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# Weimar Jewish Chic: Jewish Women and Fashion in 1920s Germany

## **Abstract**

This volume presents papers delivered at the 24th Annual Klutznick-Harris Symposium, held at Creighton University in October 2011. The contributors look at all aspects of the intimate relationship between Jews and clothing, through case studies from ancient, medieval, recent, and contemporary history. Papers explore topics ranging from Jewish leadership in the textile industry, through the art of fashion in nineteenth century Vienna, to the use of clothing as a badge of ethnic identity, in both secular and religious contexts. Dr. Kerry Wallach's chapter examines the uniquely Jewish engagement with fashion and attire in Weimar, Germany.

## **Keywords**

Germany, Weimar, fashion, women, Jewish

## **Disciplines**

European History | German Language and Literature | Women's History

# Weimar Jewish Chic: Jewish Women and Fashion in 1920s Germany

Kerry Wallach

“Judaism has literally come into fashion: everyone’s wearing it again!” This claim was made by German Jewish author Sammy Gronemann in a book of satirical anecdotes from 1927.<sup>1</sup> His assertion hints at the complex relationship between self-fashioning and Jewishness, suggesting that Jewishness itself was worn and displayed on the body in 1920s Germany. Indeed, the Weimar Republic (1919–1933) witnessed renewed interest in Jewish culture as well as significant contributions by Jews to the creation of general Weimar culture, and many of the best-known styles were created or promoted at least in part by Jewish women. Yet it was also a time during which growing antisemitism prompted the need for caution among Jews in public, a topic that recurred in contemporaneous debates in Jewish circles. This essay considers the fashioning of Jews from different angles: what, if anything, was Jewish about fashion in Germany in the 1920s and early 1930s, and was it possible to distinguish distinctive Jewish styles? To what extent was being Jewish considered fashionable in Germany during this time, and what effects did the popularity of Jewishness—or lack thereof—have on styles worn by Jews?

Broadly speaking, Jewish women played a significant role in creating and popularizing mainstream fashion trends of Weimar Germany; they were substantially overrepresented among fashion journalists and had a strong presence among designers, to say nothing of fashion photographers.<sup>2</sup> Further, Jews were among the consumers who shopped for fashionable and luxury goods, often in Jewish-owned stores; their tastes helped guide the fashion market in a variety of ways. The first part of this essay examines several key ways in which Jewish Germans shaped fashion-related industries in Weimar Germany, with a range of inquiry extending from clothing designers to those who helped make styles fashionable, to fashion journalists, graphic artists and illustrators, as well as major distributors of clothing such as department stores.

Whereas some fashion historians have argued that there was no connection between the Jewish identities of many people involved in the creation of Weimar fashion and the actual fashions they produced or promoted, I argue that there existed numerous contexts in which Jewishness directly impacted fashion in Germany during the 1920s and early 1930s. In choosing to wear certain items of clothing or accessories, Jewish women often had to

navigate the tensions between modernity and tradition, between opulence and restraint, and between austerity and luxury. In the second part of this essay, I consider what was at stake for Jews in Weimar Germany who grappled with the dangers of visibly displaying Jewishness on their persons. Here I return to Gronemann's humorous comment that people were wearing Jewishness to suggest that when displayed on the body via clothing or accessories, signifiers of Jewishness were often highly subtle and difficult to detect.

#### PARTICIPATION OF JEWISH WOMEN IN FASHION-RELATED INDUSTRIES

Historically, Jews occupied such a prominent place in German fashion that they often were accused of controlling nearly all industries pertaining to the creation of garments; with the growing numbers of women in the workforce in the early twentieth century, Jewish women, too, came to be associated with fashion. It is widely accepted that a disproportionate number of fashion-related businesses were Jewish-owned, though exact statistics differ greatly (Jews made up no more than four percent of the German population even in Berlin, which was home to roughly 160,000 Jews in the 1920s, or one-third of all Jews in Germany).<sup>3</sup> Jewish men such as Valentin Manheimer and Hermann Gerson, many of them immigrants from Eastern Europe, are credited with launching Berlin's *Konfektion* [ready-to-wear] industry: their salons and department stores sold mass-produced clothing at fixed prices already in the late nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Beginning in the 1930s, antisemitic groups and others alleged that prior to 1933, eighty percent (or more) of retail stores, department stores, and chain clothing businesses in Germany were under Jewish ownership. In his important work on Berlin *Konfektion* and fashion, historian Uwe Westphal sets out to debunk this myth, maintaining that only about forty-nine percent of German *Konfektion* businesses belonged to Jews.<sup>5</sup> Today, most scholars agree that eighty percent is a vastly inflated number and that the percentage of Jewish-owned clothing design and manufacturing businesses is closer to fifty percent.<sup>6</sup> Historian Irene Guenther, whose work on German fashion in the 1930s is among the recent and most extensive studies on the subject, corroborates and builds on Westphal's estimates.<sup>7</sup>

Although the fact that Jews owned many fashion-related businesses placed them at the center of Weimar style, it was by no means only through business ownership that Jewish women made their mark on fashion. Jewish women were known trendsetters in Germany, particularly those writing for mainstream fashion magazines such as *Die Dame* [The Lady, 1912–43], *Styl*

[Style, 1922–24], and *Elegante Welt* [Elegant World, 1912–62]. In fact, Jewish women of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are often regarded as cultural forecasters or even as agents of modernity—not only for fashion trends, but also for culture more broadly. Their impact on German fashion intersected with other arenas on many levels, from food and art to shopping and entertainment venues. Some Jewish women displayed great self-awareness about the fact that they were in a strong position to usher in cutting-edge modern concepts. In one 1926 contribution to a best-selling Jewish newspaper, Emmy Broido reminded readers that the Jewish woman of the day “leads fashion trends; serves as a strict judge of taste; and she functions as a critical barometer for the up and coming.”<sup>8</sup> To be sure, not all Jewish women working in fashion would have been interested in the inner-Jewish perspective on their capabilities, but members of the Jewish community such as Broido nevertheless took pride in women’s accomplishments.

Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, women with varying degrees of Jewish self-identification continued to drive mainstream German fashions and tastes through their work for noteworthy fashion publications. As Weimar scholar Mila Ganeva details at length in her book, *Women in Weimar Fashion: Discourses and Displays in German Culture, 1918–1933*, Jewish women such as Johanna Thal, Julie Elias, Ola Alsen, Ruth Goetz, and Elsa Herzog numbered among the leading fashion journalists of the day.<sup>9</sup> The images of graphic illustrators including Alice Newman, Dodo (Dörte Clara Wolff), and Lieselotte Friedlaender, many of whom trained at Berlin’s Reimann-Schule, appeared in advertising brochures, fashion magazines, supplements to widely circulated daily newspapers such as the *Berliner Tageblatt* [Berlin Daily] and the *BZ am Mittag* [Berlin Journal at Noon], and elsewhere.<sup>10</sup> Though they rarely brought Jewish identity into dialogue with their work for the fashion world, these journalists and graphic artists emphasized values such as individuality and modern forms of self-expression, topics that were also central to the discourse on Jewish self-representation.

