## **Table of Contents**

Chapter 1	Introduction	13
Chapter 2	The Rise of the Brenninkmeijers (1600–1918)	28
	From Itinerant Traders to Store Owners	31
	The Expansion of C&A in the Netherlands	42 47 50 52
	The Move into Germany in 1911	59
	C&A during the First World War	66
Chapter 3	The Development of C&A between the Wars (1919–1938)	75
	C&A Holland	77
	The Move into the United Kingdom in 1922: C&A Modes	90
	C&A in Germany	105
	Expansion	107
	C&A in the Third Reich (1933–1939): Between Traditional Values and Opportunistic Pursuit of Profit	132



	Branch Network and Political Resistance <b>140</b> Charity and Protection Money: "Account A" <b>152</b> Advertising in a Totalitarian State <b>157</b> Properties Yes, Companies No: C&A and "Aryanisation" <b>160</b>	
	A Highly Profitable, Multi-National Enterprise	175
Chapter 4	Friend or Foe? A Multi-National Dutch Company in the Second World War (1939–1945)	184
	C&A Holland under German Occupation	188
	C&A Deutschland in the War Economy	194 197 204
	C&A Modes in the "Blitz"	221
	Profits and Losses: C&A Businesses during the Second World War	228
Chapter 5	C&A during the Cold War and the "Golden Age" (1945–1961)	231
	Flight Westward: A Sputtering Start in the United States	235
	New Beginning in the Netherlands	241
	C&A Modes	251
	Total Loss and Reconstruction: C&A Deutschland in East and West	267 275 285 291 294 300
	Golden Years: C&A in the Post-war Boom	308

Chapter 6	Family or Market? The Succession of Ownership, New Leadership Development and Corporate Governance at C&A 316		
	The Problem of Succession in the Terminology of the Principal-Agent Model	317	
	Abundance of Children, Education, Internal Competition	317	
	and Unitas as Answers to the Problem of Succession Education for Future Leaders	319 321	
	Careers in "the Firm"		
	Female Managers	327 330	
	Retirement at Age 55	335 339	
	Corporate Governance à la C&A:	000	
	The Institutional Implementation of Unitas	341	
	Taking Decisions within the Group of Owners		
Chapter 7	Summary	359	
	Appendices	369	
	The Unitas Principles	371	
	Tables	372	
	Brenninkmeijer Family Members Employed at C&A	372	
	the United Kingdom and the United States, 1911–1961 Number of Employees at C&A Deutschland and	376	
	C&A Modes		
	List of C&A Group Firms	386	
	Germany and the United Kingdom, 1841–1961	408	
	Netherlands, Germany and the United Kingdom, 1841–1961 Market Shares of C&A Retail Firms in the Netherlands,	414	
	Germany and the United Kingdom, 1930–1961 Donations of C&A Groups in the Netherlands, Germany	420	
	and the United Kingdom, 1926–1961	426	

Exchange Rates of the Guilder, Mark and Pound	
to the US Dollar, 1913–1961	427
Documents	429
Letter from C&A Head Office to Hermann Göring,	
15 October 1937	429
Letter from Franz Brenninkmeijer to managers at	
C&A Deutschland, 4 September 1939	434
Letter from Dr. Rudolf Brenninkmeijer to staff at	
C&A-Deutschland drafted into military service, 16 July 1941	436
Letter from Franz Brenninkmeijer to staff at	
C&A-Deutschland drafted into military service,	
2 December 1942	440
Indices	444
List of Abbreviations	
	445
_	447
List of Sources	449
Bibliography	
Subject Index	
oubject mack	770