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Sexual Harassment in the "World's Largest Store": Managing Macy's Department Store at the Start of the 20th Century

Shopgirl Betty Lou Spence was modelling a nightgown for a customer when she first noticed her handsome and wealthy new employer and heir to the "world's largest" store in New York City, Cyrus Waltham Jr, passing through her department. Betty was just one among his many working-class female employees, and Cyrus was initially oblivious to her beauty and charm. But, upon introduction, Cyrus was quick to pursue her. Despite belonging to different social classes and company rank, Betty and Cyrus bonded on dates to Coney Island; their relationship quickly blossomed into a marriage proposal. Betty and Cyrus's unlikely romance provided the plotline of the 1927 box office hit, *It.*

Betty Lou Spence admires Cyrus Waltham Jr from across her counter in It, 1927

The success of *It* marked the rise of the department store. Housed in ornate buildings selling a vast selection of desirable goods, stores attracted large clienteles of mostly elite women who shaped new habits of consumption in the early 20th century.[1] The women who travelled downtown to department stores helped others to feel safe venturing out on their own to shop. On arrival, the women freely perused the pretty dresses and gowns, lace underwear and ribbons, shoes, silks, leather goods, hats, jewellery, furniture, appliances, carpets, rugs, table linens and anything else for sale. Reflecting their popularity among women patrons, neighbourhoods with rows of fashionable stores, like Broadway in New York City, became known as the Ladies' Mile.[2]

Department stores not only offered virtually anything a customer might possibly want in one place; their bounteous interiors made a trip to the department store an enjoyable day out for the whole family, with such lavish facilities as a post office, barber shop, and theatre.[3] Whether in New York City, Paris or London, the service and spectacle that these new stores offered helped coin the term "palaces of consumption".[4]

Shopgirls like Betty Lou Spence kept these new and ambitious enterprises running. In 1875, 120 salespeople worked at Macy's New York flagship store, of whom eighty percent were women. Across the United States, the number of women working as salesclerks ballooned from 8,000 in 1880 to over 58,000 in 1890.[5] By 1900, saleswomen and store clerks constituted the second-most common occupations for native-born, single working women.[6] In 1913, the National Civic Federation, a policy reform organisation of business and trade union leaders as well as reformers calculated that nineteen firms nationwide employed 33,000 workers, of whom two-thirds were women.[7]

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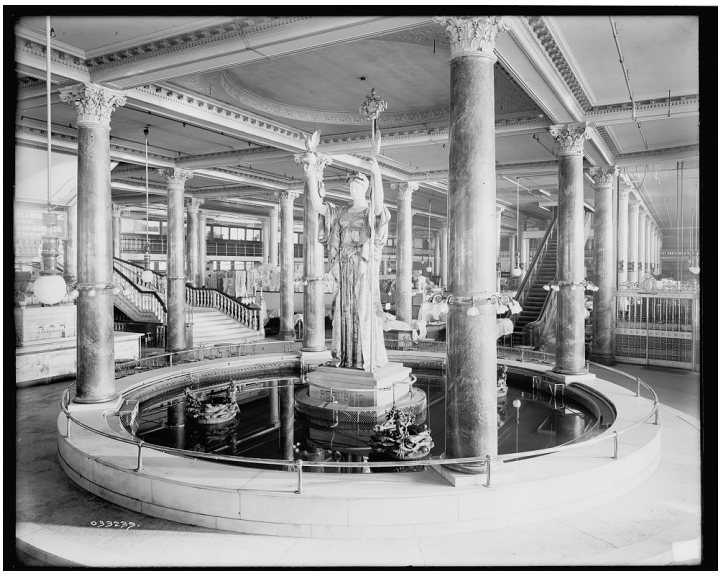
The film *It* dramatised the new romantic opportunities that arose from department stores' mixed-sex workforce, who also interacted daily with both male and female customers. But, set amid the growing anxiety over the conditions of women's labour and the tricking of women into prostitution in the early 20th century, the film also depicted interactions that many saw not as occasions for romance but as opportunities for exploitation. The low wages and arduous working conditions, as well as improper behaviour of male colleagues and supervisors, prompted writers and reformers in this period to frame department stores not as palaces of consumption but as disreputable places of employment. In the early 20th century, the question of whether and in what ways department store owners exploited women employees and caused them to "go bad" cast a shadow over grand stores like Macy's in New York City.

