade Journal* highlighted the direct and indirect masculine consumption of the department store material goods and amenities. The December 1874 article highlights the billiard room "for husbands and fathers to wile away the time that their wives and daughters are using in spending money," the reading room, and the buffet as spaces that cater to the needs of men. In addition, the creation of these spaces within department stores correlated to the proliferation of middle- and upper-class gentlemen's clubs found in Britain and the United States. Similar to the gentlemen's club British and American tourists may have belonged to at home, masculine spaces created inside the Bon Marché provided a setting for good company, discussion, billiards, smoking, refreshments, reading material, and intellectual stimulation.[182] According to historian John Tosh, married men found themselves especially attracted to these types of spaces that, while often described as quasi-domestic, lacked the presence and constraints of women found in the home and the market-place:

> It was the very absence of constraining femininity which made the club so attractive to the married man. The kind of conviviality it offered was a release from the burden of keeping up domestic appearances. Why not enjoy good company and varied fare instead of being condemned to 'solitude and mutton cutlets' at home? All-male drinking and dining, cards, billiards and 'man-talk' could be pursued in the club without distraction or interruption … But fundamentally the club's rationale was as an alternative to home life, where an ethos of fraternalism replaced the ties of family.[183]

[182] John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the middle-class home in Victorian England*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 127-9 and Swiencicki, 784.
[183] Tosh, 127-9.

While the gentlemen's clubs found in London valued privacy and exclusivity, the spaces created for men at the Bon Marché department store offered open access to all tourists shopping at the Bon Marché. As a result, the need to position the Bon Marché shopping experience as a cultural, intellectual, and honorable activity for the upper-classes helped indirectly influence the socio-economic composition of the men within the masculine spaces of the department store. As a result, Souvenir brochures produced and distributed to tourists during the late-nineteenth century marketed the Bon Marché as an experience similar to traditional cultural institutions such as museums, churches, monuments, and palaces. The non-shopping masculine spaces of the Bon Marché department store reinforced socially constructed conceptions of appropriate male behaviors just as much as the spaces excluded women from these same activities.[184]

Conversely, the creation of menswear departments inside the Bon Marché facilitated a consistent message of separate spaces for each gender – clothing for men should not mix with that of women. A construction of the department store as a distinctly feminine space also privileged the shopping that women did for the family over the shopping that which men completed for girlfriends, wives, other family members or each other. "The Shops at Christmas Time" article in the *The Warehousemen and Drapers' Trade Journal* contends that men frequented "fancy" departments of the Bon Marché when purchasing *etrennes*, or New

[184] Historian Erika Rappaport, among others, explores the development of women's club spaces in both the United States and Britain during the late-nineteenth century as "temporary homes" for urban shoppers. These spaces provided women a domestic and private refuge away from the public consumption spaces of the department stores and streets. The need to create urban feminine clubs in conjunction with the increasingly public consumption environment indicates that the department store did not provide a singularly feminine space. Rappaport, 74-6, 94 and 247.

Year's gifts for themselves and loved ones.[185] For example, the diary of a minister from Oakland, Maryland who visited the Bon Marché upon arriving in Paris in June of 1889 indicated he was "obliged to come again" upon discovering he had left the "number" of his wife's gloves back at his hotel. The purchases from his second trip to the Bon Marché a few days later would be added to the handkerchiefs he purchased for himself, including "two expensive ones, too much for me but thought I would take home a fine one or two," during his first visit with three (male) friends.[186] Men shopping for women reinforced a gender identity of the male provider and reflected Bourdieu's *principium divisionis* theory by providing unification between the specifically male spaces within department stores and the feminine shopping spaces that accommodated consistent social relations and meanings.

Accounts of men accompanying their wives to the department store presented an opportunity for regulatory participation in the shopping experience. Often writers presented masculine participation in department store shopping as a forced submission and a negative experience. American Methodist Episcopal missionary Mary Louise Ninde Gamewell spent much of the early-twentieth century working in China; however, her 1886 travel writings, *We Two Alone in Europe* recounts her European travels in the 1880s. Consistent with the writings of others from this period, Gamewell observes how men are 'trapped' by their wives and daughters in the *grands magasins* of Paris, "The poor man is dragged

[185] "The Shops at Christmas Time," *The Warehousemen and Drapers' Trade Journal,* No. 4 (December 12, 1874), 644.
[186] Unnamed male author, *Diary*, (Archival Material,1889), 95 and 99.

to and fro for weary hours, till his patience and pockets are both exhausted, and the place ever after haunts him as a chamber of horrors."[187] In Gamewell's account the male is presented as helpless; however, his participation inevitably regulated his wife's spending. Positioning men as unwilling participants reinforced traditional social constructions of masculinity yet also secured a role for men in a feminine space. Chronicling President Ulysses S. Grant's 1877-1879 world tour, American journalist John Russell Young identified the circus and the Bon Marché as the two institutions most visited by tourists from the United States.[188] In a similar manner to Gamewell, Young warns men to avoid the Bon Marché if they want to protect their money:

> If there are fond husbands who, having visited Paris, read these words, I know what memories they will recall. O fellow countrymen who love and honor and have vowed to protect and cherish, when you come to Paris avoid "Au Bon Marché"! Who enters here with a full purse, and wife and daughter in train, must leave all hope behind, at least while the money holds out. "Au Bon Marché is a magazine for the sale of everything that woman can crave.[189]

Young's description indicated that women could not control their shopping habits and that men needed to take control to prevent spending by avoiding the Bon Marché altogether. The decision whether to go or not go to the department store and, by extension the decision to consume or not consume, needed to rest in the hands of men. In Young's warning men become the authority for consumption

---

[187] Mary Louise Ninde Gamewell, *We two alone in Europe*, (Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Company, 1886), 338-9.
[188] As discussed in chapter one, the popularity of the circus as a tourist destination in Paris found in Young's narrative is consistent with the content found in Bon Marché Souvenirs and travel guides from this period.
[189] John Russell Young, *Around the World with General Grant*, (New York: Subscription Book Department, 1879), 150-1.

because of their biological ability to separate themselves from the emotional spectacle of goods, remain level-headed and make rational decisions.

Both in the United States and in Britain, department stores designed the configuration and content of menswear spaces to attract the male customer. Sociologist Mark Swiencicki finds that the construction of menswear departments only occurred in U.S. department stores such as Macy's and Marshall Field when the department could be both situated close to an exit and did not require the male shopper to walk in spaces that would bring them in contact with women.[190] In *The Hidden Consumer* fashion historian Christopher Breward argues that the material structures, spaces, personnel and depictions associated with material consumption provided open forums of social, sexual, and cultural identity formation and tensions in Victorian London. Transformations of masculine interior consumption spaces, argues Breward, were just as aesthetic and decorative as those created for the female consumer, incorporating strong light and muted colors.[191] Ease of movement and accessibility and limited exposure to feminine products characterized the consumption spaces catering to men by the end of the century: the large department stores consciously placed menswear departments on the first floor of the establishment, often close to the door.[192] Producing isolating menswear departments maintained a physical distinction between the sexes within the single space of the department store. Although Bon

[190] Marshall Field & Co. opened a "gentlemen's furnishing" department in 1872 that combined menswear clothing the store began stocking in 1865 with new offerings such as handkerchiefs, linen collars, hosiery, neckties, toiletries, and other accessories. Twyman,, 44-5 and Swiencicki, 790-1.
[191] Breward, 145.
[192] Breward, 145-6.

Marché diagrams of the store layout remain unavailable for this thesis, as discussed in chapter one, the Souvenir brochures distinguish between goods sold for men and women. According to historian Brent Shannon in "Refashioning Men: Fashion, Masculinity, and the Cultivation of the Male Consumer in Britain, 1860-1914" department stores increased the variety of men's clothing and accessory items, built smoking and club rooms that offered newspapers, cigars and coffee.[193] Even male shopping companions who preferred the experience of the department store's reading, smoking or billiard room would eventually have to rejoin their wives once the shopping concluded. Regardless of whether women purchased items on site or had items sent to the house by courier, the trip home offered men the opportunity to discussion the items and quantities purchased during the shopping excursion. Accountability of women to men in these situations provided a mechanism of consumption control.

British co-operative movement activist and social reformer, Edward Owen Greening, describes his efforts to "see how labour association with capital acts upon shopmen and shopwomen …" at the Bon Marché in his 1888 publication, *The Co-operative Traveller Abroad*.[194] On Greening's visit to the Bon Marché he "saunter[s] round noting the demeanour of the customers and employés who wait on them" while the friends who accompanied him to the store disperse to

[193] In addition, Shannon contends that advertisers of late-nineteenth century Victorian London made conspicuous consumption and materialism publically acceptable masculine behavior by distancing 'good' male consumer habits from the 'bad' consumer habits of women, using direct, clear, "business-style" advertising copy, invoking figures of soldiers and athletes to render gender-neural products masculine, and conflating male consumer and sexual desires in ads. Shannon, 600, 602, 607-8 and 617.

