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Kosher Seductions: Jewish Women as Employees and Consumers in German Department Stores

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Keywords

Jewish Women, consumerism, Hermann Tietz, KaDeWe, and N. Israel

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Godela Weiss-Sussex / Ulrike Zitzlsperger (Hrsg./eds.)

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Dieser Beitrag erläutert, welche Rollen jüdische Frauen in den zwanziger und dreißiger Jahren bezüglich Berliner Warenhäuser spielten. Sie fungierten einerseits als Verkäuferinnen, und im Hintergrund als Modezeichnerinnen, Beraterinnen und Einkäuferinnen, deren Ziel es war, Kunden mit attraktiven Produkten und Preisen anzulocken. Als Beteiligte am Verkaufs- und Vorführungsprozess müssen sie somit als ebenso ‚verführerisch‘ wie männliche Warenhausunternehmer angesehen werden. Jüdische Frauen waren andererseits auch eine Zielgruppe spezifischer Werbekampagnen. Weil Warenhäuser sich in der Öffentlichkeit bzw. im Schaufenster nicht gern als jüdisch darstellten, musste sich die Zeitung in ein virtuelles Schaufenster verwandeln.¹

Complex Seduction Processes: Owners, Salesgirls and Shoppers

Department stores have long been associated with the trope of seducing female consumers, at least since the publication of Emile Zola's novel *Au bonheur des dames* in 1883. This fictionalized portrayal of the Parisian department store Bon Marché, which has exerted considerable influence among early chroniclers of department store culture,² identifies store owners as men who build 'temples' for prospective customers, and who use inebriating tactics to encourage them to enter and spend money. The consumer is gendered female in this and in many other literary works on the department store of the time; she is depicted as reluctant, yet sometimes eager to be tempted by male-driven consumer worlds.

At the same time, the dangers of the department store and mass consumer society were often coded 'Jewish' and paired with anti-Semitic stereotypes about

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2 Many articles from the 1920s about department stores reference Zola's novel, especially those about the Tietz stores. For an example in the general press, see Frank Faßland [pseud. for Felix Pinner], 'Wirtschaftsführer. XXI. Oscar Tietz', *Die Weltbühne*, 19.7 (15 February 1923), 176–81, here p. 179. On the cultural significance of Zola's novel, see Christiane Lamberty, *Reklame in Deutschland 1890–1914: Wahrnehmung, Professionalisierung und Kritik der Wirtschaftswerbung* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2000), p. 65 and Gudrun M. König, *Konsumkultur. Inszenierte Warenwelt um 1900* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), pp. 98–100.

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Jewish economic power in Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany.³ Although not described as Jewish, Zola's fictional store owner, too, symbolized for many the kind of opportunism often associated with Jewish businessmen: the Jewish male owner was held responsible for maliciously seducing the female shopper. Indeed, Zola hints at this connection by comparing his protagonist to a 'Jew selling woman by the pound', alluding to the anti-Semitic claim that Jewish merchants commoditize whatever necessary to make a profit.⁴ In such equations, women constitute not only victims of lust and capitalism, but also goods being conquered and sold.

In the Jewish press of the 1920s and 1930s, however, explicit praise for department stores such as Hermann Tietz attempted to refute the many alleged 'dangers' of stores and their predatory owners that had infiltrated the consumer psyche. Partly in response to the anti-Semitic allegations and cautionary narratives of right-wing Germans such as economist Hans Buchner, who claimed that Jewish store owners targeted unsuspecting women, the Jewish press printed articles in support of both owners and the rewards of shopping in department stores.⁵ Advertisers and journalists alike underscored the advantages of being able to purchase clothing and household items alongside kosher foodstuffs, suggesting that shopping at Tietz or N. Israel was effectively a method of strengthening the Jewish community.

Economic journalist Kurt Zielenziger (1890–1944), for instance, business editor of the *Vossische Zeitung* and a frequent lecturer at Jewish events, contributed to Jewish periodicals such as the *C.V.-Zeitung* and the *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* in support of Jewish participation in the German economy.⁶

3 See Paul Lerner, 'Consuming Powers: The "Jewish Department Store" in German Politics and Culture', in *The Economy in Jewish History: New Perspectives on the Interrelationship between Ethnicity and Economic Life*, ed. by Gideon Reuveni and Sarah Wobick-Segev (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), pp. 135–54; Paul Lerner, 'Circulation and Representation: Jews, Department Stores and Cosmopolitan Consumption in Germany, c.1880s–1930s', *European Review of History*, 17.3 (2010), 395–413; Paul Lerner, 'An All-Consuming History? Recent Works on Consumer Culture in Modern Germany', *Central European History*, 42 (2009), 509–43, here p. 516; and Paul Lerner, 'Consuming Pathologies: Kleptomania, Magazinitis, and the Problem of Female Consumption in Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany', *WerkstattGeschichte*, 15 (2006), 45–56. On the dangers and political problems particular to department stores, see Detlef Briesen, *Warenhaus. Massenkonsum und Sozialmoral. Zur Geschichte der Konsumkritik im 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2001).

4 Emile Zola, *The Ladies' Paradise*, trans. by Brian Nelson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 77.

5 On Buchner's work and other anti-Semitic propaganda in the same vein, see Lerner, 'Circulation and Representation', pp. 395–96.

6 Kurt Zielenziger, 'Das Warenhaus', *C.V.-Zeitung*, 14 December 1928; Kurt Zielenziger, 'Das wirtschaftliche Schicksal des deutschen Juden', *C.V.-Zeitung*, 16 February 1933; and Kurt

Citing the widespread appeal of Zola's novel as a reminder that the first department stores were founded by non-Jews in France, Zielenziger's front-page story 'Das Warenhaus' in the *C.V.-Zeitung* of 14 December 1928 took care to place the Jewish department store owners' initiatives in an international, general context: 'Das Warenhaus ist keine jüdische Erfindung! Gewiß, in Deutschland waren es jüdische Kaufleute, die den Grundstein zu einem Warenhaus gelegt haben, aber sie versuchten damit nur zunächst in sehr bescheidenem Rahmen das ausländische Vorbild nachzuahmen.'⁷

