

*The Fashion Dictator:*  
Reimagining German Interwar Masculinity,  
1927-1930

by

Kathryn Elaine Randall  
M.A., University of Colorado Boulder, 2018  
B.A., Tennessee Technological University, 2014

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the  
University of Colorado Boulder in partial fulfillment  
of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
Department of History  
2021

Committee Members:

David Ciarlo

Erik Jensen

Martha Hanna

Miriam Kingsberg Kadia

Honor Sachs

## Abstract

Randall, Kathryn Elaine (Ph.D., History)

*The Fashion Dictator: Reimagining German Interwar Masculinity, 1927-1930*

Thesis directed by Associate Professor David Ciarlo

The use of gender as a category of historical analysis has revolutionized the study of history, yet most studies that prioritize gender focus on those seen as marginalized, whether women or sexual minorities. This dissertation deploys the methods of gender analysis to a different end, to enlighten our comprehension of heterosexually-defined men and masculinity. In order to construct a better understanding of the past, scholars must analyze each cross-section of society, including—and perhaps especially—those whose gender history is often taken at face value because of their privilege. This dissertation examines *The Fashion Dictator (Der Modediktator)*, a German leisure and lifestyle magazine that targeted an upwardly mobile and white-collar men from 1927-1930. This publication is key to understanding how, during a period of political and economic instability and cultural renaissance, a very specific masculine ideal was presented in German society. Gender is based both on performance and embedded in cultural mediums; and analyzing these mediums—through close study of its articles and images, offers a lens through which to view a new form of heterosexual masculinity. Through this analysis, I argue that this idealized version of masculinity was a critical pillar in Weimar cultural identity; and moreover, this ideal of masculinity was maintained through consistent consumption (of words, images, and fashion). In analyzing the cultural construction of masculinity in consumer culture, I also seek to investigate the political implications of this consumerist masculinity. This dissertation illustrates how a new, self-objectifying masculine ideal, manifesting through capitalist consumerism, forged a link between modernity, cosmopolitanism, and elegance. Historians of modern Germany, when they have looked at masculinity, tended to focus on the extreme conditions of war or related areas, or focus on the rise of Nazism. This dissertation, by focusing on men's leisure and lifestyle magazines after the First World War, and before the National Socialists came to power, offers a new perspective on German masculinity in these crucial years. A close analysis of the heterosexual idea that these leisure and lifestyle magazines constructed, circulated, and perpetuated, moreover, gives us a new perspective on these troubled years and German masculinity.

## Acknowledgments

There are innumerable individuals whom I must thank for their support along my academic journey, particularly in my recent years of higher education. First, I would like to thank the faculty of the History Department of the University of Colorado Boulder for their intellectual and financial support of my studies for these last six years.

Thanks to the Center for Western Civilization and their Summer Language Grant, I was able to attend the Goethe Institute in Berlin during the summer of 2017 and strengthen my German language skills. I am deeply appreciative of the Diversity Recruitment Fellowship from the Graduate School for the 2017-2018 academic year that allowed me to continue my studies as a Ph.D. student, rather than ending my academic career as a master's student. I would like to further thank the History Department, particularly the Graduate Studies Committee for awarding me the Joan L. Coffey Fellowship, in order to conduct my archival research in Berlin during the fall of 2019. The Graduate Studies Committee has also funded two summers of departmental mentorship and professional growth through the Graduate Research Mentorship Program, for which I am truly grateful. I would also like to thank the Graduate School for the serendipitously timed Dissertation Writing Fellowship that provided me with the funding to write this thesis during 2020-2021 academic year.

I would also like to thank the professors and academic mentors who guided my intellectual journey throughout this process. David Ciarlo has been a paragon of academic rigor, guidance, and curiosity. He has never failed to listen to my concerns, critique my work, or push me to improve, even as my academic wanderings have taken him far afield into the scholarship of gender and sexuality. To Deborah Hollis, who upon our first meeting immediately took me under her wing. Debbie introduced me to the labyrinthian world of libraries, in particular Special Collections and Archives. She taught me how to “polish a turd” in any situation and showed me how women of color can succeed in higher education.

To my elementary and high school teachers, particularly, Sr. Connie Tarallo, Ms. Jill McKnight, and Mr. William Cate who taught me the magic of literature and history. You all saw past my quiet exterior and told a precocious young girl to share her words and ideas with the world. I would be a far more taciturn woman had you not encouraged me in your classrooms.

My commitment to academic excellence is a family trait, one which was passed down by my grandmother, Margaret Holiday Mallard and fostered by my mother, Gail Mallard. Your unconditional love and support have enabled me to do just about anything I set my mind to, and I am so proud to continue this family legacy.

To the community of friends who has been there with open arms, engaging conversation, and when the occasion calls for it, a stiff drink. Mary Kate Nalan, you and the entire Nalan family have seen me through girl scouts, TTU, and all the fashionable misadventures in between. Patrick Kennedy, you and your family introduced me to my love of hockey and taught me how to properly appreciate good food and good company. To the cohort of friends who helped me survive and thrive in graduate school, Kerri Clement, Amanda Racine, Sean Babbs and Marie Matsuda, Alex Langer, and Matty Schelling. These past few years of anxiety, revisions, and hard work have been the all the more rewarding because of your sage advice and, on occasion, absurd antics, thank you.

To the two most important people in my life, Jessica Some and Manon Williams. There are not enough words to adequately articulate the impact you have had on my life. I can say with the utmost frankness that I would not be the woman I am today had I never met either of you. Nor would I be where I am today without your love, advice, and your appreciation for my unbridled

snark and sass. You are my strength when I am weak, my comfort when I am in need of solace, my guides when I am troubled, and my twin sources of pride and joy.

To all the individuals who have allowed me to grow because of their role in my life, not in spite of it, thank you.

## Table of Contents

<b>List of Figures .....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter I.....</b>	<b>16</b>
Men as Consumers: Masculinity as a Commodity .....	
<b>Chapter II .....</b>	<b>45</b>
Modern Cosmopolitanism: International Elegance .....	
<b>Chapter III.....</b>	<b>85</b>
<i>Männerbünde</i> of Men's Magazines: Homosociality and Homosexual Aesthetics .....	
<b>Chapter IV .....</b>	<b>139</b>
Looking the Part: Athletic Style as Seen in <i>The Fashion Dictator</i> .....	
<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>165</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>179</b>

## List of Figures

<b>Figure 1</b> .....	<b>47</b>
The Prince of Wales in the Ascot Paddock.....	
<b>Figure 2: The Style Is More Important than the Cut</b> .....	<b>51</b>
Figure 2a: The Style Is More Important than the Cut.....	53
<b>Figure 3</b> .....	<b>55</b>
Miniatures from the Tails-Sphere .....	
<b>Figure 4</b> .....	<b>56</b>
Nothing for the Boulevard .....	
<b>Figure 5</b> .....	<b>57</b>
Every Other Person Wears a Beard Today .....	
<b>Figure 6</b> .....	<b>58</b>
Umbrella or Cane? .....	
<b>Figure 7</b> .....	<b>60</b>
From International Society .....	
<b>Figure 8</b> .....	<b>62</b>
Fashionable Dignitaries Collage.....	
<b>Figure 9</b> .....	<b>64</b>
Adolphe Menjou .....	
<b>Figure 10</b> .....	<b>65</b>
The Gray Cylinder .....	
<b>Figure 11</b> .....	<b>67, 145</b>
With Ponies after the Polo Ball.....	
<b>Figure 12</b> .....	<b>69</b>
The Prince of Wales Goes to the Races .....	
<b>Figure 13</b> .....	<b>71</b>
The Umbrella Made from Exotic Cane.....	
<b>Figure 14a: From the Tails-Sphere</b> .....	<b>73</b>
Figure 14b: From the Tails-Sphere .....	74
Figure 14c: From the Tails-Sphere .....	75
<b>Figure 15</b> .....	<b>76</b>
The Gentleman’s Portrait from the Fashionable Perspective .....	

<b>Figure 16</b> .....	<b>78</b>
Sport and Fashion .....	
<b>Figure 17</b> .....	<b>79</b>
The Suit of Character .....	
<b>Figure 18</b> .....	<b>80</b>
From our Fashion Archive .....	
<b>Figure 19</b> .....	<b>92</b>
Morning Drive .....	
<b>Figure 20</b> .....	<b>93</b>
Polo in Frohnau .....	
<b>Figure 21</b> .....	<b>94, 111</b>
At the Border Station .....	
<b>Figure 22</b> .....	<b>95</b>
Season Opener .....	
<b>Figure 23</b> .....	<b>100</b>
Sunny Days Once Again.....	
<b>Figure 24</b> .....	<b>101</b>
Rendevous in Tiergarten .....	
<b>Figure 25</b> .....	<b>103</b>
The Mood before the Ball.....	
<b>Figure 26</b> .....	<b>106</b>
In the House Bar .....	
<b>Figure 27: For a Promenade along the Railing after Supper</b> .....	<b>109</b>
Figure 27a: Today, International Etiquette Demands the Tuxedo as the Evening Suit ...	109
<b>Figure 28</b> .....	<b>113</b>
Two-piece Swimsuit with a Wide Yellow Chest Stripe and Tailoring.....	
<b>Figure 29: Marine Queries</b> .....	<b>115</b>
Figure 29a: Sports Deck on Hapag Ocean Liners.....	115
<b>Figure 30</b> .....	<b>118</b>
On the New Jacket Fabrics .....	
<b>Figure 31</b> .....	<b>121</b>
The Jacket Lines Remain the Same .....	
<b>Figure 32</b> .....	<b>123</b>

Cover Illustration .....	
<b>Figure 33: The Modern Belted Swimsuit .....</b>	<b>124</b>
Figure 33a: One-Piece Swimsuit with Attached Loops and Belt .....	124
<b>Figure 34.....</b>	<b>127</b>
The Light Striped Trousers .....	
<b>Figure 35.....</b>	<b>129</b>
All in Good Time .....	
<b>Figure 36: The Modern Swimsuits.....</b>	<b>130</b>
Figure 36a: Really a Practical Novelty .....	130
<b>Figure 37.....</b>	<b>133</b>
The Ulster and Ulster Overcoat in Different Styles .....	
<b>Figure 38.....</b>	<b>159</b>
Norfolk Shoes .....	
<b>Figure 39.....</b>	<b>170</b>
Hitler Youth .....	
<b>Figure 40.....</b>	<b>171</b>
Squad Leader of a Naval Turret.....	
<b>Figure 41.....</b>	<b>172</b>
SS Sturmbannführers in Dress Uniform .....	
<b>Figure 42.....</b>	<b>174</b>
Group and Rank Badges .....	

## Introduction

Why is men's fashion culture of the 1920s and 1930s discussed so little amongst historians? Scholars have often addressed the burgeoning consumer culture of the interwar period in gendered terms, with men's purchasing analyzed in relation to automobiles and athletic or sporting equipment, and women's purchasing patterns explored in terms of clothing, cosmetics, and household goods.<sup>1</sup> Historians of fashion and consumer culture have long noted that fashion can be used to deconstruct social, cultural, and political values.<sup>2</sup> The discourse surrounding women's dress and consumption of fashion and cosmetic products has been addressed at length.<sup>3</sup> Even members of historically marginalized sexual communities such as transgender, gay, and lesbian individuals have had their clothing and public presentations dissected as if underneath the lens of a microscope.<sup>4</sup> This reductionist analysis reinforces an outdated gender paradox regarding how men are agents of action, and women are passive and acted upon. So why have scholars not

---

<sup>1</sup> Ellen Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlor: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). Kenon Brezeale, "In Spite of Women: *Esquire* Magazine and the Construction of the Male Consumer," 226-244, *The Gender and Consumer Culture Reader*, Jennifer Scanlon, ed., (New York: New York University Press, 2000). Rudy Koshar, "Germans at the Wheel: Cars and Leisure Travel in Interwar Germany," 215-232, *Histories of Leisure*, Rudy Koshar, ed., (New York: Berg Publishing, 2002).

<sup>2</sup> *Selling Modernity: Advertising in Twentieth-Century Germany*, Pamela E. Swett, S. Johnathan Wiesen, and Johnathan R. Zatlin, eds., (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007). *Histories of Leisure*, Rudy Koshar, ed., (New York: Berg Publishers, 2002). *Consuming Modernity: Gendered Behavior and Consumerism before the Baby Boom*, Cheryl Krasnick Warsh and Dan Malleck, eds., (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013).

<sup>3</sup> Irene Guenther, *Nazi Chic?: Fashioning Women in the Third Reich*, (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2004). *Women in the Metropolis: Gender and Modernity in Weimar Culture*, Katharina von Ankum ed., (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997). Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995). Atina Grossmann, "The New Woman and the Rationalization of Sexuality in Weimar Germany," Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, Sharon Thompson, eds., *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983).

<sup>4</sup> Justin Bengry, "Who Is the Queer Consumer? Historical Perspectives on Capitalism and Homosexuality," 21-36, *Consuming Behaviors: Identity, Politics and Pleasure in Twentieth Century Britain*, Erica Rappaport, Sandra Trudgen Dawson, and Mark J. Crowley, eds., (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015). Katie Sutton, "'We Too Deserve a Place in the Sun': The Politics of Transvestite Identity in Weimar Germany," *German Studies Review*, 35:2, (2012): 335-354. Clayton J. Whisnant, *Queer Identities and Politics in Germany: A History, 1880-1945*, (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2016).

extended this analysis to one of the most influential demographics of modern European society—men?

This seems paradoxical as a man's appearance in, say for example, a political advertisement has immediate ramifications because of how his particular performance is perceived by the audience. How men dress and how they carry themselves matters; their distinct reflections of social constructions which exhibit an individual's masculinity are critical to the study of western culture. The factors behind these choices and purchases, moreover, are important to German history: for by analyzing modern masculinity through the lens of consumer culture, we can see the ways in which visual advertising established and reinforced divisions between possible consumers at a time when conspicuous consumption was becoming an integral component to the participation in Weimar society and culture.

This dissertation examines the intersection of consumer culture, gender performance, and the dynamic politicization of Weimar culture through the lens of the German men's magazine, *The Fashion Dictator (Der Modediktator)*. Published by Baron Hermann-Marten von Eelking, this magazine ran from 1927-1930 until Eelking refashioned it into its more versatile successor, *The Gentleman's Journal (Das Herrenjournal)*, which continued, intermittently, until 1987.<sup>5</sup> This analysis specifically focuses on the magazine's iteration as *The Fashion Dictator* as it offers rich insight into the transformation of modern expressions of masculinity vis-à-vis consumerism. The articles, advertisements, photographs, and illustrations that make up the content of this magazine capture and exhibit the most fashionable clothing, lifestyles, and celebrities for its readership. The descriptions of masculinity and lifestyles in *The Fashion Dictator* illustrated how an ideal man

---

<sup>5</sup> Hermann-Marten von Eelking, *Der Modediktator: die Zeitschrift für den gut angezogenen Herrn und alle seine Lieferanten*, 1927-1930, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139, Leipzig, Germany. Hermann-Marten von Eelking, *Das Herrenjournal*, 1931-1941, 1950-1987, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139, Leipzig, Germany.

should look and live. This idealized image of masculinity privileged the aesthetics of professional, white-collar men and the aesthetics of leisure. This publication also proliferated a consumerist masculine ideal. It suggested that while men of means could purchase and thereby embody and perform masculinity through the clothing choices and leisure activities modeled in *The Fashion Dictator*, their working and middle-class counterparts could also pick up a few tips, even if most of the suggestions remained financially out of reach.

To effectively explore the intersections of consumerism, visuality, and masculinity at the heart of this magazine we must first understand the cultural context of the Weimar Republic. Known for both its brevity and brilliance, the Weimar Republic was the short-lived German democracy that emerged from the ashes of the *Kaiserreich* following the end of the First World War and was subsequently consumed by the Third Reich in 1933. Though the scholarship on the Weimar Republic is prolific, this dissertation foregrounds Peter Gay's and Eric D. Weitz's interpretations of Weimar culture and society, as their analyses emphasize the intersection between gender and sexuality, politics, and culture in a way that is reflected in *The Fashion Dictator*. Gay's classic interpretation of *Outsider as Insider* illustrates the inherent contradictions and conflicts that defined Weimar society as seen through the very different political responses to the onset of modernity from the younger and older generations, those in power and those outside of it.<sup>6</sup> In turn, Weitz's far more comprehensive analysis outlines the significance of cultural politics—particularly those of the far-right—in every aspect of society as the ongoing transformations in German society were dependent upon the fate of the First World War and the birth of German democracy.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider*, 1968, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2001).

