CHAPTER 1

Jews, Consumer Culture, and Jewish Consumer Cultures: An Introduction

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In 1913, Fritz Lamm (1876–1942), a lawyer who specialized in social welfare and youth issues in Berlin's Jewish community, presented the results of a household budget study of Jewish poverty, which had been underwritten by the local pauper commission. As expected, the study revealed the abject conditions that many Jews lived in and the scarcity and general lack of economic resources that marked their lives.[1] The mostly orthodox Jewish families in the study generally spent less money on consumer goods than gentiles in the same economic class, and there were some notable differences in their spending habits. The Jewish families

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devoted a greater share of their budgets to rent (they were more likely to live in the expensive metropolises) and to food. Indeed, the subsidies provided by the pauper commission were aimed at not merely keeping their recipients at subsistence levels, but at enabling them to lead Jewishly observant lives, above all, by allowing them to keep kosher, especially during the high holidays and around Passover. Jewishness or Judaism was thus linked to specific patterns and practices of consumption, even amid severe economic hardship.

Lamm's study turned the need for affordable housing and clothing into political issues and sites of Jewish philanthropic intervention. It also brought attention to the plight of the Jewish poor, who defiantly and proudly maintained orthodox ways of living and consuming even at significant cost amid dire economic circumstances. Consumption in modern capitalist consumer societies may be inflected by religious and cultural differences, but it is also determined by market access and class position. This situation suggests one of the challenges for scholars of consumer culture: how do we balance structures and rational economic drives with beliefs and practices? And how do we assess the relative impact of these factors on individual and group decision-making, on consumer preference, and on style, taste, and practice?

Jewish history and the study of Jewish cultures raise questions and introduce tensions that lie at the heart of modern consumer society. Conversely, the study of consumption and consumerism sheds fresh analytical light on Jewish history. This volume lies at the intersection of the two fields, offering a variety of perspectives on Jews as both consumers and creators of commercial and retail cultures. Its authors analyze Jewish economic niches, distinctive Jewish patterns and styles of consumption, and the meaning and symbolism of ritual objects that embody the tension of being both spiritually transcendent and grounded in market economies. *Jewish Consumer Cultures* sheds light on the centrality of economic activity and consumption to acculturation processes, migration, Zionism, settlement in Palestine, antisemitism, marginalization, and the reshaping of Jewish religious and familial life in modernity. It links consumption practices to the broader experience of Jews in modern Europe and North America. Centering on Germany and the United States (and to some extent, Israel), the book reflects the unique economic mobility of Jews in those places and their intensive involvement in the development of the modern German and American (and of course Israeli) commercial spheres.

The Economic Turn in Jewish History

This volume would not have been possible a decade or so ago. Only recently have historians, cultural studies and literature scholars, and sociologists and anthropologists begun to investigate relationships between Jews, consumer culture, and Jewish consumer cultures. We bring together some of the new and fascinating work in this area.[2] But why is this trend in research so recent, when consumerism and consumer culture have attracted enormous amounts of scholarly attention since at least the 1980s?[3]

As several scholars have observed, recent years have witnessed an economic turn in Jewish historical studies, as historians began devoting increasing attention to Jews' economic activities, the economic sphere as a site of Jewish-gentile contact, and the economic dimensions of Jewish emancipation, acculturation, and persecution.[4] Doing so required facing a number of problems. For one, linking Jews with specific economic domains—banking, finance, big retail, advertising—is historically fraught in the extreme, given the long history of antisemitic economic calumny and propaganda. Based on traditional anti-Judaism, manifested in medieval and early modern pogroms and in hate-filled tracts like Martin Luther's 1543 *Von den Juden und iren Lügen* (Of Jews and Their Lies), Jewish presence in the market sphere was restricted, questioned, exaggerated, and turned into scandal.[5] When Werner Sombart argued in the early twentieth century that capitalism was a Jewish phenomenon, he gave age-old stereotypes the luster of academic credibility. A long line of antisemites have subsequently portrayed Jews as pulling the economic strings behind societies and governments, and have cooked up conspiracy theories and racial explanations for the extraordinary success of some Jewish-owned enterprises.[6]

At the same time, the flip side of the handful of enormously wealthy Jewish bankers and financiers, the penurious Jewish rag trader or the peripatetic junk dealer, became ubiquitous in modern imaginary as signs of Jewish marginality, difference, and pathology.[7] Core activities of modern consumer societies like peddling, advertising, auctioning, or financial advising were linked to Jews and encoded as "Jewish," despite the fact that gentiles were often trendsetters and dominant actors in all of these sectors. Significantly, the emergence of modern consumer cultures paralleled the rise of modern antisemitism, and the two developments became—and remain—intertwined. New forms of mass media in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries facilitated the spread of antisemitic images, and

advertising and political propaganda grew out of the same techniques and technologies.[8] Readapting older anti-Jewish tropes, modern antisemites racialized notions of Jewish difference and represented duplicitous economic behaviors like usury, trickery, and counterfeiting as expressions of Jewish racial characteristics. This fraught situation, indeed a concern with recycling and giving voice to such calumnious claims, surely acted to deter generations of scholars from engaging with such topics and created taboos about linking certain kinds of economic behavior and activities with Jews (Fig. 1.1).

Furthermore, the field of Jewish history, at least until the 1980s and 1990s, has a long history of emphasizing intellectual and religious developments over studies of society, culture, and the economy.[9] Having originated in "Wissenschaft des Judentums" and in the heady nineteenth-century crucible of Jewish religious reform and Christian anti-Judaism, Jewish studies as an academic field still bears traces of its founding. Its attention to rigorous source criticism, texts, and religious tradition in the "giants" of Jewish thought from the Medieval period through the *Haskalah* left little space for analyses of the changing social and economic milieus of the Jewish past. Thus, even as social, and then cultural and gender history transformed the historical profession, Jewish history was slow to reflect these changing approaches and concerns.

Key advances have been made by such historians as Jerry Z. Muller, Jonathan Karp, and Derek Penslar, whose influential works opened up the

Fig. 1.1 Antisemitic cartoon satirizing advertising as a Jewish form of communication, 1904. (Source: *Kikeriki*, November 27, 1904, p. 3)

field in the 1990s and 2000s. Muller, for example, took on the "special relationship" of Jews and capitalism in a series of essays, which trace the topic back through theological and philosophical texts and analyze it in treatments of intellectual "giants," like Karl Marx, Georg Simmel, Max Weber, and Werner Sombart.[10] Still, for all of their conceptual clarity and thought-provoking conclusions, Muller's investigations remain chiefly in the realm of intellectual and discourse history, and he says little about "real" economic and social life or the relevance of such ideas for the majority of ordinary people in or outside of the business world. Studies by Penslar and Karp have shown the centrality of economic topics to Jewish identity and European perception and representations of Jews.[11] For all of their insights and analytic precision, their works likewise generally operate on the level of discourse, which they scarcely link to economic-historical concerns or the study of consumption or consumer cultures. A subsequent generation of studies by Marni Davis, Paul Lerner, Adam Mendelsohn, and Hasia Diner, among others, trace Jewish business activities, particularly retail and consumer industries as well as the discursive construction of Jewishness in the economic sphere, but they still shed relatively little light on the practices and experiences of Jewish consumers or on the existence of distinct Jewish consumer cultures.[12]

From the Economic Turn to Consumer Culture Studies

The "economic turn" in Jewish history paved the way for this volume because it created the conditions for a dialog between Jewish studies and the booming field of the history of consumption.[13] This convergence has opened up new perspectives on Jewish consumer cultures, many of which are on display in these pages. Indeed, *Jewish Consumer Cultures* surveys and contributes to the growing literature in this area, which has dealt with such diverse topics as the emergence of coffee as a Jewish drink in early modern Germany, the Jewishness of smoking, and the development of rhinoplasty and cosmetics as new branches of consumer culture in the nineteenth century.[14] Shopping has been shown to have played a crucial role in the everyday lives of Jews (and other modern social actors), and consumption has proven central in the formation of Jewish identities.[15] Indeed, consumption sparked a great deal of discussion in Jewish circles in Europe, the United States, and Palestine/Israel at least in the nineteenth

century. Many community officials and rabbis criticized (excessive) consumerism or saw it as a threat to the Jewish values of modesty and humility, a notion that paralleled a long-standing identification of consumerism as a false god or a secular, materialist alternative to Western religiosity.[16] In general, however, there was no inherent contradiction between modern Judaism and modern consumer societies, which have intertwined in ways fascinating to unravel.