The Jewish men who founded the first stores in Germany were exceptional, Zielenziger argued, and should not be held responsible for the workings of all department stores. Nevertheless, both here and in his book *Juden in der deutschen Wirtschaft* (1930), he maintained that Hermann Tietz (1837–1907) should be considered 'Vater des Warenhauses' in Germany.⁸

Before Zielenziger, other contributors to leading liberal Berlin Jewish newspapers had praised the Tietz family as well as women's positive experiences in Tietz stores, though not without ambivalent comments regarding the Tietz methods of 'seduction'. Journalist Doris Wittner (1880–1937) approvingly likened the appeal of the Berlin Tietz stores to that of the mesmerizing poetic language in Zola's novel. But even as Wittner ostensibly debunked implications of the predatory nature of department stores, she also called attention to the hidden power behind their sales strategies. In describing Tietz stores as less of a threat and more of a labyrinthine enchanted garden lit with Aladdin's magical lamps – where ladies could shop without *Kaufzwang* – Wittner hinted at the smoke-and-mirrors tactics used to trick shoppers.⁹ And yet, she stressed that with its fashion shows and artful window displays, Tietz also led the way in presenting customers with its own form of department store 'Poesie'.¹⁰ Wittner's article reads as an endorsement for Jewish women to shop at Tietz stores, though it also reveals the persuasive processes that awaited them. Others offered similarly ambivalent backing; focusing not on the sales process and the

Zielenziger. 'Wirtschaftliche Zukunftsmöglichkeiten', *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung*, 15 September 1933. On Zielenziger, see the video testimony of his son, Eric Zielenziger, in the Visual History Archive of the USC Shoah Foundation Institute, available through the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC.

7 Zielenziger. 'Das Warenhaus', p. 701.

8 Kurt Zielenziger. *Juden in der deutschen Wirtschaft* (Berlin: Der Heine-Bund, 1930), p. 207.

9 Historians, too, have argued that one of the primary factors in the success of department stores was that they did not require customers to purchase anything. See, for example, Warren G. Breckman. 'Disciplining Consumption: The Debate about Luxury in Wilhelmine Germany, 1890–1914', *Journal of Social History*, 24 (1991), 485–505, here p. 495.

10 Doris Wittner. 'Jüdische Köpfe. Familie Tietz', *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung*, 24 May 1928.

consumer, but on the department stores' function as large employers, several contemporary texts commented on Tietz's extensive provisions to care for female and other employees, but still compared the Tietz staff to 'Angestellten Armeen' that conquered customers.¹¹

Jewish women took an active role in the transfer of goods, both as store employees and as consumers entangled with processes of seduction; they were well represented among these 'Angestellten Armeen'. Like their male counterparts, more than half of working Jewish women were involved in commercial fields such as selling merchandise and produce.¹² They acted as white-collar intermediaries between manufacturer, distributor and consumer, mediating between store goods and the female consumers perceived as 'ripe for seduction' and in search of consumer – and sexual – satisfaction.¹³ Indeed, of the hundreds of thousands of people working in the Berlin garment industry in the 1920s, many were employed in Jewish-owned department and retail stores. The first Tietz store alone employed 2,700 *Ladenfräulein* when it opened, all clad in black, as Berlin critic Alfred Kerr observed.¹⁴ In addition, at least 4,000 Jews held prominent positions in Berlin's *Konfektion* or ready-to-wear sector, which overlapped to a limited extent with that of department stores.¹⁵

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- 11 It is possible that the term 'Angestellten Armeen' originated with Leo Colze in 1908. See Leo Colze, *Berliner Warenhäuser* (Berlin: Fannei & Walz, 1989 [1908]), p. 34. See also A. Waldmann, 'Soziale Einrichtungen und Angestellten-Fürsorge', in *Hermann Tietz. Der größte Warenhauskonzern Europas im Eigenbesitz* (Berlin: Schröder, 1929), pp. 182–87; cited in Deborah Smail, "'Sadly Materialistic...': Perceptions of Shops and Shopping Streets in Weimar Berlin', *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 34.3 (2000), 141–62, here p. 148. On the provisions made for department store employees, see Paul Göhre, *Das Warenhaus* (Frankfurt/Main: Rütten & Loening, 1907), pp. 62–87.
- 12 Statistics on Jewish women's participation in the workforce, however, suggest that a smaller percentage worked outside the home compared to German women in general: approximately thirty-two percent of Jewish women in Prussia were employed by 1925, compared to forty-eight percent of women in the total population. See Avraham Barkai, 'Jewish Life in Its German Milieu,' in *German-Jewish History in Modern Times, IV: Renewal and Destruction 1918–1945*, ed. by Michael A. Meyer and Michael Brenner (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), pp. 45–71, here p. 68.
- 13 Uwe Spiekermann, 'Theft and Thieves in German Department Stores, 1895–1930: A Discourse on Morality, Crime and Gender', in *Cathedrals of Consumption: The European Department Store, 1850–1939*, ed. by Geoffrey Crossick and Serge Jaumain (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 135–59, here p. 148.
- 14 Alfred Kerr, *Mein Berlin. Schauplätze einer Metropole* (Berlin: Aufbau, 2002), p. 111; cited in Erica Fischer and Simone Ladwig-Winters, *Die Wertheims. Geschichte einer Familie* (Berlin: Rowohlt Taschenbuch, 2008), p. 102. See also Göhre, *Das Warenhaus*, p. 79.
- 15 According to historian Irene Guenther, approximately forty-nine percent of the ready-to-wear clothing industry in Germany was under Jewish ownership prior to 1933. See Irene Guenther, *Nazi Chic? Fashioning Women in the Third Reich* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), here pp. 80–81.