<sup>7</sup> Eric D. Weitz, *Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy*, 2007, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).

In the context of a highly politicized and contradictory cultural milieu, the conspicuous recreational consumerism that is illustrated in *The Fashion Dictator* has far more significance as an agency-enabling expression of male consumers' desires and concerns. Ellen Garvey argues that the transformation of gendered notions of the modern consumer, specifically during the first half of the twentieth century, reflects the contemporaneous changes in magazines and advertisers to target male consumers rather than traditional, female shoppers.<sup>8</sup> Her analysis illustrates how magazines worked with marketers to create desire for specific material objects by crafting narratives imbued with social capital around consumer goods. In the introduction to their compilation, *Globalizing Beauty: Consumerism and Aesthetics in the Twentieth Century*, Hartmut Berghoff and Thomas Kühne explore how the individuals who could purchase, wear, and ultimately embody the idealized images advertised in magazines obtained the necessary social capital to enjoy social success and distinction.<sup>9</sup> In short, participation in consumerism was premised on the proliferation of highly visible idealized imagery.

Visuality, in turn is another of the major themes of this dissertation. As the previous discussion of consumerism illustrates, the cycle of consumerism was intertwined with advertising and marketing, specifically that of images. Though more focused on visual culture than on advertising per se, Janet Ward's analysis in *Weimar Surfaces* deftly highlights how the urban visual culture as seen in window displays were both cultural expressions of *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity), and a participatory experience in Weimar modernity for passersby.<sup>10</sup> Though the analysis in this dissertation concentrates on the imagery of *The Fashion Dictator*, rather than the

---

<sup>8</sup> Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlor*.

<sup>9</sup> *Globalizing Beauty: Consumerism and Aesthetics in the Twentieth Century*, Hartmut Berghoff and Thomas Kühne, eds., (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

<sup>10</sup> Janet Ward, *Weimar Surfaces: Urban Visual Culture in 1920s Germany*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001).

immersive experience of department store and window displays, the parallels from Ward's work enrich this discussion. Pamela Swett's edited volume, *Selling Modernity*, by comparison, details the connections between innovation in material culture and advertising, and advertising and propaganda.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, Swett demonstrates the political and economic dimensions of consumption, as well as the social anxieties and desire that drive consumer purchasing patterns.

The third major theme of this analysis is masculinity. Now, as a magazine produced for and targeted at an audience of male readers, *The Fashion Dictator* privileged a specific vision of German masculinity. It also, as we have seen from the aforementioned discussions of consumerism and visibility, hinged the successful embodiment of modern Weimar masculinity on the consumption of idealized images and the purchase of specific material goods. To be sure, the discourse surrounding masculinity, particularly the varying expressions of German masculinities in the twentieth century is exhaustive.<sup>12</sup> This body of work, however, has historically focused on gay men and the ambiguous boundary between homosociality and homosexuality, particularly regarding the German institution of *Männerbünde*. Claudia Bruns and Jason Crouthamel's work on militarism and the amorphous boundaries between homosexuality and institutionalized homosociality are critical to the visual analysis in this thesis as well as the broader understanding of masculinity in modern German history.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> *Selling Modernity*, Swett, eds.

<sup>12</sup> Robert Beachy, *Gay Berlin: Birthplace of a Modern Identity*, (New York: Penguin Random House, 2014). Robert Beachy, "The German Invention of Homosexuality," *The Journal of Modern History*, 82:4 (2010): 801-838. Norman Domeier, "The Homosexual Scare and the Masculinization of German Politics before World War I," *Central European History*, 47:4 (2014): 737-759. John C. Fout, "Sexual Politics in Wilhelmine Germany: The Male Gender Crisis, Moral Purity, and Homophobia," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 2:1 (1992): 388-421. Elizabeth Heinemann, "Gender Identity in the *Wandervogel* Movement," *German Studies Review*, 5:1 (1989): 249-270.

<sup>13</sup> Claudia Bruns, "Masculinity, Sexuality, and the German Nation: The Eulenberg Scandals and Kaiser Wilhelm II in Political Cartoons," *Pictorial Cultures and Political Iconographies: Approaches, Perspectives, Case Studies from Europe and America*, Udo J. Hebel and Christoph Wagner, eds., (De

R. W. Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity suggests that in patriarchal societies, varying expressions of masculinity (for there is no singular version of masculinity) form a competitive hierarchy. These competing expressions of masculinity marginalize both femininity and lesser versions of masculinity while championing an idealized version or versions of masculinity which dominate social and cultural institutions.<sup>14</sup> Though no one individual ever completely encapsulates the dominant, or hegemonic masculinity, enough individuals embody the requisite characteristics and behaviors, whether temporarily or partially, to reinforce the hegemonic expression of masculinity. Furthermore, the parameters of any given hegemonic masculinity are defined within the temporal and cultural context in which they emerge. In short, if men were the historical agents of power and authority, then unpacking their projections of masculinity through fashion and consumption allows us to explore the cultural and social values that guide any one iteration of masculinity.

Though R.W. Connell's sociological concept of hierarchical, competing masculinities informs the overarching theoretical approach of this dissertation, a number of authors informed the analysis of masculinity within the lens of German militarism, homosociality, and homosexuality. Claudia Bruns' work illustrates how German masculinity, specifically the expressions of masculinity that dominated the Prussian, Wilhelmine cultural milieu, fundamentally shaped those versions of masculinity that emerged after the First World War in the Weimar

---

Gruyter, Inc., 2011), 119-141. Claudia Bruns, "The Politics of Masculinity in the (Homo-) Sexual Discourse (1880-1920)," *German History*, 23:3, (2005): 306-320. Claudia Bruns, "The Politics of Eros: The German *Männerbund* between Anti-Feminism and Anti-Semitism in the Early Twentieth Century," *Masculinity, Senses, Spirit*, Katherine M. Faull, ed., (Bucknell University Press, 2011). Jason Crouthamel, "Homosexuality and Comradeship: Destabilizing the Hegemonic Masculine Ideal in Nazi Germany," *Central European History*, 51 (2018): 419-439. Jason Crouthamel, *An Intimate History of the Front: Masculinity, Sexuality, and German Soldiers in the First World War*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

<sup>14</sup> R.W. Connell, James W. Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept," *Gender and Society*, 19:6, (2005): 829-859.

Republic.<sup>15</sup> Through her analysis of the Eulenberg Scandal, Bruns demonstrates how the Wilhelmine reactions against homosexuality resulted in a reinforcement of militarism across German social and political institutions. Her work on *Männerbünde*, however, emphasizes the connections between militarism and homosociality which were only reinforced after the trauma of the First World War. Together her articles highlight the interwoven nature of homosociality, homosexuality, and militarism in modern German society.

As is evident in the diversity of scholarship present in this historiography, there are several themes that move through this discussion. The outlines of this dissertation have been fundamentally shaped by the role of consumerism in the Weimar Republic, specifically in reference to emerging expressions of masculinity. This analysis examines the relationship between the images of men and masculinity advertised in *The Fashion Dictator*, the material objects associated with this imagery, and how men could attain or embody these standards. This relationship, in turn, has illustrated the significance of consumerism to this analysis. Without incorporating consumerism into this examination, the exploration of masculinity, self-presentation, and visual culture would be superficial at best. Only by addressing the mutually reinforcing relationship between these different factors, does the argument in this analysis come to fruition.

This, then, is the larger framework behind *The Fashion Dictator*. First, this magazine had the potential to transform readers into consumers. It provided its audience with the visual representation of material goods that had to be obtained in order to successfully embody the image of masculinity portrayed in the magazine. In short, only by actively participating in consumerism could one attempt to embody the privileged version of masculinity. Second, *The Fashion Dictator*

---

<sup>15</sup> Bruns, "Masculinity, Sexuality, and the German Nation." Bruns, "The Politics of Masculinity in the (Homo-) Sexual Discourse (1880-1920)." Bruns, "The Politics of Eros."

clearly outlined a modern, idealized image of masculinity. The multifaceted masculine image was always impeccably dressed, surrounded by other (well-dressed) men, cognizant of the democratic institution that was the Weimar Republic, and vaguely athletic. Each chapter of this analysis corresponds to one of these characteristics, as outlined below.

When scholars of both gender and modern German history discuss various expressions of masculinity, they have not delved into the history of men, specifically heterosexual men, and clothing. This dissertation remedies this particular historiographical absence by analyzing the relationships between performances of heterosexual masculinity, consumerism, and visibility as seen in Eelking's magazine. Scholarship on fashion, alongside the history of women and sexual minorities and their relationship with clothing and self-expression does not extend to most expressions of masculinity or heterosexual male consumers.

Analyses of German masculinity have usually focused on violence, militarism, homosociality, politics, socio-economic status, and homosexuality. This dissertation incorporates consumerism, fashion, and presentation alongside these themes. As a result, this work not only adds to the historiography of consumerism, specifically those works regarding men as consumers, but brings this scholarship into conversation with analyses of masculinity in modern Germany. It is this author's hope that this dissertation effectively demonstrates that male consumerism, fashion, and outward expression belong in the historical discourse surrounding gender expression and cultural practices, especially in the context of the Weimar Republic.

The first chapter serves as an introduction to *The Fashion Dictator*, specifically the cultural references Eelking used as his inspiration for modern, elegant men. This discussion draws on the historical figure of the "dandy" and explores how consumer culture coupled with lingering aristocratic tastes in the nascent democracy created a very specific masculine ideal. The

scholarship of Günter Erbe, Nigel Rodgers, and Kenon Brezeale was especially useful when placing Eelking's interpretation of modern men in conversation with the dandies of the previous century.<sup>16</sup>

Eelking, as both the self-proclaimed Fashion Dictator, and publisher of the magazine by the same name, lauded the taste and character of historical figures and contemporary celebrities who appeared to embody a specific version of masculinity. Furthermore, he introduced his readers to the materials they should be purchasing, specifically clothes, in order to dress and carry themselves as elegant, modern men. This first chapter concludes with a demonstration of how purchasing power and active participation in consumerism was critical to a man's ability to embody the vision of masculinity advertised in *The Fashion Dictator*.

The second chapter shifts to focus more directly on the cosmopolitan implications present in the imagery of Eelking's publication. Throughout the issues of *The Fashion Dictator*, for instance, there are articles and photographic collages which feature international celebrities. This message is particularly interesting given the fraught nature of Weimar-era political culture and Eelking's aristocratic background. The international cosmopolitanism illustrated throughout *The Fashion Dictator* is a startling divergence from German political culture of the fin-de-siècle which historians have often seen as nationalism-driven, overly imperialist and even expansionist. In the new Weimar Republic, moreover, the political parties on the far-right were attempting to resuscitate the nationalism that proliferated in the years leading up to and during World War I. Eelking, as he captures the attention of his audience with photographs illustrating the cosmopolitan elegance of internationalism vis-à-vis foreign dignitaries and celebrities, implicitly repudiates the more intently nationalist views of Germany. Pamela Swett's edited volume fundamentally

---

<sup>16</sup> Günter Erbe, *Der moderne Dandy*, (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2017). Nigel Rodgers, *The Dandy: Peacock or Enigma?* (London: Bene Factum Publishing Ltd, 2012). Brezeale, "In Spite of Women."

informed this interpretation of German advertising and marketing during the Weimar Republic, particularly in regard to how German marketing firms created messages in their advertisements that taught German consumers about their identities as shoppers and citizens of the nascent democracy.<sup>17</sup> Though highly theoretical, Judith Williamson's work on the creation of meaning, structure, and signs in any given advertisement was critical to my interpretation of these images.<sup>18</sup> Of course David Ciarlo's work on advertisements in Imperial Germany laid the foundation for the historical connections present in the Weimar-era imagery of the advertisements present in *The Fashion Dictator*.<sup>19</sup>

The third chapter of this dissertation explores the images of masculinity more directly. Revealingly, the images of men in *The Fashion Dictator* appear to convey an acceptance of gay lifestyles. Working from the foundation of gender scholars, my analysis blends works which highlight the cultural continuity of homosexuality, homosociality, and masculinity in modern Germany with discussions of queerness, sexual politics in the Weimar Republic, and gender expression.<sup>20</sup> Images of masculinity could both convey desire, but also arouse desire in those individuals consuming the images, as Tom Reichert and Jacqueline Lambiase have shown in their

---

<sup>17</sup> *Selling Modernity*, Swett.

<sup>18</sup> Judith Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising*, 1978, (New York: Marion Boyars Publishing, 2005).

<sup>19</sup> David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire: Race and Visual Culture in Imperial Germany*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011).

<sup>20</sup> Joseph Brennan, "Queerbaiting: The 'Playful' Possibilities of Homoeroticism," *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 21:2 (2018): 189-206. Glenn Ramsey, "The Rites of Artgenossen: Contesting Homosexual Political Culture in Weimar Germany," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 17:1 (2008): 85-109. Robert D. Tobin, "Twins! Homosexuality and Masculinity in Nineteenth Century Germany," *Masculinity, Senses, Spirit*, Katherine M. Faull, ed., (Bucknell University Press, 2011), 1-16. Clayton J. Whisnant, *Queer Identities and Politics in Germany: A History, 1880-1945*, (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2016). Beachy, *Gay Berlin*. Beachy, "The German Invention of Homosexuality." Brian James Baer, *Queer Theory and Translation Studies: Language, Politics, Desire*, (London: Routledge, 2020).

analysis of sexuality and marketing.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, Tim Pursell's work on homoeroticism in the Third Reich offers another useful mirror to the utilization of masculinity in politicized imagery.<sup>22</sup>

The illustrations that advertise contemporary fashions and products invoked imagery of men that showcased their physiques and characterized their bodies with lithe and languid features. Moreover, these illustrations drew an environs that was almost completely all-male. Coupled with a distinct lack of female figures to balance the male bodies in the illustrations, a message of masculine homosociality clearly emerges from *The Fashion Dictator*. This discussion builds on Claudia Bruns' extensive work on German masculinity during the Wilhelmine period, as well as the work of David James Prickett.<sup>23</sup> In contrast, however, the anxiety surrounding accusations of homosexuality that shook the court of Kaiser Wilhelm II, as seen in their articles, seems to have been replaced with a certain level of exoticism and acceptance as seen through the imagery in *The Fashion Dictator*. In short, though a certain acceptance of gay lifestyles may have been expected in the fashion industry, particularly regarding the libertine atmosphere of the Weimar cosmopolis, the prevailing ethos of this magazine is overwhelmingly in favor of intimate, male relationships, which has not yet been addressed in the historiography.

The fourth chapter addresses the more athletic side of the modern, elegant man. Building on the works of historians of sport, particularly the elite sports of shooting and fishing, equine sports, and skiing, as well as the leisurely sports of golf and tennis, this discussion dissects the

---

<sup>21</sup> Tom Reichert and Jacqueline Lambiase, "Peddling Desire: Sex and the Marketing of Media and Consumer Goods," *Sex in Consumer Culture: The Erotic Content of Media and Marketing*, Tom Reichert and Jacqueline Lambiase, eds., (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 1-10.

<sup>22</sup> Tim Pursell, "Queer Eyes and Wagnerian Guys: Homoeroticism in the Art of the Third Reich," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 17:1 (2008): 110-137.