[194] Edward Owen Greening, *The Co-operative Traveler Abroad*, (London: Arthur Standing, 1888), 193 and 190.

purchase presents for significant others.[195] Greening's professional obligation to investigate the organization of the Bon Marché towards the goal of improving labor relations abroad provided a socially acceptable reason to enter the department store and linger in the sales space. For Greening, the material processes of capitalism produced an alternate space of intellectual and practical knowledge that could safely be investigated within the constructions of traditional masculinity.

While Greening's "saunter" around the Bon Marché may seemingly suggest the presence of the *flâneur*, a prominent nineteenth-century male figure, inside the walls of the department store, the pure definition to which I subscribe excludes the *flâneur* from the department store experience. Cultural sociologist Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson builds on the work of early historians in her 1994 publication, *Paris as Revolution*, to provide a distinction, starting in the 1820s, between the literary/artistic *flâneur* and the ordinary *flâneur* who occupies not only the arcades, but also restaurants, boulevards, gardens.[196] Whereas the *flâneur* artiste, or pure *flâneur*, intellectually understands the movement and seductions of the city and *always* remains detached, neutral and objective, the ordinary *flâneur*, "the only really happy people in Paris," simply experienced the city without creative detachment and could subsequently enjoy the department

[195] Greening, 190.
[196] During the 1920s authors of literary guidebooks, painters and literary figures begin to describe themselves as *flâneurs*. French novelist and playwright, Honoré de Balzac, provides one of the most influential portraits of the "*flâneur* artiste" who studies, observes, and analyzes the environment in search of new subjects, characters and plots. Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, *Paris as Revolution: Writing the Nineteenth-Century City*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 85 and 89-90.

store experience.[197] Historian Janet Wolff contends that while the development of the department store in the 1850s and 1860s created new public spaces for middle-class women, shopping did not represent "the fleeting, anonymous encounter and the purposeless strolling" of the 'modern' experience ascribed to the artistic *flâneur*.[198] Both Wolff and Ferguson argue that the department store shopping experience and consumption driven "window shopping," or *flânerie*, lacked the detachment necessary for "pure *flânerie*."[199] Sources, such as *The Co-operative Traveller Abroad*, bore out this distinction. Greenings predicated his entry into the department store space upon specific professional and intellectual purposes and failed to remain detached from the organizational and labor "spectacle" of the Bon Marché.[200] While Wolff and Ferguson construction of the *flâneur* isolates this figure beyond the confines of the department store, menswear departments, smoking, billiard, and reading room spaces located inside the Bon Marché reflected material processes of capitalism. Re-inserting men into the department store experience whether as an ordinary *flâneur* allows this space to simultaneously reinforce and challenge traditional gender relationships and constructions of masculinity. In addition, the opportunity to regulate the

[197] Ferguson, 84 and 90-1.
[198] Ferguson, 44.
[199] In 1994, cultural sociologist, Keith Tester, brings together a collection of eight essays by leading scholars to rescue the *flâneur* from the margins in his edited volume *The Flâneur*. Portions of Ferguson's 1994 *Paris as Revolution* are reproduced in her contribution to this volume, "The *Flâneur* on and off the streets of Paris." Ferguson, 94.
[200] The feminist revision of sociology and social history, Wolff argues, reveals new areas of exploration and the potential recovery of the 'modern' female experience in both the public and private spheres. Further analysis may help provide clarification among scholars concerning the degree of mobility and amount of separation from the urban consumption experience necessary to determine whether the *flâneur* and *flâneuse* existed within the department store and whether *flânerie* includes the act of shopping. See Janet Wolff, "The Invisible *Flâneuse*. Women and the Literature of Modernity." *Theory, Culture & Society*. Vol. 2, 37 (1985).

consumption of women and partake in the department store experience unified seemingly oppositional and distinct masculine and feminine spaces in the department store. Privileging the experience of women in these spaces limits the potential gendered meaning these spaces created and subsequently overlooks the experience and role of men in the consumer culture of the late-nineteenth century.

Masculine Consumption – Exterior Spaces

In addition to labor resources, professional journals in male dominated industries, street-facing display windows, and cultural events sponsored by the Bon Marché created new exterior spaces of the department store experience within which men participated. Professional journal articles and academic publications of the late-nineteenth century described cutting-edge innovations that impressed professionals in industries dominated by men. For example, French economist, Charles Gide utilizes the Bon Marché in his 1892 publication, *Principles of Economy*, to demonstrate economic concepts including economies of capital, division of labor and profit-sharing.[201] In a second example, amongst articles about steam locomotives, building piers, and ship speeds, an 1889 issue of *The Engineer* extolled the practical functionality found in the electrical design of the Bon Marché:

> It is when one sees the magnitude and complication of the machinery required for the electric installation that one recognizes how large a factor in civilization artificial lighting has become. Few even of the most sanguine supporters of electricity as a means of illumination would have had the hardihood to suggest the propriety of laying down such a plant as

[201] Charles Gide, *Principles of Economy* Translated by Edward Percy Jacobsen; with an introduction and notes by James Bonar. (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1892), 152, 160 and 524.

> this a few years ago; and yet the outlay must be profitable, or we should not see such installations spreading almost daily.[202]

"The Largest Store in the World" article published in *The Engineer* in 1889 provides a final example in which the author extolled the significant number of strategically placed fire hydrants and extinguishers that contributed to the overall strength of the "fire arrangements."[203] By stressing the technical, mechanical and structural elements of the Bon Marché, rather than the more feminine elements, the department store entered the sphere of public male discourse in the engineering industry. Professional industry journals introduced the Bon Marché and the department store experience to men as an institution of modern technological innovation that could not be separated from its primary forces of capital production.

The development of plated glass created a new exterior space of consumption for the department stores. In *The Hidden Consumer,* Breward argues that the conservative, organized and rational shop windows of Victorian London designed to attract men purposely displayed a range of available products for quick comparison that would then lead them "from a framed representation or reflection of fashionable urban masculinity into an interior where the concerns of surfaces reformed to focus on the fitting out of his own body."[204] American men living abroad, such as Stuart Henry, observed how Parisian shop windows focused on one particular item, "The French have the art of not spoiling a jest by putting a dozen jests next it. In this, as in their displays in shop windows, their

[202] "The Largest Store in the World," *The Engineer,* Vol. 18, No. 3 (August 3, 1889): 35.
[203] "The Largest Store in the World," 35.
[204] Breward, 143.

motto is: Exhibit few articles – one article. Their artistic sense enters here; they prefer to attract by choice."[205]

In his 1996 publication, *Hard Looks: Masculinities, Spectatorship and Contemporary Consumption*, Sean Nixon argues that new techniques of consumer display developed in the late-nineteenth century heavily influenced the way Walter Benjamin's *flâneur* looked at the consumption spectacle. Similar to Breward, Nixon argues that the *flâneur's* glances and interrupted series of looks, rather than fixed gaze, constructed a 'spectatorial consumer subjectivity' that opened a narcissistic dimension to spectatorship.[206] Nixon writes:

> Benjamin emphasized the way this consumer subjectivity not only established a series of looks at the displays of goods and the detail of shop interiors, but also invited the consumer to look at themselves amidst this spectacle – often literally, through catching sight of their reflection in a mirror or shop window. A self-monitoring look was implicit, then in these ways of looking.[207]

Between 1776 and 1881 American poet, story-writer and critic, Louise Chandler Moulton, began spending her summers in Europe and the rest of the year in Boston. In 1881 she published her "pen-and-ink sketches of certain random rambles during the last five years," *Random Rambles*, and highlighted the importance of the "looking-glass," or window displays that provide an outdoor shopping space acceptable for both men and women. Moulton observes the gender, class and demographic diversity of those who publically engage with the shop windows along the wide Parisian boulevards, "It is very amusing to see the

[205] Stuart Oliver Henry, *Paris Days and Evenings.* (London: T. Fisher Unwin 1896), 160.
[206] Sean Nixon, *Hard Looks: Masculinities, Spectatorship and Contemporary Consumption*. (London: UCL Press Limited, 1996), 71-2.
[207] Nixon, 64.

aged dandies, and pretty women and even the comfortable citizens, middle-aged and portly, stop and prink before them in passing, with a sweet and touching unconsciousness that anyone is looking on."[208] The new consumption space created by the display window offered men an opportunity to enter into the department store experience.