The specialized training of saleswomen was itself a recurring subject of contemporary texts written by German cultural critics (many of whom happened to be Jewish), indicating a widespread awareness of the prominent position of shop girls within the public eye.¹⁶ One popular book entitled *Verkäuferinnen* (1911/1925), penned by Willy Cohn, a Jewish department store owner from Halberstadt, addressed methods of educating salesgirls in professional skills and matters of taste.¹⁷ Perhaps the best-known work on this topic, Siegfried Kracauer's *Die Angestellten* (1929) describes the training salesgirls received as well as the high demands placed on their appearance.¹⁸ In the Jewish press, Doris Wittner also commented on the comprehensiveness of this instruction as well as on the intricate hierarchies of the 'Spezialschulen für Verkäuferinnen [...], in denen die Verkäuferinnen vor allem die Psychologie des Käufers zu studieren haben'.¹⁹ All the rage in Weimar Berlin, psychological advertising techniques supposedly imbued marketers with even greater power over consumers.²⁰

To help Jewish women attain good positions, or at least provide them with sufficient incomes, contributors to the women's section of the *C.V.-Zeitung* continually promoted jobs in retail, fashion and other industries.²¹ In the 15 April 1932 issue of the newspaper, Katharina Feige-Straßburger, the head of a Berlin fashion design school, offered sage words to readers interested in working in the fashion industry: 'Viele Geschäftshäuser sind genötigt, mehrere Posten in eine Hand zu geben; so müssen oft junge Mädchen zeichnen, schneiden und

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- 16 I use the terms 'salesgirls', 'shop girls' and 'saleswomen' interchangeably; all serve as translations for 'Verkäuferinnen' or 'Ladenmädchen'. Any preference for the term salesgirls is in keeping with common usage during the early twentieth century.
- 17 Willy Cohn's book consistently refers to employees as 'Mädchen'; he also explicitly states that marriage remains the ultimate goal of all salesgirls. Willy Cohn, *Verkäuferinnen. Gedanken und Vorschläge eines Praktikers* (Halberstadt: H. Meyer's Buchdruckerei, 1925), p. 54. This author (born 1865 in Halberstadt) is not to be confused with the historian from Breslau, who also published under the name Willy Cohn.
- 18 Siegfried Kracauer, *Die Angestellten. Aus dem neuesten Deutschland* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1971), pp. 12 and 20.
- 19 Wittner, 'Jüdische Köpfe. Familie Tietz', p. 6.
- 20 Various studies and advertising handbooks published during the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s offer evidence of the trend toward psychological advertising. See Darcy Buerkle, 'Gendered Spectatorship. Jewish Women and Psychological Advertising in Weimar Germany', *Women's History Review*, 15.4 (2006), 625–36, here p. 629. See also Janet Ward, *Weimar Surfaces: Urban Visual Culture in 1920s Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 96–100.
- 21 See Rosi Karfiol, 'Weibliche Jugend vor der Berufswahl', and Margarete Jacobsohn, 'Jüdische Handwerkerinnen', *C.V.-Zeitung*, 11 March 1932. The *C.V.-Zeitung* was the voice of the Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens. It represented the perspectives of more acculturated, Liberal German Jews.

Maschine schreiben lernen, um eine Stellung in einem Konfektionshause zu erhalten.²² Tacitly acknowledging salesgirls, Katharina Feige-Straßburger advised Jewish women to consider newer careers to which they would be equally well suited, such as ‘fashion consultant’ (*Modeberaterin*) and ‘graphic artist’ (*Modezeichnerin*). Her words reveal that young Jewish women held integral positions in sales and production, and she made clear that this was not only the case in *Konfektionshäusern*, but in department stores more generally as well:

Nicht nur die Modezeitschriftenverlage, die Konfektionshäuser, die Zeichenateliers, die Kataloge und Inserate herstellen, beschäftigen Modezeichnerinnen, sondern auch die großen Kaufhäuser, die heute meist eigene Hauszeitschriften haben, sowie viele industrielle Unternehmungen.²³

To be sure, women made a noteworthy impact in department stores, fashion journalism and the ready-to-wear industry. Department stores with textile divisions needed salespeople informed about materials and colours; it was often these female employees who mediated between tastemakers and consumer desires by introducing new products, styles, and visual representations thereof. Illustrations they produced as graphic artists could be found everywhere in the image-centric consumer culture of the Weimar Republic: fashion plates were common in the publications of Jewish-owned department stores, such as price lists; likewise, they appeared in magazines, advertisements and other media.²⁴

In contrast to Jewish men in Germany, who were highly visible as department store owners and businessmen, Jewish women often played multiple roles behind the scenes, functioning in many ways as ‘fashion intermediaries’.²⁵ Some assisted producers and distributors; some participated in the creation of advertisements as graphic designers; others worked as saleswomen, consultants and coordinators of fashion shows. It therefore becomes necessary to challenge the notion of consumer seduction as a one-way gendered act performed exclusively by men. Although the vast majority of department stores’ owners

22 Katharina Feige-Straßburger, ‘Was lernen unsere Töchter?’, *C.V.-Zeitung*, 15 April 1932.

23 Feige-Straßburger, ‘Was lernen unsere Töchter?’.

24 See, for example, the circulars of Kaufhaus Nathan Israel: N. Israel Sommer-Preisliste, 1923 and 1928. Claus Jahnke Collection, Vancouver, Canada. In March 2011, I was fortunate to spend time working with the collection of fashion historian Claus Jahnke, who provided both sources and inspiration for this article. Images of items from this collection can be found in *Broken Threads: The Destruction of the Jewish Fashion Industry in Germany and Austria*, ed. by Roberta S. Kremer (Oxford, Berg, 2007).

25 I borrow the term ‘fashion intermediaries’ from historian Regina Blaszczyk. See Regina Lee Blaszczyk, ‘Rethinking Fashion’, in *Producing Fashion: Commerce, Culture, and Consumers*, ed. by R. L. Blaszczyk (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), pp. 1–18, here p. 6.

and managers were men, women contributed significantly to making and selling products, and, in fact, had the potential to be as seductive as their male counterparts. But it was not only as producers or so-called 'seducers' that Jewish women interacted with the wares of department stores; they were also among the consumers of both advertisements for department stores and their goods.

Ritual Window Watching: The Jewish Consumer Goes Reading

Jewish women, like other female consumers, became the target of advertising campaigns as department stores transformed the modern art of *Vorführung* (display) into one of *Verführung* (seduction). Particularly during the years of the Weimar Republic, Berlin stores, including Hermann Tietz, Kaufhaus des Westens (KaDeWe), and Kaufhaus Nathan Israel, relied on a wealth of niche marketing strategies to predispose Jewish women shoppers to make their purchases in Jewish-owned department stores. Visual projections of slogans aimed to dazzle and beguile prospective consumers on surfaces such as store windows, storefronts and billboards, and in advertisements in both general and Jewish periodicals. In part because of the need for caution when revealing Jewishness in public, the Jewish press took on the role of adding a more explicitly Jewish dimension to already visually engaging store display windows. Periodicals ranging from the *C.V.-Zeitung* to the *Blätter des jüdischen Frauenbundes* and the Orthodox *Der Israelit* regularly printed advertisements for Jewish-owned department stores, particularly Tietz, KaDeWe and N. Israel. These functioned as virtual windows, displaying a carefully curated selection of products intended for a variety of Jewish audiences, including the Jewish female reader.