Jewish fashion journalists introduced many of these discussions into the general sphere by way of their regular fashion columns. For example, fashion journalist Johanna Thal (1886–1944, born Martha Johanna Wulkan) served as a central contributor and as editor of the fashion section of *Die Dame* from approximately 1916 to 1934 [see Fig. 1].<sup>11</sup> Her concise lead articles provided an initial source of information about new fashions; it was often Thal who announced what the German fashions for the coming season would be. As Ganeva has noted, Thal’s contributions often underscored the pursuit of

individuality and the agency of female practitioners of fashion.<sup>12</sup> Although we have no evidence that Thal's writings about fashion referenced or were informed by her Jewish identity, her work—and the fact that it ceased abruptly in the mid-1930s, when she as a Jewish writer was banned from general German magazines, after which Thal subsequently left Berlin for Vienna—reminds us that fashion was a subjective endeavor determined by both wearer and observer, and that fashion is very much contingent on the era during which it is produced.

Fashion journalist Julie Elias was a notable exception among Jewish fashion writers insofar as her work appeared not only in general publications, but also sometimes was aimed at Weimar Jewish readerships. On occasion, Elias (1866–1943, born Levi) brought mainstream fashion to the Jewish masses.<sup>13</sup> One article about the new, longer silhouettes of 1929 appeared in *Das jüdische Magazin* [The Jewish Magazine], a short-lived Berlin publication; an image of Elias reinforced the connections between the current styles, which may have appealed to Jewish readerships insofar as they were somewhat more conservative, and the fact that a Jewish woman was describing them in a Jewish publication.<sup>14</sup> Still, Elias is better known for her contributions to the mainstream fashion magazines *Die Dame* and *Styl*, and to the *Berliner Tageblatt*. Though her articles for general periodicals rarely touched on topics pertaining to Jewish fashion, they sometimes alluded to subjects that Elias inflected with Jewishness in other ways, perhaps the most significant of which was food.<sup>15</sup>

For Elias, who enjoyed entertaining at home in Berlin with her husband, art historian Julius Elias, food was not only of great cultural significance, but also provided a way of subtly inserting Jewishness into general discussions. In the introduction to her acclaimed cookbook from 1925, *Das neue Kochbuch* [The New Cookbook], Elias describes her interest in keeping cuisine—which she explicitly relates to fashion—in line with current



Figure 1. Johanna Thal, fashion editor of *Die Dame*, no. 4 (November 1920), 8. Courtesy of the Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

research in hygiene and health.<sup>16</sup> Further, she includes distinctively Jewish recipes in this cookbook, such as recipes for matzah balls and matzah soup nuts, both Passover favorites. According to other recipe titles, several were borrowed from prominent Jewish figures such as painter Max Liebermann's wife, Martha, and fashion writer Elsa Herzog (1876–1964).<sup>17</sup> References to Jewish cuisine also appeared on occasion in Elias's contributions to *Die Dame*, for example, *Schalet* [cholent], a long-simmering stew commonly eaten on the Sabbath.<sup>18</sup>

Indeed, Elias found ways to connect fashion and Jewish culture in a number of other works aimed at young women. Her book, *Die junge Frau* [The Young Woman, 1921], makes overt references to the Talmud as an authority on matters such as being a good household manager.<sup>19</sup> Another slightly more literary work, *Taschenbuch für Damen* [Paperback for Ladies, 1924], addresses her own experiences studying fashion; it also features illustrations by Jewish artist Emil Orlik (1870–1932), another regular contributor to *Die Dame*. One particularly illuminating quote from *Taschenbuch für Damen* reveals an awareness of the possibilities of dually encoding one's self-presentation: "In fashion-related things it is often that which is hidden, which is precisely that, which one wants to display."<sup>20</sup> Like many other Jews in Germany, Elias herself was a master of finding the right moments to reveal Jewishness; for the most part, however, she focused on mainstream fashion advice and recipes.

The works of graphic designers and illustrators can be read somewhat differently than those of journalists; although Jewish illustrators such as Dodo and Alice Newman made no overt references to Jewish themes in their fashion sketches and paintings, one might interpret some of their subjects as encoded with traits commonly associated with Jewish women.<sup>21</sup> The dominant female image of 1920s Germany was that of the New Woman [*Neue Frau*], a subject who, particularly during the years of Nazi rule, was retrospectively conflated with stereotypes about Jewish women: the New Woman was understood to be modern, emancipated, and she was often depicted with bobbed, dark hair. For Dodo (1907–1998, Dörte Clara Wolff), who often portrayed female figures in line with prototypical images of the New Woman, these drawings also reflected Dodo's self-image of a "dark-haired Jewish girl."<sup>22</sup> Like many other Jewish cultural figures who faced unemployment after the Nazi takeover of the German press in 1933–34, Dodo opted to publish in a variety of Jewish magazines and newspapers between 1933 and her emigration from Germany in 1936. It was not unusual that a number of her works from this period took up Jewish themes, though these images generally were not connected to fashion.<sup>23</sup>



As journalists and illustrators, but also as fashion designers renowned for their creative and artistic talents, Jewish women made their mark on the world of Weimar fashion. High-fashion milliner and designer Regina Friedländer is perhaps the best example of a Jewish woman whose work was significant for many different groups of the 1920s, including readers of women's fashion magazines, well-attired Berlin consumers, costume designers who worked in theater and film, people interested in architecture and design, and those who perceived a connection between art and fashion. Very little biographical information is available for Regina Friedländer (also known as Regina Heller); her designs were in wide circulation from roughly 1914 to 1931, though her first salon likely opened around 1900. Her main salon near Potsdamer Platz remained open through 1936, after which it likely was forced to close.<sup>24</sup>



Figure 2. Regina Friedländer hat designs, *Die Dame*, no. 7 (January 1921), 11. Courtesy of the Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.





Figure 3. Regina Friedländer hats and furs. Plate from *Styl* magazine; drawing by Annie Offterdinger. Courtesy of the C. Jahnke Collection, Vancouver, Canada.