The products Jews bought and consumed figured prominently in often heated debates on modernization, secularization, and assimilation on both sides of the Atlantic during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[17] Most Jews enjoyed the opportunities afforded by growing wealth and increased buying power, becoming, in the eyes of some observers, model bourgeois consumers. In light of the growth of Jewish consumer culture studies, this is an appropriate moment to survey this new field, assess its strengths and weaknesses, and outline areas for further research.

Consumption is an essential human activity that affects every facet of personal and public life. Its analysis does not constitute a discrete field of research, but is more or less interwoven into all historical analysis. In contrast to consumption, the term "consumer culture" is more limited. Focused on the interaction of individuals, groups, and material goods via markets, it is predicated, first, on a surplus of (potentially available) goods. Second, consumer culture requires a social and economic environment in which continuous consumption is critical to social stability. Finally, consumer culture depends on an environment in which everything is commodified and can take on significance beyond its original purpose, where, as several theorists have argued, we communicate and create identities and solidarities largely through acts of purchase and display.[18] Analyzing consumer cultures therefore requires multifaceted, interdisciplinary approaches. Although based on satisfying basic human needs by consuming material goods, consumer cultures are characterized by promises of gratification far beyond such basic consumption. Material goods are always combined with desires, promises, and aesthetics, and markets are not only arenas of exchange, but also arenas of intensification.[19] Consumer cultures tend to commodify everything, penetrating traditional ideas of subjectivity and identity.

An influential essay by the historian Leora Auslander models the innovative use of sources needed to get at elusive questions like whether Jews exhibited unique tastes or styles of consumption.[20] Using Nazi confiscation and restitution records to compare French and German bourgeois

Jews in the interwar period, Auslander indeed finds distinctly Jewish patterns, but she also shows how those patterns differed in the two national cases. She concludes that Jews in Paris showed a preference for historicist art, furniture, and antiques that reflected French national norms and a taste for the early modern, whereas their counterparts in Berlin exhibited more eclectic tastes and were more likely to surround themselves with modern furnishings. Her nuanced model reveals the operation of Jewish difference in the realm of taste and consumption in two distinct contexts, taking into account national differences and the different experiences and positions of French and German Jewry. Elsewhere, she develops these distinctions in the realm of the everyday, revealing the haptic and sensory dimensions of Jewish consumption and daily interaction with ritual objects which, she suggests, helped form a distinctive Jewish sensorium.[21]

For all of their depth and nuance, Auslander's investigations are just a beginning, and future scholars may wish to incorporate the findings of studies on the parallel development of national, regional, and local markets.[22] Today's renewed interest in the study of capitalism also suggests the need to pay greater attention to the intersections of consumption and social class, in addition to factors like generation, gender, and politico-cultural milieu.[23] Furthermore, we need to take into account the often contradictory meanings and consequences of consumption. Consumer culture can create and sustain solidarities between community members, but it can also weaken them, and this has certainly been true throughout modern Jewish history.[24]

Jewish Consumer Cultures

At first glance, consumer culture and religion would seem to work at cross purposes. After all, consumption is about the gratification of needs and desires through the immediate and the material, whereas religious devotion steers its subjects toward the immaterial and the eternal. Indeed, historically modern forms of consumption and commodity culture have been framed as alternative manifestations of religiosity at least since Marx introduced the concept of the commodity fetish in the first volume of *Capital.* As Émile Zola observed in his notes for *The Ladies' Paradise* (1883), the department store "tends to replace the church. It marches to the religion of the cash desk, of beauty, of coquetry, and fashion. [Women] go there to pass the hours as they used to go to church: an occupation, a place of enthusiasm where they struggle between their passion for clothes and the

thrift of their husbands; in the end all the drama of life with the hereafter of beauty."[25] In the novel itself, Zola describes the department store owner Mouret (who he based on Bon Marché founder Aristide Boucicaut) as a kind of prophet: "His creation was producing a new religion; churches, which were being gradually deserted by those of wavering faith, were being replaced by his bazar.... [I]f he had closed his doors there would have been a rising in the street, a desperate outcry from the worshippers whose confessional and altar he would have abolished."[26] The theme of the department store as an alternate site of religious devotion runs deep in nineteenth- and twentieth-century history. It can be found in the structure of the department store, which took goods out of the dusty cabinets, where earlier shops shamefully stashed them, and placed them on display on veritable altars to be gazed upon and adored. This theme was also evident in department store architecture, such as the cathedral-like spires of the Wertheim store in Berlin, as well as in contemporary language and the ecstatic devotion and guilt-filled dynamics attributed to the most zealous (female) consumers by contemporary observers.[27]

Yet religion and consumer culture have learned to coexist, notwithstanding nineteenth- and twentieth-century complaints about the commodification of Christmas and other holidays. This is especially clear in the United States, where religious observance and consumer culture have become deeply intertwined.[28] Religions, indeed, are based not only on ideas about divinity and ethics, but also on specific rituals that are observed and practiced through material culture. In the Jewish case, holy arks and Torah scrolls with often ornate crowns and breastplates can be found in every synagogue, as can *siddurim* (prayer books), *tanakhim* (books containing the text of the Torah and the writings of the prophets), and symbolic markers like eternal lights. The Star of David, like the *kippa*, *tzitzit* (four fringes or tassels worn under the shirt), or *shtreimels* (fur hats worn by adult men in certain orthodox groups) serve as visual markers of Jewishness. The *mezuzah* marks the doorpost outside and throughout many Jewish homes. Inside Jewish homes, one will perhaps also find specific candelabras, kiddush cups, and spice boxes. Holidays and feasts are normally linked to a set of ritual objects, for instance, the seder plate on the Passover table, challah covers for Shabbat, *hanukkiot* for Hanukkah candle lighting, the *shofar* blown on Rosh Hashana and at the end of Yom Kippur, and the *succah* where Succoth meals are consumed. These items are at once ethereal and material. They are linked to devout and spiritual practices, but they are simultaneously material objects obtained through

gift or purchase, whose specific provenance often adds to the meaning and depth of the ritual. Thus, they stand at the intersection of material culture, consumer culture, and Jewish religious practice.

Although emblems of identity and tradition, these objects are far from static. Designs, styles, and ways of obtaining and using them have all changed significantly across time and space. The Star of David, perhaps the best known marker of Jewishness, was used by all monotheistic religions in the early middle ages and became a specific Jewish symbol no earlier than the eighteenth century, when it served as an antipode to the Christian cross.[29] Jews in different parts of the diaspora established quite different material worlds of worship and religious practice. Traditions, such as wedding celebrations, the bar and later the bat mitzvah, and food regimes were repeatedly redefined during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Fig. 1.2).[30] Increasing wealth and better housing conditions, on the one hand, and cheaper production methods and more efficient retailing, on the other, enabled a growing number of Jews to decorate their homes with religious objects. Such indoor spaces were of particular importance given Jews' minority status and their general reluctance to display otherness in public.

