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The politics of fashion

German fashion writings in times of war

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In 1915, the second year of the First World War, German intellectuals and artists believed in a near victory. This was reflected in their writing and their art, which tried to convince their contemporaries of the necessity of war. Architect and theorist Hermann Muthesius (1861–1927) used Otto von Bismarck's quote, "Let us put Germany in the saddle—it already knows how to ride," as the heading for his 1915 political pamphlet *Die Zukunft der deutschen Form* (The Future of German Form), shown in Figure 16.1.[1] He had his reasons for borrowing from Bismarck: in a speech before the North German Parliament on March 11, 1867, the then Prussian Prime Minister and President of the North German Confederation had vehemently opposed those who were concerned that Germany, unified under Prussian leadership, would not a be viable state. This statement was intended to support the future success of the undertaking.[2]

At the time Muthesius wrote this pamphlet, the Wilhelmine Empire was economically and culturally isolated from its enemies, France and England. Exchanges with Paris, the leading city of fashion, had stopped; the import of new designs from other countries had ceased almost entirely.[3] The pamphlet expressed an absolute belief in the perseverance of German design and saw the war as an opportunity. Muthesius, the chief ideologue of the Deutscher Werkbund (German Association of Craftsmen), encouraged the autonomy of German styling in all areas of design, but he was also particularly interested in liberating German fashion from the dominance of Parisian fashion production.

The aim of the Deutscher Werkbund, formed with the involvement of the architects Peter Behrens (1868–1940) and Josef Hoffmann (1870–1956) in 1907, was "gute Form" (good form) through the collaboration of art, industry, and craft.[4] Their goal, from the very beginning, was to strengthen the

Figure 16.1 *Pamphlet cover, Hermann Muthesius,* Die Zukunft der deutschen Form *(The Future of German Form) (Stuttgart and Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1915). Photo: author's personal collection.*

reputation and status of German goods on the global market. Creating an international network was of utmost importance.[5] The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 had led to a vitalization of German national thought in the field of design and its theoretical underpinning. War, and its consequences, determined the yearbooks of the Deutscher Werkbund in regards to subject matter: *Deutsche Form im Kriegsjahr* (German Form in War Years) was published in 1915 and *Kriegergräber im Felde und Daheim* (War Graves Afield and at Home) in 1916–17.

Well-known designers and authors such as Hermann Muthesius, Friedrich Naumann, Fritz Stahl, and Walter Riezler were proponents of a German style, the constitution of which was to be as independent of international impacts as possible. In this understanding, style or form—as molded material or matter—is tied to a nation and cultural sphere.[6] Books such as *Der deutsche Stil* (German Style), published by Naumann in 1915, or *Der Deutsche nach dem Kriege* (The German after the War), published by Muthesius in 1915, called for the aesthetic and economic autonomy of German style. (Figure 16.2). German fashion production, in particular, stood at the centre of a debate about the autonomy of a national style; countless essays and pamphlets propagated its independence from France.

Figure 16.2 *Book cover, Hermann Muthesius,* Der Deutsche nach dem Kriege *(The German after the War) (München: F. Bruckmann, 1915). Photo: author's personal collection.*

In 1915, Muthesius promoted the creation of an independent fashion industry in Germany. The Deutscher Werkbund inaugurated a committee to support the efforts of establishing this German fashion industry, which was to be independent from Paris. Mathesisus's defiant attitude towards French fashion was supported by other writers. In his 1915 publication *Die Weltpolitik der Weltmode* (The Global Politics of Global Fashion), Norbert Stern wrote about Berlin as a new global fashion capital and emphasized the political potential of fashion (Figure 16.3). According to Stern, the new, German, national fashion industry would include not only the independent design of clothes in Germany, but other materials as well. Instead of French silk, which, due to the war, had become rare, hand-woven linen fabrics had become the national material of the time. With the *Kriegskrinoline* (war crinoline) silhouette, fashion designers and authors endeavored to refer back to a genuinely German era: the German Biedermeier period of the nineteenth century.