Becoming the world's largest store

In 1858, Rowland Hussey Macy opened a small dry goods store on the corner of 14th Street, east of Sixth Avenue in Manhattan, New York City. A savvy businessman, Macy took his first-day sales of $11.06 and invested in new lines of merchandise. As his business grew, Macy divided his store into individual departments which sold a particular line of merchandise and gradually expanded into neighbouring buildings. By the time Macy died of inflammatory kidney disease in 1877, the store had over fifty departments and fronted the entire block between 13th and 14th Streets. Over the course of two decades, Macy had set in motion the transformation of his modest dry goods store into a sumptuous retail emporium.[8]

With the addition of more and more departments, Macy's flagship store quickly outgrew its original setting on 14th Street. In 1895, Bavarian-born brothers Isidor and Nathan Straus bought the shop from the Macy family. Having cut their teeth selling china and glassware in the crockery department of Macy's basement, the Straus brothers planned to take this Macy's store and turn it into the largest in the world.

Unfortunately for Isidor and Nathan, others shared their ambition. Henry Siegel was a Chicago businessman where he was co-owner of the store Siegel-Cooper & Co.; he too set his sights on opening a store in New York City whose size and grandeur would surpass anyone's imagination. Manhattan was now the backdrop for the ensuing contest to become the world's largest department store.[9]



Siegel-Cooper & Co., New York; Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division

In 1896, Siegel took the lead when he opened the New York branch of Siegel-Cooper & Co. at the heart of Ladies Mile on 18th Street and Sixth Avenue. Spanning 18 acres of retail space and furnished with dark woods, marble and velvets, shoppers nicknamed Siegel-Cooper's the "Big Store". On the first floor was a marble fountain encasing a large replica of David Chester French's statue *The Republic*, which became a popular meeting spot for shoppers in the city; it gave rise to the store's slogan, "meet me at the fountain". The store not only offered customers a wide variety of dry goods, but also a host of other amenities including a grocery department, nursery, and a 350-cover restaurant.[10] To help customers navigate the multi-floor offerings, Siegel installed some of the earliest escalators in the country.[11]

But Siegel could not rest on his laurels. In 1896, Isidor and Nathan began secretly buying property uptown on Broadway between 34th and 35th Streets, hoping to dominate the entire block. When Siegel learned of the Straus brothers' plan, he outbid them for the corner lot on 34th and Broadway. Undeterred, Isidor and Nathan hired DeLemos & Cordes – the same architects that built Siegel-Cooper's downtown store – and instructed them just to build up and around it.

Isidor and Nathan's plan worked. In 1902, the new Macy's flagship store opened on Herald Square at the nexus of 34th and Broadway, which clinched the title of the world's largest store. Nine storeys tall and spanning over one million square feet in selling space, the new flagship store boasted "one hundred

Macy's, New York, c.1908; Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division

stores in one" and guaranteed customers the "most dependable wearing apparel for every member of the family" as well as "a five million dollar stock of merchandise from which you can make a selection to supply almost your every want".[12] This included: fine food products from the grocery department; furniture, carpets, rugs and curtains; footwear and sporting goods; drugs and toilet articles; silks, satins, laces, embroideries, insertions; toys and games; silverware, jewellery, sewing machines, bicycles, stoves and ranges; and dinnerware, including the famous Straus cut-glassware. Four factories the size of Ford's Highland Park plant in Michigan could fit inside the Herald Square store. Unlike factories built on cheap land on city outskirts, department stores like Macy's at Herald Square towered above the city's central business district.[13]

R. H. MACY & CO.

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R. H. MACY & CO., BROADWAY AT 6th AVENUE 34th STREET TO 35th STREET NEW YORK