Fig. 1.2 Decorating the Jewish home: Advertisement for a patented Hanukkah candle holder, 1905. (Source: *Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt* (Cologne) vol. 18, no. 49, 1905, p. iii)

A key area of religious consumption involved food, both with regard to specific ritual foods like challah, matzo, and wine as well as concerning kashruth, the laws that govern the suitability of foods and their preparation more generally.[31] Traditional Jewish communities depended on the availability of ritual foods and kosher food, and the dictates of kashruth played a crucial role in the everyday geography of diasporic Jewish life and in domestic structures, family and gender dynamics, and household purchases. The strict rules of kosher food production caused many intense debates in science and in the public sphere.[32] *Shechita* (ritual slaughtering) continues to ignite periodic controversies. Such practices helped root Jews' ostensible otherness in the minds of majority gentile populations.[33]

While the laws of kashruth are based on fixed biblical injunctions and inviolable rabbinic principles, different Jewish communities have settled on different practices and interpretations, and Jewish religious authorities have periodically had to adjust them in response to changes in food production and household technologies.[34] In some contexts, kashruth, once a marker of a despised minority, became a signifier for high quality products and a guarantor of cleanliness and food safety.[35] Separated from its religious origins, Jewish food became a market success in many Western countries, a symbol of reliability, healthfulness, and purity, or a trendy, ethnic marketing niche.[36] The bagel even became an important element of global fast-food business.[37] Jewish-branded products, for instance Manischewitz wine, were able to cross the borders of social and ethnic milieus. In 1924, one ad could still claim "Wherever our people are to be found, the name 'Manischewitz' is well known, and with the demand for Manischewitz Matzo there is also a great demand for the other products of this firm—Manischewitz Matzo Meal, Cake Meal and Matzo Farfel."[38] In subsequent decades, however, consumption of Maischewitz wine in African-American communities outpaced that by traditional Jewish clients.[39] Other products, like falafel and hummus, became embroiled in Arab-Israeli conflicts and controversies about land, culture, and identity in the Middle East and beyond.[40]

Finally, Jewish food can also open a door to studying the interrelationship of home production and food manufacturing. Figure 1.3 shows the transition of Matzah, unleavened Passover bread, to a manufactured good, which was sold in urban mass-markets. Subsequently, matzah has been further transformed through the mechanization of production, new forms of packaging and marketing, the use of other flours like whole wheat, rye, and spelt, and most recently, the development of gluten-free varieties.

Fig. 1.3 Illustration of matzah production in Austria-Hungary, 1889. (Source: *Das interessante Blatt*, April 11, 1889, p. 7)

While the name and ritual function of matzah was not changed by consumer culture, its taste, availability, appearance, and associations were completely transformed.[41]

Jewish traditions of tzedakah, or charitable giving, should also find a place in histories of Jewish consumer cultures. After the turn to the twentieth century, poor immigrants in New York City could rely on the kashruth of Jewish kitchens, where cheap meals were served by girls from wealthy families in a room with humorous signs about how to behave: "'Don't waste any time eating, for there are hungry ones waiting.' 'Don't crowd or push; for every one will be waited on in turn.' 'Don't shout at

the waiters, for they are *not* deaf.'"[42] Jewish philanthropy, based on religious dictates and private initiatives, was and remains a significant form of spending in U.S. and other consumer cultures.

Dreams and Reality

As a minority population, European Jews historically depended on the markets of the mainstream, majority economy. Simultaneously, however, Jewish entrepreneurs became major manufacturers of consumer goods for both Jewish and larger markets. This was especially the case in Germany, but occurred to some extent in Britain, France, and elsewhere. In Germany, advertisements for such products could be found not only in Jewish community publications but also in Liberal and Social Democratic newspapers and magazines—at least until the Nazi seizure of power in 1933 (Fig. 1.4). In fact, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, German Jewish

Fig. 1.4 Evidence of a Jewish consumer sphere: Advertisement for a kosher margarine, 1909. (Source: *Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt* (Cologne), vol. 22, no. 3, 1909, p. 30)

entrepreneurs came to dominate many of the new leisure industries, such as hotels and cinemas, and the great majority of their customers and clients were not Jewish. Similarly, Jewish entrepreneurs became industry leaders in such areas as cosmetics, with Scherk (Berlin) and Albersheim (Frankfurt am Main) as the most prominent examples.[43] The textile sector, as is well known, was dominated by Jewish entrepreneurs. Mey & Edlich (Leipzig) and F. V. Grünfeld (Landeshut) were leading producers of shirts, hosiery, and canvas products, while Arnold Obersky (Berlin), Loewenstein & Leffmann (Cologne), and Rosenberg & Hertz (Cologne) produced and marketed practical, but fashionable underwear. Indeed, the fashion industry, which took off in this period, included many prominent Jewish manufacturers in Germany, Austria, and North America.[44] Most of the department stores and big textile stores in Germany were also owned by Jewish businessmen. Still, it is important to stress that there were significant exceptions, including, for example, Berlin's largest individual store, Rudolph Hertzog, which was established in 1839 and which was not only *not* Jewish-owned but which maintained close ties to the antisemitic conservative establishment.

Jews were even more active in creating consumer cultures in the United States. The Immigrant Entrepreneurship project on German émigré businesses includes sixty-five German Jewish businesspeople in such spheres as entertainment, cosmetics, and retail.[45] All these branches were coded and condemned as "Jewish" by antisemitic voices, although we still have little information about how the majority of American consumers saw them (Fig. 1.5).

Fig. 1.5 Promoting the Jewish state by advertising goods from Jewish settlers in Palestine, 1897. (Source: *Berliner Tageblatt*, December 19, 1897, p. 15)

Another important context for analyzing the operation of Jewish consumer cultures is the Zionist movement, both in Europe and in Mandate Palestine, where the call to settle Palestine was linked with particular consumerist practices in multiple ways. Starting in 1896, the Import-Gesellschaft Palästina promoted a selection of products that were grown or produced in the Yishuv (the Jewish settlement of Palestine).[46] Wine, alcoholic beverages, perfume, agricultural products (including the famed Jaffa oranges), and wooden products signified the establishment of a solid rural society. This circumstance differed significantly from the visions of Zionist theorists, including Theodor Herzl himself, who dreamed about transplanting European lifestyles and sophistication—with its modern, efficient consumer economy—onto Palestinian soil.[47] Agricultural production became the economic foundation of the new settlements, performed disproportionately by immigrants from the Russian Empire.[48] The reality on the ground differed markedly from the shopping districts of major European cities (Fig. 1.6).

Fig. 1.6 Visions of a Jewish middle-class community in the Land of Israel. (Source: *Der Welt-Spiegel*, August 23, 1906, p. 3)

Nevertheless, plans for and fantasies about life in Palestine and the fashioning of "new Hebrews" out of diaspora Jews were intertwined with consumerism in all kinds of ways, and specific products and modes of production accompanied Zionist visions from the start.[49] After World War I, reports on Jaffa's orange cultivation, life on the kibbutz, and the success of early Jewish immigrants included alternative ideas of community life and rural reform.[50] Israel's development after World War II, however, went in a different direction. Today, the State of Israel has by far the highest consumption rates in the Middle East, and a majority enjoys the privileges of a Western-style consumer society with glitzy new shopping centers, the latest technologies, and goods from around the globe.[51] Indeed, Zionist visions of alternative modes of consumption and production were gradually marginalized, and the notion that either political or religious commitments would work as a bulwark against consumerism gave way to a culture thoroughly marked by commodification and consumer abundance (Fig. 1.7).