Finally, musical concerts sponsored by the Bon Marché offered men the opportunity to experience the space and brand of the Bon Marché department store. Free vocal and instrumental classes not only ensured that the "moral and intellectual condition" of the employees would be improved but also created the opportunity for public musical concerts.[209] Twentieth century historian, Michael Miller, argues in his 1981 publication, *The Bon Marché Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920*, that the concerts held inside the store and in the square just outside the walls were part of a larger program of paternalism designed to create a new middle-class workforce built upon bourgeois values and behavior.[210] As an important element of the Bon Marché's marketing campaign, public concerts responded to bourgeois demand as art and leisure were transformed by a consumer mentality into marketable commodities to promote the department store.[211] The Bon Marché concerts produced a new special product that directly reflected divisions of social labor (the Bon Marché employees), the authoritative structure (the Bon Marché) and the processes of capitalism inherent in the department store retail revolution.

---

[208] Louise Chandler Moulton, *Random Rambles*. (Cambridge: University Press, 1881), 241.
[209] *Souvenir of the Bon Marché*, 1892, 3.
[210] Miller, *The Bon Marché*, 108.
[211] Miller, *The Bon Marché*, 169 and 170.

In his 1883 novel, *Au Bonheur des Dames*, Émile Zola, explores the social and economic environment in France surrounding the emergence of modern capitalism during the Second Empire.[212] Zola considers the economic evolution primarily from the perspective of the main protagonist, Denise Baudu, a twenty-year old girl who arrives in Paris and procures work as a sales associate at a large, growing department store modeled specifically after the Bon Marché that Zola names "The Ladies' Paradise."[213] After Denise befriends the owner of The Ladies' Paradise, Octave Mouret, she persuades him to improve the 'mechanism' of the store that 'delighted the customers:'

> that of creating a band of music, in which all the executants should be chosen from amongst the staff. Three months later Lhomme had a hundred and twenty musicians under his direction, the dream of his whole life was realised. And a grand fête was given on the premises, a concert and a ball, to introduce the band of the Ladies' Paradise to the customers of the whole world. The newspapers took the matter up, Bourdoncle himself, frightened by these innovations, was obliged to bow before this immense advertisement.[214]

According to the *Souvenir of the Bon Marché* distributed in 1892 to American and British tourists, the Musical societies "attained numerous successes at various competitions." The public nature of the Bon Marché concerts unified the gendered relationships between the exterior space and the tensions of the interior masculine and feminine spaces. While women certainly visited the Bon Marché with and without the male chaperones, it is unlikely that women attended public

[212] *Au Bonheur des Dames* is the eleventh of twenty novels in the Les Rougon-Macquart series and the first to focus on the capital mechanisms that transitioned the Western European economy from one of production to one of consumption starting in the mid-nineteenth century. Zola, v-vi.
[213] While the novel covers a period of five years, the capital and technological developments recounted by Zola span multiple decades.
[214] Zola, 317-6.

concerts without an appropriate male escort. According *Dickens's Dictionary Paris, 1882, An Unconventional Handbook* by Charles Dickens, "Ladies, however, do not go alone into the cafés. There is, of course, no rule in these matters, but such is not the custom. As regards theatres and other places of amusement, indoors or out of doors, ladies are usually accompanied by a gentleman."[215] Thus in creating and selling the Bon Marché brand through musical concerts, the department store produced spaces that brought consuming men and women together while maintaining gendered terms of opposition.

Conclusion

The Bon Marché represented a place in which both British and American male and female tourists exerted consumer influence and power through the act of material and cultural consumption inside and outside the department store space. Traditional business histories produced about the department store in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s focused predominately on the department store as an economic space. The Bon Marché as a structure of capitalism, produced spaces such as menswear departments, billiard rooms, smoking rooms, and reading rooms that provided men an opportunity to partake in the department store experience within safe constructions of masculinity. The existence of these masculine spaces represents a gendered relationship opposite to the shopping spaces of the sales floor designed to appeal to the emotions of the female consumer. For example, upon arriving in Paris, a married minister from Oakland, Maryland and his male traveling companion, Mr. Roy, first visited the Bon Marché department store after

[215] Charles Dickens, *Dickens's Dictionary of Paris, 1882; An Unconventional Handbook*. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1882), 125.

which they also made stops at the Eiffel Tower, Notre Dame, the Parthenon, the Opera House, the Thomas Edison Exhibit at Machinery Hall, Versailles, Luxemburg Place, and many other traditional cultural institutions. Writing about his visit, the minister maintains a safely gendered relationship to the shopping experience stating:

> After breakfast we decided to go to the celebrated Bon Marché and do some shopping. We had no trouble in finding it. It is the greatest store I ever saw a perfect woman's paradise. I saw more elegant things here than I had ever seen in my life. It is a hard place for the pocketbook.[216]

While the American minister willingly engages in the shopping experience, he does so in a way that both distinguishes the space as distinctly feminine and upholds traditional masculine roles. Noting the Bon Marché as the "greatest store I ever saw" and as a space for women in the same statement, the minister makes it clear that his admiration is that of an outsider observing an unfamiliar phenomena. His comments also establish his role as a financial regulator in identifying the things he sees as "elegant" and a consciousness of his pocketbook. In addition, by privileging the experience and agency of the female shopper, the role and participation of men in the consuming experience is often reduced to an unwilling chaperone rather than a challenge to socially constructed normative ideas of masculinity. The gendered tensions that existed within the masculine and feminine spaces inside the Bon Marché is consistent with the oppositions found in the professional journals in male dominated industries, street-facing display windows, and musical concerts sponsored by the Bon Marché which created new

[216] Unnamed male author, *Diary*, (Archival Material: 1889), 95.

exterior and abstract spaces that also facilitated masculine participation in the department store experience. The production of external spaces, public cultural activities and literary discourses unified the gendered tensions within the store with activities beyond the Bon Marché structure predicated upon similar normative discourses of masculinity. In this way the Bon Marché must be understood as retaining fundamental orientations of masculinity rather than a space of primarily feminine agency and consumption.

Chapter 3

ECONOMIC TRANSGRESSIONS IN THE BON MARCHÉ

To the Editor of the New York Times:

I was much edified on reading Mr. Wakeman's letter on the "Dingley Tariff and Trusts."I remember on my return from Europe three years ago, when the spy system was in full force, that my family were subject to many indignities. A trunk containing women's clothing, which had been forwarded by express to Paris and thence to Germany, unaccompanied, but had not passed as containing clothing that had been worn, was here the subject of close scrutiny, notwithstanding my declaration that everything in it had come from America, and my wife was even asked if a jacket therein had not been relined in Paris, as the Inspector said the lining was quite unspoiled …And now Mr. Wakeman proposes to strengthen the dose to see how much a good-natured American traveler will stand … to have thrust upon him a circular over which he is to trouble his brain to find out whether he has bought $99 or $101 worth of clothing while on his travels … I have always been a Republican, and am in favor of a protective tariff, but, while the $100 clause remains unrepealed, I shall never vote the Republican ticket. All we ask is to be treated with the same courtesy at home as we are abroad, and not to feel that the moment we put foot on our native land that we are looked upon as thieves and lawbreakers.

- John R. Postlethwaite, New York, April 12, 1900[217]

Mr. Postlethwaite's correspondence to the *New York Times* responds to a letter published on April 13, 1900 by New York Republican, Wilbur F. Wakeman, who served as Secretary and Treasurer of the American Protective Tariff League between 1891 and 1926. As one of the 125,000 American tourists journeying to Europe between 1880 and 1900, Mr. Postlethwaite expressed displeasure towards Mr. Wakeman's proposal requiring all U.S. citizens traveling overseas to disclose to customs officials the contents of personal baggage upon returning to the United States.[218] While tariff laws in the United States date back to the nation's earliest years, increased tourism in the second half of the nineteenth century and first

[217] John R. Postlethwaite, "Travelers and the Customs" *New York Times*, April 14, 1900, 6.
[218] W. F. Wakeman, "Dingley Tariff and Tourists" *New York Times*, April 13, 1900, 6.

quarter of the twentieth century resulted in the passage of laws and expanded government regulation of material goods purchased abroad. Starting in March 1861 with the General Tariff Act, discourse in Congress about the classification, duty amounts, administration, enforcement, and fines of imported materials exploded.[219] Especially after 1867, the further clarification of tariffs on wool, clothing, silks, umbrellas, gloves, furniture, art, cigars, watches, tea, coffee, fruits and spirits, among other items, resulted in the continuous repeal and amending of statutes.

New retailing methods found in department stores, such as the Bon Marché, offered American tourists the opportunity to purchase large quantities of products at low prices. The department store model depended upon high inventory volume quickly sold at low profit margins. In addition to the opportunity to purchase material goods at low prices, the department store also presented a new environment for men and women to engage in economic transgressions. For example, authorities and medical professionals often associated the increasing prevalence of kleptomania in the last quarter of the nineteenth century with women and the development of the department store. Understanding consumption requires contemporary historians to consider not only evasive consumption tactics found within the department store, such as kleptomania, but practices that go beyond the rational consumer model and the transgressions of men facilitated by the department store experience. Specifically, American tourists found ways to undervalue, falsely classify, and make "small

[219] Lewis Heyl, *United States Duties on Imports*. (Washington: W.H. & O.H. Morrison, 1874), v-vii.

purchases" to avoid tariff charges on material goods brought into the United States purchased during travels abroad.