Negotiating the 'public spaces' of Jewish consumption thus meant going beyond the city surfaces into the pages of the Jewish press. The Berlin magazine *Die jüdische Frau* addressed its readers with the following exhortation in its very first issue, published on 5 May 1925: 'Wie soll sich nun die Frau gegenüber den vielen Angeboten, die die Reklame vermittelt, verhalten? Zunächst sei gesagt, daß es nichts schadet, wenn sie sich von der immer wiederkehrenden Reklame für irgendeinen Artikel beeinflussen läßt.'²⁶ In addition to stressing the critical role advertisements played in familiarizing consumers with new products, the author of this article beseeched women to pay close attention to the advertisements they encountered while reading Jewish and other periodicals. Women were targeted heavily in the 1910s and 1920s in part because of then-

26 Walter Schmidt, 'Die Frauen und die Reklame'. *Die jüdische Frau*, 5 May 1925, p. 10.

popular assumptions that women were responsible for making seventy-five to eighty-five percent of all purchases.²⁷ Like those of other stores that advertised in the Jewish press, department stores' advertising strategies combined knowledge of psychology with that of Jewish products and *kashrut*, or dietary laws. The result was a rich constellation of images that pitched department stores to female consumers as kosher-friendly havens with a kind of Jewish 'sex appeal'.

Just as complex, aesthetically pleasing store window displays began to reflect seasonal and holiday consumer interest, the process of surveying stores and advertisements also evolved into a modern ritual of metaphorical window watching. By means of richly illustrated advertisements and occasional contests that encouraged readers to vote on their favourite display windows, Jewish newspapers served as a medium through which stores could enter their readers' everyday lives. Because kosher foodstuffs and other products were often hidden away on high floors of department stores, far away from store windows, Jewish shoppers were in fact more likely to find the goods they needed via word of mouth or through acts of reading. Advertisements enabled the 'Bühne der Warenpräsentation' to maintain a continuous presence from store windows into the homes of Jewish consumers.²⁸ These advertisements sometimes referenced actual store windows: for example, in late November and December 1928, toward the end of Hanukkah and shortly before Christmas, one contest (*Schaufensterwettbewerb*) in the Frankfurt-based Orthodox weekly *Der Israelit* stimulated – and simulated – holiday window watching by asking consumers to evaluate the window displays of stores that already advertised in its pages.²⁹ More than twenty of the sixty contest winners were women, testifying to women's participation in rituals of strolling and reading.³⁰ For this contest, neither the stores nor their goods revealed a glimmer of Jewishness on the street; rather, the Orthodox newspaper added a Jewish inflection to store windows by naming stores and disseminating their advertisements.

27 See Buerkle, 'Gendered Spectatorship', p. 626. See also Erica Carter, 'Frauen und die Öffentlichkeit des Konsums', in *Die Konsumgesellschaft in Deutschland 1890–1990. Ein Handbuch*, ed. by Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Claudius Torp (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2009), pp. 154–71, here p. 158.

28 Siegfried Gerlach, *Das Warenhaus in Deutschland. Seine Entwicklung bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg in historisch-geographischer Sicht* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1988), p. 28.

29 See anon., 'Preis-Ausschreiben!', *Der Israelit*, 29 November 1928.

30 See anon., 'Das Ergebnis unseres Schaufensterwettbewerbs nebst Preis Ausschreiben', *Der Israelit*, 10 January 1929. Though I do not discuss female flaneurs – or Jewish female flaneurs – here, it is worth noting that women were among those who strolled (and shopped), as scholars such as Anke Gleber have demonstrated. See Anke Gleber, *The Art of Taking a Walk: Flanerie, Literature, and Film in Weimar Culture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Images of store windows also appeared in Jewish periodicals with some frequency, suggesting that newspapers had the ability to imitate and perform some of the functions of store window displays. For example, advertising campaigns for Tietz and N. Israel included drawings of building façades and interiors, occasionally with transparent walls that enabled a view of the products for sale inside.³¹ Hermann Tietz even used display windows as part of its graphic logo at one time.³² Display window logos served as a potent symbol of the consumer community formed by reading various Jewish publications: this second print world of store windows restored respectability to associations between department stores, their Jewish owners, Jewish readers, and Jewish products. Advertisements further enabled women to participate in what we might call 'rituals of Jewish consumption', and in doing so increased their visibility within Jewish consumer markets.³³ The modern Jewish woman was in a position to 'browse' department stores – and fantasize about the seductive spaces they created – from the comfort of her own home.

More than Kosher:

The Marketing of Jewish-Owned Department Stores

In Weimar Berlin in particular, department stores played a major role in the cultivation of Jewish culture and community. Indeed, historians Paul Lerner, Michael Brenner and others have shown how Jewish-owned department stores became cornerstones of Jewish life in the 1920s and were active participants in the 'Jewish Renaissance' of Weimar Germany.³⁴ Brenner contends, for instance, that the Jewish *Volkshochschule* in Berlin was so successful in part because one could purchase tickets to its adult education seminars at both Tietz and KaDeWe.³⁵ Indeed, department stores provided opportunities for Jewish culture to thrive among Jewish audiences in different ways. For example, when a contest was held in December 1931 to find the most beautiful Jewish woman in Berlin,

31 See, for example, 'Hermann Tietz', advertisement, *C.V.-Zeitung*, 2 August 1929; and 'N. Israel', advertisement, *Blätter des jüdischen Frauenbundes*, 2.4 (January 1926), n.p.

32 The 'Waarenhaus Hermann Tietz' [sic] imprint with store window logo can be found, for example, on the back of an undated photograph taken in the Tietz store in Hamburg. Photograph courtesy of the Claus Jahnke Collection, Vancouver, Canada.