<sup>23</sup> Bruns, "Masculinity, Sexuality, and the German Nation." Bruns, "The Politics of Masculinity in the (Homo-) Sexual Discourse." Bruns, "The Politics of Eros." David James Prickett, "The Soldier Figure in Discourses on Masculinity in Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany," *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies*. 44:1 (2008): 68-86.

social capital available to men who participated or *dressed* like they participated in these athletic endeavors.<sup>24</sup> Unlike the historiography of sport history, this examination approaches the gendered nature of athletes from a different angle: their clothing. This analysis is twofold: first, *The Fashion Dictator* does not address more common or middle-class sports, including boxing—which was incredibly popular at the time—only emphasizing elite, privileged sports; second, Eelking’s commentary on sporting events does not privilege the athlete. Using Erik Jensen’s insights into the influence of celebrity athletes, this chapter examines the sex appeal and cultural capital of male athletes. Jensen examines the sex appeal and general cultural influence of Weimar-era celebrity athletes, particularly tennis players, as well as the body consciousness that emerged as a result of the media surrounding them.<sup>25</sup>

To better understand the elite sports featured in *The Fashion Dictator* I incorporate the works of scholars of equestrian polo, skiing, and hunting.<sup>26</sup> Together, these analyses demonstrate

---

<sup>24</sup> Kenneth Dutton, *The Perfectible Body: The Western Ideal of Male Physical Development*, (New York: Allen & Unwin, 1995). Sarah Gee and Steven Jackson, eds., *Sport, Promotional Culture and the Crisis of Masculinity*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017). Joann Maria Skrypzak, ed., *Sporting Modernity: Sports, Art, and the Athletic Body in Germany, 1918-1938*, (VDM Verlag, 2008). Nadine Rossol, *Performing the Nation in Interwar Germany: Sport, Spectacle and Political Symbolism, 1926-1936*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

<sup>25</sup> Erik Jensen, *Body by Weimar: Athletes, Gender, and German Masculinity*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010). Erik Jensen, “Arousing Cheer: Exhibitionism in Men’s Sports from Weimar to the Present,” *The Palgrave Handbook of Masculinity and Sport*, Rory Magrath, Jamie Cleland, Eric Anderson, eds. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

<sup>26</sup> Teresa González-Aja, “Sport, Nationalism and Militarism—Alfonso XIII: Sportsman, Soldier, King,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 28:14, (2011): 1987-2030. John Martin, “The Transformation of Lowland Game Shooting in England and Wales in the Twentieth Century: The Neglected Metamorphosis,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 29:8, (2012): 1141-1158. David McMurray, “‘The Charm of Being Loose and Free’: Nineteenth-Century Fisherwomen in the North American Wilderness,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 30:8, (2013): 826-852. Erica Munkwitz, “Angels and Amazons: Fox-hunting and Sporting Emancipation for Women,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 35:6, (2018): 511-529. Sébastien Stumpp, “Alsatian Ski Clubs between 1896-1914: An Exploratory Evaluation of the Role of Employees in the German ‘Sportization’ of Skiing,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 27:4, (2010): 658-674. Aneta Podkalicka and Philipp Strobl, “Skiing Transnational: Cultures, Practices, and Ideas on the Move,” *Leisure Cultures and the Making of Modern Ski Resorts*, Philipp Strobl and Aneta Podkalicka, eds., (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 1-23.

the significance of social capital as attained through appearances, i.e., a man's clothing—a critical tenet of this chapter. The articles and imagery in *The Fashion Dictator* draw the readers' attention to those men who dress—and dress well—for their sporting events. This lack of preference for athletes indicates, once again, how clothing was the true arbiter of social capital and how consumerism was fundamental to the successful performance of modern, athletic masculinity.

The conclusion ends this analysis of *The Fashion Dictator* by looking forward at Eelking's publications and career during the Third Reich and after the Second World War. It would seem from his enthusiasm that Eelking was looking to demonstrate his wealth of knowledge regarding military fashions, but also show men how to stay *en vogue* after the abrupt regime change. The suits of the Weimar Republic were out, and brown-shirted uniforms were in, as he demonstrated in *The Uniforms of the Brownshirts*.<sup>27</sup> Whether drawn to the homosocial environs demonstrated by the male bodies of the brutes in the SA (*Sturmabteilung*), or simply falling in line and joining a Nazi organization after the regime change in 1933, Eelking's personal principles regarding gentlemen of leisure seemed to shift during the Third Reich. After the World War II, Eelking resumed publication of *The Gentleman's Journal* and several other works focused on men's fashion and elegance.<sup>28</sup> In short, Eelking spent his life staying abreast of every change and trend in men's fashion, so that all German men could turn to him for the knowledge on how to dress with distinction and elegance.

According to the standards laid out by Eelking in his magazine, to successfully embody the idealized image of masculinity, male readers had to become male consumers. Furthermore,

---

<sup>27</sup> Hermann-Marten von Eelking, *Die Uniformen der Braunhemden (S.A., S.S., Politische Leiter, Hitlerjugend, Jungvolk und B.D.M)*, Munich, Germany: Zentralverlag der N.S.D.A.P. Frz, Eher Nachs. GmbH, 1934.

<sup>28</sup> Eelking, *Das Herrenjournal*, ZC 6139. Hermann-Marten von Eelking, *Das Bildnis des eleganten Mannes*, (Berlin-Grunewald: Verlag Herbig, 1962). Hermann-Marten von Eelking, *Lexikon der Herrenmode*, (Göttingen: Verlag Musterschmidt, 1960).

men who enjoyed the social capital that they acquired by dressing according to these standards would use it to accentuate their knowledge and experience to achieve personal and professional success—or so it would seem based on the imagery of *The Fashion Dictator*. The discourse surrounding modern masculinities so frequently delineates fashion and material self-expression to the realm of gay, queer, and transgender men. The analysis in this dissertation, however, illustrates how the cultural power structure as seen through the commodification of fashionable masculinity, affects all expressions of men and manhood—even those long considered to be the (white) heterosexual “default.” If masculinity is idealized, commodified, and embodied, then one must consider the power structures reinforced through those actions.



## Chapter I

### Men as Consumers: Masculinity as a Commodity

The Baron Hermann-Marten von Eelking founded, managed, and curated a magazine that signaled the trajectory of current trends in *haute couture*, while keeping its readers abreast of contemporary commodities, celebrity gossip, popular leisure pastimes, and travel destinations. This magazine, *The Fashion Dictator (Der Modediktator)*, like other men's lifestyle publications in Great Britain and the United States, focused on leisure, fashion, and culture.<sup>29</sup> Altogether, the advertisements, articles, and illustrations that emphasized these themes "encouraged readers to think of themselves as autonomous men of taste who expressed their identities and status through the purchase of distinctive goods."<sup>30</sup> Such a notion was well positioned in the growing consumer culture of the war-worn nascent Weimar Republic.

The idea that men expressed themselves vis-à-vis their purchasing choices intersects with several significant developments in consumer culture and masculinity during the interwar period. There was, in the aftermath of the war and the exhaustion with wartime clamor for martial manliness, an opportunity for new avenues with which men could express themselves. The nascent consumer culture of the interwar period, meanwhile, presented a fantastic opportunity for reworking of society. This was true for men as it was for women. Men, too, now had the opportunity to engage in the consumption of distinctive commodities—a role which had previously been assigned to female shoppers.<sup>31</sup> By purchasing and then displaying their wares, men could

---

<sup>29</sup> Rosemary Ricciardelli, Kimberley A. Clow, and Philip White, "Investigating Hegemonic Masculinity: Portrayals of Masculinity in Men's Lifestyle Magazines," *Sex Roles*, 63:1-2, (2010): 64-78, 68.

<sup>30</sup> Bill Osgery, "A Pedigree of the Consuming Male: Masculinity, Consumption and the American 'Leisure Class,'" in *Masculinity and Men's Lifestyle Magazines*, Benthan Benwell ed., (Blackwell Publishing: Oxford, 2003), 57.

<sup>31</sup> For comparison, see Osgery's reflections on interwar United States. Osgery, "A Pedigree of the Consuming Male," 58.

both embody the same styles advertised in their lifestyle publications and reinforce the social capital that came with adhering to these new idealized styles of modern masculinity.<sup>32</sup>

Second, the idealized images of masculinity as seen in *The Fashion Dictator* were a stark departure from the models of Imperial German manhood that the exhausting war, and the ultimate loss, had undermined. Unlike the *Bürgertum* or even the Prussian militaristic versions of masculinity that saturated the cultural milieu in the mid- and late-nineteenth century, these first stirring of a new cosmopolitan, leisured images of masculinity seemed to draw inspiration from the earlier figure of the dandy—the immaculately-coifed gentlemen of leisure who paraded through the high society during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Indeed, Eelking himself appeared to embody a version of this modern, elegant man that was echoed in his contemporaries, Harry Graf Kessler and Gabriele D’Annunzio.<sup>33</sup>

As a lifestyle and fashion magazine, the articles, advertisements, and illustrations of *The Fashion Dictator* focused on establishing and reinforcing a specific masculine ideal: a culturally conscious, physically-fit, elegant white-collar man. This modern, masculine ideal took stylistic choices reminiscent of pre-war high society and *haute couture* and blended them with Weimar celebrities and the inter-war cultural milieu. As a result, this concoction privileged Weimar-era men who could afford the trappings of white-collar, even pseudo-aristocratic or aristocratic lifestyles while seemingly avoiding the political implications of the lingering vestiges of the Prussian aristocracy. In other words, consumer culture reinstated the materialist signifiers of elitism even through the political culture of the nascent republic. The resulting image of masculinity emerged as both a modern heir apparent to the dandies of the previous century and a “new” cultural force of modern male consumers.

---

<sup>32</sup> Richard Howson, *Challenging Hegemonic Masculinity*, (New York: Routledge, 2006), 3-4.

<sup>33</sup> Erbe, *Der moderne Dandy*, 49-91.

Eelking's publications regarding men's fashion and etiquette were part of the wave of cosmopolitan journals which broadened the sphere of men's periodicals. Men's leisure and lifestyle magazines emerged in the interwar era as "the first, thorough going, conscious attempt to organize a consuming male audience," as consumption had previously been culturally associated with upper- and middle-class femininity since the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>34</sup> The earliest male lifestyle magazines were targeted at men who were concerned with "their own appearance and consumption," and in so doing, these publications "actively cultivated male consumer desires."<sup>35</sup> Lifestyle literature, and the accompanying advertisements, were founded on the premise "of improving people's status, of helping them conform to social norms through the purchase of social distinction and self-realization."<sup>36</sup> Ultimately, the illustrations and images featured in *The Fashion Dictator* reinforced the power of *purchasing* one's social distinction.

However, the role of the magazine was ultimately to sell goods. In so doing, *The Fashion Dictator* sought to transform ordinary men into modern consumers. *The Fashion Dictator* is replete with photographs and illustrations of men who appeared to embody (whether temporarily or partially) this version of masculinity, as well as throughout the advertisements and illustrations, which showcase men enjoying the latest and most fashionable products.<sup>37</sup> In both of these images, a stylish, handsome man gazes at the viewer while wearing the latest offerings from a men's clothing company, in both white-collar and leisurely environs. These images not only advertise

---

<sup>34</sup> Brezeale, "In Spite of Women," 226. Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlor*, 4.

<sup>35</sup> Bengry, "Who Is the Queer Consumer?," 26.

<sup>36</sup> Hartmut Berghoff and Thomas Kühne, "It Makes Princes of Those Who Have It': Beauty and Consumerism in the Twentieth Century," in *Globalizing Beauty: Consumerism and Body Aesthetics in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Hartmut Berghoff and Thomas Kühne, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 3.

<sup>37</sup> C. Barber, "Der elegante Herr im Laco Ulster mit Laco Krawatte U. Cachenez," *Der Modediktator*, 2:4, unnumbered back cover, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. K, "Laco: Wählen auch Sie für Ihre Sommerreise eine farbenfreudige Laco-Krawatte," *Der Modediktator*, 3:3, unnumbered back cover, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

the materials for sale, but also advertise an image of modern masculinity that had to be purchased in order to be embodied. Masculinity was thereby transformed into an object that male consumers had to buy.

This kind of visual blitz targeted at male consumers was a relatively new phenomenon. Unlike the previous century, the rise of consumerism meant that women were no longer considered the primary demographic of shoppers.<sup>38</sup> Though women had originally been the primary audience for these marketing schemes, the cosmetics and fashion industries turned to male consumers and “successfully played on social anxieties and insecurities by threatening that people would ‘not make it’ because of their appearance or other blunders.”<sup>39</sup> Men increasingly became the focus and eventually target of advertising and marketing strategies, as increasing numbers of lifestyle and leisure publications rose in popularity.<sup>40</sup> And we see this in Weimar Germany: Eelking states in the inaugural issue of *The Fashion Dictator* that it is merely the masculine equivalent to what so many fashionable ladies already enjoyed, for “countless journals appear everywhere for women. The gentleman, however, has had to go completely empty-handed until now.”<sup>41</sup> Photographs and articles detailing fashionably dressed male celebrities and politicians illustrated to targeted consumers that updating their wardrobe to fit modern tastes was crucial to social and possibly, professional, success in the new republic. In the age of Weimar modernity, as Janet Ward has

---

<sup>38</sup> Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlor*, 4.

<sup>39</sup> Berghoff and Kühne, “It Makes Princes of Those Who Have It,” 15.

<sup>40</sup> G. Wagner, “Berlin Fashion Magazines of the Twenties: Deutsche-Elite, Vogue, Blau-Rot,” *Waffen-Und Kostumkunde*, 45:2, (2003): 113-130.

<sup>41</sup> “Sonderbar ist es, daß es ein solches Organ, das wohlgerne nicht etwa dandesk eingestellt sein darf, sondern der breitesten Öffentlichkeit zu dienen hat... ungezählte Journale erscheinen da überall für die Frau. Der Herr aber hat bis jetzt ganz leer ausgehen müssen.” Eelking, “Die Herrenmode braucht ein Organ,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 1, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

argued, male consumerism was “modernity’s legitimization of the masses’ right to democratic self-expression via the plays of spectacular spectacle.”<sup>42</sup>

As there were more mediums for male consumers than there had been prior to the First World War, this meant that there were far more illustrations, photographs, and above all, advertisements targeted at men. The individuals featured in these images, moreover, were frequently pictured in professional settings. Figures depicted as embodying this (new) masculine ideal were portrayed in environs that connoted white-collar professions and were often depicted, quite literally, wearing actual white collars. Indeed, advertisers around the world, “portrayed white-collar work as representative of the ideal modern life.”<sup>43</sup> This was part of a global phenomenon as, “office positions required certain standards of hygiene and self-presentation that consumer products promised to meet.”<sup>44</sup> Altogether, these illustrations and photographs, articles and advertisements posited a modern masculine ideal, one which valorized a particular standard of workplace dress, manners, and ultimately, professions.

It should be noted that the genre of men’s leisure and lifestyle magazines was not the only champion of this vision of white-collar, modern masculinity. Films and department stores (stocked with prêt-a-porter clothing) also ensured that consumers were conscious of the changing fashions from season to season. This is but one demonstration of the way the consumption of material goods changed dramatically after the First World War.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, as Hartmut Berghoff and Thomas Kühne have found, twentieth-century beauty culture, and the consumerism it spawned worldwide,

---

<sup>42</sup> Ward, *Weimar Surfaces*, 196.

<sup>43</sup> Susan Eineigel, “(En) gendering a Modern Self in Post-Revolutionary Mexico City,” in *Consuming Modernity: Gendered Behavior and Consumerism before the Baby Boom*, eds. Cheryl Krasnick Warsh and Dan Malleck, (Victoria, British Columbia: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 206.

<sup>44</sup> Susan Eineigel, “(En) gendering a Modern Self in Post-Revolutionary Mexico City,” 206.

<sup>45</sup> *The Oxford Handbook on the History of Consumption*, ed. Frank Trentmann, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 423-425.

was intimately connected to advertising. As they state in their overview, “modern beauty cultures have relied on the visualization of norms—idealized bodies in advertisements...[to create] a hegemonic discourse that put pressure on individuals to conform to beauty norms.”<sup>46</sup> In short, the images of modern, white-collar masculinity advertised across different mediums ensured that men recognized that participation in consumerism was key to the successful embodiment of these new, idealized bodies.

The barrage of cyclical changes in fashion forced consumers to be cognizant of their relationship with changing clothing trends by imposing upon them a consciousness of visual culture. Changing fashions and the never-ending cycle of consumption were on display in Weimar cinema, store fronts, and magazines.<sup>47</sup> Consumers faced constant reminders of changing fashions and recognized the significance of keeping up their appearances. Furthermore, the social capital of successfully adopting or imitating the fashions and characteristics of this privileged masculine ideal allowed those men to not only “mend their deficiencies,” but also “establish, enhance, or confirm [their] social distinction and identity.”<sup>48</sup>

Men’s clothing and fashions now fell prey to tactics issued in advertisements across various mediums, particularly magazines.<sup>49</sup> By recognizing and mending any deficiencies in their wardrobe, male consumers could seemingly embody modern, elegant masculinity.<sup>50</sup> By convincing their male audience that “merely buying the advertised product would save them from embarrassment and marginalization,” advertisers and merchants effectively transformed masculinity into a commodity by capitalizing on male consumer’s efforts to attain the moving

---

<sup>46</sup> Berghoff and Kühne, ““It Makes Princes of Those Who Have It,”” 424.