The presentation of kleptomania and tariff fraud in case studies, newspapers, congressional reports and other sources reveal a number of differences between these two types of economic transgressions. Undervaluation, false classification and "small purchases" often involved the existence of relationships and public collaboration rather than a hidden, individual act of defiance in cases of kleptomania. Whereas historians such as Michael Miller, Ann-Louise Shapiro, Philip Nord, Victoria Thompson, Lisa Tiersten, and Patricia O'Brien identified the gendered and medicalized nature of kleptomania cases in France and Britain, these characteristics remain absent from situations of tariff fraud. Miller found that Parisians unsettled by the mass, bureaucratic department store concept "… were equally alarmed that the *grands magasins* were loosening the bourgeois community's moral fiber."[220] Increased consumerism celebrated in public venues, such as Parisian department stores, heightened republican concerns regarding the self-indulgence, individualism, and declining standards in taste of female consumers often seen as a reflection of deteriorating French culture.[221] Finding fault not with the kleptomaniacs themselves, Miller's department store critics instead placed blame on the "… supercharged atmosphere of these emporia…"[222] Historian Ann Louise Shapiro argues in her 1996 publication

[220] Miller, *The Bon Marché*, 193.
[221] Historian Philip Nord notes that by the end of the nineteenth century, the *grands magasins*, dependent on continuously bringing new clientele into the department stores, began marketing campaigns and interior store design specifically aimed at the male demographic. Nord, 161-3.
[222] Miller, *The Bon Marché*, 193.

Breaking the Codes that concerns about the growing "epidemic" of kleptomania represented a larger, more general anxiety about the behavior of women in public. For example, upper-class women arrested at the Bon Marché department store during the Exposition of 1889, according to doctors, had been overwhelmed by an "excess of temptation" driven by uncontrollable desires.[223] In her 1983 article, French historian Patricia O'Brien found that the contextualization of kleptomania as a "social phenomenon" or "epidemic" resulted from the tendencies of department store owners, lawyers, psychiatrists and forensic specialists to situate these cases within the broader literature of department store theft. In addition, O'Brien identified a direct correlation between the increasing number of kleptomania medical case studies and the professionalization of the discipline of forensic medicine.[224] Finally, unlike instances of tariff fraud, the consumerist concept of utility and need facilitated the medicalization and gendering of kleptomania. Driven by consumerist needs and motives created in the emerging department store culture, many believed that middle- and upper-class women also stole because of an inherent need to possess material goods.[225]

The Bon Marché provided an opportunity for American tourists to create and engage in economic tactics, within the space of the department store, in U.S. ports and customs offices in the United States, and within domestic department stores. In 1980, Michel de Certeau, challenged economic and cultural historians

---

[223] Ann-Louise Shapiro, *Breaking the Codes: Female Criminality in Fin-de-Siècle Paris*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 107.
[224] Patricia O'Brien "The Kleptomania Diagnosis: Bourgeois Women and Theft in Late Nineteenth-Century France." *Journal of Social History* 17, 1 (Autumn, 1983), 65-6.
[225] Thompson, 49, O'Brien 72-3 and Elaine S Abelson, *When Ladies Go A-Thieving* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 11.

to consider the creative, inventive consumption 'practices' of ordinary consumers as forms of production in *The Practice of Everyday Life*. De Certeau's 'constructivist' position moved the study of consumption away from Lefebevre's material representations of society towards the ways consumers *use* products.[226] De Certeau argued for an active production of space within an economic environment (the city) through the ordinary practice of life. Applied to urban space, the relationship between oneself and 'everyday practices' organize places through displacements between determinations of *being-there* and *operations* they describe and subsequently transform places into spaces.[227] De Certeau's analysis of narrative actions, such as shopping, in spatial trajectories rather than spatial structures or systems, allowed him to conclude that "space is a practiced place."[228] In the case of the illegal importation of foreign goods purchased at the Bon Marché, American tourists "used" and consumed merchandise purchased the Bon Marché to create new spaces of criminal transgressions. The department store environment offered American tourists the opportunity to exploit the new retailing model by circumventing tariff laws when bringing purchased goods back to the United States.

Tariff Laws

Legislation passed and repealed in the mid-to-late-nineteenth century struggled to reconcile challenges associated with the definition, application, enforcement of collecting taxes on imported goods. As evident in Mr.

[226] De Certeau, xii-xiii.
[227] De Certeau, 115-6 and 118.
[228] De Certeau, 115-7.

Postlethwaite's letter to the New York Times, the one hundred dollar limitation, searches and potential seizures of personal items, he felt, imposed upon his personal freedoms. Section nineteen of "An act to further prevent smuggling, and for other purposes" passed July 18, 1866 established the value of goods an individual could import and authorized tariff collectors to admit "… goods, wares or merchandise imported or brought into the United States …" up to one hundred dollars in value without a triplicate invoice. Whereas in the 1863 "An act to prevent and punish frauds on revenue" focused on ensuring importers provided appropriate documentation regarding purchase price, site of product origination, and product value, in the mid-1860s limitations on the value of goods allowable into the United States begin to appear. According to the act, tariff collectors could admit merchandise and collect duties without purchase receipts provided the collector "… shall be satisfied that the neglect to produce such invoice was unintentional, and that the importation was in good faith and without any purpose of defrauding or evading the revenue laws of the United States" and the articles stayed under a specified value.[229] Even as department stores in Paris continued to gain momentum at the end of the nineteenth-century, the 1874 Act to amend the customs-revenue laws and repeal moieties maintained the one hundred dollar limit on imported goods stating:

> That except in the case of personal effects accompanying the passenger, no importation exceeding one hundred dollars in dutiable value shall be admitted to entry without the production of a duly-certified invoice thereof, as required by law, or of an affidavit made by the owner, importer, or consignee, before any

[229] Heyl, 1874, 81.

> officer authorized to administer oaths, allowing why it is impracticable to produce such invoice.[230]

As evidenced in Mr. Postlethwaite's letter to the New York Times in 1900, the one hundred dollar limit on the importation of personal goods and wares, initiated in the mid-nineteenth century, continued well into the twentieth century. While legislation fluctuated as to the required documentation for imported goods, the value of the goods and the authority of the government to determine these values remained consistent.

While the hundred dollar limitation required government officials to search personal possessions and luggage, legislation passed in the late 1860s and early 1870s protected the privacy of business records and documents from warrant or seizure of individuals suspected tariff fraud. On June 22, 1874 Congress passed "An act to amend the customs laws and repeal moieties" that both nullified previous statutes further clarifying judicial processes and regulations surrounding tariff fraud. First, "An act to amend the customs laws and repeal moieties" repealed the thirty-ninth section of the July 18, 1866 "An act to further prevent smuggling, and for other purposes" revoking the ability of District Judges to issue warrants for the papers, invoices, books or other documents held by individuals or collectors for the purpose of prosecuting tariff violations.[231] In addition, "An act to amend the customs laws and repeal

[230] Compiled by custom house broker and counselor, Samuel T. Morgan, the *U.S. Import Duties under Existing Laws and* Decisions, and Digest of the Tariff Laws published July 1, 1883, provided importers and the general business public knowledge regarding tax law provisions dating back to 1842. Samuel T. Morgan, *U.S. Import Duties, under Existing Laws and Decisions, and Digest of the Tariff Laws*. (Baltimore: Cushings & Bailey, 1883), 4.
[231] Heyl, 1874, 84.

moieties" repealed the second section of the March 2, 1867 act entitled "An act to regulate the disposition of the proceeds of fines, penalties, and forfeitures incurred under the laws relating to the customs, and for other purposes" preventing authorities from seizing papers, invoices, books or other documents found when searching physical spaces of those suspected of tariff fraud.[232] In an 1884 letter to the President, Chas J. Folger U.S. Secretary of the Treasury argued that:

> Whatever may have been thought as to the need of protecting the rights of individuals by the enactment of this law, it is clear that its result has been to render the Government almost powerless to enforce the revenue laws in cases of fraudulent undervaluation by foreign manufacturers or unscrupulous importers, and to work great injury to the interests of importers who refrain from engaging in this dishonest practice.[233]

Personal privacy challenged the U.S. government as evident in inconsistent tariff legislation that sought to create an appropriate balance of protecting the personal rights and freedoms of its citizens and enforcing and collecting duties. The medicalization of kleptomania cases in Britain and France, on the other hand, meant the most intimate details of an individual's mental and physiological state could be considered evidence in a trial. For example, alienist Henri Legrand de Saulle reported that in 104 cases of female theft between 1868 and 1881, eighty could be explained by biological determinants including menstrual period, menopause, pregnancy or reproductive hysteria. Whereas the French authorities disregarded personal privacy to determine that female kleptomaniacs were "sick," American tourists stealing tariffs from the U.S. government were, in many ways, protected, albeit inconsistently, from personal scrutiny by tariff laws.