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Macy's advertising poster, 1911

Department stores required large workforces to operate efficiently. As such, stores not only exceeded manufacturing plants in physical size, but matched and sometimes surpassed them in number of employees. By the turn of the century, Macy's employed 3,000 workers, on a par with such large manufactures as Merrimack Mills in Lowell, Massachusetts, the Waltham Watch Company, Carnegie Steel's J. Edgar Thompson plant, Amoskeag Mills, General Electric's Lynn plant and Pacific Mills in Lawrence.[14] But, unlike factories that engaged mostly male workers, department stores hired remarkably large numbers of women employees for the time. Women represented approximately 90 percent of Macy's workforce in the late 19th century.[15]

Selling lavish items to an affluent clientele, the women who comprised the bulk of Macy's clerk and sales staff considered department store work more respectable than factory labour, despite the poor conditions.[16] Sellers and clerks were usually single, aged between sixteen and twenty and working class, and earned between $2.50 and $11.00 a week; most earned less than $8.00.[17] One Macy's employee, Miss Tilson, received only $10 a week after thirty years of service.[18]

Cash girls at Macy's earned the lowest wage of all, at $1.50 a week, and the store had no set rules against employing girls under fourteen years of age.[19] Management did not pay staff overtime or sick leave.[20] Despite the low pay, workers still preferred working at Macy's compared to other stores – especially Siegel-Cooper's.[21] Paying women less than they paid men for the same or comparable work, owners capitalised on the cheap and steady supply of eager female workers.[22]

Charlie Chaplin and Paulette Goddard enjoy the toy department in Modern Times, 1936

No pity for salesgirls

While the women packed and sold, men dominated the senior roles within Macy's multiple tiers of management.[23] At the top, Isidor and Nathan Straus presided over the general superintendent, who commanded the assistant superintendents, who in turn directed the different floor managers. The floor managers coordinated the buyers, responsible for stocking the merchandise and for personnel in their departments; these buyers were typically hired for their business acumen, as opposed to their managerial skills.

A shopgirl helps a customer purchase stockings; Dry Goods Economist, 1913

The department personnel served different roles, from the higher-status floorwalkers to aisle managers and salesclerks. Wrappers prepared purchases, and cash girls processed payments. The Bureau of Investigation, located in the store basement, managed complaints with the help of tracers, who pursued information throughout the store and city on such logistical issues as missing items and unfulfilled orders.[24]

The hierarchical but decentralised structure of the store gave buyers and floorwalkers the freedom to run their individual department as they saw fit.[25] Department heads expected shopgirls to present their departments as homes, by casting the saleswoman in the role of hostess and the customer as guest.[26] In requiring saleswomen's constant visibility, floorwalkers often made women stand for the entirety of their shift, which typically stretched from ten to sixteen hours.[27] Employees needed a pass from the floorwalker whenever they left the shop floor to use the staff restroom.[28]

Department heads sometimes punished women who broke their rules.[29] The head of the Bureau of Investigation, Mr Schonfeld, took a particularly punitive approach to discipline: banning shopgirls from taking breaks together and shouting abuse at those who dared cross him.[30] If the salesgirls annoyed Schonfeld, he would delay ringing the dismissal bell.

The buyer in Macy's photo supply department took a more active approach to rule enforcement: removing all the chairs from his department if the shopgirls sat too much.[31] Salesclerks also received fines for such transgressions as lateness and poor dress. Some department heads worried that people used their departments as "engagement agencies", so stopped girls from chatting with male customers.[32] One fired a woman for arranging a date with a customer, despite her solid sales record.[33] Sometimes, verbal abuse turned physical. Store officials accused a young salesclerk of standing around and pushed her against two counters, injuring her back. Workers reported the case to management, but the supervisor received no retribution. The salesclerk, by contrast, lost a day's wages.[34]

The Macy's supervisors not only required saleswomen to conform to their arbitrary rules, but expected them to humour their persistent sexual advances.[35] Leon Dringer, a floorwalker in men's underwear and later carpets and rugs, regularly invited the girls to his nearby apartment on 34th between 7th and 8th Street, for which he earned a reputation as a "fast man" and "ladykiller". Margaret, based in the china packers' room, noted that Dringer "will not hesitate to invite a girl who is willing if she is fresh and pretty".