Whereas Friedländer's relationship to Jewish contexts was not made explicit in any of her work, scholars consistently list her among the Jewish fashion designers of Weimar Berlin, and the surname Friedländer also would have been construed as Jewish by her contemporaries, thus inflecting her work with a sense of Jewish artistry.<sup>25</sup> Friedländer's fashion designs, and particularly her hats and other forms of headpieces, appeared with great regularity in *Die Dame* and *Styl*, both in photographs and in drawings [see Fig. 2 and Fig. 3].<sup>26</sup> She often held fashion shows in her salons, and she took part in other social events such as a theatrical pantomime and a fashion show featuring as

a model the Jewish actress Maria Orska (1893–1930, born Rahel Blinder-mann).<sup>27</sup> Further, Elsa Herzog organized a fashion show supplement to the Berlin art exhibition titled *Die Frau von heute* [The Woman of Today, 1929], which featured Friedländer on November 21, 1929. Julie Elias and Ola Alsen, too, helped coordinate the exhibition, which, while not explicitly Jewish in any way, was organized and attended by numerous Jewish women.<sup>28</sup>

Together with several other designers, Regina Friedländer set the tone in high-fashion headgear for over a decade, and her work was renowned for its artistic value as well as its fashionability. Her designs were featured as costumes in early films such as *Aus Liebe gefehlt* [Absent from Love, 1917].<sup>29</sup> In 1921, Adolph Donath's art journal *Der Kunstwanderer* [The Art Wayfarer] termed Friedländer "an Artist of Fashion"; several of her pieces were depicted in contemporary paintings by Charlotte Berend and Wolf Röhricht, the latter of which was displayed in the Akademie der Künste in Berlin, thereby merg-

ing with the art world on several levels.<sup>30</sup> Additionally, Friedländer's salon near Potsdamer Platz was featured at length in an article in the architecture and design journal *Innendekoration* [Interior Design] in 1922. In this article, journalist Johanna Thal terms Friedländer a *Meister-Modistin* [Master Milliner] whose work seamlessly blends fashion with art.<sup>31</sup> The detailed, even ornate wall decorations in Friedländer's salon were painted by the Berlin-based Jewish artist Lene Schneider-Kainer, who at that time was best known for her portraits of women.

Artist Schneider-Kainer's body of work, too, represents a nexus of fashion and art, though the fact that she likely entered the fashion world in part out of financial necessity reminds us that some Jewish women may have been involved in fashion simply to make a living. Originally from Vienna, Schneider-Kainer (1885–1971) took painting courses in Vienna, Munich, and Paris before landing in Berlin. Until 1926, she was married to Ludwig Kainer (1885–1967), a painter and graphic artist who regularly contributed to fashion magazines and other illustrated volumes, including Julie Elias's *Die junge Frau*. In January 1925, Schneider-Kainer herself opened a Mode-Kunst-Salon, a fashion and art salon not far from Berlin's Kurfürstendamm, where she simultaneously displayed handcrafted clothing and her watercolor paintings. Among the works sold in this salon were handmade ladies' undergarments [*Damenwäsche*], which she embroidered with artistic designs.<sup>32</sup> Adolph Donath described Schneider-Kainer in *Der Kunstwanderer* as an artist who found a practical solution to the hard times of the inflation years by taking it upon herself to make and sell clothing alongside art.<sup>33</sup> Berlin newspapers and fashion magazines, too, hailed the opening of Schneider-Kainer's store and featured photographs of her and her work. Yet her salon did not remain open for very long, and she gave it up by December 1926 when she departed on a work trip to Asia; it is possible that her store did not achieve great success. For Schneider-Kainer, as for Friedländer, Jewishness did not make itself evident in fashion creations, although the lives and work of both women were closely intertwined with those of other Jewish figures.

On the distribution end, Jewish women played numerous roles within the spaces of Jewish-owned department stores, salons, and boutiques. As historian Paul Lerner discusses at length in his work on department stores, many of the major German department stores were founded by Jewish families, a great number of which were of East European origin: Hermann Tietz, Nathan Israel, Salman Schocken, and others.<sup>34</sup> Jewish women played several pivotal roles vis-à-vis department stores: many worked behind the scenes as in-house

graphic designers, salesgirls, consultants, and coordinators of fashion shows, roles which fashion historian Regina Blaszczyk has classified as “fashion intermediaries.”<sup>35</sup> In fact, there is some evidence that the Jewish press encouraged talented young women to seek out jobs in department stores and houses of *Konfektion*, particularly in the early 1930s when good jobs were scarce.<sup>36</sup> Other women influenced taste and styles through the act of consuming or simply by window shopping or observing wares on display.

Through seasonal placement and subtle imagery, retail stores, including fashion houses and department stores, reached out to Jewish consumers in inventive ways to help them achieve the status of fashionable, modern women.<sup>37</sup> Ganeva has argued that it was fashion house Herrmann Gerson’s participation in the “‘theatricalization’ of fashion marketing” that helped popularize fashion teas, and later fashion shows—fashion as a form of entertainment—beginning as early as the 1890s.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, store owners and managers often served as initiators of new fashion trends: for example, department store owner Georg Tietz writes of his early inspiration to purchase heron feathers, which he bleached and packaged; he then offered his *Lehrmädchen-Verkäuferinnen* [saleswomen in training] a premium to sell off 10,000 Marks worth of feathers within five days.<sup>39</sup> Advertisements published in August and September encouraged shopping in advance of the high holidays, when even relatively unobservant, liberal Jews might have been more likely to purchase expensive new outfits or luxury products in order to appear fashionable at this festive time of year. In contrast to mainstream Weimar fashion, which was perceptibly Jewish only in the most subtle ways, the fashion of Jewish women was not only a hotly debated topic, but also one that was profoundly Jewish.

#### FASHION AS A MEANS OF DISPLAYING (AND DISGUIISING) JEWISHNESS

As we have seen, the majority of Jewish women who were intensively involved with the creation and promotion of Weimar fashion did so in a manner that did not obviously address Jewishness; most of their designs and writings about fashion appeared in general contexts. Yet the claim made by fashion historian Ingrid Loschek that “no stylistic difference between the fashion creations of Jewish and non-Jewish fashion houses existed” speaks only to the styles created for mainstream consumers.<sup>40</sup> Although accurate with respect to general German designs, Loschek’s position does not consider contexts in which distinctively Jewish garments or accessories were purchased and worn or in which general fashions were deployed on Jewish occasions. Even though most

of the fashions of the 1920s had little to do with Jewishness, there were some notable exceptions to this rule. Indeed, historians such as Leora Auslander have argued that Jews in Weimar Germany created “subtle and complex” subcultures in which Jewishness was deeply relevant to taste and aesthetics.<sup>41</sup> In the following, I build on this notion to demonstrate that Weimar Jewish subcultures encompassed fashion in a variety of ways related to personal style, religious observance, Jewish customs, and acute sensitivity to the dangers of Jewish visibility.

Among Jews in Weimar Germany, fashion was an extremely gendered undertaking. Gender also was closely linked to the public visibility of Jews, which was a matter of great concern during this era of growing antisemitism. Religiously observant Jewish men, particularly new immigrants to Germany from Eastern Europe, but also others who wore visible markers such as head coverings or long black coats, remained easy targets even in metropolitan areas such as Berlin, which otherwise provided a significant degree of anonymity to its four million residents. Outbreaks of antisemitic riots that targeted easily identifiable Jews took place on multiple occasions in the 1920s, often in the Scheunenviertel district near Berlin’s Alexanderplatz, which at that time was home to many East European immigrants.<sup>42</sup> In contrast to their male counterparts, Jewish women took advantage of contemporary styles to modernize and update their appearance. Already in the late eighteenth century, religiously observant women began replacing their caps and cloth head coverings with wigs designed to imitate women’s own hair. As a general rule, the more modern Jewish women became, the less overtly Jewish they appeared.