<sup>47</sup> Ward, *Weimar Surfaces*, 204. Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 233-327. Eelking, *Der Modediktator*, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>48</sup> Berghoff and Kühne, ““It Makes Princes of Those Who Have It,”” 15.

<sup>49</sup> Berghoff and Kühne, ““It Makes Princes of Those Who Have It,”” 3.

<sup>50</sup> Eelking, *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

target of this distinguished ideal.<sup>51</sup> This transformation of consumer culture was dramatically represented, even embodied, in the pages of *The Fashion Dictator*, as well shall see.

Consumerism effectively “set forth a map by which men could demonstrate class-appropriate...masculine taste and identities via their everyday purchases.”<sup>52</sup> Eelking’s magazine, again as we will see, became one such map for male consumers of the Weimar era seeking to embody modern, elegant white-collar masculinity. By purchasing the marketed products, consuming quite literally the image of masculinity for sale, men could embody this modern, elegant social identity. This process underlies how elegant dress and appreciation for the finer material objects was not based on a socio-economic class, but one’s identity as a consumer.

To be sure, the upwardly mobile, white-collar imagery in *The Fashion Dictator* was a stark departure from the traditional German middle-class or *Bürgertum* of the previous century. The German *Bürgertum* was an “upper middle class, an urban, non-noble elite, active in business, the professions, and state service.”<sup>53</sup> It was not simply a social class in the Marxist sense, but also a cultural concept (and force): well-educated and efficient, the *Bürgertum* was pivotal in transforming Germany into a bureaucratic and industrial power over the course of the nineteenth century.<sup>54</sup> Though many distinctions between provincial and metropolitan *Bürgertum* can be seen in the spending patterns associated with leisure time and conspicuous consumption, as a whole,

---

<sup>51</sup> Berghoff and Kühne, “‘It Makes Princes of Those Who Have It,’” 4.

<sup>52</sup> Kristen Barber, *Styling Masculinity: Gender, Class, and Inequality in the Men’s Grooming Industry*, (Ithaca, NY: Rutger University Press, 2016), 27.

<sup>53</sup> Jonathan Sperber, “Bürger, Bürgertum, Bürgerlichkeit, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft: Studies of the German (Upper) Middle Class and Its Sociocultural World,” *The Journal of Modern History*, 69:2, (1997): 271-297, 274.

<sup>54</sup> David Blackbourn, “The German Bourgeoisie: An Introduction,” *The German Bourgeoisie: Essays on the Social History of the German Middle Class from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century*, David Blackbourn and Richard J. Evans, eds., (New York: Routledge, 2014), 1-45, 6.

the *Bürgertum* would not have been characterized (or conceived of) as either eccentric or opulent.<sup>55</sup> Instead, a no-nonsense, austere frugal ethos pervaded this social class which was reflected, to a certain extent, in their purchasing patterns. Conspicuous consumption for the *Bürgertum* of the nineteenth century, for instance, tended to include things such as business titles (“Commercial Councilor”), but also certain sorts of luxuries (like cigars) and summer retreats out of the city.<sup>56</sup>

It is quite interesting then that Eelking was more or less incorporating new middling white-collar professionals into his interpretation of the Weimar middle-class. It appears as if Eelking’s understanding of the middle-class was prefaced on a fundamental misunderstanding of the interwar middle-class, as we shall discuss later. Eelking’s comprehension also seemed to be grounded in white-collar professionals’ participation, however aspirational, in modern consumerism, as white-collar workers had historically taken “pride in what separated them from manual workers.”<sup>57</sup> This then begs the question, did the modern consumer reinvent class structures in the interwar period, or was this simply a reflection of Eelking’s aristocratic upbringing and ignorance of the middle-class? Though the advertisements and articles in *The Fashion Dictator* assumed a certain amount of social and economic capital of its readers, these readers were grouped together as more generic consumers, rather than into Germany’s segmented (and hierarchical) social classes. In short, this new class of consumers was further reified by their adherence to the standards of fashion and etiquette as dictated by cultural mediums—mediums such as *The Fashion Dictator*. For as Germans began purchasing consumer goods with modern flair, the historian Eric Weitz notes,

---

<sup>55</sup> David Blackbourn, *History of Germany, 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*, 1997, Fontana Press, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2003), 279.

<sup>56</sup> Blackbourn, *History of Germany*, 276-277.

<sup>57</sup> Blackbourn, *History of Germany*, 276.

“rigid class lines dissolved around consumption... as people wanted to enjoy something from life and spend their money on clothes and external [goods] of every kind.”<sup>58</sup>

*The Fashion Dictator* also illustrated the ongoing contest over a new German masculine ideal. The experiences and consequences of the First World War, first and foremost, had dramatically reshaped German society and culture, including gender roles.<sup>59</sup> The dominant pre-war, Wilhelmine image of German manhood had been one rooted in nationalism and ardent militarism (often associated with Prussian dominance), mixed with *Bürgertum* respectability. Homophobic undertones were widely present as well.<sup>60</sup> The First World War both intensified this nationalism and militarism and transformed it as we shall examine further in the third chapter.<sup>61</sup>

To be sure, after World War I many men still valorized the various inflections of Imperial ideals. This valorization can be seen through the proliferation of nationalist veteran organizations, for instance, most notably the *Freikorps*. (It would also eventually include the National Socialists.)

---

<sup>58</sup> Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 55.

<sup>59</sup> *Women in the Metropolis: Gender and Modernity in Weimar Culture*, Katharina von Ankum ed., (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997). Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 93. Atina Grossmann, “The New Woman and the Rationalization of Sexuality in Weimar Germany,” Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, Sharon Thompson, eds., *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983). Laurie Marhoefer, “Degeneration, Sexual Freedom, and the Politics of the Weimar Republic, 1918-1933,” *German Studies Review*, 34:3, (2011): 529-549. Laurie Marhoefer, *Sex and the Weimar Republic: German Homosexual Emancipation and the Rise of the Nazis*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015). Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider*, 1968, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2001). Rita Felski, *The Gender of Modernity*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

<sup>60</sup> John C. Fout, “Sexual Politics in Wilhelmine Germany: The Male Gender Crisis, Moral Purity, and Homophobia,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 2:1, (1992): 388-421. Brian Feltman, *The Stigma of Surrender: German Prisoners, British Captors, and Manhood in the Great War and Beyond*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015). Jason Crouthamel, *An Intimate History of the Front: Masculinity, Sexuality, and German Soldiers in the First World War*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). Bruns, “The Politics of Masculinity in the (Homo-) Sexual Discourse (1880-1920),” 306-320. Lisa Zwicker, *Dueling Students: Conflict, Masculinity, and Politics in German Universities, 1890-1914*, (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2011). David James Prickett, “The Soldier Figure in Discourses on Masculinity in Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany,” *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies*, 44:1, (2008): 68-86, 74.

<sup>61</sup> Ernst Jünger, *Storm of Steel*, 1920, (New York: Penguin, 2003), 4. Wolfgang Iser, *Literature at War, 1914-1940: Representing the “Time of Greatness” in Germany*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999).

Yet it also included monarchists, particularly the *Deutschnationale Volkspartei* (DNVP), and to a certain extent, the *Deutsche Volkspartei* (DVP).<sup>62</sup> Each of these different organizations lauded a particular image of masculinity that they associated with militarism, monarchism, violence and action, and antisemitism, and anti-republicanism.

Many *Freikorps* and members of other paramilitary organizations prided themselves on their violence and action, anti-republicanism, and anti-socialism.<sup>63</sup> Whereas individuals associated with the DVP and DNVP lauded their anti-modernism, nationalism, anti-republicanism, and antisemitism.<sup>64</sup> The National Socialists too came to embody elements of both these far-right factions, embracing militarism, nationalism, violence and action, antisemitism, anti-republicanism, and anti-socialism, and taking each to a new level. (Monarchism was replaced, of course, with devotion to a more “modern” Leader).<sup>65</sup> The variety of visible masculinities in the cultural milieu of the Weimar Republic, however, not only allowed for greater expressions and embodiments of previously subaltern masculinities, but also meant that the previous Prussian masculine ideal was now in contest with other rising versions of modern masculinity, specifically one premised on the conspicuous consumption and display of material goods.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, Stephan Conway, trans., (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 14.

<sup>63</sup> Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, 29. Jünger, *Storm of Steel*, 3-5.

<sup>64</sup> Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 92-101.

<sup>65</sup> Geoff Eley, *Nazism as Fascism: Violence, Ideology, and the Ground of Consent in Germany, 1930-1945*, (New York: Routledge, 2013), 5-6.

<sup>66</sup> This included an unprecedented rise in the visibility of gay and transgender men, the increased leftist iconography of workingmen and proletariats, as well as a burgeoning middle-class ideal that was closely tied to the rise in consumerism. See Clayton J. Whisnant, *Queer Identities and Politics in Germany: A History, 1880-1945*, (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2016). Katie Sutton, “‘We Too Deserve a Place in the Sun’: The Politics of Transvestite Identity in Weimar Germany,” *German Studies Review*, 35:2, (2012): 335-354. Richard McCormick, *Gender and Sexuality in Weimar Modernity: Film, Literature, and New Objectivity*. (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

In contrast to militarized notions of masculinity, the figure of male consumer was far more reminiscent of a very different nineteenth-century predecessor: the dandy. In the first issue of *The Fashion Dictator*, Eelking argued that the dandy was a creature perfectly suited to the newfound world of the Weimar Republic. He believed that the dandy was not a bygone dream of “flashily-dressed,” cultural icons as associated with Oscar Wilde, Barbey d’Aurevilly, Robert Comte de Montesquiou-Fézensac and other notorious Bohemians and Aesthetes of the late-nineteenth century.<sup>67</sup> Rather, the dandy was a gentleman who desired culture and elegance above all else so that he may best understand and enjoy the world around him. In short, according Eelking and his magazine, to be a dandy was to be a modern purveyor of cultural excellence.

*The Fashion Dictator*, then, presented elegant men not only as modern consumers, but also as the successors to the great dandies of the previous century, particularly, Eelking’s personal hero: George Bryan “Beau” Brummel.<sup>68</sup> In the Summer 1928 issue, Eelking introduces his readers to the father of European dandyism, Beau Brummel. Brummel commanded an impressive and fashionable figure with his dynamic conquest of Georgian London society. Born to a successful civil servant, Brummel was educated at Eton where he learned to charm his well-bred peers. Brummel quickly recognized the value of this skill, as he continued to enrapture his contemporaries with his wit and successfully maneuvered his way through London society, until he was in the innermost circle of the Prince of Wales.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, Brummel revolutionized men’s clothing during his reign over London society, transforming men’s fashion from the opulent frocks popularized by the Rococo *ancien regime* to the minimal, austere suits, and perhaps, most

---

<sup>67</sup> Rodgers’ work outlines the similarities and differences between the Romantics, Bohemians, Aesthetes, and Dandies who populated the late-eighteenth through the early-twentieth century and enraptured European society with their flamboyance and eccentricities. See Nigel Rodgers, *The Dandy: Peacock or Enigma?* (London: Bene Factum Publishing Ltd, 2012), 10-12. Erbe, *Der moderne Dandy*, 58.

<sup>68</sup> Erbe, *Der moderne Dandy*, 77.

<sup>69</sup> Rodgers, *The Dandy*, 39.

famously the silk top hat, of the Regency era.<sup>70</sup> It was with this ensemble, particularly the silk top hat, that Brummel “triumphed” over Parisian society, a titillating thought for Eelking’s war-worn readers.<sup>71</sup> Though his gambling debts eventually drove him into ruin, Brummel briefly exercised significant influence over the aristocrats of London society, including, as previously noted, the Prince Regent, George IV.<sup>72</sup>

Dandies and dandyism have been frequently mistaken for foppish Bohemians and Aesthetes. Dandies confronted the democratic industrial world, and “attempted to recreate a pre-revolutionary elite—an aesthetic elite—in a post-revolutionary world.”<sup>73</sup> This was itself a reaction to the escapism of the Romantic movement of the early-nineteenth century, which sought to retreat from the frenetic industrialized world of the post-revolutionary era.<sup>74</sup> For “dandyism is not an excessive delight in clothes and material elegance...these things are no more than a symbol of the aristocratic superiority of his mind.”<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, dandies command the attention of society, and

---

<sup>70</sup> Rodgers, *The Dandy*, 19.

<sup>71</sup> “[Brummel] launched the shiny cylinder (top hat) and also the black tailcoat, with which he finally consolidated his victory over Paris,” translated from, “lancierte er doch den Glanzzyylinder und auch den schwarzen Frack, mit dem er seinen *Sieg* über Paris endgültig befestigte.” Eelking, “Beau Brummel und die Herrenmode von Heute: Zum 150. Geburtstag des großen Dandys,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:3, 8-10, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>72</sup> “Arguably, the dandy achieved his first successes, which secured him the allegiance of the Prince of Wales for decades, through his impeccable exterior and well-groomed manners,” translated from, “Wohl erzielte der Dandy seine ersten Erfolge, die ihm für Jahrzehnte die Gefolgschaft des Prinzen von Wales sicherten, durch sein untadeliges Exterieur und seine gepflegten Manieren.” Eelking, “Beau Brummel und die Herrenmode von Heute,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:3, 8, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. “Brummel’s taste and wine gave him a quasi-papal authority.” Rodgers, *The Dandy*, 34-38, 41.

<sup>73</sup> “As the 19th-century unfolded, the Dandy found himself flanked by two other figures who also rejected the zeitgeist: the Bohemian and the Aesthete. The three influenced each other but should not be confused...Bohemian life, famously extravagant and self-destructive, rejects not merely bourgeois order but all order to encourage artistic creativity...The Aesthete retreats into his ivory tower while the Dandy confronts life in the city.” Rodgers, *The Dandy*, 11-12.

<sup>74</sup> For descriptions of Brummel’s metropolitan, Neo-Classical embodiment of dandyism, compared to later, more Romantic counterparts, particularly, Lord Byron, see Rodgers, *The Dandy*, 24-25, 36, 51-53.

<sup>75</sup> Rodgers, *The Dandy*, 11.

revolutionize social norms through the weaponization of their autonomy, reserve, wit, androgynous nature, and connoisseurship.<sup>76</sup>

Günter Erbe argues that Eelking “consciously followed in the footsteps” of Brummel through his excellent wardrobe and encyclopedic knowledge of men’s fashion and the history of dandyism.<sup>77</sup> Eelking’s use of Brummel, however, is more complex. Throughout his publications, Eelking sought to enlighten the public (whether out of a sense of noblesse oblige or more capitalist motives) on the composition and implementation of elegant menswear so that German men would have “ideas on how to catch up with the level of international men’s fashion.”<sup>78</sup> In the process, he frequently invoked fashion icons of previous generations to underscore his claims. At the same time, Eelking’s *Fashion Dictator* intentionally sought to diminish any negative connotations of well-dressed men might have in the popular imaginary.<sup>79</sup> Eelking’s magazines sought to demystify the dandy. In this process, however, Eelking’s plethora of publications normalized the male consumer in the interwar years by providing men with the ideas, inspiration, and guidelines to curate their wardrobes. Ultimately, *The Fashion Dictator* established positive connections between upwardly mobile white-collar men, well-dressed men, and a modern, elegant ideal.<sup>80</sup>

Eelking, however wanted to expand the definition of “dandy” far beyond its fin-de-siècle writers.<sup>81</sup> Eelking instead drew his definition of modern elegance from the *arbiter elegantiarum* of Brummel.<sup>82</sup> Eelking believed that men who had the ambition and knowledge to carry themselves with an air of elegance embodied not only the precepts of dandyism, but modernity as well. He

---

<sup>76</sup> Len Gutkin, *Dandyism: Forming Fiction from Modernism to the Present*, (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2020), 3. Rodgers, *The Dandy*, 155.

<sup>77</sup> Erbe, *Der moderne Dandy*, 78.

<sup>78</sup> Erbe, *Der moderne Dandy*, 79.

<sup>79</sup> Rodgers, *The Dandy*, 11. Erbe, *Der moderne Dandy*, 80.