Another seller, Celia Shapiro, concurred that Dringer "demands a return and he always gets it". Celia's rejection of Dringer's proposal did not deter him.[36]

Male co-workers similarly did all in their power to make things uncomfortable for the women at work: engaging them in dirty jokes and casual touching. These activities put women in a difficult position. If the women joined in the teasing, their male colleagues said that they got the attention they deserved.[37] But employees also spread rumours about the women who did not partake in the banter.[38] Dorothea Schneider, a tracer at Macy's, advised new staff members to take no notice of the men's behaviour, reassuring them that they would get used to it.[39] After a short time on the job, the women employees learned which men to avoid.[40] But the vulgar talk on the shop floor gave all the women at Macy's a bad name around town.[41]

Salesclerks and sellers had little means to protect themselves from unwanted attention.[42] Management required staff to report anything untoward to their department heads; so employees' only contact with management was with their buyer and aisle manager. They rarely reported indecent talk, fearing it would "do more harm than good". Shopgirls believed that their opportunity for promotion relied more on fostering good relations with the men running their department than on an impressive sales record.[43]

The few salesclerks who managed to access senior management often had their complaints dismissed outright. In one case, a department superintendent laughed at a seventeen-year-old salesgirl who reported that her floorwalker had made improper suggestions to her out of his office.[44] One salesgirl succeeded in bypassing the department management and took her complaint about an abusive buyer directly to the Straus brothers. The brothers met her complaint with sympathy, but ultimately the company could not afford to lose such a valuable buyer.[45]

Celia Shapiro faced a similar fate when reporting floorwalker Dringer to upper management. The male supervisors knew Dringer as a good employee who ran his department efficiently; Dringer's popularity among senior management cast doubt on the complaints that Celia and the other women made against him.[46] Some wondered how such an effective manager could have bad relations with his supervisees.[47] Management told Dringer to mind what he said, but did nothing further to discipline him.[48] The superintendent did not fire Mr Schonfeld either, in light of the complaints brought against him; similarly, they advised him to moderate his behaviour.[49] Men like Dringer and Schonfeld typically kept their jobs at Macy's. If upper management deemed a floorwalker unsuitable to work around young women, they simply moved him to a different department.[50] The treatment of women workers only mattered if the customers complained.[51]

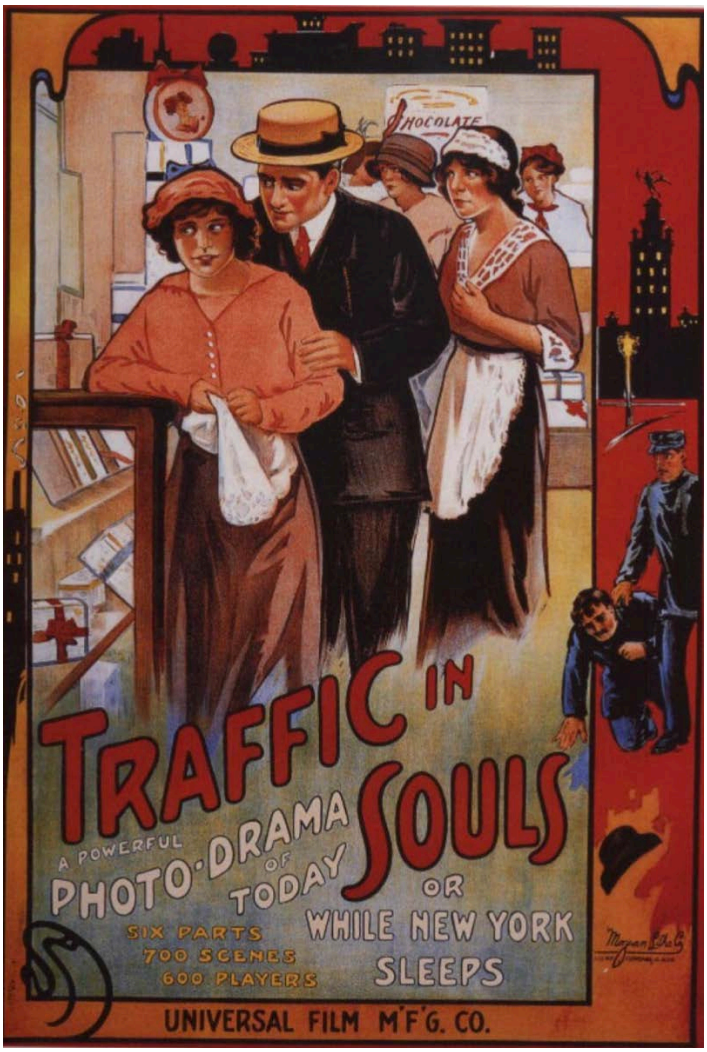
By the turn of the 20th century, prominent women reformers were taking note of exploitative working conditions in department stores. In 1898, sociologist Annie Marion MacLean spent two weeks working in Chicago department stores during the holiday rush. MacLean vividly recounted the abhorrent working conditions that led the male as well as female sellers to limp "wearily across the shop floor" in "positive physical agony" at the end of their shift.[52] Unsanitary employee facilities, combined with loud noises, cold and dust, compounded the long workday spent on their feet.[53]