Jewish dress in Weimar Germany incorporated aspects from contemporary German fashion as well as inner-Jewish perspectives on appropriate attire. Not surprisingly, conservative male members of Jewish communities objected to any drastic changes to the Jewish female aesthetic, and fashion trends thus spread more slowly among Jewish consumers, often lagging approximately two to three years behind. In the early 1920s, a wave of articles about the controversial topic of Jewish women and fashion appeared in several different German-Jewish periodicals. Whereas many of these articles supported a movement to convince Jewish women to dress in a less visible or ostentatious way so as not to draw attention to themselves as Jews, others assessed the role of women’s dress in relation to Jewish law.

In addition to mainstream fashions worn by both Jewish and non-Jewish women, a distinct set of stylish looks was promoted specifically to Jewish women, though most were not perceptibly Jewish. The custom of wearing new

clothes on Jewish holidays inspired Jewish fashion in a cyclical manner: Jewish styles often took the form of special new outfits purchased to wear to synagogue on the Jewish New Year, for Passover, or to balls held on festive occasions such as Purim and Hanukkah. For Jews in Germany, as well as elsewhere in Europe and in the United States, it was very common to purchase luxury goods in advance of upcoming holidays and other public ritual occasions.<sup>43</sup> It is possible that fashionable hats by designers such as Regina Friedländer were worn to synagogue or for other Jewish purposes; hats figured as updated versions of religious head coverings for many women.<sup>44</sup> In addition to annual events, wedding fashion, too, was given a Jewish spin; a few articles in the Jewish press actively cultivated a kind of “Jewish wedding chic” by tailoring general fashion to suit the needs of brides invested in Jewish wedding traditions, such as fasting or wearing solid gold wedding rings.<sup>45</sup>

Guidelines for women’s fashion in the 1920s were influenced by contemporary attitudes toward Jews, many of which were intertwined with a fear of the repercussions for appearing well off and fashionable. Women who displayed expensive tastes or dressed in a flashy way, particularly on Jewish holidays or in proximity to synagogues, were accused of incurring unnecessary attention that could prompt antisemitic acts. Upper-class travel destinations, such as summer vacation resorts, were considered especially dangerous; already in 1922, Jewish travelers were warned in the *C.V.-Zeitung*, the newspaper of the *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens* [Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith], to avoid summer vacation spots known to be antisemitic, including nearly every Bavarian bath and resort.<sup>46</sup>

Whether women were at liberty to choose what to wear—and whether to display certain highly visible items such as jewelry—was also a matter of contention. The president of the Centralverein, Ludwig Holländer, acknowledged that the *Schönheitsgefühl* [feeling of beauty] of Jewish women might be in jeopardy if they were compelled to make drastic changes to their aesthetics. Still he posed difficult questions concerning public visibility: “Should women stop putting on jewelry, should everything fashionable be banned? . . . Where is the boundary of jewelry, of striving toward a compliance with looking modern?”<sup>47</sup> For Holländer and others, the problem lay not in owning or wearing luxury objects, but in flaunting them publicly and attracting unwarranted attention. In a similar vein, Berlin attorney Adolf Asch founded an organization in 1922 that issued warnings “to guard the dignity customary before and after the divine services on the High Holidays, and especially to ask Jewish women to avoid all showy luxury in clothing and jewelry.”<sup>48</sup>

Precisely because they often embraced so-called “sinful” or luxurious modern styles, Jewish women were at times more susceptible to critique than their male counterparts. In fact, extensive debates about what styles were appropriate for Jewish women took place in the Weimar Jewish press. Discus-sants such as Holländer wrote of their desire for women to appear less conspic-uous in public; rabbinic councils and others advocated for Jewish women to dress modestly and to eschew the latest styles by avoiding short skirts, revealing clothing, and high heels. That some Jewish women supposedly showed too much skin led the editors of the Orthodox Jewish newspaper *Der Israelit* [The Israelite] to claim that these women were engaged in “gedankenloser Nachäf-fung unjüdischer Mode” [thoughtless mimicry of un-Jewish fashion]. In the same front-page lead article, *Der Israelit* encouraged Jewish women to reject modern, degenerate styles and resist the notion of “Ethisierung der Eitelkeit” [ethically justifying vanity]. To combat this practice, *Der Israelit* supported recovering the ancient Jewish traditions of *tznius* [modest dress]; only through modesty would the Jewish people become worthy of redemption.<sup>49</sup>

When Jewish women added their voices to the inner-Jewish debate about fashion in the mid-1920s, they represented a variety of viewpoints: some reiterated the importance of cultivating inner, moral values, whereas others made a strong case for being permitted to take part in current trends. Contributing to a non-partisan newspaper, Else Fuchs-Hes (1889–1978; later Else Rabin) argued in favor of a more conservative perspective, namely that Jewish women needed to be true to themselves and could do so by resist-ing the superlative clothing fashion of the day: skirts that were potentially too short, stockings that were too gaudy, heels that were too high, hair that was too short.<sup>50</sup> Journalist Doris Wittner (1880–1937), in contrast, took up the cause of liberal Jewish women, arguing that they should be granted the freedom to wear the latest fashions. Barring them from doing so, she boldly claimed, would be tantamount to imposing Christian or antisemitic restric-tions on Jewish expression. Wittner further sardonically equated the argu-ments of the Union for Traditional and Ritually Adherent Rabbis with those used by traditional Christian, Muslim, and antisemitic regulatory practices, thereby underscoring the point that Jewish women should be permitted to take part in mainstream fashions.<sup>51</sup>

In accordance with the suggestion that Jewish women should avoid appearing too conspicuous in public, the Jewish press advertised items designed to help their wearers look no different from the average German woman. Perhaps the best example is the way in which married Orthodox women





**Fischer's**  
weltbekanntes  
**Spezial-Haar-Haus**  
**für Haararbeiten**  
(Scheitel-Transformationen)  
bietet an  
**Bubikopf-Perücken mit langem  
Scheitel von 45 Mk. an**  
**Transformationen von 25 Mk. an**  
Die lambourierten Scheitelstriche sind an  
Naturlichkeit und Qualität unerreicht.  
**H. Fischer, Fürth i. B.**  
Nürnbergerstraße Nr. 2

Figure 4. Advertisement for pageboy wigs, *Der Israelit*, no. 10 (7 March 1929), 8. This same ad appeared regularly in *Der Israelit* from March 1929 to March 1931.

participated in the extremely popular 1920s hairstyle known as the *Bubikopf* [pageboy bob]. Indeed, what author Sammy Gronemann termed the “Orthodox *Bubikopf*”—women’s wigs or *sheitels* in the style of the pageboy bob—was advertised most widely from the late 1920s until 1931, in both Orthodox and other Jewish publications [see Fig. 4]. In his 1927 book of satirical anecdotes that also was serialized in the best-selling Jewish newspaper, the *Israelitisches Familienblatt* [Israelite Family Pages], Gronemann described the phenomenon of the Orthodox *Bubikopf* as barely detectable: “the impeccable pageboy would hardly lead one to suspect that it is a wig worn in the interest of protecting an ancient Jewish tradition.”<sup>52</sup> He also made fun of the hypocritical nature in which many religiously observant Jewish women donned fashionable short wigs in order to adhere to Jewish laws about covering one’s hair, yet did so in the most stylish way possible, complete with ostentatious jewelry and low-cut dresses. It is not difficult to grasp why the trend of *Bubikopf* wigs became popular so quickly; many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century wigs were likely heavy and unmistakable, visibly marking the wearer as possibly Jewish, even from a distance. Smaller, updated *sheitels* enabled observant women to



blend in better with their surroundings and to perceive themselves as more in line with modern styles.