<sup>80</sup> Erbe, *Der moderne Dandy*, 79.

<sup>81</sup> See Rodgers’ descriptions of fin-de-siècle Aesthetes and Dandy-Peacocks, 142-171.

<sup>82</sup> Rodgers, *The Dandy*, 30.

calls on his readers to look past outdated impressions of dandies and reclaim well-dressed, modern elegance for themselves. By embodying a well-dressed, white-collar vision of masculinity, these men could enjoy success in every realm of their lives. The articles in *The Fashion Dictator* that discuss dandies and dandyism establish a clear association between a cultural excellence and “correctly” dressed men.

As Nigel Rodgers argues, it was Brummel’s independence, wit, and connoisseurship which allowed a man of middling birth to triumph over princes and aristocrats, however briefly. It is no wonder then, how Eelking heralded Brummel’s taste and influence to the readers of *The Fashion Dictator*. In honor of the late dandy’s 150th birthday, Eelking highlights Brummel’s contribution to men’s fashion with a featured article, “Beau Brummel and the Men’s Fashion of Today: On the 150th Birthday of the Great Dandy.”<sup>83</sup> It should be noted that Eelking bestowed few characters, whether historical individuals or contemporary celebrities, with as much respect and admiration as he did Beau Brummel. In this piece Eelking lauds Brummel’s role in the creation of the staple garments of gentlemen’s fashion, as well as his position of authority following his shocking conquest over Parisian high society:

If Brummel is not forgotten today...it is not because some of his fashionable creations continue to play their role unchallenged even in our days (he launched the shiny cylinder [top hat] and also the black tailcoat, with which he finally consolidated his victory over Paris), no, it is rather that he put the inconspicuousness as the first dogma of dandyism.<sup>84</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup> Eelking, “Beau Brummel und die Herrenmode von Heute,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:3, 8-10, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>84</sup> “Wenn Brummel heute nach 150 Jahren noch nicht vergessen ist (obgleich, welche Mißbrauch oft mit seinem Namen), so ist es nicht deshalb, weil manche seiner modischen Schöpfungen auch in unseren Tagen unangefochten ihre Rolle weiterspielen (lancierte er doch den Glanzzyylinder und auch den schwarzen Frack, mit dem er seinen Sieg über Paris endgültig befestigte), nein, das vielmehr ist es, daß er die Unauffälligkeit als das erste Dogma des Dandysmus hinstellte.” Eelking, “Beau Brummel und die Herrenmode von Heute,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:3, 8-10, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

Eelking even goes so far as to condemn those who would diminish a dandy to nothing more than “fashion fox, a pruner and fop.”<sup>85</sup> He further elaborates on the characteristics of the dandy, with which Brummel secured his social capital in Regency-era London:

And yet, Brummel has shown what it means to be a dandy, that no airhead (*Hohlkopf*), just because he follows fashionable things, may adorn himself with this honorary title, that rather the greatest culture is required to meet the requirements of dandyism...The dandy [Brummel] achieved his first successes, which secured him for decades the allegiance of the Prince of Wales, through his impeccable exterior and his cultivated manners (although he was of lesser origin; which thus refutes the sentence that a gentleman can only be produced in the third generation), but he could only consolidate these successes to a level of prestige thanks to his inner superiority (*Überlegenheit*).<sup>86</sup>

This article is quite illustrative; however, it does raise the question: was Eelking’s admiration based in Brummel’s fashions or his ability to transform fashionability into tangible social and political power? Was Brummel’s character a model for the modern Weimar man? For if an ordinary man could utterly transfix London society at the turn of the nineteenth century, then what influence could elegant, modern German men exert over the vacillating culture of the Weimar Republic?

Eelking insists that the dandy is more than a fashionable *Hohlkopf* (empty head); he is an aficionado of cultural delights. This could mean real power. As Rodgers relates, “the Duke of Bedford once asked Brummel his opinion on a new coat...The Duke—one of the richest and most powerful men in Britain, who controlled a string of client MPs in the House of Commons—slunk

---

<sup>85</sup> “Nie hätte Brummel diese allmächtige Position einnehmen können, wenn er nur das gewesen, für was ihn jene heute halten, die ihn nur oberflächlich kennen, ein Modex, ein Stutzer und Geck.” Eelking, “Beau Brummel und die Herrenmode von Heute,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:3, 8-10, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>86</sup> “Und doch, Brummel hat gezeigt, was es heißt, Dandy sein, daß kein *Hohlkopf*, nur weil er modischen Dingen nachspürt, sich mit diesem Ehrennamen schmücken darf, daß vielmehr allergrößte Kultur dazu gehört, um den Anforderungen des Dandysmus zu genügen...Wohl erzielte der Dandy seine ersten Erfolge, die ihm für Jahrzehnte die Gefolgschaft des Prinzen von Wales sicherten, durch sein untadeliges Exterieur und seine gepflegten Manieren (obwohl er subalternen Herkunft; was somit den Satz widerlegt, daß ein Gentleman erst in der dritten Generation erzeugt werden kann), zum Nimbus aber konnte er diese Erfolge nur verdichten dank seiner inneren *Ueberlegenheit*.” Eelking, “Beau Brummel und die Herrenmode von Heute,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:3, 8-10, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

away to dispose of the offending garment.”<sup>87</sup> Meanwhile, “Lord Frederick Bentinck, a duke’s son who commanded the elite Grenadier Guards, accepted Beau’s dismissal of a pair of new breeches with equal meekness.”<sup>88</sup> A kind of social capital therefore stemmed from Brummel’s authority on all things tasteful and elegant.<sup>89</sup> Through his connoisseurship of the best foods and drink, manners and wit, and clothing and style, aristocrats looked to Brummel as the authority on fashionability and social acumen.<sup>90</sup> This raises the question, if modern, elegant men followed Brummel’s example laid out in *The Fashion Dictator* could they exert the same kind of power in Weimar society?

Eelking sought to democratize aristocratic taste by democratizing the dandy. In his other essay on Brummel, “Analysis of Dandyism: Thoughts about Dandesque Men” (*Analyse des Dandytums: Gedanken über dandeske Leute*) draws readers back to his beloved Brummel, but this time, to a different end.<sup>91</sup> Eelking praises Brummel for establishing the blue tailcoat as evening wear for gentlemen. Yet he goes further, claiming that this transformation was a critical cultural moment in the transition from the *ancien regime* to the democratic, modern era: “when Beau Brummel first created the simple blue tailcoat as evening dress, he was unconsciously leading the way away from the Baroque, autocratic form of the *ancien regime* to the democratic present. Brummel’s blue tailcoat was just as much the first sign of a new dawning era as Fulton’s steam engine.”<sup>92</sup> Not only was this article of clothing inherently more affordable and accessible than the

---

<sup>87</sup> Rodgers, *The Dandy*, 41.

<sup>88</sup> Rodgers, *The Dandy*, 41.

<sup>89</sup> “In his chosen world Brummel exercised real power over men of real authority, not just fops.” Rodgers, *The Dandy*, 41.

<sup>90</sup> Rodgers, *The Dandy*, 40.

<sup>91</sup> Eelking, “Analyse des Dandytums: Gedanken über dandeske Leute,” *Der Modediktator*, 3:3, 19, 25, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>92</sup> “Als Beau Brummel zum erstenmal den blauen einfachen Frack als Abendkleidung kreierte, leitete er damit ganz unbewußt von der baroken, selbtherrlichen Form des ancien regime zur demokratischen

opulent, embroidered layers of Baroque fashion, but its social and cultural success was originated by an individual of low birth who had the style and savvy to conquer Georgian London's high society.

Violations of the laws of the wardrobe had immediate consequences, as Eelking seeks to demonstrate in his article, "Colloquium on Dandesque Philosophy: A Fragment from a Biography of Baron von Eelking."<sup>93</sup> This piece, which is a nod to Eelking's first publication, *The Laws of the Wardrobe*, teaches men that fashion *faux pas* had social ramifications, as a gentleman "will very soon feel out of place" if he is at all cultured; that is, cognizant of his misstep.<sup>94</sup> He goes on to argue that only those cultured individuals who are appreciative and knowledgeable enough to "extract as many moments of charm from life as possible" could truly be described as dandies.<sup>95</sup> These influential, well-dressed men gave their manicures and ensembles as much care and attention as their knowledge of, and appreciation for culture, as Eelking claimed, "the dandy, after all, takes care of his intellect as well as his nails."<sup>96</sup> Eelking illustrates how a dandy could appreciate every aspect of a fine Burgundian wine, for instance, whereas his bourgeois counterpart,

---

Gegenwart über. Brummels blauer Frack war ebenso also erstes Anzeichen einer neu heraufdämmernden Zeit zu werten, wie etwa Fultons Dampfmaschine." Eelking, "Analyse des Dandytums," *Der Modediktator*, 3:3, 19, 25, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>93</sup> "Kolloquium über dandeske Philosophie: Ein Fragment aus einer Biographie von Baron von Eelking." Eelking, *Der Modediktator*, 1:4, 10-11, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>94</sup> "Whether his violation of wardrobe laws is due to negligence or a lack of understanding, he will very soon feel out of place and this realization will affect him, if he has a minimum of culture at all." Translated from, "Ob sein Verstoß gegen die Garderobengesetze fahrlässig oder aus Unverständnis, er wird sehr bald das Gefühl haben deplaciert zu sein und diese Erkenntnis wird ihn, sofern er überhaupt ein Minimum von Kultur besitzt." Eelking, "Kolloquium über dandeske Philosophie," *Der Modediktator*, 1:4, 10-11, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>95</sup> "Dem Ziel eines jeden Kulturmenschen, dessen Bestreben es sein muß, dem Leben möglichst viel Reizmomente abzugewinnen." Eelking, "Kolloquium über dandeske Philosophie," *Der Modediktator*, 1:4, 10-11, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>96</sup> "Weit entfernt davon, nur die Toilettenfragen abzuhandeln, pflegt der Dandy ja ebenso wie seine Nägel auch seinen Intellekt." Eelking, "Kolloquium über dandeske Philosophie," *Der Modediktator*, 1:4, 10-11, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

merely enjoyed the bouquet as it slaked his thirst.<sup>97</sup> To be a dandy, in short, was to identify and appreciate every single detail of the world around him. According to Eelking, the same should be said of modern, elegant men.

This excerpt from Eelking's biography did more than celebrate his own life—it illustrated to his readers that the traditional bourgeois or *Bürger* was no longer privileged in the hierarchy of competing expressions of masculinity in interwar German society. That distinction belonged to the modern, elegant man. This cultured individual represented a social expansion of aristocratic snobbery. If a well-dressed man could recognize and enjoy fine material objects, this cultural excellence was no longer tied to any one social class, but to the consumers who could afford such items.

Eelking redefines the dandy then, not as an individual predilection, but as a cultural force. Through Eelking's lens, the elegant, cultured man alone had the manners, sophistication, and knowledge to appreciate society, and also guide society forward. Unlike the traditional bourgeois or *Bürger* who may have been constrained by their ignorance, dandies were knowledgeable of the fine arts and history—this added to their appreciation for the finer material objects. Dandies also enjoyed the etiquette and style to not only navigate high society but command the attention of everyone present. In effect, Eelking argues that dandies, in their modern iteration as elegant men, were the only men who could successfully negotiate the complexities present in the dynamic world

---

<sup>97</sup> “Over a glass of Burgundy, the dandy and his partner sit opposite each other; bulbous and brilliantly cut, the glasses stand before them...All five senses are involved with the dandy during this action, with the bourgeois, however, only the sense of taste, and this also only partially. For while the bourgeois abruptly downs the delicious grape blood to slake his thirst, the dandy celebrates a kind of sacrosanct mass.” Translated from, “Bei einem Glase Burgunder sitzen sich der Dandy und sein Partner gegenüber; bauchig und im Brillantschliff stehen die Gläser vor ihnen...Alle fünf Sinne sind bei dem Dandy während dieser Aktion beteiligt, bei dem Bourgeois jedoch nur der Geschmackssinn, und der auch nur repartiert. Denn während der Bourgeois das köstliche Traubenblut ruckartig gegen seinen Durst hinunterkippt, begeht der Dandy ein Art sakrosanter Messe.” Eelking, “Kolloquium über dandeske Philosophie,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:4, 10-11, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

of the Weimar Republic. This concept, in turn, laid the groundwork for the power of a class of male consumers.

As male consumers came from all strata of society, Eelking claims that maintaining a profession was not incompatible with modern elegance. This seems like a sensible caveat for this aristocratic editor to concede. Unlike the dandies or indeed other “socially superior individuals” of the nineteenth century, Eelking argues that elegant men could successfully manage the demands of a modern profession, as “a bank director can be a perfect dandy if he is so stylish that his business acumen does not conflict with his worldview.”<sup>98</sup> Eelking’s argument appears to reflect the belief that professional men had a responsibility to dress with the elegance befitting their success, but also that modern elegance was an attitude to be embodied. Eelking’s use of a bank director as example, however, might seem at odds with his message of attainability for male consumers. Bank directors were more captains of industry rather than the middling, white-collar managers in their employ. Furthermore, though the demographics of Eelking’s readership are unknown, it is likely that the majority of the readership for his fashion magazine was more in the line of accountants and managers, rather than bank directors. Was this moment an example of Eelking’s aristocratic background clouding his comprehension of attainability for those in middling and white-collar professions—that is, the very readers he may have sought to enlighten with modern elegance?

By assuring his readers that seemingly any man in a white-collar profession could attain the accolades of the dandy, Eelking sought to accomplish two ends. First, although (as we will see)

---

<sup>98</sup> “Man glaube nicht, daß ein moderner Dandy keinen Beruf haben dürfe. Im 19 Jahrhundert allerdings war das der Fall, aber dieses Jahrhundert verachtete bei gesellschaftlich höherstehenden Individuen einen Beruf überhaupt. Heute kann ein Bankdirektor ein vollkommener Dandy sein, wenn er so stilsicher ist, daß sein Geschäftssinn mit seiner Weltanschauung nicht in Konflikt gerät.” Eelking, “Analyse des Dandytums,” *Der Modediktator*, 3:3, 19, 25, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

the masculine ideal heralded in *The Fashion Dictator* would emphasize the importance of economic independence (and sport, leisure, and manners of a decidedly white-collar nature), a more "middling" profession would not automatically exclude the reader from the role of dandy, with its image of modern elegance. A man could achieve the title and distinction associated with dandyism by simply improving himself. Thus, cultural excellence and elegance could be obtained through merit, not aristocracy of birth. Second, by lauding the dandy, especially Brummel, as a purveyor of modernity—and by extension (as we will see in the following chapter) cosmopolitanism—Eelking illustrates how *The Fashion Dictator* was perfectly suited for the male readers of the nascent Weimar Republic.

The figure of the dandy did not inexorably lead to the modern male consumer. There were other political valences of dandyism the 1920s, of course. Other figures, some far more well-known than Eelking, took up the mantle of the "dandy" as well. Two extreme cases, on either end of the political spectrum, were two predecessors, Harry Graf Kessler, the "Red Count," and Italian proto-fascist, Gabriele D'Annunzio. All three were regarded as cosmopolitan, fashionable dilettantes. Each wrote extensively in their respective circles. Yet their splintered politics mirror the fragmentation of European society in the interwar period.<sup>99</sup> Kessler, the aristocratic "Red Count" was an open proponent of socialism throughout the Weimar Republic, (Kessler was also closeted, though this was not widely known.) We will discuss the political implications of *The Fashion Dictator* in the second chapter; here, it is worth noting that Eelking's support of the young republic seems more reserved than that of his counterpart.<sup>100</sup> Still, both men were renowned for

---

<sup>99</sup> Erbe, *Der moderne Dandy*, 79.

<sup>100</sup> Harry Kessler, *Berlin Lights: The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler*, ed., Charles Kessler, 1961, (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999). Laird M. Easton, *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002). Philip Mann, *The Dandy at Dusk: Taste and Melancholy in the Twentieth Century*, (London: Head of Zeus Ltd, 2017), 108. Erbe, *Der moderne Dandy*, 53-57.

their fashionable tastes and social connections, and they represented a distinct demographic of well-dressed, well-connected aristocrats that embraced the new world of the Weimar Republic, though to varying degrees.