The National Consumers' League (NCL), an organisation of women reformers founded in 1890 to petition for protective legislation and a national minimum wage for women workers, similarly began organising on behalf of department stores' women employees. Across the country, NCL members visited stores to determine whether the owners were adhering to decent labour standards; they published a "white list" of fair employers as a guide for middle-and upper-class women shoppers. NCL member Josephine Lowell visited Macy's on a number of occasions in 1895, and discovered that "out of 347 employees only 34 were at any time sitting". The group encouraged other women only to patronise stores that met the "standard of a fair house", which included providing women employees with seats.[54]

More worrying for owners, progressive reformers also began targeting department stores as morally suspect places: claiming that the conditions in stores like Macy's drove women employees into prostitution.[55] In her 1898 report, MacLean not only categorised the long hours and low wages as "woefully insufficient", but also observed that stores paid employees so little that it forced them to choose between "starvation and shame".[56] In 1911, after interviewing two hundred women workers, Louise De Koven Bowen of Chicago's Juvenile Protective Association published a report concurring that overwork and the lack of time for recreation made it difficult for women to withstand temptation, resulting in moral as well as physical breakdown. She identified department store wages as being "inadequate for a life of decency and respectability".[57]

According to reformers like MacLean and De Koven Bowen, the inadequate wages that stores paid their sales staff encouraged women to steal from the large sums of cash they handled daily or the items for sale. They also suspected that women's desperate financial situation drove them into the arms of the pimps and madams who loitered outside stores or wandered in, looking to tempt women into prostitution. Some store owners were allegedly indirectly supporting prostitution, in cases where shopgirls could not afford their own accommodation so needed a friend to pay their rent through sexual service.[58]

As accusations of exploitation at Macy's grew, the Straus family received another blow: in 1912, Isidor Straus and his wife Ida died in the sinking of RMS *Titanic*. Not long afterwards, Nathan Straus retired to devote his time to philanthropy. Three of Isidor and Ida's sons – Jesse, Herbert and Percy – inherited the store, and the rumours of poor working conditions that came with it. Percy Straus became the store vice-president, and soon had to contest one of the most damning reports about his store's wages and working conditions to date.[59]



Traffic in Souls poster, 1913

In 1913, Chicago's Vice Commission's chief investigator, George Kneeland, published a scathing 300-page report on the labour conditions at Macy's, Wanamaker's and Greenhut-Siegel-Cooper's in New York City. In researching *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City*, Kneeland had set out to discover whether "there was any relation of the cause and effect between low wages as paid in the Department stores and the morals of its female employees".[60] Funded by business mogul John D. Rockefeller, Kneeland's report charged "the employer" as at least partly responsible for "the supply" of women to prostitution in New York. According to Kneeland, "certain floorwalkers, salesmen, buyers, managers, foremen, and even proprietors are constantly placing temptations before the weak and yielding girls who come under their direction".[61] Kneeland blamed male management, who refused to pay a decent wage, rather than individual saleswomen, for women's entry into prostitution.[62]