This essay incorporates a reading of, until now, lesser-known writings by Hermann Muthesius, Norbert Stern, and the German visual artist Rudolf Bosselt (1871–1928) from the beginnings of the First World War. Fashion caricatures will be analyzed as well in order to see how an argument was raised *against* French fashion and *in favor* of German fashion: What should a national German fashion

Figure 16.3 *Book cover, Norbert Stern,* Die Weltpolitik der Weltmode *(Global Politics of Global Fashion) (Stuttgart and Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1915). Photo: author's personal collection.*

look like, and how should it differ in terms of design and material from the fashion of the neighboring enemy country? Which historical references were developed, for example, to situate German fashion in a cultural-historical context?

Against the primacy of French fashion, in favour of German design

In 1915, Muthesius published an article titled "Deutsche Mode" (German Fashion) in the journal *Der Kunstwart.* In it, he described how the outbreak of war had broken the monopoly of the Paris fashion industry and that the time for an independent, creative fashion industry in Germany had arrived. In this article, as well as in subsequent publications, Muthesius argued in favour of a German fashion and against a French one. The problem, as he diagnosed it, was careless German adaptation or imitation of Parisian models, which he attributed to underdeveloped self-confidence. Muthesisus accused German clothing designers of being unable to recognize their talent for invention:

> In Germany, namely, the adoption of that which is foreign has become habit. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the French model was replaced by that of the English in some areas, for example, in men's clothing. However, it never occurred to anyone that there was an alternative to copying the model of the more favoured neighbouring people. . . . It has always been characteristic of the Germans to willingly acknowledge that which is foreign and to even value it more than that which is their own.[7]

He continued:

> Even today, however, the strange, rather unbelievable state of affairs persists that Berlin is the leading manufacturing site in the world—certainly of coats—and occupies a dominant market position, without raising claim to intellectual authorship. Before the war, garment manufacturers from Berlin spent part of their lives in railroad cars, travelling to and from Paris, to gather ideas. After the war, however, this will, by necessity, change.[8]

Muthesius explained in great detail how, before the war broke out, fashion designers would make their way to Paris every February to purchase the carefully guarded new fashions, which would then be replicated upon return to their home countries.[9] For Muthesius, the war served as a wake-up call. Severed trade relations offered Germany an opportunity to gain artistic and economic independence:

> The fashion industry alone had remained disregarded [by the emancipation movement of German art and culture] until the beginning of the war. Here, independence from Paris and London seemed inevitable. The necessity to help oneself had an extremely healing effect and also resulted in Germany being entirely capable of seeing to its own affairs.[10]

"War has now changed everything. Paris is closed to us; it couldn't give us any models or ideas, even if we wanted them," Muthesius wrote.[11] In *Krieg und deutsche Mode* (War and German Fashion), published in 1915, Rudolf Bosselt expressed a similar idea:

> External events have determined and encouraged the time to push back against the French [fashion] dictatorship, at which we would have arrived at some point sooner or later. Paris is closed to us; the newly released fashions, apparently even via neutral countries, unobtainable. We are on our own. Now is the moment to test and assert our own strength—a better one will not come around again.[12]

In 1915, this belief in the "future of fashion through the war" was still characteristic of the interpretation of the war as a cathartic, stimulating event for national cultural production.[13]

If the propensity for German designers to copy Parisian styles as a result of a lack of self-confidence was bemoaned, the opposite was also felt to be true. This was particularly the case for Parisian fashion designer Paul Poiret (1879–1944), who Bosselt and Muthesius felt plagiarized German and Austrian

reform dresses in his designs. According to Bosselt, Poiret availed himself of the creations of the Wiener Werkstätte.[14] Muthesius also characterized Poiret as a brazen copyist, who marketed that which was foreign as his own:

> But it is very telling . . . that it was a Frenchman, Poiret, however, who zealously drew from these German impulses, which he recognized as being extraordinarily valuable, and from them created a "new genre," as it is known in clothing design jargon. This was then introduced to our dear public as the 'newest Parisian creation' with great pomp and on dainty young Parisian models (awkwardly referred to by the Germans with the Frenchified German word *Mannequin*).[15]

Interesting here are the ambivalent connotations of adaptation and appropriation. While the German fashion designers' act of copying was explained by false modesty and a lack of self-confidence (thereby transferring the "blame" to the dominating Parisian paragon), the act of emulation exposed the French "plagiarizers" as honorless forgers.