---

[232] Heyl, 1874, 98.
[233] *Index to the Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the First Session of the Forty-Eighth Congress*, 1883-1884 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884), 2.

Finally, the penalties associated with tariff laws created tensions among U.S. customs officials and travelers. "An act to amend the customs laws and repeal moieties" passed in 1874 also reasserted the authority and role of the United States Department of Treasury. Up until 1866 financial incentives in the form of commissions existed for informers and customs officers able to help prosecute tariff fraud, however; after the 1874 statute, all fines, penalties, and forfeited goods went to the Treasury of the United States. The U.S. government subsequently held the authority to offer compensation to customs officials for detecting smuggled or seized goods. The act further clarified "smuggling" to include "… the act, with intent to defraud, of bringing into the United States, or, with like intent, attempting to bring into the United States, dutiable articles without passing the same, or the package containing the same, through the custom-house, or submitting them to the officers of the revenue for examination."[234] "An act to amend the customs laws and repeal moieties" passed in 1874 also defined possible ramifications for travelers and customs officials convicted of defrauding the government. Threatening fines anywhere from fifty to five thousand dollars, a prison sentence up to two years, and the forfeiture of merchandise, Congress sent a strong and clear message to leisure travelers. In addition, "An act to amend the customs laws and repeal moieties" determined that any custom official involved in tariff fraud would be charged with a felony and, if convicted, faced up to ten years in prison and fines up to the thousand dollars.[235] The steeper penalties customs officials faced motivated these individuals to

[234] Heyl, 1874, 150.
[235] Heyl, 1874, 154.

accurately and truthfully report on the amounts and values of goods and wares entering the United States. By establishing lesser fines and punishments for fatigued tourists tariff laws inherently created an uneven and contentious relationship between customs officials wanting to avoid fines and travelers in a hurry to return home after long journeys. Thus, while kleptomania cases in Britain and France used gender to establish biological and mental explanations for theft, U.S. tariff laws focused on limitations, regulation, enforcement, and punishment of offenders.

False Classification and Valuation

In 1877 "an Act to amend existing Customs and Internal Revenue Laws, and for other Purposes" brought additional clarification to the rates of duties on types of materials goods towards more accurate valuations. For example, the need to distinguish between spun silk, silk in the gum, floss-silks, sewing silks, lastings, mohair cloth, silk twist, or other manufacturers of cloth, woven or made into patterns or forms provided customs officials with guidance when assessing tariffs and valuing merchandise brought into the United States. The Treasury Department placed the highest tariff, sixty per centum ad valorem, "… on all goods, wares, and merchandise not otherwise herein provided for, made of silk or which silk is the component material of chief value, irrespective of the classification thereof for duty under previous laws, or their commercial designation."[236] Despite efforts by congressmen and representatives, the

[236] Ad valorem tax is that based upon the value or price paid for a product. The choice to tax based on value, rather than quantity, which could be easily counted by custom officials, increased the importance of receipts and documentation of purchase prices at the point of importation into

classification and subsequent valuation of goods continued to generate problems for customs officials well into the mid-1880s. Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means in the House of Representatives, the Honorable W. R. Morrison, specifically encouraged Congress to further clarify the classes of articles under categories of soap-stock, chemical products, distilled spirits, cotton stockings, textile fabrics, glass bottles, and numerous other goods entering the country in a letter dated February 7, 1886.[237] Less than one year after the Chairman's letter, the *New York Times* reported on the undervaluation of artwork purchased at the Bon Marché by Board of Trade operator, John T. Lester, which was shipped directly to Lester's residence upon arrival in the United States. When customs officials went to the residence to make the tariff invoice, they discovered a consular statement valuing the artwork at $7,422 and a bill from the Bon Marché indicating a purchase price of $15,000. Officials seized the artwork until the $2,500 duty owed could be secured from Lester. According to the article, Lester had not reported the undervaluation, claiming that he had only seen the original Bon Marché invoice (and not the consular invoice). In the case of Lester, the *New York Times* did not associate his transgression with any gender, biological or physiological "sickness," however; the case highlighted the need to further revise existing tariff laws.[238]

---

the United States. Lewis Heyl, *United States Duties on Imports, 1877*. (Washington: W. H. & O. H. Morrison, 1877), 232.

[237] *Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the Collection of Duties*. (Treasury Department, 1886), 7-8.

[238] "Pictures Seized for Duty." *New York Times* Nov. 21, 1886, 2.

In addition to clarifying specific duties on the increasing varieties and amounts of silk and other products coming into the United States, the Senate and House of Representatives created a nine member Tariff Commission five years later charged with the task:

> to thoroughly investigate all the various questions relating to the agricultural, commercial, mercantile, manufacturing, mining, and industrial interests of the United States, so far as the same may be necessary to the establishment of a judicious tariff, or a revision of the existing tariff, upon a scale of justice to all interests, and for the purpose of fully examining the matters which may come before it.[239]

Over the course of nearly ninety days, the Tariff Commission visited twenty-nine different cities hearing testimony, examining witnesses and taking statements that resulted in a two volume report consisting of 2,625 printed pages.[240] Rather than create a new, scientific based tariff system similar to that of the French, the Commission premised its concluding recommendations upon the continuation of the tariff general structure and administration.[241] Significant changes to the tax system in the final year of the nineteenth century, the Commission felt, would "throw labor out of employment, ruinously depreciate values, and create a general industrial and commercial disaster."[242] Expert witnesses and customs officials advised the Tariff Commission regarding the potential benefits and drawbacks to

---

[239] *Report of the Tariff Commission appointed under Act of Congress approved May 15, 1882*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1882), 2.
[240] *Report of the Tariff Commission appointed under Act of Congress approved May 15, 1882*, 3.
[241] Scientific tariff systems in which tariffs are levied to bring prices of imported goods to the same level of domestically produced good were especially effective in France. As a less industrialized country and one which placed a high value on the specialized work of artisans, the French system helped equalize the price of imported goods. The high volume and quick turnover essential to the new department stores model offered sellers a way to profit from mass produced, ready-made products.
[242] *Report of the Tariff Commission appointed under Act of Congress approved May 15, 1882*, 4.

ad valorem duty, a specific duty or a compound tax that combined many different types of taxes.

While the Commission investigated national economic concerns such as the protection of U.S. industry, foreign competition and tariff revenue, tourists and customs officials disagreed over matters of undervaluation and the false classification of imported goods.[243] Special agent in Europe to the Tariff Commission Geo. C. Tichenor reported in January of 1882 that books, periodicals, and stereotype and electrotype plates from Great Britain came into the United States invoiced below their actual market value.[244] Customs officials provided with the required receipts and invoices could not guarantee the accurate valuation of goods upon which duties were assessed even with documentation. For example, in the first of two volumes published in 1882 of the findings of the Tariff Commission a number of the Commissioners and customs officials debated the type of tax on gloves and the appropriate amount of transportation, shipment and transshipment charges and commissions.[245] The adding of charges at the point of entry into the United States by customs officials increased the total value of imported merchandise and, subsequently, the amount of duty paid on goods. According to a witness in the proceedings, E. C. Leseur, an examiner in the kid gloves division of the New York custom-house, this also caused "a great deal of

[243] *Index to the Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the First Session of the Forty-Eighth Congress, 1883-1884*, 1.
[244] *Index to the Executive Documents of the House of Representative for the first Session of the Forty-Eighth Congress*, 3.
[245] *Report of the Tariff Commission appointed under Act of Congress approved May 15, 1882*, 459-62.

trouble" for the staff.[246] Leseur estimated that nearly 600,000 dozen gloves (on average in 1881 and 1882) imported to the United States through the New York port per year valued at $3,500,000 represented a duty revenue of nearly $1,750,000.[247] In addition to disagreements surrounding accurate invoices and the true valuation of goods, boxes and invoices marked "Free on Board" also offered an opportunity to avoid paying duties. According to Leseur, "Parties may put F.O.B. on their invoice when the facts do not warrant it, and that is another point we cannot always determine."[248] The Honorable W. R. Morrison, Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means in the House of Representatives, advised Congress in a letter five years later that further clarification of goods, such as "drugs" and "leaves" in paragraph 636 of the Free List required clarification. Due to the vagueness of the Free List, hat manufactures imported palm leaves as raw materials free of charge under the term "leaves" found within the same paragraph as "drugs."[249] The constant need to continuously revise and clarify the classification of imported products and the associated tariffs reflected the innovative tactics created to circumvent the payment of duties. The intentional undervaluations and the false classifications of imports offered American tourists

[246] *Report of the Tariff Commission appointed under Act of Congress approved May 15, 1882*, 461.
[247] *Report of the Tariff Commission appointed under Act of Congress approved May 15, 1882*, 464.
[248] "The Free List".included two hundred and fifty-five items exempt from duties ranging from acids to dried blood, yeast cakes and zaffer. *A digest of the decisions of the Treasury Department relating to the Tariff, Navigation & C., from 1872 to 1882 inclusive, with the Tariff on Imports into the United States and the Free List, Indexed and the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), 367-376 and *Report of the Tariff Commission appointed under Act of Congress approved May 15, 1882*, 461.
[249] *Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the Collection of Duties*. (Treasury Department, 1886), 7.

the opportunity to capitalize on the development of new retail institutions and tariff regulations of the late-nineteenth century.