33 On the increase in public visibility of women shoppers in general, see Carter, 'Frauen und die Öffentlichkeit des Konsums'.

34 See note 3 of this essay.

35 Michael Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 92.

advance tickets were sold only at Hermann Tietz, the secretariat of the Oranienburger Straße synagogue, and at one other store.³⁶ By selling tickets to this event, Tietz made itself an invaluable player in the attempt to celebrate Jewish female beauty in Berlin. The following analysis offers a closer examination of the marketing efforts to appeal to Berlin Jewish women by the three stores that made the greatest effort to target Jewish women consumers during the 1920s and 1930s: Hermann Tietz, KaDeWe and Nathan Israel.³⁷

Hermann Tietz

Both in its stores and in its print advertisements, Hermann Tietz led the way in targeting Jewish consumers with kosher products and Jewish contexts for other items. Within Jewish circles, the Tietz family was regarded highly for its strong commitment to the Jewish community. Oscar Tietz (1858–1923), Hermann's nephew who was responsible for opening the first Tietz stores in Berlin, was praised for his generous acts and donations to Jewish organizations.³⁸ After his death, Oscar Tietz was remembered as a moral and upstanding member of the Liberal faction of the Berlin Jewish community.³⁹ Moreover, Doris Wittner observed that Oscar's sons Martin and Georg Tietz, along with Oscar's son-in-law Hugo Zwillenberg, were such 'good Jews' that they always closed the Tietz stores on the High Holidays, though they remained open on Saturdays.⁴⁰ In fact, all three Tietz men of that generation were among the '[h]ervorragende jüdische Persönlichkeiten Berlins' listed in the 1931 Berlin Jewish address book.⁴¹

36 'Bar Kochba-Hakoah Schönheits-Wettbewerb', advertisement. *Gemeindeblatt der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin*, 21.12 (December 1931), p. 360.

37 Whereas other major Jewish-owned department stores such as Schocken and Wertheim could be relevant for this discussion, I have not included them because they did not target readers of the Jewish press to a great extent. Though a few Schocken book advertisements appeared in Jewish papers in the 1930s, no advertisements for Wertheim were printed in the Weimar Jewish press.

38 See Werner E. Mosse, 'Terms of Successful Integration: The Tietz Family 1858–1923', *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, 34 (1989), 131–61. See also Georg Tietz, *Hermann Tietz. Geschichte einer Familie und ihrer Warenhäuser* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1965), p. 91.

39 See G. Bach, 'In memoriam Oscar Tietz', in *Probleme des Warenhauses. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erkenntnis der Entwicklung des Warenhauses in Deutschland*, ed. by Verband Deutscher Waren- und Kaufhäuser e.V. (Berlin: Verband Deutscher Waren- und Kaufhäuser, 1928), pp. 9–12. I am grateful to Paul Lerner for this reference.

40 Wittner, 'Jüdische Köpfe: Familie Tietz', p. 6.

41 *Jüdisches Adressbuch für Groß-Berlin. Ausgabe 1931*, foreword by Hermann Simon (Berlin: arani, 1994), p. 65.

In addition to furthering adult learning and the creation and renewal of Jewish traditions, the Hermann Tietz Berlin stores provided a wide selection of products specifically for Jewish consumers. Ongoing advertising campaigns boasted of Tietz's selection of books, many of which were written by Jewish authors.⁴² Oscar Tietz supposedly maintained a strictly kosher home, despite the difficulties of doing so in the modern metropolis.⁴³ Eventually, Tietz also made a variety of kosher products available in separate divisions on the fourth floors of the Leipziger Straße and Alexanderplatz stores.⁴⁴ These two locations were among the best places in Berlin in which to acquire kosher food efficiently alongside other wares, including men's and women's clothing, shoes, accessories, linens, perfumes and leather goods.

That advertisements for Tietz's kosher product selection appeared in periodicals ranging from *Der Israelit* to the *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* suggests that Tietz emphasized Jewishness without much regard for the nuances of Jewish observance; Tietz targeted prospective Jewish consumers across political and denominational lines. As historian Gideon Reuveni has argued, advertisements were instrumental in constructing 'the Jews' as a unified group with a coherent identity despite vast differences in practice and religious observance.⁴⁵ Advertisements cited the same religious authorities to all consumers: Orthodox and Liberal Jewish readers alike encountered references to the *Aktiengesellschaft für rituellen Bedarf*, which provided its *hechsher* or kosher certification to Tietz stores.⁴⁶ The word 'kosher' in Hebrew letters, often paired with a Star of David or other symbol, also appeared regularly (see image 1).

42 Tietz book advertisements generally appeared in a prominent location on the back page of the *C.F.-Zeitung*, approximately once per month between February 1925 and September 1931; they also provided brief reviews and commentaries on contemporary and classical literature.

43 Georg Tietz writes that his in-laws maintained a strictly kosher home, though they occasionally accepted gifts of non-kosher items from him. Tietz, *Hermann Tietz*, pp. 37 and 168. On the changes in kosher observance within the Tietz family, see Mosse, 'Terms of Successful Integration', p. 140.

44 Unlike other stores such as Frankfurt-based Wronker, which advertised that its kosher section respectfully remained closed on the Sabbath in accordance with Jewish law, Tietz advertisements made no reference to the opening hours of its kosher divisions. See 'Wronker', advertisement, *Der Israelit*, 8 October 1931.

45 Gideon Reuveni, 'Advertising, Jewish Ethnic Marketing, and Consumer Ambivalence in Weimar Germany', in *Longing, Belonging, and the Making of Jewish Consumer Culture*, ed. by Gideon Reuveni and Nils H. Roemer (Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 113–38, here p. 118.

46 See 'Ritueller Bedarfsartikel in den Warenhäusern Hermann Tietz', advertisement, *C.F.-Zeitung*, 7 May 1926; and 11 November 1927. See also Hermann Tietz, advertisement, *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung*, 4 June 1926 (shown in image 1).