Reflections on originality, authorship, and uniqueness have shaped the cultural and artistic discourse of the early twentieth century. Erwin Panofsky's *Kopie oder Fälschung—Ein Beitrag zur Kritik einiger Zeichnungen aus der Werkstatt Michelangelos* (Copy or Forgery: A Critique of Several Drawings from Michelangelo's Workshop, 1928) and Max J. Friedlaender's *Echt und unecht—Aus den Erfahrungen des Kunstkenners* (Genuine and Counterfeit: Experiences of a Connoisseur, published in 1929 and translated in 1930) can be read alongside the positions introduced here in the context of German fashion production.[16] As Muthesius's statements exemplify, there was also a desire for a national fashion jargon: models were no longer to be referred to as mannequins but as *Modellmädchen* (mannequins).

National materials and clothing lines: Germany's construction of its own fashion history

The promotion of a new national fashion industry included more than just the independent design of new dresses in Germany. In the months after the outbreak of the war, the Deutsche Werkbund established a committee to create an independent German fashion industry. This committee called for all fabrics and materials to be manufactured in Germany and for the exclusive use of German terminology. Artists were to be involved throughout the entire production process; not only in the design of fashion lines but also in the creation of fabrics, laces, embellishments, buttons, and the like.[17]

In wartime texts on German fashion, artists were urged to help valorize German fashion production. Since the mass-production of clothing was thought to lack potential for innovation, the future of German fashion lay in the fashion workshops, which were to produce handmade and artistically

valuable couture.[18] Authors such as Norbert Stern drew connections between these workshops and the medieval guilds during the golden age of German art. "What a rich artistic world was created by artisan craftwork in the days of Dürer!," Stern wrote.[19] The idea of a valorization of craftsmanship in reaction to the mechanical mass-production of objects had already been spurred by the Arts and Crafts movement of the nineteenth century and would also set the tone for the Bauhaus art school in post-war Weimar.[20] German fashion theorists during the First World War, however, linked the need for autonomy in national fashion production and the demand for qualitatively sophisticated products with a German art historical tradition. The reform dress of the turn of the century was rejected because it did not succeed in spreading beyond artistic circles and had not asserted itself on the international fashion market.[21]

German fashion critics, designers, and even the Reichsausschuss für deutsche Form (Reich Committee for German Form) advocated for alternative materials. Using domestic, handwoven linens was supported, partly for patriotic reasons.[22] Investing in flax cultivation was encouraged in order to obtain the raw materials needed for weaving linen, which also became fundamentally important in supplying the troops with clothing and textiles.[23] Silk, an imported good, was also replaced by an artificial version, which was already being successfully produced by German factories even before the outbreak of the war.[24] Since artificial silk was made of cellulose, thus of native fibers, it could even be considered—unlike the "French" silk—a domestic or national product.[25]

In terms of silhouette, a connection was sought to a genuinely German or Austrian era. The popular war crinoline, or *Kriegskrinoline*, for example, offered women more freedom of leg movement. The skirts were wider and shorter than before and were supported by two to three petticoats. Within fashion history, the crinoline silhouette was associated with the early nineteenth century. In fashion writing, references were made between the war crinoline and the German Biedermeier period, as well as the "Alt-Wiener Zeit," a nostalgic, fin-de-siècle representation of Vienna.[26] In doing so, writers situated the *Kriegskrinoline* within the country's own German-speaking cultural and fashion history, despite the fact that in the mid-nineteenth century as well as in its Rococo days, the crinoline had been claimed as a French invention.