Small Purchases

Prior to his Presidency of the Board of General Appraisers, Judge Geo. C. Tichenor, reported his concerns about the "small purchases" of personal and household items by wealthy Americans abroad. In the executive documents of the House of Representatives from the first session of the forty-eighth congress published in 1884, Tichenor observes:

> Within the past ten days I have visited the leather gloves department of the Bon Marché and Louvre quite frequently, and upon each occasion, have found a number of Americans there, mainly gentlemen, engaged in purchasing kid gloves – largely ladies' – the quantities varying from one dozen to twelve dozen pairs, of lengths from four to twelve buttons mainly, and of the better qualities. In many cases these are intended for sale in the United States; in instances they are bought at the request of different friends, are to "fill orders," or are designed for presents; but in all cases it is the intention to get them into the United States without payment of duty. On yesterday, at the Bon Marché, I encountered a party of five American gentlemen, all except one young man, whose purchase of kid gloves, I learned aggregated 186 pairs, all ladies gloves except eighteen pairs. I was told that two of these three gentlemen were merchants in the state of Ohio, and that the party discussed quite freely the subject of distribution of the gloves in their baggage, & c., so as to avoid payment of duties. They had also purchased several lace handkerchiefs, a number of fine furs, & c., An experienced and observing interpreter and popular courier, whose service I have frequently availed myself of, reported to me to-day that within the past week he has waited upon parties of "American tourists" in Paris whose purchases of kid gloves alone have aggregated 215 pairs, mostly ladies gloves.[250]

In direct violation of U.S. revenue laws, Tichenor submitted his findings to the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, Chas. J. Folger, alongside over two hundred and

[250] Geo C. Tichenor, In a letter to the Honorable Chas. J. Folger in the *Index to the Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the First Session of the Forth-Eighth Congress, 1883-1884*, 127.

fifty other "irregular practices" of foreign merchandise importation. These reports, according to Folger provided conclusive evidence of "extensive" undervaluation of imported goods and that this "evil has been steadily growing."[251] Folger subsequently called for revisions to the "An act to amend the customs revenue laws and to repeal moieties" law approved June 22, 1874.[252] Despite these efforts, Republican Party leader and editor of the *Philadelphia Press*, Charles E. Smith, again brought to the attention of the Committee on Ways and Means in early 1897 the illegal smuggling of gloves by tourists into the United States. Smith estimated that tourists imported anywhere between 300,000 and 400,000 dozen gloves in a given year:

> you go to the Bon Marché or the Louvre, Paris and you will see any quantity of fine goods, averaging at least $8 a dozen, bought over there and brought to this country. You come over on the ship and you find them brining all the way from 5 to 2 dozen pairs of gloves that come through there without paying duty.[253]

The specific tax on gloves adopted by the late nineteenth century that replaced the ad valorem tax failed to prevent the smuggling of easily concealed items, such as gloves, into the United States. In addition to undervaluation and the false classification, "small purchases" created a new space of economic opportunity for American tourists to capitalize on the development of new retail institutions and tariff regulations of the late-nineteenth century.

---

[251] *Index to the Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the First Session of the Forty-Eighth Congress*, 1883-'84, 2.

[252] After spending time in Paris off and on throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, Englishman F. Adolphus spoke to the "tendency" of the period "towards comprehensive establishments" in his 1895 publication, *Some Memories of Paris*, observing "I believe I am correct in saying that there is not now one single glove-shop left in Paris…" F. Adolphus , *Some Memories of Paris* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1895), 7.

[253] *Tariff Hearings before the Committee on Ways and Means*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), 1948.

According to Tichenor's report, wealthy Americans traveling abroad for amusement and pleasure, merchants, and others intended to cover the cost of their trips by selling the personal and household goods purchased upon return to the United States. The most common purchases included watches, jewelry, set and unset precious stones, laces and kid gloves; all were small items easily concealed within suitcases and personal travel bags. As Tichenor noted, the tourists participating in these transgressions were the same individuals who could not only afford to pay the tariff back home but also those who had excess cash or credit to purchase the items aboard. According to historian Patricia O'Brien, kleptomania also became an issue specifically with those who could afford to purchase the very items they stole. This bourgeois stereotype helped lawyers and medical professionals conclude that the women accused (and often acquitted) of kleptomania in late-nineteenth century France suffered from mental disabilities associated with low intelligence and weak spirits rather than a lack of economic means to provide for families.[254] In the few cases of tariff fraud publicized in the newspapers, individuals, such as Captain Stewart who failed to pay duty on a baboon imported from Africa in 1892, claimed ignorance or accidental oversight.[255]

Upper class American tourists who could afford made-to-order garments also utilized the small, exclusive dressmakers and the made-to-order departments

[254] Historian Elaine Abelson also finds that the scientific analysis shaped social definitions of the late-nineteenth century towards a better understanding of middle-class shoplifting in the United States. Abelson, 67.
[255] "Sold for Ninety-Five Dollars.: "M'Giney" the Baboon Auctioned off by Uncle Sam." *New York Times* Jul., 17, 1892, 11.

of the large department stores to avoid duties on clothing. Historian Michael Miller found that the value of good purchased in 1902 at the Bon Marché and subsequently shipped to North America totaled nearly $140,000.[256] Collaboration among friends facilitated the transfer of fashions purchased in Europe and transferred back to the United States while circumventing the payment of duties. According to Tichenor's informants in Paris:

> it has become a common custom for American ladies visiting Europe, especially Paris, to leave their measures with modistes or mantua-makers here for dresses and other outside garments, which they can thereby thereafter order made up and sent to them in the United States by other ladies visiting Europe as part of their wardrobe in "actual use. Also that the instances are numerous where ladies send their measures over by friends, by which garments are cut and wholly or partially made up and taken to the United States as articles of wardrobe in use of such friends.[257]

In both cases described by Tichenor the men and women maintain connections to others through relationships; in the case of men purchasing large quantities of personal goods, the gloves, handkerchiefs and furs are for either female friends, family or for business relationships and in the case of the women, friends help deliver measurements and transport garments to and from the United States. The element of collaboration required for tariff fraud was absent in cases of kleptomania which doctors and authorities linked to the physiological origins of women found in their heredity and sexuality.[258]

---

[256] Historian Michael Miller also notes that given the semi-permanent residence of many Americans in Paris, the total value of purchases by those from North America and brought back to the States at some point would increase significantly. Miller, *The Bon Marché*, 61-3.
[257] *Index to the Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the First Session of the Forth-Eighth Congress, 1883-1884*, 127.
[258] O'Brien, 68.

American department store owners and manufacturers across the country also engaged in the tariff debates at the end of the nineteenth century requesting reasonable rates that would protect U.S. businesses yet also turn a profit. Department stores and domestic glove manufacturers submitted statements to the Committee on Ways and Means in early 1897 requesting that the ad valorem duty be replaced with equivalent specific duty due to the ease of collection, development of American manufacturing industry, and to the encouragement of honest importers against dishonest competition. Based in part on the success of the specific rate previously applied to gloves, the department stores recommended specific duties for women's and children's clothing of various materials, clothes linings, stockings, oilcloth, laces and other trimmings.[259] Marshall Field & Co., Passavant & Co., Mills & Gibb, Louis also advocated to the Committee on Ways and Means in January of 1897 for increased tariff rates on gloves and a limitation on the number of pairs of gloves tourists could bring into the United States from abroad. According to a statement submitted by Lee Lewis of the John C. Lewis Company, not only did tourists bring gloves back to the United States for friends, those friends would attempt to exchange them in domestic department stores for proper sizes and alternate styles. In addition, Lewis observed "That these gloves are not inspected properly by the custom-house officials is shown by the fact that men often bring small sizes for ladies."[260] A statement from Roth & Co., submitted in October of 1896 found that nearly twenty percent of the gloves

[259] *Tariff Hearings before the Committee on Ways and Means*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), 1946-7.
[260] *Tariff Hearings before the Committee on Ways and Means*, 2075.

moved through their clearing department bore the stamp of the Louvre, the Bon Marché and Printemps.[261] While Judge Tichenor claimed that his informers failed to report specific names, volume of goods, steamships or customer residences of those participating in these practices because "the abuse appears to have become general," department store owners agreed that abuse was extensive and needed regulation.[262] The lack of data available regarding the value and quantity of products smuggled into the United States is similar to French social and cultural historian Patricia O'Brien's findings regarding the number of kleptomaniacs and incidents of shoplifting.[263]

Conclusion

The new department store model that emerged in the mid-nineteenth century offered a number of opportunities for men and women to create tactical practices of public consumption. Two of these practices, kleptomania and tariff fraud, challenged the fixed pricing model adopted by department stores designed to standardize profit margins and eliminate bartering. While medical and legal authorities often associated kleptomania with the female physiology, both men and women engaged in tariff fraud. Prevalent among the upper classes who could afford both the products stolen and the import duties, the increasing number of cases of kleptomania and tariff fraud raised moral and ethical questions. Thus, the traditionally female space of the French department store provided an environment for economic transgressions for both male and female tourists.