But *Bubikopf* wigs were about more than just navigating the tensions between traditional and modern hairstyles; they also provided Jewish women with a highly subtle way of signifying Jewishness. Even random passersby on the street potentially could identify Jews by way of these hairpieces, particularly if worn in combination with modest clothing. Within Weimar Jewish circles, women further worried about the sensitive issue of being discovered wearing a bad wig—in this case, bad wigs signified not only a poor sense of style, but also made the wearers more of a target for antisemitism. One 1932 ad in *Der Israelit* featured Florian Elzer's Frankfurt beauty salon and boasted that an assistant from the Berlin store of beauty specialist Elise Bock (known as "the German Helena Rubinstein") soon would visit to make clients' *sheitels* fit perfectly.<sup>53</sup> Elzer's ad reminded female customers, who presumably knew all too well what he meant: "Nothing is worse than when someone can tell that you're wearing a wig."<sup>54</sup> This line carries with it another implication: if they know how to identify it, people can always spot who is wearing a wig; even hidden signifiers of Jewishness can be made recognizable.

This line sums up the message about women's fashion conveyed by advertisers, but also by other contributors to the Jewish press: cultivate a Jewish identity, but find a way to wear Jewishness such that it is barely detectable in public. For women in the Weimar period, "Jewish chic" meant appearing fashionable and German on the surface—even setting the trends in mainstream German fashions—but displaying Jewishness in only the most subtle ways, if at all. As journalists, artists, designers, distributors, and consumers, Jewish women made a remarkable impact on Weimar tastes and fashion trends. At the same time, some also found a way to incorporate Jewishness into their versions of these styles, albeit in a manner that was practically invisible to the untrained eye.

## POSTSCRIPT: JEWS AND FASHION AFTER 1933

Many German Jews maintained strong ties to the fashion industry after 1933 despite restrictions placed upon them by the Nazi government. Although there were countless fashion shows, balls, and other social events organized by Jewish women during the 1920s, it was only after 1933 that major fashion events were aimed at exclusively Jewish audiences.<sup>55</sup> As Jewish women were shut out of German fashion with the gradual "Aryanization" (forced transfer of Jewish-owned businesses to "Aryan" owners) of all fashion-related businesses between



Fig. 5. Audience and model at a fashion show of the artists' relief organization [*Künstlerhilfe*] of the Jewish community, Berlin (4 September 1934). Berlin Jewish Community Collection AR 88. Courtesy of the Leo Baeck Institute, New York.

1933 and 1938, they found other specifically Jewish outlets for their interests. Further, fashion came to symbolize a lighthearted and enjoyable comfort for Jewish women, an age-old pleasure that distracted them from difficult times. In 1934, an event of the artists' relief organization titled *Ein Tag für die jüdische Frau* [A Day for the Jewish Woman] aimed to bring Jewish women into contact with Jewish-owned firms, which they as consumers were encouraged to support. A further goal of the event was "to satisfy women's desire for exhibitions and to stimulate feminine, and, if present, masculine purchasing desires."<sup>56</sup> This Day for the Jewish Woman, which was held between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur in 1934, included a show of coming winter fashions supposedly organized by Elsa Herzog [see Fig. 5].<sup>57</sup>

Also around this time, Jewish writer and journalist Clementine Krämer (1873–1942), an amateur fashion expert who had worked in retail, proclaimed in a public lecture to Jewish women that fashion always had been, and continued to be, of great interest to women, noting that fashion in itself was always changing and thus was inherently modern. The notes for her lecture, which

she likely presented in 1935 to members of the Jüdischer Frauenbund, titled *Modeplauderei* [Musings on Fashion], can be found among her papers.<sup>58</sup> These notes contain a close analysis of decades of fashion magazines, as well as different fabrics, colors, and styles, though in an initial outline she writes that she intentionally avoided a discussion of what constituted ethical attire for Jewish women during such a precarious time.<sup>59</sup> The styles themselves were likely more interesting—or simply more fun—for Krämer and her audience than a debate about propriety and modesty.

For Krämer and others in the mid-1930s, there was a clear distinction between *Mode* [fashion] and *Tracht* [traditional folk costume], the latter of which frequently was associated with so-called “Aryan” attire. According to Krämer, *Tracht* was static and unchanging, and perhaps more conservative, whereas the newest *Mode* styles were captivating but bound to die out quickly. Her words echo earlier writings of Johanna Thal, who often emphasized the ephemeral nature of *Mode*. Historian Irene Guenther has written extensively about the evolution of fashionable styles in the Third Reich and the predominant shift away from *Mode*, which was negatively deemed foreign, American, and also Jewish.<sup>60</sup>

Indeed, the strongest ties between Jewish women and current fashions arguably existed during the Weimar years, when their participation in various fashion-related industries reached its peak. In the early years of Nazi rule, Jewish women continued to create, discuss, and showcase fashions among themselves, but their contributions to general German fashions were constricted greatly by a clear separation between Jewish and German cultural spheres. After 1938, there were no longer any Jewish-owned fashion houses or department stores to be found in Germany; only the most fortunate Jewish designers, illustrators, and journalists were able to escape and bring their work to other centers of fashion such as London and New York.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> “Das Judentum ist geradezu Mode geworden: man trägt es wieder!” Sammy Gronemann, *Schalet: Beiträge zur Philosophie des “Wenn Schon!”* (afterword by Joachim Schlör; Leipzig: Reclam Verlag, 1998), 48. Sammy Gronemann (1875–1952) was an attorney, a well-known author, and an important Jewish public figure; he was especially active in Zionist circles and emigrated to Tel Aviv in the 1930s.

<sup>2</sup> On Jewish women as fashion photographers, see Nils Roemer’s contribution to this volume.

<sup>3</sup> On Jewish populations in Weimar Germany, see Marion A. Kaplan, ed., *Jewish Daily Life in Germany, 1618–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 273–74.