The war crinoline, however, was not only worn in Germany. Caricatures attest to the fact that, during the war years, it also defined silhouettes in France and England.[27] However, like Gothic art—which, depending on one's point of view, can be claimed as either a genuinely French, English, or German stylistic era—the war crinoline was also regarded as a national phenomenon.[28] Nevertheless, as the war progressed, and in light of the tense economic situation, this patriotically connoted fashion found itself in the government's crosshairs. In 1916, in a petition addressed to the Ministry of War, the Verband für Deutsche Frauenkleidung und Frauenkultur (German Association for New Female Dress and Female Culture) demanded a ban on the production and wearing of skirts that exceeded three metres width.[29]

Fashion and politics

In the writings of German authors, fashion, art, and politics were argumentatively debated on the same level. The desire to monopolize fashion production in German became an indication of a wider hunger for political power. Muthesius emphasized this parallel succinctly: "Here, one is reminded of the monopoly position held by French fashion. It is hardly necessary to emphasize what this kind of power means to a people, what it means to have the whole world at your command, to mentally rule the world in this way."[30] Ultimately, the autonomy of German fashion production was not merely a question of economic sovereignty in wartimes but a moral matter in opposition to the "dictatorship of Parisian fashion."[31] Complete independence from their enemy in war was understood as an expression of love for the fatherland; this pertained not only to the import of dress designs from France but also to the production of German clothing, which was not to be dependent upon anything imported from abroad. "Creating a new fashion in Berlin using foreign materials during the war would mean supporting our enemies at the cost of our fatherland," Bosselt warned.[32]

Norbert Stern's book *Die Weltpolitik der Weltmode*, also published in 1915, inextricably linked fashion with politics. Stern hailed Berlin as the new fashion capital of the world and emphasized the political potential of fashion as "ideas of a political nature turned fabric."[33] Tracing France's monopoly in the production of couture back to the reign of Louis XIV, Stern interpreted fashion as a representative of history.[34] The many publications from 1915 that wrote in favor of a German fashion and against a French one pitted Berlin against Paris and projected the conflict on the battlefields onto a battle in the fashion world. Ultimately, these authors hoped to rewrite German fashion history.

Societies and associations were established that brought together fashion producers, distributors, and artists in an effort to contribute to this redefinition of a national fashion. Examples include the Verband für inländische Mode (Association for Domestic Fashion), founded in 1914 and presided over by Mechtilde Christiane Marie Gräfin von und zu Arco-Zinneberg (also known as the author Mechtilde Lichnowsky), as well as the Verband der Damenmode und ihrer Industrie (Association of Women's fashion and Its Industry), which was established in 1916 and had 1,500 members, from fabric manufacturers to clothing companies. In 1918, this Association hosted a fashion week in Berlin to present German fashion to an international audience.[35]

Conclusion

The *tabula rasa* of the war served as a catalyst for helping stimulate an internationally influential branch of the German economy. For authors such as Muthesius, Stahl, and Bosselt, war and fashion were interwoven global events. In this respect, it is striking that nearly all the major pamphlets in

support of a German fashion date back to the year 1915. At that point, the German Empire, with its victory at the Battle of Tannenberg (August 26–30, 1914) and costly, yet successful, offensive on the Eastern Front, was still confident it would win the war. Later, as material battles, static front lines in the West, and radical losses in the East made the chances of a speedy victory seem slight at best, initiatives for a future for German fashion faded into the background. Terms such as "reason" and "frugality" became far more closely connected to fashion in Germany.[36]

Muthesius, Bosselt, and Stern attempted to link the German fashion of the future with the war, as it was the war that made possible a separation from Paris fashion. Ideologizing fashion for national purposes, however, neglected a central element. The authors hardly mentioned anything as to the form and style of a future German fashion, which was to become the nation's own fashion. This was to remain the task of future fashion designers and their partners in the business sector. Although Fritz Stahl did try to link functionality, practicality, and modernity with an explicitly German design sensibility in *Deutsche Form* (Stahl saw this in the products of the Deutscher Werkbund), what this could mean exactly for German form in fashion, however, ultimately remained unspecified.[37] Thus, the object of argument, namely German fashion, remained unclear. It was defined primarily through its opposition to unpopular French fashion, which was seen as wasteful, luxurious, and at times, even dictatorial.