Significantly, Jewish consumer cultures have never existed in a vacuum. They have always been critiqued and discussed by voices both within and outside of Jewish communities. Widespread antisemitic tropes stressed the alleged conspicuous consumption of the Jewish elite, denouncing it as an expression of materialism or social mimicry (Fig. 1.8).[52]

Both orthodox Jews and Zionists have at times criticized the materialism of modern consumption, blaming it for ethical degeneration and religious indifference.[53] The values and false gods of American consumer culture have been denounced by many religious leaders. In the 1980s, the so-called Jewish American Princess came to symbolize the greed and shallowness that appeared to accompany American Jewish affluence, qualities consistently projected onto women.[54] But these discourses had a long history. In the 1920s, the German psychologist and liberal politician, Willy Hellpach, harshly criticized those Jews, namely women, who publicly displayed their wealth. "This makes them conspicuous due not only to their clannish mass but also their clothing, jewelry, consumption, [and] luxury of all kinds."[55] And briefly, after the Nazi assumption of power, representatives of local Jewish communities asked their members to avoid superfluous expenditures for clothing or luxurious accommodations.[56] Throughout the twentieth century, conspicuous consumption (a concept coined by the Norwegian American sociologist Thorstein Veblen in 1899) lingered as a danger for the majority of Jews.[57]

Fig. 1.7 Mamilla Mall in Jerusalem, June 2017. (Photograph by Paul Lerner)

Again, Jews were subjected to constant scrutiny for their economic behavior and spending habits. In various portrayals of their economic conditions by others, they tended to occupy the extremes of wealth and poverty, signifying pathological abnormality. In the United States, Jewish immigrants were often rejected because their former lives and even facial expressions were supposedly marked by "a ceaseless fear and anxiety, or at least suspicion, of everything around [them]."[58] These newcomers, it was argued, could not be integrated into an advanced consumer society. "Jewish" peddlers were both respected and blamed for their wit and verbal finesse in talking up their cheap products,[59] while stereotypes around "Jewish" bankers and merchants loomed large in right- and left-wing criticism of modern capitalism and consumer cultures. It should be noted, however, that such judgments could be directed at other groups too. In the United States, Irish Catholics, among other groups, faced similar criticism. These observations suggest the need for further research on the defensive quality of Jewish consumer cultures and for comparative studies

Fig. 1.8 Clothes make the man: Antisemitic cartoon of Jewish integration via consumer goods, 1871. (Source: *Kladderadatsch*, vol. 24, no. 14–15, 1871, p. 57)

that analyze Jewish consumption and its criticism alongside that of other ethnically and religiously marginalized groups.

With their increasing affluence in American and European societies, Jewish consumers emerged as a distinct group to target with marketing, including by non-Jewish-owned firms. While the production of ritual objects and kosher food remained dominated by Jewish businesspeople, the growing world of products offered many opportunities to spend money. In the United States, in particular, Jewish women established styles of consumption that were picked up on by the marketing specialists of American corporations. Note, for example, the opportunities that the following description from New York in 1917/18 manifests: "Her life is now a whirlwind of pleasures: from the morning car ride to 'shopping,' then

lunch with friends; from there to the 'garden party' and then the opera, followed by dinner at a posh hotel. At the end of the social season, the young beauty nearly collapses from exhaustion and has to help her battered nerves with a trip to Europe."[60] While Jewish (and gentile) millionaires became an important targets for customized marketing strategies as early as the late 1880s, it was another decade or two before more general efforts to capture middle-class Jewish consumers began (Fig. 1.9).[61] Historians have yet to devote significant attention to the growing interest that non-Jewish businesspeople began to show in Jews as consumers with the onset of market segmentation in the interwar period. Future studies in this area could shed light on the needs and desires of Jewish customers. This work could also illuminate the commodification of faith in early twentieth-century societies and the emergence of the market as an important field for the construction of Jewishness and the terms of Jewish ritual.

Fig. 1.9 Attracting Jewish customers: Advertisement for Palmin cooking fat, 1909. (Source: *Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt* (Cologne), vol. 22, no. 4, 1909, p. ii)

Jews, Migration, and Consumption

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, Jews experienced massive demographic upheaval, a transformation comparable only to the diaspora following the Roman war of the first century and the expulsion from Spain in the late fifteenth century.[62] The United States attracted large numbers of Jewish immigrants, first from Central Europe and then Eastern European Jews , who were fleeing pogroms and repressive societies and seeking economic opportunities. The United States offered a political, social, and especially an economic environment, in the words of economist Carmel Chiswick, "unlike any other in the millennia-long experience of the Jewish people."[63] Despite the presence of antisemitism and other forms of xenophobia in their new home, the liberal legal framework and the absence of financial and legal discrimination against immigrants opened up immense opportunities in the U.S. marketplace.[64] American capitalism and Jewish immigrants formed, it seemed, a symbiotic relationship.[65] Immigration eventually led to integration, Americanization, and acculturation, as many Jewish observers themselves believed: "Like our foreign immigrants generally, these Polish and Russian Jews are eager to Americanize themselves, and without any systematic introduction they quickly pick up and add to their vocabulary many English words and expressions."[66] Such statements were based on a structural acceptance of American consumer cultures. Historian Hasia Diner understands Ashkenazi Jews, especially peddlers, as door-openers into a new world of consumption: "Peddling forced new immigrants to become students of culture, autodidactic anthropologists, who learned languages and ways of life brand new to them."[67] These people, according to Diner, acted as cultural and commercial innovators. They were crucial to the establishment of modern consumerism, and even "smoothed out Jewish-Christian antipathy in the new world."[68] In some ways, this narrative evokes the so-called German Jewish symbiosis in the late nineteenth century, or indeed the tremendous affinity that German Jews showed for *Bildung*, that is, education and cultivation, including a strong appreciation of literature and other manifestations of German high culture.[69]

Of course, actual Jewish experiences were less rosy than images of streets paved with gold. The majority of Jewish immigrants started out in extreme poverty and crowded, unhygienic tenements in major American cities and were only gradually able to transcend these dire circumstances.[70] Ashkenazic and Sephardic immigrants also became important agents of

Americanization, when mass migration mainly from Russia changed the fabric of American Jewry significantly. Local rabbis and many Jewish benevolent societies played a particularly important role in the integration of newcomers.[71] The United States offered a new world full of compromise and contradiction. Not atypical was the story of a young orthodox girl sent to a host family to be trained as a servant. Although the agreement stipulated that she be supplied with a small set of cooking utensils, these were not provided. The girl, unable to speak English and thus unable to prepare kosher food, subsisted on crackers and water for three days before she was found by her agent in a sickly state.[72]

Cultural and economic marginalization persisted, even amid the rapid increase in Jewish immigration and the formation of well-organized communities. As an early twentieth-century article put it, "The immigrant easily finds these communities, and once there he is at home."[73] Eventually Eastern European Jews became acclimated to and integrated in U.S. consumer culture.[74] They followed a unique trajectory that began with working-class jobs in the employ of their Ashkenazi and Sephardic coreligionists. As these employers identified and developed profitable niches, namely in the expanding consumer goods industries, many Jewish immigrants began to earn higher wages than other immigrant groups and to develop a quite remarkable upward educational and occupational mobility in the second third of the twentieth century.[75] By that time Jewish immigrants from Russia, Poland, and Austria-Hungary became important makers of American popular culture.[76]