<sup>4</sup> On Jewish founding roles and participation in Berlin *Konfektion* in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Mila Ganeva, *Women in Weimar Fashion: Discourses and Displays in German Culture, 1918–1933* (Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 2008); Erika Ehlerding, “Mihu Jehudi: Jüdische Konfektionäre in Styl,” in *Styl: Das Berliner Modejournal der frühen 1920er Jahre* (ed. Adelheid Rasche and Anna Zika; Stuttgart: Arnoldsche, 2009), 176–81; Roberta S. Kremer, ed., *Broken Threads: The Destruction of the Jewish Fashion Industry in Germany and Austria* (Oxford: Berg, 2007); Uwe Westphal, *Berliner Konfektion und Mode: Die Zerstörung einer Tradition, 1836–1939* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich Berlin, 1992); and Brunhilde Dähn, *Berlin Hausvogteiplatz: Über 100 Jahre am Laufsteg der Mode* (Göttingen: Musterschmidt-Verlag, 1968). On 1920s fashion more broadly, see also Nora Fiege, *Berliner Konfektion und Mode in den 1920er Jahren: Neue Kleider für Neue Frauen?* (Hamburg: Diplomica Verlag, GmbH, 2009; Berlin: Kunsthochschule Berlin-Weißensee Diplomarbeit, 2008); Christine Waidenschlager and Christa Gustavus, *Mode der 20er Jahre* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 1993); and Christine Waidenschlager and Christa Gustavus, *Berliner Chic: Mode aus den Jahren 1820–1990* (Berlin: Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin, 2001).

<sup>5</sup> Westphal, *Berliner Konfektion und Mode*, 90.

<sup>6</sup> One nonscholarly article published online in 2010, which supposedly draws on the expertise of journalist Ruth Haber (who contributed to Waidenschlager, *Berliner Chic*), goes so far as to claim that 90 percent of Berlin *Konfektion* was under Jewish ownership. Wolfgang Altmann, “Berlin—Stadt der Mode,” *Tip Berlin* (1 July 2010). Retrieved from <http://www.tip-berlin.de/kultur-und-freizeit-shopping-und-stil/berlin-stadt-der-mode>. In addition, Roberta Kremer’s 2007 book, which grew out of a 1999 Vancouver Holocaust Education Centre exhibition by the same name, suggests that higher statistics might be more accurate in some cases, namely that 80 percent of department and chain-store businesses were Jewish-owned and that 60 percent of wholesale and retail clothing businesses were Jewish-owned. See Kremer, *Broken Threads*, 14. No evidence in support of these figures is cited in either case.

<sup>7</sup> See Irene Guenther, *Nazi Chic? Fashioning Women in the Third Reich* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 84. For an in-depth discussion of scholarly positions on statistics pertaining to Jews in German fashion industries, see Susan Ingram and Katrina Sark, *Berliner Chic: A Locational History of Berlin Fashion* (Chicago: Intellect, The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 67–76.

<sup>8</sup> Broido writes that the Jewish woman is “tonangebend für die Mode; strenge Richterin des Geschmacks, sie ist Kritikerin mit einer Witterung für das Neue und Kommende.” Emmy Broido, “Die Jüdin von heute,” *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 1926, no. 47 (25 November 1926): 13.

<sup>9</sup> Ganeva, *Women in Weimar Fashion*, 66.

<sup>10</sup> Lieselotte Friedlaender descended from a formerly Jewish family that had converted to Protestantism. Although she likely did not self-identify as a Jew during the Weimar period, she is often considered as a Jewish artist because she was not permitted to work under her own name after 1933. See, for example, Ingrid Loschek, “Contributions of Jewish Fashion Designers in Berlin,” 49–75, here 63 and 75 n.27. On Lieselotte Friedlaender, see Burcu Dogramaci, *Lieselotte Friedlaender (1898–1973)—eine Künstlerin der Weimarer Republik. Ein Beitrag zur Pressegraphik der 20er Jahre* (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 2001). For additional information about fashion illustrators, see also Burcu Dogramaci, “Fenster zur Welt: Künstlerische Modegraphik der Weimarer Republik aus dem Bestand der Kunstbibliothek zu Berlin,” *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, vol. 45 (2003): 201–33.

<sup>11</sup> Though little is known about Johanna Thal’s fate, my research suggests that she emigrated from Berlin to Vienna in 1935, and was deported from Austria to Theresienstadt in 1942 and later to Auschwitz, where she likely met her death in 1944. This biographical information is taken from an entry on Johanna Thal’s husband, journalist (Friedrich) Julius Hirsch (1874–1942), in Hannah Caplan, et al., eds., *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933–1945*, Vol. 2.1 (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1983), 514. There is also a short entry for Johanna Thal in the Berlin Jewish address book, suggesting that she lived at Grolmanstr. 55 in Berlin in the early 1930s. See *Jüdisches Adressbuch für Groß-Berlin. Ausgabe 1931* (foreword by Hermann Simon; Berlin: arani-Verlag, 1994), 409.

<sup>12</sup> According to Ganeva, Thal likely contributed to *Die Dame* from 1916 to 1934. See Johanna Thal, “Kritisches über die Mode,” *Die Dame*, November 1921, no. 4: 13; cited in Ganeva, *Women in Weimar Fashion*, 39.

<sup>13</sup> Although Julie Elias’s date of death is usually listed as 1945, an obituary published in *Aufbau* [Reconstruction] in 1943 suggests that she died two years earlier than was previously thought. See Max Osborn, “Julie Elias,” *Aufbau* (24 December 1943): 7.

<sup>14</sup> Julie Elias, “Die veränderte Silhouette,” *Das jüdische Magazin*, vol. 1, no. 4 (November 1929): 53–55.

<sup>15</sup> See Julie Elias, “Mode und Küche,” *Berliner Tageblatt*, no. 96 (26 February 1929): 2.

<sup>16</sup> Julie Elias, *Das neue Kochbuch: Ein Führer durch die feine Küche* (Berlin: Ullstein Verlag, 1925), xi.

<sup>17</sup> Elias, *Das neue Kochbuch*, 22 [Mazzeklöße; Mazzeschwämmchen]; “Gänseleber nach Elsa Herzog,” 35; and “Parfait von Kaffee. Nach Martha Liebermann,” 231.

<sup>18</sup> Julie Elias, “Festgerichte,” *Die Dame*, December 1929, no. 6: 113.

<sup>19</sup> Julie Elias, *Die junge Frau: Ein Buch der Lebensführung* (Berlin: Rudolf Mosse Buchverlag, 1921), 108.

<sup>20</sup> “In Modedingen ist oft das, was man verbirgt, gerade das, was man zeigen möchte.” Julie Elias, *Taschenbuch für Damen* (Berlin: Ullstein Verlag, 1924), 108.

<sup>21</sup> Several works by Alice (Lissi) Newman (née Edler) were acquired recently by the Jewish Museum Berlin. On Alice Newman, see Westphal, *Berliner Konfektion und Mode*, 161–66 and 216–17; and Andreas Nachama, *Jüdische Lebenswelten* (exhibition catalog; Berliner Festspiele; Frankfurt am Main: Jüdischer Verlag, 1991), 216–18.

<sup>22</sup> Renate Krümmner, ed., *Dodo: Leben und Werk / Life and Work 1907–1998* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2012), 17. On correlations between Jewishness and the dark hair of the New Woman, see Darcy Buerkle, “Gendered Spectatorship, Jewish Women and Psychological Advertising in Weimar Germany,” *Women’s History Review* 15:4 (September 2006): 625–36.