כשר



Aktiengesellschaft für

Rituelle Bedarfsartikel

IV. Stock

im Warenhaus

IV. Stock

HERMANN TIETZ

Lepziger Str., Alexanderplatz, Frankfurter Allee

Unter Aufsicht des Rabbinats der Kaschruth-Kommission der Jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin

Rinderquerrippe Pfd. 1 ¹⁰	Kalbsbrust Pfund 1 ⁴⁰
Rinderkamm m. Kn., Pfd. 1 ²⁰	Kalbsblatt Pfund 1 ⁵⁰
Rinderkamm o. Kn., Pfd. 1 ³⁰	Kalbskotelet..... Pfund 1 ⁵⁰
Flanke u. Fehrrippe Pfd. 1 ²⁰	Kalbshaxen.... Pfund 80 Pf.
Schierenbraten .. Pfund 1 ⁴⁰	Hammelbrust... Pfund 1 ²⁵
Filet, Oberschale, Brust o. K., Pfd. 1 ⁵⁰	Hammelblatt.... Pfund 1 ³⁰
Kalbskamm..... Pfund 1 ³⁰	Hammelkotelett Pfund 1 ⁴⁰

Suppenhühner Pfund 1,60	Jungo Brathähne Pfund 1,95
Enten..... Pfund 1,65	Junge Gänse Pfund 1,65

Band- und Fadon- nudeln 1/2 Pfund-Paket 42 Pf.	Tafelöl..... Flasche 90 Pf.
	Tafelbutter.. 5-Pfd.-Stück 1,00

Scheuerpulver .. Paket 15 Pf.	Parve-Seife Stück 30 Pf.
-------------------------------	-------------------------------

Palästina-Weine	Preis einschließlich städtischer Getränksteuer und Flasche
Rischo-Rotwein Fl. 2,40	Ezra Portwein-Art. Fl. 3,00
Hebron Sektweine-Art. Fl. 2,50	Zionsblume Tokaj. Art. Fl. 4,10

**Lebende Hechte }
Lebende Schleie } billigsten Tagespreisen** zu

Image 1: Hermann Tietz advertisement, Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung, June 1926.⁴⁷

47 I would like to thank the Leo Baeck Institute New York, the Leo Baeck Institute Berlin, and the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York for the use of archival and library materials from which the images in this article were taken. Many periodicals are also available through the online database Compact Memory: <http://www.compactmemory.de>.

More than any other store, Tietz pitched its products to female readers likely to purchase items that subtly reflected modern forms of Jewish 'sex appeal' – often embodied by efficiency. Kosher grocery divisions were described as 'blitzsauber', a term that invokes both the speed of technology and the strict hygienic mandates of *kashrut*.⁴⁸ Further, seasonal advertisements timed to precede holidays such as Rosh Hashanah, Hanukkah and Passover ensured that female heads of household associated purchasing with Jewish holidays. This was especially true for adverts featuring matzah, potato flour, wines and other products billed as 'für das Pessachfest'.⁴⁹ Thus, the mere invocation of Jewish customs was a marketable entity; hints of Jewishness seemingly made a product more desirable on many levels.

Though the Jewish press alluded to sex appeal only in vague, subtle ways, sexualized images of women nevertheless appeared in illustrated Tietz advertisements (see image 2). In other words, Jewish newspapers couched hints of eroticism in ritualized shopping trips to Tietz. One example of this can be found in Tietz's campaigns for its annual *Weiße Woche* sale in February, when a secular 'holiday' celebration took place – a kind of Christmas alternative, a 'Melodie in Weiß'.⁵⁰ This event was motivated entirely by economic profit, namely reduced prices that promoted lavish expenditures. First founded by the brothers Tietz, the phenomenon of White Week sales was quickly imitated by other stores: it offered consumers a powerful motivation to go shopping at a time of year not usually associated with holiday purchasing, and the perfect time for new 'holiday' traditions. One stunning full-page advertisement credited the Tietz brothers for perpetuating this discount sensation, while calling attention to the advert's female star, a fur-clad shopper whose closed eyes suggest she is enraptured by the seductive power of 'enorm billige Preise' (see image 2).

Tietz's branding, when viewed through the eyes of a Jewish reader, incorporated symbolism that was part of a broader context of Jewishness. Though this advertisement makes no reference to foodstuffs, the Tietz symbols it uses strongly resemble the kosher certifications of other adverts. Moreover, the fine print, 'im Geiste der Gründer, getreu ihrem Vorbild', suggests an allegiance to the forefathers of consumption not unlike the respectful nod to one's ancestors found in certain Jewish prayers. The figure of a white bird in the lower right corner

48 'Koscher Lebensmittel gibt es jetzt auch bei TIETZ in der neuen blitzsauberen Lebensmittelhalle', advertisement, *Der Israelit*, 5 November 1931

49 Hermann Tietz, advertisement, *C.V.-Zeitung*, 8 April 1927. See also 'Zu den Feiertagen empfehlen wir unsere Lebensmittel', Hermann Tietz advertisement, *C.V.-Zeitung*, 23 September 1932.

50 See Tietz, *Hermann Tietz*, p. 68.

Weisse Wochen

Beginn 31. Januar

T
Z

DIE GRÜNDER DER FIRMA
HERMANN TIETZ
HERMANN-OSKAR TIETZ
WAREN DIE ERSTEN, DIE DIE
WEISSE WOCHE
IN DEUTSCHLAND VERANSTALTET HABEN. DIE
SENSATION
VON DAMALS IST DIE
SENSATION
VON HEUTE GEBLIEBEN
WIESELEDER GÜNTER, GEBROUENEN WÄRMEN, WEICHEN LÄDDEL
WEISSE WOCHEN
AUCH IN DIESEM JAHRE DER ANZEIGENSUHRUNG
FÜR BERLIN SEHR
WIR BRINGEN IN DIESEN WOCHEN
WEISSE WÄRMEN ALLES ART,
WELCHE ES ESSENZ FÜR DIESEN DREIßIGSTÄDTELT
ZUENORM BILIGEN PREISEN ZUM VERKAUF!

HERMANN TIETZ
DAS WARENHAUS BERLINS IN ALLEN STADTTEILEN

DIE WAHRE WELT DER MODEN

Image 2: Hermann Tietz advertisement, C.V.-Zeitung, January 1930.

bears a seal confirming that the Tietz brand is both inexpensive and high quality. Reminiscent of the stork, a symbol of fertility and abundance, and the biblical white dove that brought an olive branch to Noah as a sign that the flood had ended, this bird offers assurance that both plenty and safety awaited the Jewish consumer inside the halls of Tietz.