Simultaneously, however, American Judaism was to a great extent shaped by the commercial environment.[77] As the Yiddish expression goes: *Siz tayer tzu zayn a yid*, that is, being a Jew is expensive. Living a Jewishly observant life was and indeed still is quite expensive because, in the words of historian Jonathan Karp, "time devoted to the acquisition of Jewish education, skills, religious rituals, and practices constituted opportunity costs subtracting from what might otherwise have been earned at work."[78] And there was the added expense of buying kosher food and maintaining separate sets of dishes for milk and meat as well as Passover, not to mention the philanthropic imperative and, in more recent periods, synagogue dues and day-school tuition, among other costs. As many Jews assimilated into the American middle classes and moved away from traditional forms of observance, Jewish holidays became increasingly important as markers of memories, and experiences and occasions like the bar or bat mitzvah played a correspondingly greater role in Jewish identity and practice, and so in turn became entangled in American consumer culture, gift giving, and leisure practices, not to mention notions of conspicuous consumption.[79] Likewise, the trip to Israel for a bar mitzvah or as a rite of passage exhibits the ongoing intertwining of Judaism and consumerism.[80]

Indeed, as several historians have argued, learning to consume like Americans represented the path to inclusion and success for many Jewish immigrants. Andrew Heinze's path-breaking 1990 study demonstrates that the mass production of branded goods, middle-class fashions, standardized homes with the requisite appliances, automobiles, and typical holiday destinations helped define what it meant to be a Jew and an American.[81] The path into the American middle class was fraught with difficulties, disruptions, and anxieties for Jewish men and perhaps especially for Jewish women, who faced criticism from inside and outside the established Jewish community.[82]

Market societies are competitive and driven by conflict. Jewish immigrants not only had to learn to handle the machinery of commercial innovation and the creatively destructive power of design and fashion. They also had to learn to fight in the marketplace. Unfair practices and counterfeiting were not uncommon inside and outside Jewish communities—and immigrants seem to be an even easier target for trickery and betrayal. After the turn of the century, "unethical" business behavior became a public topic and was answered by collective action. The New York City kosher meat boycott of 1902 saw more than 100,000 Jewish families fight against exorbitant prices. Supported by unions and benevolent societies, Jewish women organized and questioned the market position of kosher butchers.[83] They grasped the opportunities of a liberal consumer culture, establishing not only a culture of resistance in the marketplace but also institutions like consumer cooperatives, cooperative bakeries, and butcher shops.[84] Such consumer activism drew on notions of Jewish solidarity and self-help from Europe. But the immigrants were able to adopt these credos to the specific conditions of American consumer culture and developed new forms to protect their rights in the public sphere of consumption. The relative success of such struggles even led to more advanced ideas of consumer boycotts, for instance to wage an economic struggle against Nazi Germany in 1933. And beyond.[85]

Hybridity and Transnational Approaches

When Jewish immigrants arrived on American shores, they did not come empty handed. Capital, educational skills, and a capacious work ethic were important preconditions for economic success. But the newcomers also brought their material culture und their traditions, which in turn helped shape American culture. This phenomenon was never fixed or stagnant but always interacted with both local tendencies and transnational forces. Broad sectors of consumer industries, namely clothing, furniture, specialized luxuries, the movies, and beauty products, were largely created or dominated by Jewish entrepreneurs, because new firms in these sectors required only limited capital and offered opportunities open to Jewish immigrants, especially those from Eastern Europe. Female entrepreneurs like Helena Rubinstein and Estee Lauder became pioneers of the modern cosmetic business and defined the beauty ideals of millions.[86] Toys from Mattel and Hasbro, or the iconic Barbie doll, shaped the consumer culture and life experiences of toddlers, children, and teenagers.[87] American consumer culture more broadly, including marketing techniques, retail formats, product design, and consumer research were all shaped by the transnational flow of people, ideas, and styles. Indeed, American consumer culture was, to a striking extent, reinvented during the 1940s and 1950s by a large number of prominent European and mostly Jewish experts in consumption. The so-called Vienna School of market research transformed corporations' perception of consumer desires. Psychology and even psychoanalysis, another Central European import, became an important element of designing, packaging, and presenting goods. Skilled and academically trained immigrants enlarged and changed more traditional ways of marketing and advertising.[88] Malls reshaped the American, suburban landscape, inspired in part by Central European notions of urban space. New currents in architecture transformed Americans' shopping and leisure experiences.[89]

As we have already seen, Jewish food cultures were brought to the United States as elements of religious practice and identity.[90] Of course, Jewish cuisine was influenced not only by kashruth but also by regional culinary traditions from Central and Eastern Europe and other sites of emigration. *Latkes* (Hanukkah) and *Hamantaschen* (Purim) were prominent examples for regional food innovations in Europe, which were brought to America and ultimately marketed to non-Jewish customers as well (Fig. 1.10). Other foods coded as old-country Jewish imports were,

Fig. 1.10 Hamantaschen from the Parkway Deli & Restaurant, Silver Spring, Maryland, May 2016. (Photograph by Uwe Spiekermann)

to a great extent, shaped by a convergence of ethnic marketing and Jewish nostalgia in the American context.[91] In short, Jews both transformed and were transformed by American (and European) consumer cultures, and participation in consumer culture at large framed the terms of admission into middle-class American society. Jewish consumer cultures operated both to reassert and negate Jewish difference and as such can be read as rich sites and spaces for the negotiation of Jews' participation in mainstream societies and cultures.[92]

Despite the multiplicity of topics treated in this volume, we are aware that it is no means comprehensive. The essays are geographically limited, and we regret not being able to incorporate work on Jewish consumer cultures in Eastern Europe, in French, British and other Western European contexts, or in Latin America, among other places. There is also a great deal more to be said, furthermore, about the perspectives of consumers themselves, about the gendering of consumption and the experiences and

roles of women, who starting in the nineteenth century became the group most closely identified with acts of consumption, targeted by department store displays and advertising campaigns, and the shoppers, cooks, and household managers for most families. Another way of looking at Jews and Judaism is in terms of the different regimes of time that govern their lives, the weekly and annual cycles of holidays and sabbaths, the prayers and rituals that structure their days, weeks, and months, and indeed, which traditionally imposed different strictures on men, women, and children. There would also be a great deal more to include about economic history, and one could draw on the perspective of the empirical social sciences. New methods influenced by anthropology and philosophy could contribute enormously to this subject, incorporating, for example, structural approaches to analyze consumer goods as systems of signification or the flat (or object-oriented) ontology movement, which focuses attention not only on humans' impact on objects but also on the agency and ontological status of things and how they act on and shape human subjectivity.[93] Nevertheless, we believe this volume is a good start, offering a sampling of important and fascinating new research on Jewish consumer cultures in modern Europe and North America, showing the analytical potential of this line of inquiry, and identifying areas that require further research.

Case Studies

The essays in this volume grew out of a conference that explored the roles consumption played in Jewish lives and the roles Jews played in different consumer cultures in Europe and North America throughout the modern period. Its chapters explore these questions in a variety of geographical and historical settings, using diverse approaches and a wide array of sources.

The first group of essays are bound together by their thematic focus on Jews in the retail sector in connection with the making of modern commercial life in Germany and the United States. Uwe Spiekermann examines the well-known figure of the Jewish peddler along with second-hand dealers in Germany. Despite the central role that peddling played in Jewish emancipation and despite the great number of Jews who earned their livelihoods as peddlers, Spiekermann demonstrates that peddling was not a "Jewish" business. In fact, the great majority of peddlers in German lands were not Jewish. Spiekermann illuminates the historical circumstances responsible for the close association of Jews and peddling, as well as the

images surrounding this linkage. He sketches the specifics of Jewish peddling and second-hand trading through 1938, when the Nazis prohibited Jewish involvement in these activities.