Notes

1 "Setzen wir Deutschland in den Sattel, reiten wird es schon können," Hermann Muthesius, *Die Zukunft der deutschen Form* (Stuttgart and Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1915), 5. Bismarck, as the originator of this motto, however, remains unnamed. It is highly probable, though, that, at the time, the quote and its provenance were widely known. In his essay, "Deutsche Mode und Ähnliches" (German fashion and the like), Max Osborn also drew on Bismarck and ended his remarks with the words: "If we proceed this cautiously and carefully and at once unerringly, we may, with confidence, modify the famous words of the founder of the Reich and say: 'Let us put German fashion in the saddle—it already knows how to ride!'" (Wenn wir so bedacht und behutsam und zielsicher zugleich vorgehen, dürfen wir getrost ein berühmtes Wort des Reichsgründers abwandeln und sagen: "Setzen wir die deutsche Mode nur in den Sattel—reiten wird sie schon können!"), see Max Osborn, "Deutsche Mode und Ähnliches," in *Kriegs-Almanach. Velhagen und Klasings Kriegs-Almanach* (Berlin and Bielefeld: Velhagen und Klasing, 1915), 25.

2 See Horst Kohl, *Die Reden des Ministerpräsidenten und Bundeskanzlers Grafen von Bismarck im Preußischen Landtage und Reichstage des Norddeutschen Bundes: 1866–1868* (Stuttgart: Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1892), 184.

3 Alexandra Smetana, "Von der orientalisierenden Mode des Paul Poiret zur 'Kriegskrinoline': Plakate und Werbung für Mode in Wien vor dem und im Ersten Weltkrieg," *In Samt und Seide: Textilien und Texte zur Kulturgeschichte der Mode, Biblos: Beiträge zu Buch, Bibliothek und Schrift* 61, 1 (2012): 114.

4 In 1908, Friedrich Naumann formulated the following as a programmatic goal: "The forms of the machine age should be artistically saturated, both the forms of the best modern factory as well as the forms of the best design

of our buildings and their contents." (Es sollen die Formen des Maschinenzeitalters künstlerisch durchsättigt werden, sowohl die Formen des besten modernen Betriebes, wie die Formen der besten Gestaltung unserer Gebäude und ihres Inhaltes.) Friedrich Naumann, *Deutsche Gewerbekunst: Eine Arbeit über die Organisation des deutschen Werkbundes* (Berlin: Buchverlag der "Hilfe," 1908), 5.

5 This internationalization was expressed in the establishment of Werkbund-like organizations in other countries as well, which then sent delegations to the Werkbund exposition in Cologne, for example, in 1914. See Gustav Barcas von Hartmann and Wend Fischer, "Zur Geschichte des Deutschen Werkbundes," in *Zwischen Kunst und Industrie: Der Deutsche Werkbund,* catalogue (Munich: Die Neue Sammlung. Staatliches Museum für angewandte Kunst, 1975), 18.

6 Fundamental to the concept of form is the lexical meaning, which, at the time, already applied: "In fact, form is the opposite of material and refers to that which is made out of the material, the shape that it is given. Matter takes on shape and form." (Form ist überhaupt der gegensatz zum stoffe und bezeichnet das, was aus ihm gemacht wird, die gestalt, die ihm gegeben wird. die sache gewinnt gestalt und form.) Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1862), 1898.