---

[261] *Tariff Hearings before the Committee on Ways and Means*, 2078.
[262] *Index to the Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the First Session of the Forth-Eighth Congress, 1883-1884*, 127.
[263] O'Brien, 66.

The department store offered American tourists the opportunity to purchase personal wares abroad at lower prices than could be found in the United States. American tourists and institutions, such as the Bon Marché, benefited from an ability (and need) to quickly sell high volumes of product at low profit margins. High ad valorem duties imposed by the United States Treasury department on imported foreign goods limited the capability of domestic department stores to sell these foreign goods at competitive prices. As a result, American tourists adopted practices of undervaluation, false classification, and small purchases to avoid high tariffs on items purchased abroad and brought back to the United States. Investigations into these transgressions by the Treasury department, government representatives, and associated Congressional Committees confirmed these tactical practices that resulted in lost tariff revenue and responded with legislative action. Unlike kleptomania, discourse regarding tariff fraud rarely, if ever, associated these transgressions with the biological attributes or physiology of specific genders. In addition, the desire for individuals to hide kleptomaniac impulses differs from the collaborative nature of tariff fraud that often depended upon relationships for execution. Discussions among men regarding the distribution of, for example gloves, into multiple suitcases, or the transfer of measurements from friends to dress-makers in Paris, required conversation and planning among the upper classes. In addition, attempts to return and exchange personal wares purchased abroad in domestic department stores, moved these transgressions into spaces of public consumption. The public

nature of tariff fraud normalized these behaviors among the upper classes and subsequently mitigated negative connotations associated with these practices.

Chapter 4

CONCLUSION

The study of consumption is a dynamic and ever-changing field through which we can better understand ourselves, others, and interpretations of the past. As this research has shown, our current picture of the late-nineteenth century department store remains incomplete and cannot be studied from a singular perspective of, for example, economic utility or gender. These approaches undoubtedly helped bring about new retailing methods employed by Parisian department stores and revealed instances of public female agency in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. However, they also overlook non-material productions of consumption and reinforce a dichotomy of producing males and consuming females. Men, as consumers, are essentially written out of the department store experience. According to historian Mark Swiencicki,

> This conceptualization of consumption as shopping, buying things, and then using them at home is problematic since it largely limits our understanding of the consumption process to knowledge about how retail goods were acquired and used in the home – thus overlooking most non-domestic consumption nearly all spending of consumer services."[264]

The experiential and non-material nature of cultural and recreational tourism provides a medium to reconsider the shopping and department store experience. Personal narratives, diaries, marketing publications, travel guides, and government documents provide a lens through which we are able to extrapolate and consider the cultural and masculine experience of department stores, such as

[264] Swiencicki, 775-6.

the Bon Marché, frequented by British and American tourists visiting Paris between 1870 and 1900.

The Bon Marché department store, as an economic institution, needed large numbers of customers to purchase a high volume of material goods at low mark-ups to realize high profits. Souvenir booklets produced by the Bon Marché and distributed to British and American tourist sold shopping and consumption as a cultural experience similar to that found in museums, churches, palaces and other traditional tourist attractions. The Bon Marché brought new customers into the space by shifting attention away from the utility of the very goods it needed to sell to increase revenue. Capitalizing on increased tourism to France from Britain and the United States in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, the Bon Marché inserted itself into the travel leisure experience as an authority on the educational, artistic, historic, and religious sites in Paris. The organization, content, and imagery found in the Bon Marché Souvenirs allowed tourists to use these brochures similar to how they used popular travel guides. The Bon Marché Souvenirs included maps, practical travel information, and attraction recommendations presented within a context of institutional achievements, bourgeois Christian values, and philanthropy. The inclusion of information about tourist attractions both men and women frequented expanded the audience that would find the Bon Marché Souvenirs useful during a visit to Paris. Visual images within the Souvenirs of the interior and exterior spaces and structure of the Bon Marché refocused attention on the experiences, rather than material products, available for consumption in the department store.

British and American male and female tourists exerted consumer influence and power through the act of material and cultural consumption inside and outside the Bon Marché. Personal narratives and diaries confirm that men experienced the department store through menswear departments, billiard rooms, smoking rooms, and reading rooms. These spaces provided men an opportunity to engage in the department store consumption experience while safely renegotiating traditional conceptions of masculinity. Existing in harmony with the shopping spaces of the sales floor designed to appeal to the emotions of the female consumer, the Bon Marché created a space that, through use, produced new forms of masculine consumption. Narratives and diaries describe a male shopper conscious of price and value who maintained an active role in the monitoring and regulating of female spending. Thus, while the department store provided a new space for women to exert agency in the purchasing process of material goods the role of men must not inadvertently be eliminated from the consumption experience. The masculine and feminine spaces inside the Bon Marché created gendered tensions that played out in journals in male dominated industries, street-facing display windows, and musical concerts sponsored by the Bon Marché. The manner in which men used the department store, in part, aided in the production of these new spaces of consumption. Moving forward, the fundamental orientations of masculinity of the department store experience must be considered a part of the shopping and consumption picture.

Department stores abroad, such as the Bon Marché benefited from an ability (and need) to quickly sell high volumes of product at low profit margins to

male and female American tourists. Tourists subsequently adopted practices of undervaluation, false classification, and small purchases to avoid high tariffs on items purchased abroad and brought back to the United States. Domestic department stores expressed concerns about tourists returning to the U.S. with large quantities of goods from abroad that hindered their ability to compete in these markets. In addition, the U.S. Treasury Department struggled to collect ad valorem duties that could have helped protect U.S. industry. Investigations in the late-nineteenth century into current tariff laws and instances of tariff fraud by the Treasury department, government representatives, and associated Congressional Committees confirmed these tactical practices had become common among tourists. Government discourse regarding tariff fraud rarely, if ever, associated the practice of undervaluation, false classification, and small purchases with the biological attributes or physiology of specific genders. The purchase of ladies and kids gloves abroad in large quantities by both men and women from department stores, such as the Bon Marché, created new tactics of consumption. The collaboration involved in bringing these and other goods back into the United States distinguished this practice from the more secretive action found in cases of kleptomania. Rather than seeking medical or gendered explanations for the men and women engaged in these transgressions, legislative statues and laws focused on regulation, clarification, enforcement and, albeit inconsistently, the protection of personal privacy. The consumption practices of tourists abroad created new ways to use public spaces in U.S. department stores when tourists attempted to return and exchange personal wares purchased from the Bon Marché. The

normalization of these behaviors among the upper classes mitigated negative connotations associated with undervaluation, false classification, and small purchases.

Expanding our understanding of the late-nineteenth century consumption experience in the twenty-first century will help paint a more comprehensive picture of these processes. Historians might find a way to bring together the material and non-material forms of consumption to overcome limitations of purely utilitarian economic paradigms. We must also move beyond gendered constructions of consumption that isolate the experiences of men and women towards a better understanding of how spaces, such as the department store, were shared and negotiated. In addition, considering how the presence of men in the consumption process influenced the actions of women can lead to new understandings of behavior and choice. Along a similar vein, studying if and how women influenced the consumption of time, activities, resources and other non-material goods men actively consumed repositions their role as active, rather than passive, agents in the consumption process. These inquiries may contribute to a new paradigm in which both men and women actively functioned as both producers and consumers rethinking normative discourses of identity.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources:

A Digest of the Decisions of the Treasury Department Relating to the Tariff, Navigation & C., from 1872 to 1882 inclusive, with the Tariff on Imports into the United States and the Free List, Indexed and the Hawaiian Reciprocity Treaty. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883.

Adolphus, F. *Some Memories of Paris*. Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1895.

Baedeker , Karl. *Paris and Environs with Routes from London to Paris and from Paris to the Rhine and Switzerland*. London: Dulaau and Co., 1884.