On the opposite end of the political spectrum, was D'Annunzio. The Italian dandy's aestheticism was emboldened by his experience as a pilot in the First World War, which in turn, fed into his ardent Italian nationalism.<sup>101</sup> However, D'Annunzio may have seen himself more as a modern Garibaldi due to his self-image as a poetic and political hero.<sup>102</sup> The political gulf between Kessler and D'Annunzio could not have been wider, even as they converged (according to Erbe's argument) as the heirs of dandyism. They thereby demonstrate the potential multiplicity of modern masculinities in the interwar era. Moreover, despite the polarity of their politics, both also embodied a homosociability as well; though Kessler's gentle homosexuality and D'Annunzio's sadomasochistic hyper heterosexuality were radically different valences of homosociality, as we will see in Chapter Three.

In a semi-authoritarian echo of D'Annunzio's proto-fascist fervor, Eelking addresses his newfound readership from a position as the "Fashion Dictator" in this first issue of *The Fashion Dictator* in the winter of 1927. His agenda was to address ongoing concerns in men's fashion. Eelking stressed his role as not only a magazine editor, but Fashion Dictator, insisting that every man would understand the unquestionable nature of Eelking's knowledge and authority regarding menswear and *haute couture*. As he states in his inaugural letter from the editor, "the 'Fashion Dictator' will see his mission not only in informing the large audience about the latest fashion with

---

<sup>101</sup> Erbe, *Der moderne Dandy*, 59.

<sup>102</sup> Erbe, *Der moderne Dandy*, 60.

all its finesse. He has set further goals.”<sup>103</sup> Still, Eelking largely addresses the state of men’s fashion, how to remedy any inadequacies in one’s wardrobe, and how to dress well; none of these Eelking insists, is out of reach for ordinary men. (Nor, in this letter, is it reserved to the exclusive province of the dandy in this letter.<sup>104</sup> Gunter Erbe argues that Eelking “became a role model for fashion-conscious men who wanted to distinguish themselves from the average by wearing exquisite but always correct clothing.”<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, Eelking concludes that elegant, well-dressed men will succeed professionally and socially, should they follow his lead, and practice “exemplary manners.”<sup>106</sup>

Ultimately Eelking considered himself to be his readers’ guide and leader, as he echoed concerns regarding the lack of uniformity and organization in men’s fashion: “everybody has to go his own way, and no wonder if there is a lack of uniformity (in style) here and there.”<sup>107</sup> This statement both appealed to calls for organization and leadership in the world of menswear, but also

---

<sup>103</sup> “Der “Modediktator” wird seine Aufgabe nicht nur darin sehen, das große Publikum über die letzte Silhouette mit all ihren Finessen zu orientieren, weitere Ziele hat er sich gesetzt.” Eelking, “Die Herrenmode braucht ein Organ,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 1, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>104</sup> “From year to year, the interest in men's fashion is growing... All the branches working for fashion have their own trade journals, but none exists in which thoughts about common goals are exchanged... It is true that the big city dweller, if he devotes an hour of shopping to the shop windows now and then, can maintain the connection with fashion in this way, but if he lives far away from the fashion centers, where should he go for advice on tricky fashion matters when he feels like visiting the strongholds of elegance?” Translated from, “Von Jahr zu Jahr wird das Interesse an der Herrenmode größer... Da haben wohl alle für die Mode arbeitenden Branchen ihre eigenen Fachblätter, aber keines existiert, in dem auch Gedanken über gemeinsame Ziele ausgetauscht werden. Zwar kann der Großstädter, falls er hin und wieder den Schaufenstern eine Shoppingstunde widmet, den Konnex mit der Mode auch so aufrechterhalten, aber wer weit ab von den Modezentren wohnt, wo soll er sich, wenn es ihn gelüstet, die Hochburgen der Eleganz aufzusuchen, über verzwickte Modedinge Rat holen?” Eelking, “Die Herrenmode braucht ein Organ,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 7, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Erbe, *Der moderne Dandy*, 80.

<sup>105</sup> Erbe, *Der moderne Dandy*, 81.

<sup>106</sup> “And always a well-dressed man, if he also has exemplary manners, is more likely to succeed professionally and socially.” Translated from, “Und immer wird ein gut angezogener Mann, wenn er auch vorbildliche Manieren mitbringt, beruflich und gesellschaftlich eher reüssieren.” Eelking, “Die Herrenmode braucht ein Organ,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 1, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>107</sup> “Jeder muß so seinen Weg allein gehen, und kein Wunder, wenn es dann hier und da an Einheitlichkeit im Stil fehlt.” Eelking, “Die Herrenmode braucht ein Organ,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 7, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Erbe, *Der moderne Dandy*, 80.

echoed similar outcries for political (authoritarian) leadership in the right-wing fringe.<sup>108</sup> As Erbe's work has claimed, "although Baron Eelking may not be free from the allure of the dandy, his educational intentions took him beyond the elitist circle of fashion heroes."<sup>109</sup> Though Eelking certainly had financial motives to ensure the success of his publications, he appears to have genuinely cared about men's comprehension of modern fashion. Erbe grounds his argument for the "educational" mission of Eelking's fashion dictatorship in the public audience for which Eelking claimed to be writing. Furthermore, this public cross-section was more likely the "upwardly mobile bourgeoisie," rather than the "*haute volée*."<sup>110</sup> As the Fashion Dictator, Eelking endeavored to enlighten those men seeking to alleviate any incongruences in their wardrobes. Eelking was not only the editor of *The Fashion Dictator*, but he also clearly saw himself as *the* Fashion Dictator.

As Fashion Dictator, Eelking sought to identify and establish correct and incorrect trends present in popular styles. Furthermore, his commentary throughout *The Fashion Dictator* focuses on correcting the "disharmonies" present in contemporary men's fashion, building a cohesive look, a look toward which all men could strive. He thus sought to create a singular voice for the fashion-

---

<sup>108</sup> Erbe, *Der moderne Dandy*, 79.

<sup>109</sup> "When he launched the fashion dictator, he named as addressees "the well-dressed gentleman and all his suppliers. The mouthpiece of men's fashion created by him was "not dandesquely adjusted," but rather addressed to the broadest public. Consequently, this clientele was not so much the upper class as the upwardly mobile middle class. There was no doubt that a well-dressed man, even if he brought exemplary manners with him, was more likely to succeed professionally and socially. Eelking saw it as his task to familiarize his readership with the fashion models of the past. Among them were above all the dandies." Translated from: "Mochte Baron Eelking auch von den Allüren eines Dandys nicht frei sein, so führte ihn seine pädagogische Absicht doch über den elitären Kreis der Modehelden hinaus. Als er den Modediktator aus der Taufe hob, nannte er als Adressaten "den gut angezogenen Herrn und alle seine Lieferanten." Das von ihm geschaffene Organ der Herrenmode sei "nicht etwa dandesk eingestellt," sondern wende sich an die breiteste Öffentlichkeit. Zu dieser Klientel gehörte demzufolge nicht so sehr die Hautevolee als vielmehr das aufstiegsorientierte Bürgertum. Es sei unzweifelhaft, dass ein gut angezogener Mann, wenn er auch vorbildliche Manieren mitbringe, beruflich und gesellschaftlich eher reüssieren werde. Eelking sah es als seine Aufgabe an, seinen Leserkreis mit den Modeleitbildern der Vergangenheit bekannt zu machen. Zu ihnen zählten vor allem die Dandys." Erbe, *Der moderne Dandy*, 79.

<sup>110</sup> Erbe, *Der moderne Dandy*, 82.

related quandaries and concerns of the modern men.<sup>111</sup> Such endeavors were a byproduct of Eelking's attempt to demonstrate his encyclopedic knowledge on men's fashion, as well as establish himself as the voice of authority to his readers. Indeed, as he says in the inaugural issue of his publication: "whoever wants to be well/correctly and modernly dressed, should only follow the Fashion Dictator."<sup>112</sup> Throughout the issues of *The Fashion Dictator*, Eelking focuses on the contemporary fashion missteps in menswear, and repeatedly implores his audience to dress "correctly." The majority of articles in the magazine concentrate on a particular item clothing, and how to harmoniously adapt it to one's wardrobe and social occasions. Though most of the articles in *The Fashion Dictator* reiterate this focus, there are also pieces that address tangential topics such as leisure activities and celebrity gossip.

Though a fashion dictator might have been a novel concept in the Weimar Republic, the figure of the dictator was not an unfamiliar notion, particularly after the First World War. During the war, the severe food shortages, particularly in Berlin resulted in the people calling for a sole authority figure to take control of the situation.<sup>113</sup> The cries for a "Food Dictator" overlapped with the *de facto* military dictatorship in the figures of Supreme Army commander Paul von Hindenburg and Erich Ludendorff.<sup>114</sup> Though Hindenburg was more of a figurehead, and Ludendorff orchestrated the day to day operations of the military dictatorship, many civilians felt that a sole representative would effectively solve the food crisis by taking over the wartime economy and the ballooning wartime bureaucracy. Unfortunately for the German public mismanagement, false

---

<sup>111</sup> Eelking, *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 1, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Erbe, *Der moderne Dandy*, 81.

<sup>112</sup> "Wer gut/korrekt und modern angezogen sein will richtet sich nur nach dem Modediktator." Eelking, Front Matter, *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, inside of front cover (un-numbered), Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>113</sup> Belinda Davis, *Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 92.

<sup>114</sup> Davis, *Home Fires Burning*, 114.

information, and the inability of the military high command to adequately handle the food crisis ensured the failure of the food dictatorship.<sup>115</sup>

This kind of sole authority was also mirrored in the *de facto* military dictatorship of the Supreme Command: Paul von Hindenburg and Erich Ludendorff. The wartime mobilization of all cross-sections of the Germany economy was undergirded by the government at the behest of the military high command because the:

war demanded the ruthless mobilization of a nation's entire resources, for it knew no distinction between the home and fighting fronts: the civilian producers of weapons were no less essential to the war effort than were the soldiers who fired them...all politics was subordinate to military affairs, hence that government should be guided by soldiers, the expert in matters of war. The general's claims thus did not halt at the authority of the civilian chancellor—or the emperor.<sup>116</sup>

In short, “military dictatorship was the political hallmark of the modern age [and] the Supreme Command became the dominant force in German politics, and no civilian political could effectively oppose its authority.”<sup>117</sup> Ultimately though, the “hidden” dictatorship of Hindenburg and Ludendorff was an utter failure as what remained of Imperial Germany was consumed by the end of World War I and the Revolution of 1918-1919 which led to the birth of the Weimar Republic.

Even after the failures of these wartime dictatorships, the image of a sole authority figure was still incredibly attractive to many dissatisfied with the nascent democracy. Many far-right political and para-military forces attempted to seize control of the government in the newfound republic. Radical right-wing insurrections began with the Kapp Putsch in March 1920 when Walther von Lüttwitz and Hermann Ehrhardt (supported by Ludendorff), were incensed over

---

<sup>115</sup> Davis, *Home Fires Burning*, 119, 224.

<sup>116</sup> Roger Chickering, *Imperial Germany and the Great War, 1914-1918*, 1998, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 39, 74-75.

<sup>117</sup> Chickering, *Imperial Germany and the Great War*, 75.

moves to disband the *Freikorps*. Their attempt coup forced the government to flee Berlin.<sup>118</sup> Though these right-wing putschists were eventually forced to capitulate by the trade unions, their putsch inspired other far-right organizations—most notoriously, the infamous beerhall putsch in 1923 that saw Adolf Hitler’s entrance onto the national stage.<sup>119</sup> Even though this attempt to overthrow the republican government was unsuccessful, Hitler’s media celebrity following the putsch catapulted his political career. Even political figures inside the government attempted to rule as authoritarian leaders. In 1930 Chancellor Brüning ruled by emergency decrees with the powers given to him by President Hindenburg, which all but nullified the authority of the Reichstag.<sup>120</sup>

In short, dictatorial aspirations and figures saturated the Weimar right-wing and fringe political imaginary. Powerful, authoritative figureheads appealed to the German public as they seemed to offer calming notions of omniscience and authority, even if that was not the case. It is curious then, that Eelking adopted the moniker of “Fashion Dictator,” while simultaneously lauding the democratic imagery of the new republic (which we will discuss further in the second chapter). Eelking seemingly recognized the rhetorical power of dictators and dictatorial power in the mind of German consumers and tapped into this notion through his application of the term.

Thus, from the very first issues of his new magazine, Eelking clearly outlines his ambitions both as, and for, *The Fashion Dictator*. By identifying the ongoing issues of men’s fashion, Eelking insists that his publication will not only remedy those problems, but also guide its readers on the manners and styles they need in order to be successful in the modern world.

---

<sup>118</sup> Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 114.

<sup>119</sup> Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 342.

<sup>120</sup> Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 351.

As we will see, Eelking used his publication not only to serve this particular demographic of male readers, but I argue, also to champion a new vision of modern masculinity as the ideal image of manhood in the new republic. The tone of *The Fashion Dictator* established a clear association between cultural excellence, modernity, and elegantly-dressed men—modernity in this sense being the democratization of aristocratic good taste. By following the Fashion Dictator, (both the magazine and the man), attentive readers from even non-aristocratic background could refashion themselves.

By adhering, and attempting to adhere to this image of elegant, white collar masculinity projected in *The Fashion Dictator*, men simultaneously recognized this vision of masculinity as a distinct cultural standard and also reinforced the growing power of advertising and the role of consumerism in modern society. Many men also enjoyed a certain level of social capital through their acceptance of, and participation in this expression of masculinity, even if they never fully embodied it themselves.<sup>121</sup> By embodying, whether temporarily or partially, the social identity of an elegant, modern consumer, these men also perpetuated the valorization of these idealized masculine bodies.<sup>122</sup> The advertisements, illustrations, and articles in *The Fashion Dictator* not only perpetuated this particular aesthetic, but the practice of consumerism in order to achieve and maintain an idealized image of masculinity. Furthermore, *The Fashion Dictator* also cultivated the growing need to maintain such an appearance in order to succeed in a society that privileged such a vision of masculinity.<sup>123</sup>

---

<sup>121</sup> *Sport, Promotional Culture and the Crisis of Masculinity*, eds. Sarah Gee and Steven Jackson, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 42.

<sup>122</sup> Connell and Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity, 832. *Consuming Modernity: Gendered Behavior and Consumerism before the Baby Boom*, Cheryl Krasnick Warsh and Dan Malleck, eds., (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013), 1-3, 196.

<sup>123</sup> “The way men cultivate their bodies distinguish them not only from women, but also from other men along the lines of class...Embodiment thus has implications for the reproduction of social inequality,

As Eelking dictates in *The Fashion Dictator*, the elegant, modern white-collar man was both the new masculine ideal in the nascent republic, as well as the champion of democracy. This modern descendant of the dandy, however, was also representative of the transformation of men into conspicuous consumers. As targeted demographics within the greater Weimar visual culture, magazines like *The Fashion Dictator* transformed elegant, white-collar men from ordinary consumers into a modern masculine ideal.

---

marking privileged men in distinct and visible ways.” A man “likes to feel as if his tastes are similar to powerful professional men,” Barber, *Styling Masculinity*, 46, 54. Dirk Reinhardt, *Von der Reklame zum Marketing: Geschichte der Wirtschaftswerbung in Deutschland*. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), 225, 227.



## Chapter II

### Modern Cosmopolitanism: International Elegance

Throughout the issues of *The Fashion Dictator* Eelking inundated his readers with articles, illustrations, and photographs that showcased popular fashions and luxurious lifestyles. What is particularly interesting, however, is Eelking's repeated use of international diplomats and celebrities—especially British aristocrats—to illustrate these fashionable trends. Eelking's magazine features page after page of photographs and collages of internationally renowned individuals (with exquisite taste, of course!), which in turn, creates a unique association between elegance, modernity, and a decidedly *international* inflection of cosmopolitanism. This ethos of internationalism appears as a surprise, especially after the acrimonious settlement of the First World War and the bitter and interminable highly politicized rhetoric over the Treaty of Versailles. Furthermore, the prominently-featured members of the British aristocracy—Edward, Prince of Wales in particular—shows this international cosmopolitanism to have a distinct Anglophilic perspective. It had been less than a decade since Germany had been at war with Great Britain, but, in the name of modern, elegant menswear, Eelking was seemingly able to overlook prior hostility and even enmity.