Olivier Baisez looks at advertising in the German-Zionist periodical, *Jüdische Rundschau*. He traces changes over time by comparing the number and types of ads the magazine published in the years 1903, 1913, and 1924, in order to see if one can detect the development of a specific German-Zionist consumption regime, apart from the consumption habits of the general German Jewish population. At the center of this essay are questions of belonging and Zionist identity, mediated through the advertising of goods, services, and even prospective marital partners that represented people's concrete desires or the taste one ought to have, when seeking identification and acceptance by a certain group. He finds a steady increase in advertisements for goods and services as the infrastructure of the Jewish settlement in Palestine grew. Moreover, as Zionist consciousness, if not concrete plans to move to Palestine, intensified in Germany, it remained closely linked to specific consumption practices.

Paul Lerner's chapter treats two contexts, pre-Nazi Germany and the United States during and after World War II, looking at the activities of Jewish shapers of consumer culture in both settings. In the former, primarily through the lens of the so-called Jewish department store, Lerner finds that department stores along with other branches of consumer culture were coded as Jewish in German literature and media, in contrast to older forms of "traditional" German craft and retail. In the latter case, however, the (mostly) Jewish émigrés from German-speaking Europe who planned shopping centers, malls, and amusement parks, or who authored advertising campaigns and thus profoundly shaped American consumption, were seen as "European," as bringing European sophistication and styles to the American heartland. He concludes with reflections on mid-twentieth-century debates about consumer capitalism and democracy, noting that some Jewish refugees from Hitler's Europe ultimately renounced America for the fascistic potential of its culture industries.

The link between department stores and Jewish immigrants to the United States is also at the center of Nils Roemer's essay. Roemer explores the history of the Neiman Marcus fashion retail empire as it developed under the chairmanship of Stanley Marcus, the son of the founder Herbert Marcus in Dallas, Texas. Through the figure of Stanley Marcus, and drawing on his autobiography, Roemer shows how Marcus's influence went beyond the department store itself, creating and reshaping Dallas urban

culture. Marcus not only brought the latest European fashions to the city—parallel to the architects and designers Lerner discusses—but also furthered progressive political thought and action. Marcus's retail activities and political interventions were inspired by his Jewish background and sensibility.

The second part of the volume looks at different ways in which consumer goods and practices were imbued, imagined, or created as "Jewish." Kerry Wallach's essay takes fur as its subject, a highly fraught material with a long history that was associated with Jewish religious and cultural life. Arguing that production is an important angle in understanding consumption, Wallach considers the important role Jews played in fur production and the fur trade on both sides of the Atlantic. While fur products like the shtreimel were exclusively Jewish and acted as a marker of male Orthodoxy, fur coats and accessories frequently served writers and artists as signifiers for a certain type of Jewish woman. Drawing on literary texts, films, and television shows from Europe and the United States from Kafka through the *Mad Men*, Wallach analyzes the phenomenon of fur as a visible sign of Jewishness with negative and positive connotations.

In her chapter, Aleisa Fishman shows how consumer goods were used to uphold and create Jewish identity in postwar American suburbs. Her main protagonists are middle-class Jewish women in Nassau County, New York, a paradigmatic American suburb. Like their non-Jewish contemporaries, these women faced the challenges that dispersed suburban life created for community-building. With consumption, Jewish women created a suburban existence like that of their non-Jewish neighbors. At the same time, they also consumed in distinctly Jewish ways, buying ritual foods and objects, and patronizing particular stores. In this way, they utilized consumer culture to maintain Jewish traditions and enhance Jewish identity even as they joined the American middle class in shaping postwar suburbia.

Moving from postwar America to Mandate Palestine in the interwar period, the essay by Hizky Shoham illustrates the importance of Western consumer cultures in the Yishuv and their interplay with Jewish traditions and identities. Investigating what made a consumer culture Jewish and using the tools of anthropology, history, and cultural studies, Shoham's analysis encompasses not just the products made by Jews, which were promoted in "buy Jewish" campaigns that sought to strengthen Jewish nationalist identity and secure Jewish agriculture in Palestine. Rather, Jewish rituals such as Purim celebrations or bar mitzvahs became commercialized, marking certain consumer objects, hitherto neutral, as Jewish,

and thus creating a distinct Jewish consumer culture on the site of the future State of Israel.

If "buy Jewish" campaigns aimed to create Jewish community, "buy Jewish" could also mean not buying things that ran counter to Jewish communal values. This is what Anne Schenderlein examines in her essay on American Jews' boycotting of products from Germany. Schenderlein traces the meaning and function that boycotting Germany had for different groups of Jews in the United States from the time of official anti-Nazi boycotts in the 1930s to more private boycott actions after the Second World War and the Holocaust, showing how the refusal to consume can be just as important as consumption itself for solidifying communal identity and making political statements.

Germany also plays a key role in Michael Berkowitz's essay on photography and the art market. Noting the overrepresentation of Jews in all spheres of photography for the medium's entire history, he adds a unique perspective by focusing on high-end consumption and the entanglement of Jews in elevating the medium of photography in the postwar art world. In the spirit of *Wiedergutmachung* (West Germany's financial restitution to victims and survivors of the Holocaust), German art museums and collectors even became interested in collecting the works of Jewish photographers in particular, thus fueling the art market in photography.

Closing this volume is Gideon Reuveni's broadly framed essay, which brings to light different cases from Europe, Israel, and America of how consumption can reveal otherwise hidden facets of the Jewish experience. For minorities like Jews, consumer decisions can serve both as a means to integrate themselves into a majority society as well as a way of creating or maintaining a separate identity. Sometimes, products belonging to the culture of one minority group can for various reasons become attractive to people who have nothing to do with this culture, as Reuveni illustrates with the example of the preference of some non-Jews for buying foods labeled as kosher. Reuveni shows the intertwining of consumerism with the Jewish question—or the tension between assimilation and the preservation of identity—over several centuries. He attends to the ways in which Jewish communities' different historical and social circumstances in the three discreet contexts led to different consumption regimes and consumer practices.

* * *

The individual essays in this volume draw their own conclusions, and it would be reductionist to try to distill them into one overarching argument. Instead, we end this introduction with brief reflections on the methodological issues and the future areas of research that the essays provoke. We note, first, that to speak of Jewish consumer culture raises all sorts of methodological red flags. Just as we must think in terms of multiple Jewish cultures, we must also consider multiple Jewish consumer cultures. Jewish life encompasses a broad spectrum of practices, rituals, cuisines, and more that vary greatly across regions, historical periods, and religious communities. And then there are different styles, tastes, and preferences. Scholars of Jewish consumer cultures must remain vigilant that they do not essentialize or homogenize their subject and that they not take for granted which practices or products, let alone individuals, can be identified as Jewish. Similarly, they must be attentive to the ways in which Jewishness functions in discreet contexts. When are patterns of Jewish consumption specific to Jews and when do they reflect broader patterns exhibited, say, by any immigrant group or religious minority? When does a historical subject's Jewishness explain her or his consumption choices? How do gender, nationality, race, age, and so on factor into those decisions?