7 "Und namentlich in Deutschland wurde die Übernahme von Fremden zur Gewohnheit. Das französische Vorbild wurde im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts auf einigen Gebieten, so in der Männerkleidung, durch das englische ersetzt. Aber nie kam jemand auf den Gedanken, daß es etwas anderes zu tun gäbe, als das Vorbild der begünstigteren Nachbarvölker nachzuahmen . . . Es ist stets die Eigenschaft der Deutschen gewesen, das Fremde willig anzuerkennen, ja es unter Umständen höher einzuschätzen als das Heimische." Muthesius, *Die Zukunft der deutschen Form*, 13–14.

8 "In der deutschen Konfektion liegt aber auch heute noch der merkwürdige, eigentlich unglaubliche Zustand vor, daß Berlin der Hauptfabrikationsplatz der ganzen Welt ist, ja, wie in Mänteln, eine durchaus beherrschende Stellung einnimmt, ohne den Anspruch auf geistige Urheberschaft zu erheben. Die Berliner Konfektionäre brachten vor dem Kriege einen Teil ihres Lebens in den Eisenbahnzügen nach und von Paris zu, um ihre Anregungen von dort zu holen. Das wird allerdings nach dem Kriege gezwungenermaßen anders werden." See Hermann Muthesius, *Der Deutsche nach dem Kriege* (München: F. Bruckmann, 1915), 25–6.

9 See ibid., "Deutsche Mode," *Kunstwart und Kulturwart* 29, 12 (1915): 205; ibid., "Der Krieg und die deutsche Modeindustrie," *Die Woche* 17, 11 (1915): 363.

10 "Nur das Gebiet der Modeindustrie war bis zum Kriege noch unberücksichtigt geblieben [von der Emanzipationsbewegung deutscher Kunst und Kultur, A/N)]. Hier schien die Abhängigkeit von Paris und London unabwendbar. Die Notwendigkeit, sich selbst zu helfen, hat höchst heilsam gewirkt und auch hier das Ergebnis gebracht, daß Deutschland durchaus fähig ist, seine Angelegenheiten selbst zu besorgen." Muthesius, *Die Zukunft der deutschen Form*, 19.

11 "Der Krieg hat jetzt alles geändert. Paris ist für uns abgeschlossen, es könnte uns keine Modelle und keine Anregungen mehr geben, selbst wenn wir sie haben wollten." Muthesius, "Deutsche Mode," 206.

12 "Äußere Ereignisse haben den Zeitpunkt für den Vorstoß gegen die französische Diktatur [Modediktatur], zu dem wir einmal doch gekommen wären, bestimmt und begünstigten ihn. Paris ist uns verschlossen, die auszugebende neue Mode, wohl auch durch den Umweg über neutrale Länder, nicht erreichbar. Wir sind auf uns angewiesen. Jetzt ist der Augenblick für die Erprobung und Durchsetzung der eigenen Kraft, so günstig kehrt er nicht wieder." Rudolf Bosselt, *Krieg und deutsche Mode*, Dürerbund, 140. Flugschrift zur Ausdruckskultur (Munich: Callwey, 1915), 7.

13 "Zukunft der Mode durch den Krieg," ibid., 1.

14 "Well, the Viennese have had considerable success with, in particular, the greatest French tailor, Poiret, and we know just how inspired Poiret was especially by Vienna." (Nun, die Wiener haben gerade bei dem größten französischen Schneiderkünstler, Poiret, entscheidenden Erfolg gehabt, und wir wissen, wieviel Anregungen sich Poiret gerade aus Wien geholt hat.) Ibid., 20.

15 "Es ist nun aber höchst bezeichnend . . . daß aber ein Franzose, Poiret, diese von ihm als außerordentlich wertvoll erkannten deutschen Anregungen mit Eifer aufgegriffen und einen Pariser 'neuen Genre', wie es im Konfektionsjargon heißt, daraus entwickelt hat. Dieser wurde dann unserem lieben Publikum als die 'neueste Pariser Kreation' mit allem Pomp und auf niedlichen Pariser Modellmädchen (von den Deutschen krampfhaft mit dem französierten deutschen Worte Mannequin bezeichnet) vorgeführt," Muthesius, "Deutsche Mode," 208. Poiret did, in fact, purchase clothing materials from the Wiener Werkstätte during his stay in Vienna in 1911. See Angela Völker, *Die Stoffe der Wiener Werkstätte 1910–1932* (Vienna: Brandstätter 2004), 47.