Kaufhaus des Westens (KaDeWe)

The KaDeWe department store in the Tauentzienstraße, too, was deeply entrenched in the project of seducing Jewish female consumers, not surprisingly by way of many strategies also employed by Tietz stores. Founded by Adolf Jandorf (1870–1932) in 1907, and purchased by the Tietz family in January 1927, KaDeWe began advertising in the Berlin Jewish press regularly in 1928. When the store celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1932, the *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung* described its success in popularizing the new shopping district on Wittenbergplatz, as well as its growing popularity under Tietz ownership.⁵¹ Not known for carrying kosher products, KaDeWe never made explicit references to anything Jewish; rather, its advertisements in the Jewish press mainly targeted female shoppers, sometimes with imagery that invoked Jewish themes.

With their innovative use of visual images, KaDeWe's marketers were a driving force behind the use of illustrations in department store advertisements.⁵² Indeed, even early KaDeWe advertisements from the 1910s featured images of women alongside price lists.⁵³ The divisions for women's clothing, accessories, and groceries were the largest and the best decorated; spaces such as its women's hair salon, library, and tea room made it possible for women to enjoy whole days of luxury at KaDeWe.⁵⁴ Advertisements in the Jewish press – similar to those that appeared in general papers – depicted women's beauty and leisure time products, from massage brushes for body and face, to toiletries and linens. One White Week advertisement featured a woman sitting in front of a large dressing table mirror, reading a newspaper opened to an advert for that same sale.⁵⁵ Such

51 See anon., '25 jähriges Jubiläum des Kadewe', *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung*, 1 May 1932.

52 See Colze, *Berliner Warenhäuser*, pp. 77–78.

53 See, for example, KaDeWe advertisement, *Vossische Zeitung*, 5 November 1911. On early, richly illustrated KaDeWe catalogues, see König, *Konsumkultur*, pp. 77–82.

54 Göhre, *Das Warenhaus*, pp. 95–96.

55 'Die Weisse Woche im KaDeWe', advertisement, *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung*, 1 February 1929, p. 4. In Weimar culture, dressing table mirrors received new attention in Hans Fallada's 1932 best-selling novel *Kleiner Mann, was nun?*, in which the impoverished protagonist spends

self-reflexive images invited the viewer to envision herself as part of the process of reading, buying, and bargain hunting.

Through seasonal placement and highly subtle imagery, KaDeWe reached out to Jewish consumers to help them achieve the status of fashionable, desirable women. Advertisements printed in August and September encouraged shopping in advance of the high holidays, when even relatively unobservant Liberal Jews – sometimes called *Drei-Tage-Juden* in a reference to the three days on which they supposedly attended synagogue each year – were more likely to purchase expensive outfits due to the custom of wearing new clothes on Jewish holidays.⁵⁶ For example, one KaDeWe advert depicted women seductively sporting fur coats in the *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung*, just one week before Rosh Hashanah 1930. The timing of the advertisement is telling: in this context, readers may have interpreted its phrase ‘Herbst-Neuheiten’ as a reference to the tradition of using luxury items as part of the celebration of Jewish holidays. Of course, we cannot assume that the term ‘Herbst’ always evokes the Jewish New Year, but debates among Jewish circles about the extent to which Jewish women should be permitted to engage in displays of luxury consumption, particularly around the High Holidays, provide evidence that the autumn months saw a cyclical increase in attention to purchasing habits, and perhaps also to advertisements.⁵⁷ Combining women’s desire for luxury goods with the presumed need to appear fashionable in synagogue for certain events of the Jewish calendar was thus a very practical marketing strategy.

In a different campaign, KaDeWe also used images of white birds; one of its White Week advertisements included a memorable image of white doves, stating that KaDeWe planned to release 1,000 doves during this event (see image 3). For the Jewish reader, it would have been easy to read this as an allusion to the dove as messenger of salvation for Noah adrift on his ark. These peaceful birds

nearly the entire monthly salary he earns as an employee of a Jewish-owned department store on a lavish dressing table for his wife.

56 On traditional associations of specific Jewish holidays with the use of luxury goods, and the many ways in which advertisers in the United States took advantage of these connections, see Andrew R. Heinze, *Adapting to Abundance: Jewish Immigrants, Mass Consumption, and the Search for American Identity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).

57 For example, Berlin attorney Adolf Asch founded an organization in 1922 that cautioned Jewish women about holiday attire: ‘Die positive Arbeit der Organisation bestand vor allem in der Ermahnung der Glaubensgenossen, an den hohen Feiertagen die gewohnte Würde auch vor und nach dem Gottesdienst auf der Strasse zu wahren, und die jüdischen Frauen insbesondere zu bitten, allen auffälligen Luxus in Kleidung und Schmuck zu vermeiden’. Adolf Asch, *Auszug aus Memoiren von Dr. Adolf Asch (Die Inflationsjahre 1919–1928)*, p. 3. Courtesy of the archives of the Leo Baeck Institute Jerusalem, file no. 2 (Adolf Asch).

seemed to bring the Jewish consumer news of salvation through visually seductive discount sales.



Image 3: KaDeWe advertisement, *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung*, January 1928.

Voranzeige
für die
Weisse Woche

**Schenswerte Innen- und
Schaufenster-Dekorationen**

Konzert
Musik von Rudolf Nelson — Text von Arthur Schnitzler
„Wir treffen uns im Kadewe“

Montag, den 30. Januar
Vormittags 9 Uhr
Abflug von 1000 Tauben

Vorverkauf heute

**Das Kadewe bietet wie immer
beste Qualitäten
zu billigsten Preisen**

Hemdhemd Achtfarb., Webstuhl, in 1000er- stücken, Reiderstrasse u. -71/72/73 2.95	Schlafanzug für Damen, Kadewe Farbe, 20/21/22 Farben 6.90
Garnitur Mittel, Webstuhl 120000, 3 Stücke 87/88 9.25	Übertaken dieser Saison, bestes und bill. Material 5.95
Tischtuch Reichlich, Jacquard, 120 X 150, Volltuch 3.60	Frotteerhandtuch Jacquard, in 4erfarbigen Mustern, 80 X 120 1.35
Küchenhandtuch Reichlich, Jacquard-Ornate, 48 X 120, gelb. und gelb. 0.88	Stubenhandtuch Zweifarbig, extra schwere Qualität, ca. 80/80 cm, gelb. u. gelb. 1.25