Second, as the historical profession justifiably becomes increasingly transnational and global in orientation, consumption studies must expand their scope accordingly. A continuing challenge for the study of Jewish consumer cultures, as for any historical study, is to balance the global and the local, the general and the particular, in order to ask, as Gideon Reuveni urges, when certain practices reinforce Jewish identity and solidarity and when they undermine it. Put in different terms, this means balancing the focused study of local or individual acts of consumption with an eye toward the broader economic processes that produce goods and bring them to the stores and online retailers that make them available.[94] Scholars in other branches of consumption studies have begun to link work on consumption with empire and colonialism, and we see the beginnings of that analytical tendency in new works on Zionism and Jewish settlement in Palestine as well as on capitalism in the modern world more generally.

Third, Jewish studies and Jewish history have in recent years begun opening up to spatial approaches. Applying the categories of space and place to the study of Jewish consumer culture has allowed scholars to look at Jewish settlement patterns and neighborhoods or to the shaping of modern urban experiences around retail and leisure, the intertwining of

architecture and commerce, and other ways in which Jews as consumers and creators of consumer culture uniquely experienced and shaped the pleasures and challenges of urban modernity in Europe and the United States. Space as a category has much to offer Jewish history, Jewish studies, and the history of consumer culture, and we hope new work interrogates Jewish consumer cultures from this perspective.[95]

Fourth, as implied in the concept of consumer culture, and as several of the essays in this volume point out, consumption as a category includes both physical objects and intangible phenomena, both stuff or things and the music, news, literature, or beauty carried by or embodied in those things. Critical theory, of course, grappled with this distinction and with the consequences of the mass production and distribution of the latter in the twentieth century. Pierre Bourdieu's studies brilliantly correlated class and taste through rigorous empirical analysis of middle-class consumption practices in France, but his approach has seldom been duplicated in other contexts and cultural spheres.[96] Decades later, we still lack a theoretical framework for differentiating the consumption of culture from the consumption of stuff. Among an ethno-religious group where, as we have seen, material objects often carry spiritual meaning, attending to these distinctions seems all the more crucial.

Finally, as we have argued throughout this introduction, studies of Jewish consumer cultures have a great deal to contribute to both Jewish studies and to the study of consumer culture. We hope that future studies in this area will remain attentive to both perspectives. If the consumption of goods has become central to how we imagine our lives and present ourselves, how we express our values and political choices, how we differentiate ourselves from some groups and affiliate with others, and indeed, how we exist on this earth, then it seems likely that consumer culture will remain a vigorous and dynamic area of research for decades to come. We have only begun to scratch the surface of the deep historical interconnections of consumption and Jewish history.

Notes

1. [Fritz] Lamm, "Wirtschaftsverhältnisse unterstützter Familien," *Concordia* 20 (1913): 273–77. Similar conditions were found in New York; see Maurice Fishberg, "Die Armut unter den Juden in New-York," *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden* 4 (1908): 113–18; Caroline Goodyear, "Household Budgets of the Poor," *Charities and the Commons* 16, no. 4 (1906): 191–97.

2. Gideon Reuveni and Nils Roember convened a pioneering conference on Jews and consumer culture at University College London in 2006. Some of the papers from that conference along with other material were published in their edited volume *Longing, Belonging, and the Making of Jewish Consumer Culture* (Leiden, 2010). See also Gideon Reuveni, *Consumer Culture and the Making of Modern Jewish Identity* (Cambridge, 2018).
3. See esp. Frank Trentmann, *The Empire of Things: How We Became a World of Consumers from the Fifteenth Century through the Twenty-First* (New York, 2016); Gary Cross, *An All-Consuming Century: Why Consumerism Won in Modern America* (New York, 2002); Peter N. Stearns, *Consumerism in World History: The Global Transformation of Desire* (New York, 2006); Hartmut Berghoff and Uwe Spiekermann, eds., *Decoding Modern Consumer Societies* (New York, 2012); John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993); Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge, 2008); Victoria de Grazia with Ellen Furlough, eds., *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley, CA, 2006); Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, *Konsum und Handel: Europa im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2003).
4. Above all, see Rebecca Kobrin and Adam Teller, eds., *Purchasing Power: The Economics of Modern Jewish History* (Philadelphia, PA, 2015). Also: Cornelia Aust, "Jewish Economic History," *Oxford Bibliographies* 2015, https://doi.org/10.1093/obo/9780199840731-0106; Gideon Reuveni and Sarah Wobick-Segev, eds., *The Economy in Jewish History: New Perspectives on the Interrelationship between Ethnicity and Economic Life* (New York, 2011); Eli Lederhendler, *Jewish Immigrants and American Capitalism, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, 2009); Adam Teller, "Culture and Money: The Economic Dimensions of Cultural History and What It Can Teach Us," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 104 (2014): 278–87; and Rebecca Kobrin, "Destructive Creators: Sender Jarmulowsky and Financial Failure in the Annals of American Jewish History," *American Jewish History* 97, no. 2 (2013): 105–37.
5. Good examples of an intellectual history of antisemitism are David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition* (New York, 2013); Fritz Backhaus, Raphael Gross, and Liliane Weissberg, eds., *Juden. Geld. Eine Vorstellung* (Frankfurt am Main, 2013); Nicolas Berg, ed., *Kapitalismusdebatten um 1900: Über antisemitisierende Semantiken des Jüdischen* (Leipzig, 2011); William David Rubinstein, "Jews in the Economic Elites of Western Nations and Antisemitism," *Jewish Journal of Sociology* 10 (2010): 5–35. For some empirical evidence, see Uwe Spiekermann, *Basis der Konsumgesellschaft: Entstehung und Entwicklung des modernen Kleinhandels in Deutschland 1850–1914* (Munich, 1999).

6. Examples of such antisemitism: Eduard von Hartmann, *Das Judentum in Gegenwart und Zukunft* (Leipzig, 1885); Hermann Ahlwardt, *Der Verzweiflungskampf der arischen Völker mit dem Judentum* (Berlin, 1890); Theodor Fritsch, ed., *Handbuch der Judenfrage*, 26th ed. (Hamburg, 1907).
7. See above all, Derek J. Penslar, *Shylock's Children: Economics and Jewish Identity in Modern Europe* (Berkeley, CA, 2001); Rachel Shulkins, "Imagining the Other: The Jew in Maria Edgeworth's *Harrington*," *European Romantic Review* 22 (2011): 477–99.
8. Pamela E. Swett, S. Jonathan Wiesen, and Jonathan R. Zatlin, eds., *Selling Modernity: Advertising in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2007); Peter Fritzsche, *Reading Berlin 1900* (Cambridge, MA, 1996.)
9. See Arno Herzog, *Jüdische Geschichte in Deutschland: Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1997); Hasia Diner, *The Jews of the United States, 1654–2000* (Berkeley, 2004); Jonathan D. Sarna, *American Judaism: A History* (New Haven, CT, 2004). See also Nils Roemer and Gideon Reuveni, "Introduction: Longing, Belonging, and the Making of Jewish Consumer Culture," in Reuveni & Roemer, eds., *Longing and Belonging*, 1.
10. Jerry Z. Muller, *Capitalism and the Jews* (Princeton, NJ, 2010). See also Jerry Z. Muller, "Capitalism and the Jews Revisited," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 58 (2015): 9–23; and his earlier studies on Marx, Weber, Simmel, and Sombart in Jerry Z. Muller, *The Mind and the Market: Capitalism in Western Thought* (New York, 2002), 166–207, 229–57.
11. Penslar, *Shylock's Children*; Jonathan Karp, *The Politics of Jewish Commerce: Economic Thought and Emancipation in Europe, 1638–1848* (Cambridge, 2008). See also Adam Teller, "Economic Life," *YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Economic_Life, which includes helpful reading suggestions; Maristella Botticini, "Jewish Diaspora," in Joel Mokyr, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Economic History* (Oxford, 2003), iii: 204–207.
12. Marni Davis, *Jews and Booze: Becoming American in the Age of Prohibition* (New York, 2012); Paul Lerner, *The Consuming Temple: Jews, Department Stores, and the Consumer Revolution in Germany, 1880–1940* (Ithaca, NY, 2015); Adam Mendelsohn, *The Rag Race: How Jews Sewed Their Way to Success in America and the British Empire* (New York, 2015); Hasia Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migration to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven, CT, 2015).
13. For additional literature, see Hartmut Berghoff and Uwe Spiekermann, "Taking Stock and Forging Ahead: The Past and Future of Consumption History," in *Decoding Modern Consumer Societies*, ed. Hartmut Berghoff and Uwe Spiekermann (New York, 2012), 1–13.