<sup>23</sup> After 1933, Dodo contributed illustrations to the *Jüdische Rundschau*, *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, *C.V.-Zeitung*, and the Berlin *Gemeindeblatt*. See Krümmner, *Dodo*, 25 and 115–19.

<sup>24</sup> Based on information available in Berlin address books, it would seem that Regina Friedländer first began selling women’s hats [*Damenputz*] around 1900; the first time her store is listed as a “Salon” was in 1903. (To complicate matters, there are two entries for women named Regina Friedländer who worked in Berlin fashion in 1900.) Regina Friedländer’s hat salon existed at several different locations on Linkstraße through 1910. After a brief stint at Potsdamer Straße 20/21 circa 1911–1913, the primary Regina Friedländer salon opened in 1914 at Königgrätzerstraße 2-3 near Potsdamer Platz and likely remained open continuously through 1936 (this street was later renamed Budapest-er Straße, Friedrich-Ebert-Straße, and Hermann-Göring-Straße, and is today Ebert-straße). In 1928 and 1929, Friedländer opened a second salon at Kurfürstendamm 48; it is possible that she closed this second store after 1929 due to economic circumstances. Unfortunately, I have not been able to verify any information about the birth or fate of the renowned fashion designer. My current theory is that hat designer Regina Friedländer opened her salons in her maiden name (or perhaps under another family name or the name of a first husband, as she is never referred to as “Fräulein”); in Berlin address books prior to 1906, the name of the salon *Inhaberin* [owner/proprietor] is listed as “Frau Regina Friedländer,” whereas beginning in 1907, the proprietor’s name is given as “Frau Regina Heller,” suggesting that Regina Friedländer might have (re-)married and taken her husband’s name in 1906 or 1907. (It is also possible that the business transferred hands from Regina Friedländer to a different woman, Regina Heller, in 1907, though the consistency of the first name makes this less plausible.) The 1907 address book entry for “Regina Heller” confirms that she is the owner of the label “Regina Friedländer” and lists her home address as Güntzelstr. 19; by 1920, this same Regina Heller lived at Von-der-Heydt-Str. 4. Online: <http://adressbuch.zlb.de/>. The 1931 *Jüdisches Adressbuch für Groß-Berlin* lists a woman by the name of Regina Heller living at the same address on Von-der-Heydt-Str., which confirms that the designer Regina Heller/Friedländer self-identified as Jewish. *Jüdisches Adressbuch für Groß-Berlin*, 153.

<sup>25</sup> My research confirms that Regina Friedländer considered herself Jewish; see above note. In addition, Ingrid Loschek and Erika Ehlerding have counted Regina Friedländer among Berlin’s leading Jewish salon owners. See Ingrid Loschek, “Contributions of Jewish Fashion Designers in Berlin,” 61; and Erika Ehlerding, “Mihu Jehudi,” 178. The illustra-



tor Lieselotte Friedlaender, who was not related to Regina Friedländer and who did not identify as Jewish, was forced to work under pseudonyms after 1933 because her last name was perceived as Jewish (see note 10).

<sup>26</sup> The extensive collection of fashion historian Claus Jahnke in Vancouver, Canada, contains dozens of original garments, periodicals, and other fashion memorabilia from the early twentieth century, including several images of work by Regina Friedländer. Many images from his collection appear in Kremer, *Broken Threads*; numerous labels from garments can be viewed online at: <http://www.giselamueller.info/threadlagged/threadlagged/jahnke.htm>. Additional images of Friedländer's work can be found at the Kunstbibliothek in Berlin.

<sup>27</sup> Dähn, *Berlin Hausvogteiplatz*, 207.

<sup>28</sup> See Verein der Künstlerinnen zu Berlin, *Die Frau von heute: Gemälde, Graphik, Plastik* (exhibition catalog; Berlin, November–December 1929).

<sup>29</sup> Dähn, *Berlin Hausvogteiplatz*, 208.

<sup>30</sup> See "Kunst und Mode. Mit einer Zeichnung von Charlotte Berend," *Der Kunstwanderer*, November 1921: 129. One painting was reproduced in *Die Dame*; see "Aus der Ausstellung 'Farbe und Mode' in der Berliner Akademie der Künste," *Die Dame*, March 1921, no. 12: 2.

<sup>31</sup> Johanna Thal, "Der Salon Regina Friedländer: Ein neuzeitlicher Geschäfts-Raum," *Innen-Dekoration*, 1922, vol. 33, no. 2: 336–49. Online: <http://www.digizeitschriften.de/dms/img/?PPN=urn%3Anbn%3Ade%3Absz%3A16-diglit-104562&DMDID=dmd00150>. Several of Lene Schneider-Kainer's decorative wall paintings are clearly visible in illustrations for this *Innendekoration* article.

<sup>32</sup> Sabine Dahmen, *Leben und Werk der jüdischen Künstlerin Lene Schneider-Kainer in Berlin der zwanziger Jahre* (Dortmund: edition ebersbach, 1999), 118–22.

<sup>33</sup> Adolph Donath, *Der Kunstwanderer*, 1925: 204. Cited in Dahmen, *Leben und Werk der jüdischen Künstlerin Lene Schneider-Kainer*, 119.

<sup>34</sup> See 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; and 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. Gideon Reuveni and Sarah Wobick-Segev; New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 135–54.

<sup>35</sup> See Regina Lee Blaszczyk, "Rethinking Fashion," in *Producing Fashion: Commerce, Culture, and Consumers* (ed. Regina Lee Blaszczyk; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 1–18.

<sup>36</sup> See, for example, Katharina Feige-Straßburger, "Was lernen unsere Töchter?," *C.V.-Zeitung*, no. 16 (15 April 1932): 153–54.

<sup>37</sup> On the marketing strategies of German department stores, see Kerry Wallach, "Kosher Seductions: Jewish Women as Employees and Consumers in German Department Stores," in *Das Berliner Warenhaus: Geschichte und Diskurse / The Berlin Department Store: History and Discourse* (ed. Godela Weiss-Sussex and Ulrike Zitzlsperger; Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 2013), 117–37.



<sup>38</sup> Mila Ganeva, "Elegance and Spectacle in Berlin: The Gerson Fashion Store and the Rise of the Modern Fashion Show," in *The Places and Spaces of Fashion, 1800–2007* (ed. John Potvin; New York: Routledge, 2009), 121–38, here 124.

<sup>39</sup> Georg Tietz, *Hermann Tietz: Geschichte einer Familie und ihrer Warenhäuser* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1965), 86–87. On Jews and the distribution of feathers, see Sarah Stein, *Plumes: Ostrich Feathers, Jews, and a Lost World of Global Commerce* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

<sup>40</sup> Ingrid Loschek, "Contributions of Jewish Fashion Designers in Berlin," 71.

<sup>41</sup> Leora Auslander, "The Boundaries of Jewishness, or When is a Cultural Practice Jewish?," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 8:1 (2009): 47–64, here 55. See also Leora Auslander, "Jewish Taste? Jews and the Aesthetics of Everyday Life in Paris and Berlin, 1920–1942," in *Histories of Leisure* (ed. Rudy Koshar; Oxford: Berg Press, 2002), 299–318.