Kaufhaus Nathan Israel

Like Tietz and KaDeWe, Nathan Israel was among the stores engaged in processes of seduction by mobilizing Jewish words and symbols. With its explicitly Jewish-sounding name, this Berlin Kaufhaus achieved the effect of marketing to Jewish consumers simply by pairing its brand name with any image. After founding a used clothing business in 1815, Nathan Israel (1782–1852) and his descendents expanded the Kaufhaus Israel; the store eventually had 2,000 employees and was considered to be the German equivalent of

London's famous Harrods.⁵⁸ Its wares came to include a variety of goods, including clothing, linens, furniture, and home decorations; the Jewish journal *Ost und West* noted the store's vast expansion in 1911.⁵⁹ The main store building was depicted in advertisements aimed at Jewish and Christian female consumers beginning around 1910 and, later, in the *Frauenbund* newsletter.⁶⁰ Like the Tietz family, the Israels maintained close ties to the Berlin Jewish community, and thus were well positioned to determine which avenues would work for marketing to Jewish female consumers. Both Berthold Israel (1868–1935) and his son Wilfrid Israel (1899–1943) supported Jewish organizations and philanthropic causes, including early groups in support of Jewish settlement in what was then Palestine.⁶¹

N. Israel's advertising campaign was one of very few to appear in the *Blätter des jüdischen Frauenbundes*, which suggests that a reciprocal relationship existed between N. Israel and Jewish women. In addition to strategically placing advertisements in a variety of women's periodicals, both general and Jewish, N. Israel courted female consumers with annual albums on topics relevant to women.⁶² Advertisements in the *Frauenbund* newsletter literally gave prospective consumers a glimpse into how shopping at N. Israel could improve the Jewish home; depictions of its four floors of household goods filled large advertisements in 1925 and 1926. The recurrence of these adverts in a Jewish women's magazine conveyed the message that Jewish women belonged in stores such as N. Israel.

Akin to Tietz advertising techniques, N. Israel's process of seducing Jewish women often took the form of persuading them to enter stores by situating products within a subtly Jewish context. For instance, some adverts drew distinct parallels between modern consumers and the traditions of their ancestors. In slogans such as 'Kaufet reell – bei N. Israel/ Wie schon die Vorfahren – vor

58 See Uwe Westphal, *Berliner Konfektion und Mode. Die Zerstörung einer Tradition 1836–1939* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1992), p. 210.

59 'Der Erweiterungsbau des Kaufhauses N. Israel'. *Ost und West*, 11.12 (December 1911), pp. 1121–22.

60 In addition to seasonal advertisements timed with the Jewish holidays, N. Israel ran campaigns in the general press at Christmastime. See, for example, 'N. Israel Weihnachts-Verkauf', *Vossische Zeitung*, 10 December 1911.

61 See H. G. Reissner, 'The Histories of "Kaufhaus N. Israel" and of Wilfrid Israel'. *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook*, 3 (1958), 227–56.

62 See, for example, the Kaufhaus Israel annual album entitled *Die Frau und ihre Welt* (Berlin: N. Israel, 1910). Advertisements for N. Israel appeared in the general women's fashion magazine *Die Dame* beginning in 1930, among other women's periodicals.

110 Jahren!’,⁶³ the ‘forefathers’ can be understood to represent the Israel family ancestors, those of their customers, as well as the Jewish people in general, often referenced with the Hebrew term *B'nai Israel*, meaning ‘children of Israel’. In addition, this slogan appealed to local consumers with the nineteenth-century Berlin colloquialism ‘reell’, which at once inferred good quality, price and service.⁶⁴

Although N. Israel neither advertised foodstuffs nor boasted of kosher products *per se*, holidays and explicitly Jewish symbols within the Jewish press continually linked the store to Jewishness. One advert in a December issue of the Berlin Jewish community newsletter included a Hanukkah menorah, reminding consumers that they could purchase not only clothing and household products, but also Jewish ritual objects, at Kaufhaus Israel (see image 4). This symbol also underscored the Jewish consumer tradition of purchasing gifts for Hanukkah. Yet other advertisements made reference only to modern trends such as women’s tennis outfits, complete with illustrations by graphic artists.⁶⁵ With images of athletic women, N. Israel tempted consumers with the power of sexy, sporty attire, which, modelled in the Jewish press, seemed suitable for consumption by Jewish women.

Having established that the Jewish press provided a counterweight to anti-Semitic and cautionary narratives about the department store, this article also has demonstrated that Jewish employees, and in particular Jewish women, were well represented among department store employees, both in their roles as salesgirls and through their creative contributions to advertisements and visual culture. It further challenges established narratives about one-way seduction processes led by men, in which female consumers figure only as victims.

As customers, Jewish women made purchases with careful attention to the contexts in which products were sold and distributed, often choosing to participate in shared rituals of consumption. In the Jewish press they were targeted as a distinct market for department store advertising campaigns, most notably by Tietz, KaDeWe and N. Israel. These campaigns vary in the overtness of their references to Jewish tradition and identity, drawing on wording and imagery that in some cases clearly referenced Jewish tradition, and in others was designed more ambiguously so as to become potentially legible within a specifically

63 ‘N. Israel Inventur-Ausverkauf’. advertisement. *Blätter des jüdischen Frauenbundes*, 1.4 (January 1925). n.p.

64 Reissner. ‘The Histories of “Kaufhaus N. Israel” and of Wilfrid Israel’. p. 237.

65 N. Israel ‘Sport’. advertisement. *Gemeindeblatt der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin*, 21.6 (June 1931), p. 197.



GEGRÜNDET 1815

D A S
KAUFHAUS
IM ZENTRUM

D A S
ZENTRUM
DES EINKAUFES

N*ISRAEL

BERLIN C 2
SPANDAUER-KÖNIGSTRASSE

Image 4: N. Israel advertisement. Berlin Gemeindeblatt, December 1928.

Jewish context. Yet they all engaged in the project of enhancing consumer loyalty to department stores that, but for their marketing campaigns in Jewish periodicals, might not have been identifiably Jewish to the average shopper before 1933.