14. Robert Liberles, *Jews Welcome Coffee: Tradition and Innovation in Early Modern Germany* (Waltham, MA, 2012); Sander L. Gilman, "Jews and Smoking," in *Smoke: A Global History of Smoking*, ed. Sander L. Gilman and Zhou Xun (London, 2004), 278–85, 384–85; Anna Shternshis, *Soviet and Kosher: Jewish Popular Culture in the Soviet Union* (Bloomington, IN, 2006); Annelie Ramsbrock, *The Science of Beauty: Culture and Cosmetics in Modern Germany, 1750–1930* (New York, 2015).
15. Gideon Reuveni, *Reading Germany: Literature and Consumer Culture in Germany before 1933* (New York, 2006); Joelle Bahloul, "On 'Cabbage and Kings': The Politics of Jewish Identity in Post-Colonial French Society and Cuisine," in *Food in Global History*, ed. Raymond Grew (Boulder, CO, 1999), 92–106.
16. "Walter Rathenau über die Frau," *Die jüdische Frau* 1, no. 2, May 22, 1925, 6; Martin Buber, "Das Zion der jüdischen Frau," *Die Welt* 5, no. 17, 1901, 3–5. See also Kerry Wallach's essay in this volume.
17. Nils Roemer and Gideon Reuveni, "Longing, Belonging, and the Making of Jewish Consumer Culture," in *Longing, Belonging*, ed. Roemer and Reuveni, 1–22. As an example, see Maria Balinska, *The Bagel: The Surprising History of a Modest Bread* (New Haven, CT, 2008).
18. Roxanne Howland and Joyce M. Wolburg, *Advertising, Society, and Consumer Culture* (London, 2015), 51; Rosalind Williams, *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, CA, 1982), Victoria de Grazia with Ellen Furlough, eds., *The Sex of Things*; Ellen Furlough, *Consumer Cooperation in France: The Politics of Consumption* (Ithaca, NY, 1991); Ulrich Wyrwa, "Consumption and Consumer Society: Contribution to the History of Ideas," in *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern, and Matthias Judt (Cambridge, 1998), 431–47; Frank Trentmann, "Beyond Consumerism: New Historical Perspectives on Consumption," *Journal of Contemporary History* 39 (2005): 373–401.
19. See Zygmunt Bauman, *Consuming Life* (Cambridge, 2007).
20. Leora Auslander, ""National Taste?' Citizenship Law, State Form, and Everyday Aesthetics in Modern France and Germany, 1920–1940," in *The Politics of Consumption: Material Culture and Citizenship in Europe and America*, ed. Martin Daunton and Matthew Hilton (Oxford, 2001), 109–128, here 121–128. See also Leora Auslander, "'Jewish Taste?' Jews, and the Aesthetics of Everyday Life in Paris and Berlin, 1933–1942," in *Histories of Leisure*, ed. Rudy Koshar (Oxford, 2002), 299–318; and Ibid., "The Boundaries of Jewishness or When Is a Cultural Practice Jewish?" *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 8 (2009): 47–64. For a treatment of Jewish taste in turn-of-the-century Vienna, see Elana Shapria, *Style and Seduction: Jewish Patrons, Architecture, and Design in Fin-de-Siécle Vienna* (Waltham, MA, 2015).

21. Leora Auslander, "Jews and Material Culture," in *Cambridge Modern Jewish History*, ed. Mitchell B. Hart and Tony Michels (Cambridge, 2012, viii: 831–57).
22. Global historians would also refer to the creation of a western commercial sphere, based on similar technologies and commodities; see, for instance, Jonathan Daly, *The Rise of Western Power: A Comparative History of Western Civilization* (London, 2014).
23. For example: Jürgen Kocka, *Geschichte des Kapitalismus* (Munich, 2014); Thomas Picketty, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge, MA, 2017); Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York, 2015); Jürgen Kocka and Marcen van der Linden, eds., *Capitalism: The Reemergence of a Global Concept* (London, 2018).
24. See Gideon Reuveni, *Consumer Culture and the Making of Modern Jewish Identity* (Cambridge, 2017).
25. Quoted in Michael B. Miller, *The Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869–1920* (Princeton, NJ, 1981), 177.
26. Émile Zola, *The Ladies' Paradise* (Oxford, 1995), 427.
27. See, for example, Peter Stürzebecher, *Das Berliner Warenhaus* (Berlin, 1979), 25; Alarich Rooch, "Wertheim, Tietz und das KaDeWe in Berlin: Zur Architektursprache eines Kulturraumes," in *Das Berliner Warenhaus: Geschichte und Diskurse / The Berlin Department Store: History and Discourse*, ed. Godela Weiss-Sussex and Ulrike Zitzlsperger (Frankfurt am Main, 2013), 167–98.
28. Leigh Schmidt, "The Commercialization of the Calendar: American Holidays and the Culture of Consumption, 1870–1930," *Journal of American History* 78 (1991): 887–916; John M. Giggie and Diane Winston, "Hidden in Plain Sight: Religion and Urban Commercial Culture in Modern North America," in *Faith in the Market: Religion and the Rise of Modern Commercial Culture*, ed. John M. Giggie and Diane Winston (Piscataway, NJ, 2002), 1–12; Elizabeth H. Pleck, *Celebrating the Family: Ethnicity, Consumer Culture and Family Rituals* (Cambridge, MA, 2000); Daniel Sack, *Whitebread Protestants: Food and Religion in American Culture* (New York, 2001). Protests and calls for boycotts are an integral element of any consumer society; see Bill Tallen, *What would Jesus Buy? Fabulous Prayers in the Face of the Shopocalypse* (New York, 2006). On Germany, see, for example, Joe Perry, *Christmas in Germany: A Cultural History* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2010). On the British context, see the fascinating work by Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions* (New Haven, CT, 2009).

29. Gerbern S. Oegema, *The History of the Shield of David: The Birth of a Symbol* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996).
30. Etan Diamond, "Beyond Borscht: The Kosher Lifestyle and the Religious Consumerism of Suburban Orthodox Jews," in *Faith in the Market*, ed. Giggie and Winston, 227–45.
31. See, for example, Leah Hochman, ed., *Tastes of Faith: Jewish Eating in the United States* (West Lafayette, IN, 2017); and Anat Hochman, ed., *Jews and Their Foodways*, Studies in Contemporary Jewry 28 (2015).
32. Thomas Schlich, "The Word of God and the Word of Science: Nutrition Science and the Jewish Dietary Laws in Germany, 1820–1920," in *The Science and Culture of Nutrition, 1840–1940*, ed. Harmke Kamminga and Andrew Cunningham (Amsterdam, 1995), 97–128.
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