Throughout the veritable cornucopia of fashion-forward content, an interesting pattern emerges in *The Fashion Dictator*. Sprinkled throughout the illustrations of were collages and photographs of fashionable celebrities—the majority of whom not only represented modern elegance and cosmopolitan sensibilities more broadly, but also included many from democratic nations. As this content was curated by Eelking and his editorial staff at *The Fashion Dictator*, did the inclusion of photographs of elegant men from influential nations serve as an indicator of the Fashion Dictator's subtle support for the cosmopolitanism of contemporary politicians and diplomats?

The articles, essays, and advertisements in *The Fashion Dictator* reinforced the modernity and elegance of the latest fashions through bright illustrations. These spreads spotlighted contemporary celebrities and popular icons, and, of course, showcased their style. These photo collages included foreign dignitaries and aristocrats enjoying public events and the delights of the social season. Whether these famous personalities were photographed giving a speech, attending a conference, or enjoying a day at the races, all the while impeccably dressed. (Impeccably dressed, at least, according to Eelking's demanding standards.) Though many of these fashionable individuals were members of the upper class, many also happened to be representatives of other countries. The modern, fashionable Prince of Wales, alongside his younger brother, the Duke of York were showcased for their tails and top hats at the Royal Ascot, for example (see Figure 1).<sup>124</sup>

---

<sup>124</sup> Figure 1: Eelking, "Der Prinz von Wales im Paddock von Ascot," *Der Modediktator*, 1:4, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

# DER MODEDIKTATOR

Nr. 4

Die Zeitschrift für den gut  
angezogenen Herrn und  
alle seine Lieferanten

Herbst 1928

HERAUSGEBER: BARON VON EELKING



DER PRINZ VON WALES IM PADDOCK VON ASCOT

Der englische Thronfolger trägt im Gegensatz zu seinen Vater auch auf  
dem Ascotplatz nur ein einziges Zylinder. Dagegen bevorzugte er in  
diesem Jahre mit noch vier andern Prinzen ganz beliebige Anzugformen.  
Langhosen zum Teil. Neben ihm war auch der Herzog von York

(Figure 1: The Prince of Wales in the Ascot Paddock)

The celebration of fashionable, international debutantes suggest that “cosmopolitanism” was among the masculine ideals valorized and consumer goods advertised. Cosmopolitanism, or

rather, the diplomatic influence of elegance was another modern construct lauded in the fashion-soaked pages of *The Fashion Dictator*. In comparison to its contemporary competitors, *The Fashion Dictator*'s featured photographs and *Fashion Archive* seemingly celebrate all aspects of modern elegance—including the international popularity of fashionable diplomats.<sup>125</sup> In this otherwise apolitical publication, the celebration of unmistakable political figures questions the connections between political associations and consumer culture.

Did Eelking, alongside his editorial staff, intentionally feature cosmopolitanism as a commodity in *The Fashion Dictator*? No one party had complete control over the magazine's content, of course. Indeed, everything from article choice to advertising layout reflected the give and take, of business transactions, between Eelking, the illustrators working for the advertising firms, and the merchants whose products were being marketed. This give and take, so to speak ultimately determined the imagery, design, and chromatism incorporated into the featured advertisements and illustrations.<sup>126</sup> The photographic spreads of fashionable aristocrats and diplomats of influential countries occur with such regularity that this fashion journal was making subtle, if unmistakable correlations between the products being advertised, and the contemporary political atmosphere of international cosmopolitanism.<sup>127</sup>

---

<sup>125</sup> Following the end of the First World War and the subsequent Treaty of Versailles, representative forms of government were lauded by world powers, particularly the victorious western, imperial nations, lauded representative forms of government. See Erez Manela's *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*.

<sup>126</sup> "Throughout the modern era advertisers and those who hire them have attempted to disseminate values and promote lifestyles to individuals in their capacities as citizens, shoppers, travelers, workers, and men and women." *Selling Modernity*, 2.

<sup>127</sup> "Two things are note linked by the line of an argument or a narrative but by their place in a picture, by its *formal structure*. In the second place this transference of significance does not exist as completed in the ad but requires us to *make* the connection...this meaning does not exist until we complete the transference ourselves." Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements*, 19.

With the repeated photographs of cosmopolitan debutantes, readers were shown an economically-independent, physically-fit, white-collar masculine ideal intertwined with internationalism. As Judith Williamson writes in her post-structuralist work on advertisements, “no matter how much you try to talk about what is ‘in’ the ad, you always end up back the signifier, the structure of the signs in an advertisements, because what the signs should or did refer to has been totally effaced and they have been made to point inwards, to the ad itself and the product it is selling.”<sup>128</sup> To elaborate, though these photographs were highlighting successful, modern individuals, their position as internationally-renowned diplomats makes modern cosmopolitanism a product in these advertisements as well. Although the illustrations and photographs featured in this discussion promote different products and personas, together, they all idealized and commodified a cosmopolitan masculinity—a far cry from the bourgeois nationalism that dominated the political parties of the far-right.

The visual qualities within the advertisements sell the products in the image, as well as the image of masculinity presented in the illustration. Unlike other contemporary expressions of masculinity rooted in militarism, misogyny, or even mutiny against the new republic, the images put forward by this magazine, as we will see, foreground in a certain level of athleticism, white-collar success, and social acumen.<sup>129</sup> To be a modern man, in the eyes of Eelking, was to carry oneself with the manners and comportment befitting someone in polite society; surround oneself with the accoutrements of modern leisure (automobiles, lavish vacations, and impeccably-tailored clothing); and ensure the level of socio-economic success that allowed for this kind of lifestyle. *The Fashion Dictator*, then, was not the magazine for the working man—or at least, not any

---

<sup>128</sup> Williamson, *Decoding Advertisements*, 167.

<sup>129</sup> Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, 28. George Mosse, *The Image of Man*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). Thomas Kühne, *The Rise and Fall of Comradeship: Hitler’s Soldiers, Male Bonding and Mass Violence in the Twentieth Century*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 41.

working man without a significant salary. With this image of masculinity in mind, Eelking takes his readers on a visual tour that seeks to connect masculinity with cosmopolitanism.

One such example emerges in the multitude of photographs themselves, where high society, film stars, and diplomats appeared. The majority of these figures came from countries run by representative institutions, and Eelking made no attempt to hide this information from his readers as he included their titles, and countries of origin in the captions below their photographs. Many of these individuals were from Great Britain, the United States, and other western European nations, including Spain, Italy, and France.

Once again returning to the inaugural issue of *The Fashion Dictator*, the article, “The Style Is More Important than the Cut: A Chapter from the *Laws of the Wardrobe*” outlines how men should not focus solely on the current fashion, but adapt it to best suit them as individuals.<sup>130</sup> As many of the latest trends were not designed for the mature bodies of older (portly) men, Eelking encouraged his readers follow the example set by the fashionably dressed celebrities who incorporated older fashions into their personal style to create ensembles that were both, elegant and modern. Alongside this article are several photographs that capture how elegant men of the day made changes to the dominant fashions to best suit themselves, (see Figure 2).<sup>131</sup> Among those included in these photos were a mix of politicians and aristocrats, and athletes, actors, and other celebrities.

---

<sup>130</sup> Eelking, “Der Stil ist wichtiger als der Schnitt: Ein Kapitel aus den Garderobengesetzen,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 12-15, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>131</sup> Figure 2: Eelking, “Der Stil ist wichtiger als der Schnitt,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 12-13, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.



(Figure 2: The Style Is More Important than the Cut)

Those included amongst the politically-inclined aristocrats and assorted office-bearers were Prince Bernhard von Bülow, the former German Chancellor, German embassy advisor in Washington D.C., Otto Kiep, and German embassy advisor in Madrid, Count Johannes von Welzeck, Prince Consort of the Netherlands, and Duke Heinrich von Mecklenburg-Schwerin.<sup>132</sup> Following their continental cousins were American businessman, John D. Rockefeller, along with Otto Hermann Kahn, the German-born American financier, as well as U.S. President Calvin Coolidge, and Mayor of New York City, Jimmy Walker. Also pictured was British foreign

<sup>132</sup> It is worth noting that although he was not a republican, Bernhard von Bülow was largely concerned with the international status of Germany, both as chancellor, and as a cosmopolitan courtier in his retirement. When not meddling in the affairs of state or attempting to remedy his professional reputation with a four-volume autobiography, he spent his retirement in Italy enjoying a cultured life of leisure. See Katharine Anne Lerman, *The Chancellor as Courtier: Bernhard von Bülow and the Governance of Germany, 1900-1909*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Eelking's ability to overlook an individual's shortcomings if they could superficially embody the trappings of elegant masculinity, occurs again in *The Fashion Dictator*.

minister, Sir Austen Chamberlain, Captain William Macintosh, close associate of the Prince of Wales, and the previous and contemporary monarchs of Bulgaria, Ferdinand I and Boris III. This spread culminates with the Indian Prince, Sala Jung, along with several photographs of the Prince of Wales, including one with King Alfonso XIII of Spain, and his brother the Duke of Kent.

On the following pages, the photo collage features several cultural celebrities including stars of the silver screen, Rod la Rogue, with his wife, Vilma Banky, and Adolphe Menjou. Following is the Japanese painter Tsuguharu Fujita, world renowned Spanish goalkeeper, Ricardo Zamora Martinez, and Gabriele D'Annunzio, Prince of Montenevoso, Italian poet and playwright, (see Figure 2a).<sup>133</sup> In comparison to the stalwart heads of industry and state, with their dignified poses and serious expressions in these pictures, the photographs of these celebrities add a breath of levity to the collage with their relaxed poses, candid smiles, and ostentatious backgrounds. Eelking's collage illustrates the fashionable elegance of these political aristocrats, but also the more flamboyant fashion statements of the celebrities—a testament, perhaps, to the attainable standards of modern elegance, and those more out of bounds for ordinary men of taste.

---

<sup>133</sup> Figure 2a: Eelking, “Der Stil ist wichtiger als der Schnitt,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 14-15, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.



(Figure 2a: The Style Is More Important than the Cut)

Each man from this rather extensive list appears in a snapshot encircling the article. In their respective pictures, each individual illustrates how he adapted popular fashions to suit not only his position in society, as well as his nationality. For example, Mayor Jimmy Walker of New York looks very stylish and modern in his striped trousers, tails, and top hat, but his style is distinct from that of the more mature Otto Hermann Kahn with his bowler hat, high collar, and somber, yet stylish, ensemble. In contrast, Gabriele D'Annunzio appears as a vision of modernity and classicism, as he poses (very deliberately) wearing a suit, surrounded by the greenery of his garden. Both the variety of men, as well as their fashion choices, underlies a spirit of cosmopolitan self-determination.

Of course, none of these men were ordinary, workaday men. They were not champions of the shop concierges, small business owners, or government clerks. They were paragons of high finance, blue blood, and social exclusivity. In the context of Weimar-era socialism and

communism, both of which lauded the quotidian worker as the champion of the newfound republic, these men of international importance (and elegance), held up as archetypes, offered a radically different vision. Eelking was reinforcing the notion of modern masculinity as that belonging to cosmopolitan men of independent means. If a man could not afford to look like an elegant, modern man, then he was not one (see Figures 3-6).<sup>134</sup>

---

<sup>134</sup> There are several other articles in this first issue which feature photographs of celebrities that are both excellently (according to Eelking's demanding standards) dressed (which reinforces the point of the respective articles) and citizens of nations with representative governments. Figure 3: Eelking, "Miniaturen aus der Fracksphäre," *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 25, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Figure 4: Eelking, "Nichts für den Boulevard," *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 30, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Figure 5: Eelking, "Jeder Zweite Trägt Heut Einen Bart," *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 42, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Figure 6: Eelking, "Schirm oder Stock?," *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 43, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

Seitenerbeispiel von Schabernack in dem neuen kleinen Zylinderanzug mit Sommerhosen und gelbem Kniefalten, zu dem der Zylinder mit weißer Federkappe gehörig wird



Der österreichische Botschafter in Berlin, Hr. Jochen von Kottwitz auf Pöstenfeld für den Palast des Reichspräsidenten



Auch der New Yorker Dispositioner Mr. Walker trägt zu guter Auhör! sein Paar die schwarze (schwarze) Weste

Der deutsche Botschafter in Madrid, Graf von Helldorf trägt am Tage zum Frack die schwarze Zigarren- und (eine) schwarze die Glanzstücke

Miniaturen aus der Fracksphäre



Unser Herr! Ministerpräsident Graf Hertwich

Nicht! Der Frack mit Einweisswaune, Fackel und die Krawatte, die ein anderer Anwesender in Bonn hatte

Historisch! Die amerikanische Filmkomponist Douglas MacLean trägt ebenfalls ein solches Paar dunkle von Aberdeen



Auch Garderobegenosse (sie sind das Rückgrat des Modekodex und daher etwas anders als die Mode selbst) müssen hin und wieder revidiert werden. Da gab es seit mehr denn einem Jahrzehnt einen Paragraphen, der lautete: „Bei offiziellen Anlässen, die vor Einbruch der Dunkelheit stattfinden, muß der Frack sich daher durch den Gut und Zylinder verhalten lassen.“ Dennoch aber hat sich im Laufe der Jahre herausgestellt, daß namentlich da, wo noch auf heilige Ekklesi gehalten wird, der Gut den Frack nicht ersetzen kann. Immerhin wird es taktvollen Leuten gegen den Gedankengang gehen, wenn schon aus Gründen der Statistiken eine repräsentativer Verpflichtungen der Frack angesehen werden muß, am Tage bereits mit der weißen Weste zu zeigen. Eine vortreffliche Lösung bietet da die schwarze Ripweste (heißt nicht etwa daß es eine schwarze Tuchweste sein), akzentuiert durch eine Reihe schimmernder Perlenknöpfe, Dekorative wirkt sie so und doch verhalten.

(Figure 3: Miniatures from the Tails-Sphere)

LES MOFFETTES



Anblick in einer Golfplatz in Schwitz. Charakteristisch für den gewöhnlichen Nimmer ist es, daß er sich nicht als ein Sonntagstüchtler betrautet

### Nichts für den Boulevard

Nur wenige bedenken heute, daß in gewissen Sines auch die Straße ihre Bekanntheit hat. Sie sehen den Wert der modernen Boulevard, die durchsichtige, weichen Farben, hören all die Schreie, mit denen einer den anderen übertrumpft, und denken, wie kann es da auf einem Meeresufer oder weniger abkommen. Und doch hat die Großstadtstraße empfindliche Nerven, ebenso wie sie ihren bescheidenen Stil hat.

So ärgerte es sie von jeher, wenn sportliche Schönheit sie aufbrechen. Immerhin mit dem zirkulären Norfolk ging es noch an. Denn hatten sie sich wenigstens in der Farbe zurück. Seit aber die kostspieligen, witterungsbeständigen Pullover in den Träumen eingetrogen (haben sind sie natürlich wieder erbedigt), fühlt sich jeder Amerikaner genötigt, diese einseitig prägnante Worte zusammen. Er sieht, wie ekhlar die Golfpart ist, der sie immer hat, nicht die Amerikaner Linienformen von den Landhäusern der Klubs, und, gewohnt, immer nach dem Ausland zu schauen, kann er keinen größeren Wunsch, als sich nach im Alltagsleben zu konzentrieren, wie die amerikanischen Nabeln und die englischen Herolde, die er in Kopf nachschreiben sieht. — So sucht er sich zu zeigen in seinen Augen den Nadeln gibt, und mit großem Pallaver Cityleben wie eine Schickbaldfigur — auf dem geschäftigen Boulevard.

Und welche Bemühtungen sieht er hierbei oft diese an und eine Melan müssen sie sich manchmal sehen lassen und mit wo sie Gleichzeitige zu ergänzen haben: Plaudern und Schmeicheleien, Mühen und Sorgen.