The suggestion that department stores pushed women to "the social evil" went beyond vice commission reports and reformer publications. The threat of human traffickers luring unsuspecting shopgirls into prostitution also made it to the big screen. The 1913 silent film *Traffic in Souls* dramatised Kneeland's written account of the perils of shop work, as a young Swedish immigrant embarked on a three-day hunt for her kidnapped sister. Films like *Traffic in Souls* broadcast the potentially corrupting influences of department store labour to an even larger audience than did the contemporary, acerbic reformer reports.[63]

By 1913, the Straus family had seen off Siegel-Cooper's threat by buying from the Chicago businessman the corner lot on 34th Street and Broadway shortly before he went bankrupt. But the mounting accusations of immorality and exploitation posed a new threat from within the store. The frenzy that Kneeland's report and films such as *Traffic in Souls* gave rise to drove Percy Straus to take matters into his own hands: he launched an investigation to quash the "sensational accounts of immoral conditions in department stores".[64]

Percy, along with brothers Jesse and Herbert, hired New York City's leading private anti-vice association, the Committee of Fourteen, to clear up "a somewhat complicated and unfortunate situation, resulting

in part from the present great excitement with regard to the Social Evil"; he wanted to discover how to improve the general condition of his women workers.[65] The Committee of Fourteen's chairman, Reverend Doctor John Peters, and its general secretary, Frederick Whitin, led the investigation under the close supervision of Percy Straus.[66]

Replacing the essentials

Between July and December 1913, three women reformers – Faith Habberton, Marjorie Sidney and Natalie Sonnichsen – went undercover at Macy's Herald Square store. They were chosen for their backgrounds in welfare work, performance, and journalism, and hence their ability to assimilate with the other women workers. Over the course of six months, Habberton, Sidney and Sonnichsen infiltrated several departments – from shirt waists and misses' cloaks to suits and men's furnishings – to document women's experiences as department store employees.[67]

Habberton, Sidney and Sonnichsen compiled over 600 pages of notes detailing the unequal power relations between women workers and male managers within individual departments. They recounted the experiences of saleswomen having to navigate daily interactions of unwanted teasing and touching that made certain departments hostile places for women to work. They also documented salesclerks' limited options for making a complaint against a co-worker or department head. Women could either keep quiet and take abuse, argue back, or quit. If they complained, floorwalkers, buyers and co-workers threatened to trash their names, remove chairs or delay ringing the dismissal bell.[68]

The three reformers' comprehensive notes contradicted the positive image owners sought to project about the treatment of their women employees. In the 1910s, stores like Macy's began introducing welfare workers to counteract the claims of exploitation. Peter Straus hired a welfare officer, Miss Kenyon, to field women's complaints about men acting inappropriately and to improve the moral tone of the store.[69] In addition to Miss Kenyon, Percy Straus also hired a doctor, an instructor, and a few nurses.[70]

Across the country, department store owners established similar benefits, seeking to improve working conditions and supplement staff wages. As well as upgrading staff facilities and opening gymnasiums and libraries, owners offered workers free or reduced rates for such services as medical and dental care, as well as discounts on store purchases. Stores also introduced paid vacations. At Macy's, workers received four paid weeks' holiday after twenty-five years of service.[71]

Owners also provided in-store sales training for employees. Macy's ran a two-month course in arithmetic, spelling, penmanship, local geography and business at the nearby Continuation School for Girls and Young Women.[72] By the late 1920s, several universities offered retail programmes sponsored by local merchants. Percy Straus and six departments at Macy's funded a programme at New York University.[73]