16 For more on the topic of originality in the applied arts, see Carsten Jöhnk, "Notizen zum Wandel des Original-Begriffs in der Kunst," in *Wa(h)re Originale: Das Original in der angewandten Kunst*, catalogue (Bremen: Bremer Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Focke-Museum, 1999), 12–18.

17 Bosselt, *Krieg und deutsche Mode*, 15–17.

18 Norbert Stern, *Die Weltpolitik der Weltmode* (Stuttgart and Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1915), 34.

19 "Welch eine reiche Kunstwelt schuf uns das Kunsthandwerk zu Dürers Zeiten!" ibid., 39.

20 In a letter from 1919, Walter Gropius, founding director of the Bauhaus in Weimar writes: "I would like to create a working group in the Weimar school corporation—in keeping with the times, of course—similar to the *Bauhütten* [masons' lodges A/N] they had in the middle ages, in which artists and craftsmen of all ranks gathered to work together." (Ich möchte in dem Weimarer Schulunternehmen eine ähnliche Arbeitsgemeinschaft—natürlich der veränderten Zeit entsprechend—erzielen, wie sie im Mittelalter die Bauhütten hatten, in denen sich Künstler und Handwerker aller Grade zu gemeinsamer Arbeit zusammenfanden.) Walter Gropius, "Letter to Arnold Paulssen, 3/3/1919," in Volker Wahl, *Das Staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar: Dokumente zur Geschichte des Instituts 1919–1926* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2009), 65. For references to a medieval craftsmanship and the Arts and Crafts movement's criticism of the industrial production of furniture, see Alan Crawford, "United Kingdom: Origins and first flowering," in *The Art & Crafts Movement in Europe & America: Design for the Modern World*, Wendy Kaplan, ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 2004), 21–2.

21 See, e.g., Muthesius, "Der Krieg und die deutsche Modeindustrie," 364.

22 See Werner Faulstich, "Einführung: Die politischen und wirtschaftlichen Rahmendaten—mit Ausblicken auf Philosophie, Sportkultur und Mode," in *Kulturgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts: Das Zweite Jahrzehnt*, Werner Faulstich, ed. (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2007), 17.

23 Cf. Hugo Glafey, *Krieg und Textilindustrie*, Krieg und Volkswirtschaft, 8 (Berlin: Leonhard Simion NF, 1915), 16–19.

24 Cf. R. O. Herzog, ed., *Technologie der Textilfasern*: *Kunstseide*, vol. 7 (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1927), 340.

25 On the textile industry in wartime, see Sigrid and Wolfgang Jacobeit, *Illustrierte Alltags- und Sozialgeschichte Deutschlands 1900–1945* (Munster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 1995), 294.

26 See Smetana, "Von der orientalisierenden," 115–16, which refers to a review of a 1916 Viennese fashion show in the journal *Sport und Salon* (11/11/1916), in which it reads: "In general, the style presented, originally from the year 1830, was one that died out with wide, coquettishly swaying skirts, with hoops that extravagantly swing in every

direction, furbelows and ruffles, simply arranged bodices enveloped by the hint of a lace fichu . . . it was a style reminiscent of the beautiful bygone days of Vienna, a time when things were infinitely more peaceful and calmer than they are today at the style's reappearance." (Im allgemeinen war ein Stil, anno 1830 vertreten, der in weiten, kokett wippenden Röcken ausklang, mit Reifen, die sich pretiös nach allen Seiten schwingen, Falbeln und Rüschen, Taillen in einfachem Arrangement, umwallt von dem Duft eines Spitzenfichus . . . es war ein Stil, der an die schöne Alt-Wiener Zeit gemahnte, in der es unendlich viel friedlicher und ruhiger zuging, als bei seiner heutigen Wiederkehr.)