Baedeker, Karl. *Paris and Environs with Routes from London to Paris.* Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1888.

Baedeker, Karl. *Paris and Environs with Routes from London to Paris*. Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1896.

Baedeker, Karl. *Paris and Environs with Routes from London to Paris.* Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1900.

Dickens, Charles. *Dickens's Dictionary of Paris, 1882; An Unconventional Handbook.* London: Macmillan & Co., 1882.

Drewett, Sieverts, ed. *Bemrose's Guide to Paris, and the Exhibition*. London: Bemrose & Sons, Inc., 1889.

Fetridge , W. Pembroke. *The American Traveller's Guide*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1870.

Galignani's Illustrated Paris Guide for 1874. Paris: Galignani, 1874.

Galignani's Illustrated Paris Guide for 1882. Paris: Galignani, 1882.

Galignani's Illustrated Paris Guide for 1885. Paris: Galignani, 1885.

Gamewell, Mary Louise Ninde. *We two alone in Europe*. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg & Company, 1886.

Gide, Charles. *Principles of Economy*. Translated by Edward Percy Jacobsen; with an introduction and notes by James Bonar. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1892.

Greening, John Edward Owen. *The Co-operative Traveler Abroad*. London: Arthur Standing, 1888.

Guide through Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, France, Belgium, Holland, and England. J. Reichmann & Cantor: Berlin, 1896.

Hare, Augustus J C. *Paris*. London: G. Allen, 1887.

Henry, Stuart Oliver. *Paris Days and Evenings.* London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896.

Heyl, Lewis. *United States Duties on Imports, 1877*. Washington: W. H. & O. H. Morrison, 1877.

Heyl, Lewis. *United States Duties on Imports*. Washington: W.H. & O.H. Morrison, 1874.

Hooper, Lucy H. "The Traveling American." *Appletons' Journal*. 12 (Oct. 3, 1874): 423-6.

Index to the Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the First Session of the Forty-Eighth Congress, 1883-1884. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884.

Lonergan, Walter F. *Paris by Day and Night*. London: Ward & Downey, 1889.

Morgan, Samuel T. *U.S. Import Duties, under Existing Laws and Decisions, and Digest of the Tariff Laws*. Baltimore: Cushings & Bailey, 1883.

Moulton, Louise Chandler. *Random Rambles*. Cambridge: University Press, 1881.

Paris as it is: an illustrated Souvenir of the French Metropolis. Paris: Brentano's, 1892.

Pepoon, Marshall. *Diary of European Sojourn, August 18 – December 29, 1874*. Winterthur,DE: The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemra, 1874.

"Pictures Seized for Duty." *New York Times* Nov. 21, 1886, 2.

Postlethwaite, John R. "Travelers and the Customs." *New York Times,* April 14, 1900, 6.

Report of the Tariff Commission appointed under Act of Congress approved May 15, 1882. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1882.

Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the Collection of Duties. Treasury Department, 1886.

"Sold for Ninety-Five Dollars.: "M'Giney" the Baboon Auctioned off by Uncle Sam." *New York Times* Jul., 17, 1892, 11.

Souvenir of the Bon Marché. 1892.

Souvenir of the Bon Marché, Paris. Imprimerie Lahure, 1896.

Tariff Hearings before the Committee on Ways and Means. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897.

"The Largest Store in the World." *The Engineer* 18 (August 3, 1889): 35.

"The Shops at Christmas Time." *The Warehousemen and Drapers' Trade Journal* 4 (December 12, 1874): 644.

Unnamed male author, *Diary*, Archival Material, 1889.

Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class with an introduction by Robert Lekachman*. New York: Penguin Books, 1899.

Wakeman, W. F. "Dingley Tariff and Tourists" *New York Times*, April 13, 1900, 6.

Young, Russell. *Around the World with General Grant*. New York: Subscription Book Department, 1879.

Zola, Émile. *The Ladies' Paradise*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Secondary Sources:

Abelson, Elaine S. *When Ladies Go A-Thieving.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Bennett, Tony. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory and Politics*. London: Routledge, 1995.

Benson, Susan Porter. *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890 – 1940.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986.

Bowlby, Rachel. *Just Looking*. New York: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1985.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Translated by Richard Nice. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984.

Bourdieu, Pierre. "The Berber House." *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture* Edited by Seta Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga, Malden: Blackwell Publishing, Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2003.

Breward, Christopher. *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinity, Fashion and City Life 1860-1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1973.

Burke, Peter. *What is Cultural History?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004.

Clark, T.J. *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985.

De Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Translated by Steven F. Rendall. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

D'Souza, Aruna and Tom McDonough, eds. *The Invisible Flâneuse?: Gender, Public Space, and Visual Culture in nineteenth-century Paris.* New York: Manchester University Press, 2006.

Dulles, Foster Rhea. *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1964.

Ferguson, Priscilla Parkhurst. *Paris as Revolution: Writing the Nineteenth-Century City*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Ferry, John William. *A History of the Department Store.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1960.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison.* Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage, 1979.

Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction*. Translated by Robert Jurley. New York: Vintage, 1979.

Fuchs, Rachel G. *Gender and Poverty in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Harris, Neil. "Museums, Merchandising, and Popular Taste: The Struggle for Influence" in *Material Culture and the Study of American Life*. Edited by Ian M. G. Quimby, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1978.

Hooper-Greenhill, Eilean. *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* London: Routledge, 1992.

Hower, Ralph M. *History of Macy's of New York 1858-1919*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943.

Hunt, Lynn, ed. The New Cultural History. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

Leach, William R. "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and department Stores, 1890 – 1925." *The Journal of American History* 71, 2 (Sept., 1984): 319-42.

Lefebvre, Henri. "Space: Social Product and Use Value." *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*, ed. Neil Brenner, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

Levenstein, Harvey. *Seductive Journey: American Tourists in France from Jefferson to the Jazz Age*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Miller, Daniel. *The Dialectics of Shopping* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Miller, Michael B. *The Bon Marché Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.

Myers , Fred. "The Complicity of Cultural Production: The Contingencies of Performance in Globalizing Museum Practices" *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations* eds. Ivan Karp, Corinne A. Kratz, Lynn Szwaja and Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

Nixon, Sean. *Hard Looks: Masculinities, Spectatorship and Contemporary Consumption*. London: UCL Press Limited, 1996.

Nord, Phillip. *Paris Shopkeepers and the Politics of Resentment*. Princeton University Press: New Jersey, 1986.

Nye, Robert A. *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

O'Brien, Patricia. "The Kleptomania Diagnosis: Bourgeois Women and Theft in Late Nineteenth-Century France." *Journal of Social History* 17, 1 (Autumn, 1983): 65-77.

Pasdermadjian, Hrant. *The Department Store,its Origins, Evolution, and Economics*. New York: Arno Press, 1954.

Rappaport, Erika D. *Shopping for Pleasure*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Schwartz, Vanessa R. *Spectacular Realities*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Scott, Joan Wallach. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Sewell, William H., Jr., "The Concepts of Culture." in *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, eds. Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Schor, Juliet B., "In Defense of Consumer Critique: Revisiting the Consumption Debates of the Twentieth Century." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 611, The Politics of Consumption/The Consumption of Politics (May, 2007): 16-30.

Shannon, Brent. "Refashioning Men: Fashion, Masculinity, and the Cultivation of the Male Consumer in Britain, 1860-1914." *Victorian Studies* 46 (Summer, 2004): 597-630.

Shapiro, Ann-Louise. *Breaking the Codes: Female Criminality in Fin-de-Siècle Paris*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Sillitoe, Alan. *Leading the Blind: A Century of Guidebook Travel 1815-1914*. London: Macmillan, 1995.

Stansell, Christine. *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860*. New York: Knopf, 1986.

Surkis, Judith. *Sexing the Citizen: Morality and Masculinity in France, 1870 – 1920*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006.

Swiencicki, Mark A. "Consuming Brotherhood: Men's Culture, Style and Recreation as Consumer Culture, 1880-1930." *Journal of Social History* 31 (Summer, 1998): 773-808.

Tiersten, Lisa. *Marianne in the Market.* University of California Press: Berkeley, 2001.

Tester, Keith, ed. *The Flâneur*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Thompson, Victoria. The Virtuous Marketplace. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

Tosh, John. *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the middle-class home in Victorian England.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Trentmann, Frank. "Beyond Consumerism: New Historical Perspectives on Consumption." *Journal of Contemporary History* 39 (Jul., 2004): 373-401.

Twyman, Robert W. *History of Marshall Field & Co., 1852-1906*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954.

Williams, Rosalind H. *Dream World Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

Wolff, Janet. "The Invisible *Flâneuse*. Women and the Literature of Modernity." *Theory, Culture & Society* 2 (1985): 37-46.

Wright, Gordon. *France in Modern Times*. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1960