Nevertheless, training and welfare benefits did not ensure fair working conditions, as owners could retract benefits as quickly as they offered them.[74] As a writer for the retail newsletter, the *Dry Goods Economist*, observed in 1915, "welfare work is sometimes made to replace the essentials: an adequate wage and suitable working conditions".[75]

Habberton, Sidney and Sonnichsen's reports confirmed the insufficiency of welfare initiatives. Habberton found that Macy's management did not inform women employees that Straus had hired Miss Kenyon to protect them. Clerks knew little of the duties or uses of the
Welfare Office in general. Sometimes, they received a turkey at Thanksgiving, and occasionally attended lectures and classes off the clock.[76] Habberton wondered whether part of the problem was that the Straus brothers considered welfare work "a kind of philanthropy instead of part of the business".[77]

The reformers each offered suggestions for improvement. There were twenty-five women who complained about their male supervisors and co-workers during the investigation, but none of them had reported to Miss Kenyon; so Habberton advised management to inform each new employee that Miss Kenyon handled all complaints and questions "of a certain nature", and to ensure that those who complained faced no retaliation. She also recommended displaying signs with information on how to make complaints in the stairways and in pay packets. She similarly suggested that Macy's check male applicants' references before hiring them. Macy's management did not act on any of these recommendations. Before department stores introduced designated personnel departments in the late 1920s, the system for regulating staff behaviour remained opaque.[78]

Instead, Percy Straus relied on the findings of the Committee of Fourteen's official 1915 *Department Store Investigation* to settle the accusations made against his store. The report ruled that Kneeland's earlier findings on the "dangerous moral conditions in department stores and the immoral attitude toward female employees of a number of managers and high placed male employees" had no basis in fact. The report absolved employers and blamed individual women workers for so-called immorality. The investigation found no evidence that department store labour drove women to prostitution, or that managers pressured shop girls into servicing male customers to supplement their wages. Nor did they find that male managers demanded that women clerks have sex with them to keep their job or to earn a promotion. The Committee of Fourteen only occasionally consulted Habberton, Sidney and Sonnichsen in reaching their conclusions.[79]

The national and local press received the Committee of Fourteen's report favourably, applauding its careful findings as well as Percy Straus's commitment to establishing and maintaining fair labour practices. Nonetheless, Percy Straus prevented the report's circulation, hoping to put the issue to bed. In 1915, Straus joined the Committee of Fourteen and became its chairman.[80] With the help of the Committee, he appeared to have succeeded in seeing off the second threat to his store's reputation.

Conclusion

The Committee of Fourteen's exoneration of Macy's management coincided with USA's joining World War One in 1917. The ensuing carnage of war dwarfed concerns over the mistreatment of women employees on the shopfloor. Nonetheless, while Percy Straus had succeeded in closing this chapter in Macy's history, the publication of the Committee of Fourteen's *Department Store Investigation* did not signal the end of abusive behaviour in department stores.

Over a hundred years later, accusations of workplace harassment are still rocking the retail industry. In 2017, 250 current and former employees of Sterling Jewelers, the multi-billion-dollar conglomerate owners of Jared the Galleria of Jewelry and Kay Jewelers, filed a class-action arbitration case alleging that, throughout the 1990s and 2000s, company executives and managers groped, humiliated and pressurised women employees to cater to them sexually in order to keep their jobs or earn a promotion. Class members, now totalling over 69,000, also accused Sterling of systematically paying women less than men for the same work and passing them over for promotion. Moreover, the women spoke of having limited means with which to protest against harassment and discrimination within the company.[81]

Women's accounts of workplace harassment at Macy's then and Sterling Jewelers now are strikingly similar, despite the passage of a hundred years. In both cases, women comprised the bulk of the salesforce, although men held the positions of power. The decentralised structure of stores enabled men to harass women colleagues unchecked, as both organisations lacked an effective mechanism through which female employees could report mistreatment, while management threatened those with cause to complain.