27 See the examples in Friedrich Wendel, *Die Mode in der Karikatur* (Dresden: Paul Aretz, 1928), 260–72. Birgit Haase regards war crinoline as a combination of retrogression and an orientation to the present and, in adaptation of the cultural scholar Elizabeth Wilson's thesis, defines this ambivalence as characteristic of the modern era. Birgit Haase, "Moderne Ambivalenz: Damenmode im Ersten Weltkrieg aus deutscher Perspektive," in *Krieg und Kleider: Mode und Grafik zur Zeit des Ersten Weltkrieges 1914–1918*, cat. (Berlin: Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2014), 25; see also Elizabeth Wilson, "Fashion and modernity," in *Fashion and Modernity*, Christopher Breward and Caroline Evans, eds. (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2005), 9–14.

28 On the usurpation of the Gothic style as a national one, see, for example: Karl Scheffler, *Der Geist der Gotik* (Leipzig: Insel, 1917) and Gerhard Renda, "'Nun schauen wir euch anders an': Studien zur Gotikrezeption im deutschen Expressionismus" (PhD dissertation, Erlangen-Nuremberg, 1990), 60–2. Gebhardt traces Germany's enthusiasm for the Gothic style in the early twentieth century back to Goethe's essay "Von deutscher Baukunst" (On German architecture) (1773). See Volker Gebhardt, *Das Deutsche in der deutschen Kunst* (Cologne: DuMont, 2004), 106–9.

29 The association's petition is reproduced in Daniela Richter-Wittenfeld, *Die Arbeit des Verbandes für Deutsche Frauenkleidung und Frauenkultur auf dem Gebiet der Frauenkleidung von 1896 bis 1935*, *Schriftenreihe Schriften zur Kulturwissenschaft* 64 (Hamburg: Dr. Kovač, 2006), 398.

30 "Hier sei an die Monopolstellung der französischen Mode erinnert. Es bedarf kaum der besonderen Hervorhebung, was eine solche Macht für ein Volk bedeutet, was es heißt, den Taktstock über die Welt zu schwingen, die Welt in dieser Weise geistig zu regieren." Muthesius, *Die Zukunft der deutschen Form*, 25.

31 "Pariser Modediktatur." Fritz Stahl (Sigfried Lilienthal), *Deutsche Form: Die Eigenwerdung der deutschen Modeindustrie eine nationale und wirtschaftliche Notwendigkeit*, Flugschriften des Deutschen Werkbundes (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1915), 13.

32 "Während des Krieges eine neue Mode mit ausländischen Zutaten in Berlin schaffen, hieße unsere Feinde auf Kosten unseres Vaterlandes unterstützen." Bosselt, *Krieg und deutsche Mode*, 17.

33 "Stoff gewordene Ideen . . . politischer Natur," Stern, *Die Weltpolitik der Weltmode*, 10.

34 See also the chapter "Krieg und Moden" in Norbert Stern, *Mode* und *Kultur*, vol. 2 (Dresden: Klemm & Weiß, 1915), 119–221, here, in particular, 212.

35 Cf. Jacobeit, *Illustrierte Alltags*, 291–292.

36 Adelheid Rasche refers to the article "Ernste Modegedanken" (Serious thoughts on fashion) in the journal *Elegante Welt* from April 1918, in which precisely these terms are used. Adelheid Rasche, "Einführung," in *Krieg und Kleider 1914–1918: Mode und Grafik zur Zeit des Ersten Weltkrieges*, cat. (Berlin: Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2014), 10–12. The hardship of the times is expressed in the paper dresses and paper undergarments produced in the final years of the war. Jacobeit, *Illustrierte Alltags*, 294.

37 Stahl (Sigfried Lilienthal), *Deutsche Form*, 31–2.

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