<sup>42</sup> On antisemitic violence against Jews in Weimar Germany, see David Clay Large, "'Out with the Ostjuden': The Scheunenviertel Riots in Berlin, November 1923," in *Exclusionary Violence: Antisemitic Riots in Modern German History* (ed. Christhard Hoffmann, Werner Bergmann, and Helmut Walser Smith; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 123–40; and Trude Maurer, *Ostjuden in Deutschland, 1918–1933* (Hamburg: H. Christians Verlag, 1986).

<sup>43</sup> 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). See also Jenna Weissman Joselit, *New York's Jewish Jews: The Orthodox Community in the Interwar Years* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 102.

<sup>44</sup> In their everyday dress, many American Jewish women, for example, replaced "old-fashioned" head coverings (such as wigs) with fashionable hats. See Barbara A. Schreier, *Becoming American Women: Clothing and the Jewish Immigrant Experience, 1880–1920* (exhibition catalog; Chicago Historical Society, 1994), 49–83.

<sup>45</sup> See, for example, these two articles in a Yiddish-language Berlin magazine and a Frankfurt-based Orthodox Jewish newspaper, respectively: "In London iz leystens fargekumen a mode-oysstelung," *Yidische ilustrirte tsaytung*, 1924, no. 2 (30 May 1924): 25; and Felix Kanter, "Etwas vom Eheringe," *Der Israelit*, 1920, no. 20 (20 May 1920): 11.

<sup>46</sup> The Centralverein was a liberal Jewish self-defense organization founded in 1893. See, for example, Hans Guggenheimer, "Bayerische Sommerfrischen! Ein Mahnwort an jüdische Reisende," *C.V.-Zeitung*, 1922, no. 4 (26 May 1922): 49. On resort antisemitism in the Weimar Republic, see Frank Bajohr, "*Unser Hotel ist judenfrei*": *Bäder-Antisemitismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2003), 53–115; and Inbal Steinitz, *Der Kampf jüdischer Anwälte gegen den Antisemitismus: Rechtsschutz durch den Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (1893–1933)* (Berlin: Metropol, 2007).

<sup>47</sup> "Sollen die Damen keinen Schmuck mehr anlegen, soll alles Modische verbannt sein? . . . Wo findet der Schmuck, wann findet das Streben nach modern-gefälligem Aussehen

seine Grenze?" (ellipsis added). Ludwig Holländer, "Selbstwürde," *C.V.-Zeitung*, 1922, no. 14 (10 August 1922): 173–74. For a discussion of Holländer's article and other articles in this newspaper, see Avraham Barkai, "Wehr Dich!" *Der Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (C.V.) 1893–1938* (Munich: C. H. Beck Verlag, 2002), 108–9.

<sup>48</sup> Cited in Peter Gay, *Freud, Jews and Other Germans: Masters and Victims in Modernist Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 183. Original: "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)*, 3. Courtesy of the archives of the Leo Baeck Institute Jerusalem, file no. 2 (Adolf Asch).

<sup>49</sup> "Frauenmoden," *Der Israelit*, 1925, no. 3 (15 January 1925): 1–2.

<sup>50</sup> Else Fuchs-Hes, "Frauenpsyche und Mode," *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, no. 26 (25 June 1925): 17. On Else Fuchs-Hes, see Claudia Prestel, "Frauenpolitik oder Parteipolitik? Jüdische Frauen in innerjüdischer Politik in der Weimarer Republik," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 37 (1997): 121–55, here 124–45.

<sup>51</sup> Doris Wittner, "Frauenmode," *C.V.-Zeitung*, no. 28 (9 July 1926): 373–74. See also the short article to which this piece was a response: "Gegen die Auswüchse der Frauenmode," *C.V.-Zeitung*, no. 26 (25 June 1926): 350. On journalist Doris Wittner, see Kerry Wallach, "Front-Page Jews: Doris Wittner's Berlin Feuilletons," in *Discovering Women's History: German-speaking Journalists 1900–1950* (ed. Christa Spreizer; Oxford: Lang, forthcoming 2014).

<sup>52</sup> "Der tadellose Bubikopf lässt kaum ahnen, das es sich um eine im Interesse der Wahrung altjüdischer Zucht getragene Perücke handelt." Gronemann, *Schalet* (1998), 113. See also Sammy Gronemann, "Schalet: 20. Der orthodoxe Bubikopf," *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, no. 10 (8 March 1928): 998.

<sup>53</sup> It is highly unlikely that Elise Bock (1864/1866–circa 1945) was Jewish, although the Elise Bock Company may have been purchased by a family of Jewish descent in the early 1930s. See Dorit Kupka, *Kosmetik—Domäne der Frau? Zur Verberuflichung weiblicher Tätigkeiten* (Straelen: Peter Keuck, 2005), 129–36.

<sup>54</sup> "Nichts ist schlimmer, [als] wenn man sieht, daß Sie eine Perücke tragen." "Florian Elzer Eleganter Schönheitssalon," advertisement, *Der Israelit*, no. 29 (14 July 1932): 12.

<sup>55</sup> Though it is possible that synagogues or Jewish women's groups organized fashion events in the Weimar period, I have found no evidence of fashion events exclusively for Jewish audiences prior to 1933. However, several beauty pageants—which sometimes were paired with fashion shows—were organized in order to select Jewish beauty queens. See, for example, "Bar Kochba-Hakoah Ball," *Gemeindeblatt der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin*, no. 12 (December 1931): 360.

<sup>56</sup> "Das Brüdervereinshaus hatte sich in ein Warenhaus im kleinen verwandelt, zur Befriedigung weiblicher Schaugier und zum Anreiz femininer und, falls vorhanden, maskuliner Kauflust." E. Ta., "Sommerlüfte—Wintermode," *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung*, no. 72 (7 September 1934): 3–4.

<sup>57</sup> The Leo Baeck Institute New York is in possession of several images of this fashion show, a few of which depict items of clothing hanging along the walls of the venue, waiting to be purchased.

<sup>58</sup> “*Modeplauderei*” was a common title for fashion columns in Weimar fashion magazines. As a child, Clementine Krämer grew up among the fabrics of her father’s retail store in Karlsruhe. She worked as a saleslady for the S. Eichengrün & Co. firm after her husband’s business went bankrupt in 1929. See Werner J. Cahnman, “The Life of Clementine Kraemer,” *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 8 (1964): 267–91, here 290.

<sup>59</sup> Clementine Krämer Collection. AR 2402. Leo Baeck Institute, New York and Berlin. Reel 1, Folder 7. Though undated, these lecture notes contain a clear reference to fashion magazines “from 1905 to 1935,” suggesting that the lecture was held in 1935 or shortly thereafter. The document is located in a folder of materials created in conjunction with Krämer’s work for the Jüdischer Frauenbund.

<sup>60</sup> See Guenther, *Nazi Chic?*, 91–141.