Nonetheless, despite their similarities, the two cases also suggest the ways in which the position of women at work has changed over the course of a hundred years. In the early 20th century, retail stood out from other contemporary industries like manufacturing for employing such large numbers of women. With so many women on the payroll, department stores won the attention of reformers fighting to secure decent and fair working conditions for the increasing numbers of women entering the workforce at that time. Those who knew what to look for quickly spotted exploitative labour practices taking place within stores.

Whereas today, the presence of large numbers of women working in an organisation is no longer notable, nor are allegations of abuse still surprising. While the recent case against Sterling Jewelers is extraordinary for its breadth, it is disappointingly common in nature. Back at the turn of the 20th century, reformers were concerned at how the structure of nascent department stores could facilitate and perpetuate occurrences of sexual harassment; but still now, regrettably, such accusations are just as pervasive in retail as in any other industry. Women at work have had to learn to navigate daily instances of teasing, touching and sexual aggression alongside acquiring such skills as selling stockings, diamonds, or any other manner of workplace task. As the revelations of the #MeToo movement have made clear, sexual harassment at work does not take place because of a single, poorly managed organisation; rather, it is the manifestation of systemic, unequal power relations between working women and men.

Endnotes

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[16] Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures*, 231.
[17] Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*, 34; Louise De Koven Bowen, "The Department Store Girl, based upon Interviews with 200 Girls: Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago", 1911. Available at: https://collections.lib.utexas.edu/catalog/utlmisc:e8e00bbc-3e24-4bae-b198-19a926886338.
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[21] Mara Keire, "Shouting Abuse, Harmless Jolly, and Promiscuous Flattery: Considering the Contours of Sexual Harassment at Macy's Department Store, 1910-1915," *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas*, 19:1 (2022), 54.
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[24] Keire, "Shouting Abuse", 58.
[25] Ibid, 54.
[26] Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures*, 91, 93, 130.
[27] Annie Marion MacLean, "Two Weeks in Department Stores", *American Journal of Sociology*, 4:6 (1989), 735.
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[29] Ibid, 725-6.
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[31] 0624, Box 39, Folder 3, C14DSI.
[32] 0299, Box 39, File 2; 0395/6, Box 38, Folder 3, C14DSI.
[33] 0736, Box 39, File 4, C14DSI.
[34] MacLean, "Two Weeks in Department Stores," 730-31.
[35] 0730, Box 39, File 4, C14DSI.
[36] 0815, Box 39, Folder 5, C14DSI.
[37] 0629, Box 39, File 4, C14DSI.
[38] 0405, Box 39, Folder 3, C14DSI.
[39] 0830, Box 39, Folder 5, C14DSI.
[40] 0838, Box 39, Folder 5, C14DSI.
[41] 0436, Box 39, Folder 3, C14DSI.
[42] 0807, Box 39, Folder 5, C14DSI.
[43] On management, see 0687, Box 39, File 4; 0577, Box 39, Folder 3; 0332, Box 39, File 2; 0821, Box 39, Folder 5; 0474, Box 39, Folder 3, C14DSI.

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[45] 0546, Box 39, Folder 3, C14DSI.
[46] 0731, Box 39, File 4.
[47] 0293, Box 39, File 2.
[48] 0816, Box 93, Folder 5.
[49] Keire, "Shouting Abuse", 10.
[50] Ibid, 8; 0405.
[51] Ibid, 25.
[52] MacLean, "Two Weeks in Department Stores", 726.
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[61] George Kneeland, *Commercialized Prostitution in New York City* (New York, 1913), 105. Available at: https://wellcomecollection.org/works/ua9ezudx/items
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[63] Also *The Kiss*, 1896.
[64] Johnson, "Look for the Moral and Sex Sides of the Problem", 462.
[65] 0246, Box 39, File 1, C14DSI.
[66] Johnson, "Look for the Moral and Sex Sides of the Problem," 461.
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[71] Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures*, 195.
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[74] Howard, *From Main Street to Mall*, 50.
[75] "Chicago Concern and Its Store Family", *Dry Goods Economist*, 18 December 1915: https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951d00341308d&view=1up&seq=572&q1=welfare
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[79] Keire, "Shouting Abuse", 53.
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