Japaner mit ungeheuren Lederhosen



Amerikanischer Strickpullover. Breiter mit langen Ärmeln. Diese Schallerer mit ungeheuren Ärmeln

Links: Pullover mit wasserabweisender Eigenschaft für die Gasse (Preis: Peter von Monaco auf dem Golfplatz von Le Touquet)

(Figure 4: Nothing for the Boulevard)

VON  
**WÖFFELTAGE**

**JEDER ZWEITE TRÄGT**

(Links) Der Herr auf dem Bild im  
Anzug — (Rechts) Alfred  
Herrn, der den Bart verfallen  
nicht fürchtet



Im Kreis: Der  
ausgebildete  
Bart



Zu wie vielen Dilettanten war der Bart nicht in den  
letzten Jahren verfallen. Alle Prominenten der  
Bühne und nicht nur alle Filmstars wurden über  
das informiert. Leiderlich wurde es gemacht. Und  
dann wies er sich doch durch. Setzte sich durch,  
weil eine durch die in seiner neuen Form die  
Physiognomie des Ausdrucks schaffte, der typisch ist  
für die Mann der großen Gesellschaft, für den  
Bischof und den Weltkronen. Der heute seine  
Anwesenheit in Santa Cruz erlebt und morgen in Tok-  
yoko: Selbstverständliche Vertraulichkeit, und doch immer  
dem Charakter von leicht leuchtend und Sarkasmus, wie  
er Alfred Mayser so vortrefflich gelang.

Nicht jeder Bart also entsprach die moderne  
Silhouette. Ganz unvorteilhaft wirkt heute so der  
kleine Klee mehr der Nase, diese nur fingenhafte  
Zahnbürste. Unappetitlich ist ein und grob, ob-

**HEUT EINEN BART**

(Links) Lorenz Adlon, der Be-  
rühmte Hotelbesitzer in Berlin; (Rechts) U-  
berwacht, der Verhörgangene  
Jahre



Mitte: Conte di  
Sforza, der Gatte  
der berühmten  
Nephtalima  
Josephine Baker

anstatt herbeiführt — kann sie sich herunterziehen,  
aber andererseits auch mit der Oberlippe ab-  
schneiden. Dabei gilt, daß der Ausdruck möglichst  
prägnanter, wenn der Bart noch über die Mund-  
winkel hinaus fortgeführt wird. Natürlich braucht  
das nicht so weit zu gehen, wie man es bei den  
Pariser Revolverkämpfern sieht, die die Bartspitzen wie  
Brockhäuser massenhaft zwickeln. Das ist schon  
wieder materialisiert, und das sollte ein Mann nie sein.  
Tropfen aber der Bart wieder so sehr populär  
ist, seiner modernen Kontur nach, ist er doch nicht  
stark für jeden. Denn außer der leichten Silhouette  
verlangt er, bis er sich gelegt hat (und das dauert  
lange, und verlangt viele, vorzeitig aufgegeben) sorg-  
fältigste Pflege. Das aber kostet Zeit, und die haben  
heute, auch von jenen, die sich gern gut ansehen,  
keine nicht alle.



**STAMMHAUS PHILIPP NEUBAUER  
DER FACHMANN FÜR ELEGANTE HÜTE**

- Niederlage  
der ersten Fabriken und Geschäfte der Welt
- Deutschland — Mayser, Ulm a. D.
  - Amerika — John B. Sartan
  - England — Lock, Johnson, Scott Heath
  - Frankreich — Gilet, Paris
  - Italien — Bersalino Antico Casa

LENTER DEN LINDEN 80 / KÖNIGSTRASSE 17 / MALERSTRASSE 68  
**BERLIN**



Verkauf für Mayser, Ulm a. D.



**WOLSTER**  
ENGLISCHE  
NEU-  
HEITEN

**Benedict**  
Berlin Friedrich Ebertstr. 10  
Köln - Deichmannhaus

(Figure 5: Every Other Person Wears a Beard Today)

DER  
MODEDIKTATOR

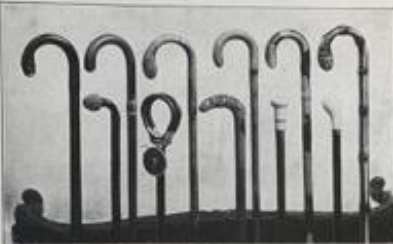
### SCHIRM ODER STOCK?

Der Mann auf dem Kassino will vielfach noch immer mit dem Schirm nichts zu tun haben. Er klappt den Kragen seines Wetterreflex hoch, und schließelich geht er ja auch überell Tassen. Aber nur die Einkatändigen, denen man zumeist nicht zu helfen ist, denken so. Es ist selbstverständlich ein Uebling, sich selbstgenug und seinen Anzug verziehen zu lassen, nur weil irgend ein Chikling einmal vor Jahren gegen den Parasol, der damals noch sehr schätzbar war, nämlich protestierte. Schon vor einem Jahrzehnt stand ja der Schirm bei der aristokratischen Elite in hohem Ansehen, und die Offiziere der feudalen englischen Garderegimenter führten ihn sogar im Tag der charakteristischen Ausrüstung für den Engländer geführt. Zu den Seitenheiten gehört es schon herab, eines Angolischen ohne ihn zu treffen läßt sich die Mode vorzuzugewöhnen. Kann ein Tag, an dem es in London nicht regnet. Da geht es zum ersten nicht ohne den Schirm. Bei uns aber hängt gottlieb der Himmel nicht immer so voller Wolken. So wird denn nur der britischenweise Saak gründlich für den Schirm glücklicher und den Stock, nur weil man ihn in England kann so sehen bekommen, in Acht und Bann erklären. Nein, der Schirm bleibt die Ausrüstung, der Stock aber die Regel. Woher gibt es denn auch viel Neuartiges hier, und weiter werden wir zu der Art und Weise, wie jemand seinen Stock trägt, feststellen können was Gutes Kind er ist.



Schöne Schirme, wie sie heute der Herr bevorzugt, darunter ein dunkeltes Parter-Modell mit goldverzerrter, ein schwarzes aus gebläuten Nüssen beschlagener Kränze

Rechts: Die gebogene Kränze ist wieder die Norm, unter diesen Stöcken sieht man jetzt häufig auch aus Lederhosen-Leder. In der unteren Reihe sehen dem obigen ein- stöckigen Stöckchen zwei elegante Abendstücke



In England wird der Schirm stets sehr gerne eine Nationalparade. Prinz Henry, der Bruder des Prinzen v. Wales mit Lyoner u. Schirm auf dem Kassino.

Es ist ein **DORNBUSCH** ein **KRAGEN** der Ihnen Freude macht

DAS FEINSTE BIELEFELDER FABRIKAT

Die nächste Nummer des **MODEDIKTATOR** erscheint mit den gesamten

## Frühjahrsmoden

Ende März. Sichern Sie sich das Heft jetzt schon, indem Sie auf der beiliegenden Bestellkarte ein Jahresabonnement aufgeben. — Für unser auf Seite 20 veröffentlichtes

## Preisausschreiben

ist der letzte Einsendungstermin der 15. Januar 1928

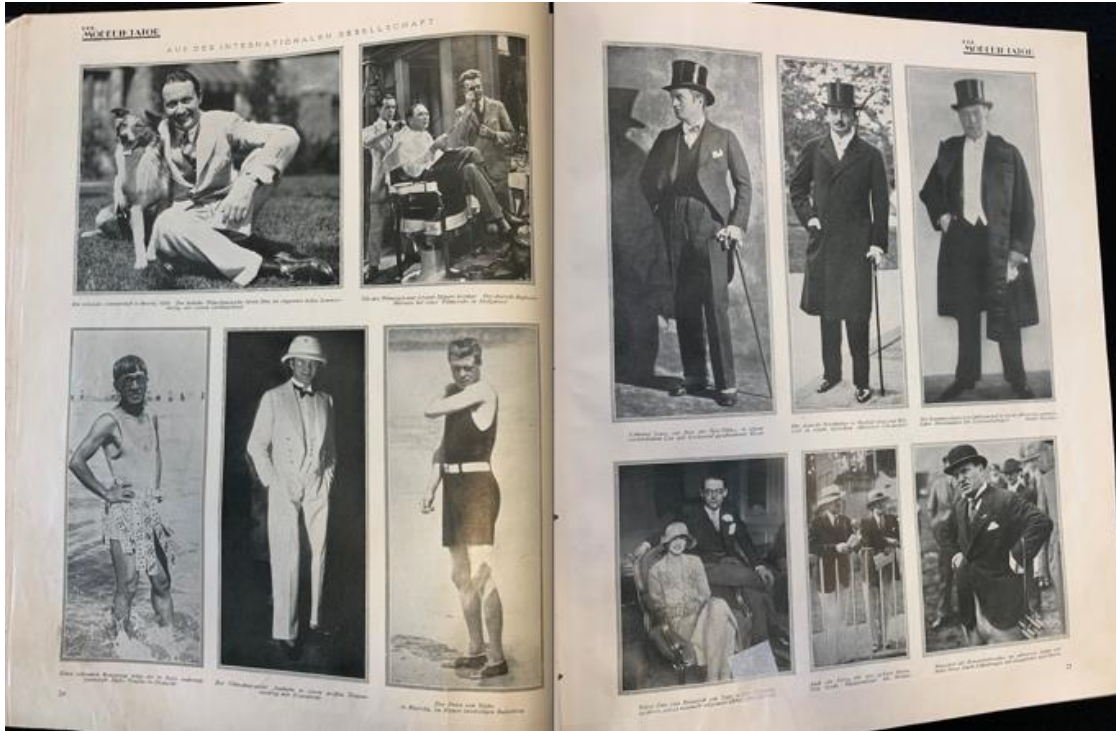
(Figure 6: Umbrella or Cane?)

At the same time, however, the internationalism of these garmented elites stood in sharp contrast to the hyper nationalist and “Germanized” visions that were increasingly being lauded by the *Deutsche Volkspartei* (DVP), the *Deutschnationale Volkspartei* (DNVP), and of course, the small (but growing) National Socialists (NSDAP). Eelking was offering his readers a modern masculinity that was refined, restrained, composed, and even decorative. It was, however, only available to those men who enjoyed the purchasing power of disposable income. The composed nature of this modern vision of masculinity can be seen in Eelking’s presentation of the Italian Prime Minister, Il Duce Benito Mussolini.

The Italian Prime Minister and Il Duce, Benito Mussolini appears in the summer issue for 1928 alongside an array of movie stars, diplomats, and aristocrats in a variety of elegant menswear, with the centerfold, “From International Society” (see Figure 7).<sup>135</sup> These other individuals include acclaimed director F.W. Murnau, actor Walter Jankuhn, German embassy advisor in Madrid, Count Johannes von Welczeck, and Prince Otto Christian Archibald Graf von Bismarck-Schönhausen, German Ambassador to Sweden. From the Continent there was bass chamber singer, Leo Schützendorf. Representing style from across the Channel was Edward, Prince of Wales. Further still, from across the Atlantic, there were American actors, Monte Blue and Edmund Lowe, and Mayor of New York City, Jimmy Walker. Representing the Far East was the Japanese artist Tsuguharu Fujita. All of these men are impeccably dressed and enjoying the delights of the summer and the season.

---

<sup>135</sup> Figure 7: Eelking, “Aus der Internationalen Gesellschaft,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:3, 24-25, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.



(Figure 7: From International Society)

It is worth noting that among the photographs of elegantly dressed politicians and celebrities, the image of Il Duce—Benito Mussolini—offers a subtle, but distinct point of departure with his snarling countenance. Unlike the others featured in this spread, the Italian leader was photographed in the middle of an animated discussion with his hands on his hips and his face contorted in zealous fervor. Even in comparison to the image of Bismarck-Schönhausen, which is one of composure, Mussolini's passionate candidness comes across—but it comes across as déclassé and frantic, rather than the manner befitting a head of state. It seems from this photograph, that not every person illustrated in Eelking's magazine was included because of their impeccable taste and polished manners. This though raises the question, if one appeared confused and agitated in a melon hat and poorly tailored jacket, was this license to mock their political inclinations as well? Eelking seemed to think so; a modern, elegant man was correctly dressed and comported himself appropriately, an inelegant lout, neither had properly tailored clothes nor acted in a manner

considered polite or diplomatic. Mussolini's rabid nationalistic excess sets him poorly against the other fashionable and dignified international men of power.

In the issue for the spring of 1928, Eelking and his editorial staff created a centerfold in modern masculine elegance. This photo collage features a diverse array of modern, fashionable men, (see Figure 8).<sup>136</sup> On the first page of this spread are the Prince of Wales, Field Marshall Sir Douglas Haig, King Alfonso XIII of Spain, and exiled Russian aristocrats, Grand Duke Dmitri and Prince Jussupoff. On the next page are the Maharaja of India, the French ambassador to Germany, Pierre de Margérie, the Crown Prince of Italy, Umberto of Piedmont, King Amanullah of Afghanistan, the German ambassador to England, Friedrich Sthamer, French intellectual, Paul Valéry, Philadelphia mayor, W. Freeland Kendrick, Count Pepito di Albertini, Josephine Baker's manager and Italian aristocrat (a foot in both worlds, as it were!), and Count Julius von Zech-Burckersoda, the German envoy to the Hague.



<sup>136</sup> Figure 8: Eelking, *Der Modediktator*, 1:2, 8-9, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

(Figure 8: Fashionable Dignitaries Collage)

Once again, Eelking and his editorial staff were illustrating to their readership how modern, elegant men could adapt contemporary trends to fit their individual styles, rather than attempting to wear a style that did not fit them, simply for the sake of staying *au courant*. All of these aforementioned men were not only fashionable contemporaries of Eelking, but they were also successful professionals in their respective fields, and active in high society. Though business success may appear at first glance unrelated to a man's style or fashionability, the ability to successfully navigate the decisions that come with politics and business can be reflected in a man's ability to dress himself with taste and elegance. Or so it seems Eelking would argue. Though there was not an associated article with this centerfold, Eelking's short descriptions of each snapshot, highlight the man, his position in or contribution to society, and, of course, his choice in clothing. Eelking also seems to be saying that men should dress in a manner befitting man of their stature and success.

A rather glamorous full-page photograph of the French movie star, Adolphe Menjou, opens the summer issue for 1928, (see Figure 9).<sup>137</sup> The first photo collage accompanies Eelking's article, "The Gray Cylinder," which details the ubiquity and elegance of the (British) gray top hat perched atop the heads of British society, particularly at the races, (see Figure 10).<sup>138</sup> To support his discussion, Eelking surrounded his article with snapshots of men wearing gray top hats. Included in these gentlemen were Count Arnim, the president of the Union Club, and the German actor, Leopold von Ledebur. Also included is an aerial snapshot of the crowd at the Royal Ascot, where

---

<sup>137</sup> Figure 9: Eelking, "Adolphe Menjou: der elegante französische Filmschauspieler, der nicht nur auf der Leinwand, sondern auch im Leben einen neuen Typ des Herrn geschaffen," *Der Modediktator*, 1:3, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>138</sup> Figure 10: Eelking, "Der graue Zylinder," *Der Modediktator*, 1:3, 14, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

the gray top hat was not only overwhelmingly popular, but also highlights the British monarch, King George V, who was also wearing the highlighted article of clothing. This article effectively demonstrates the kinds “success” that Eelking considered to be the mark of men of taste. As mentioned previously, the image of masculinity that Eelking broadcasts is a white-collar version of modern manhood. This white-collar, however, could be worn by celebrities who had won their success on the silver screen, as giants of industry, or through their political service.



(Figure 9: Adolphe Menjou)

**DER GRAUE ZYLINDER**

*Kaiserwachtel:  
Auf dem Dach der Clock, für die Paar-  
schlacht bereit, gehen in England die  
großen Zylinder hater zuhause*

*Graf Armin, der Präsident der  
Kaiserwachtel, ist einer der ganz  
wenigen Herren, die in der höchsten  
Reihe sind und die diesen Namen des  
großen Zylinder tragen*



*Der große Zylinder  
ist in London etwas  
so Abstrus, daß  
er hier mit einer  
anderen Art Begrif-  
fung des Lebens  
vertrifft*

# Der graue Zylinder

Wie den Engländer ist der große Zylinder auch heute noch die Uniform des grauen Mannes. Was während der Royal Ascot Races sich einmal die Mähe machen würde, das Verhältnis des schwarzen Zylinderhutes gegenüber dem grauen zahnlosmäßig festzustellen, das würde ganz entschieden ein erhebliches Plus zugunsten des hohen grauen Hutes herausrechnen. Zwar ist höher der Prinz von Wales kann mit ihm gesehen werden. Dafür genügt es aber sein jüngerer Bruder, Prinz Henry, und Prinz Arthur von Connaught ließ sich sogar bei dem letzten Ascotrennen zusammen mit einer stattlichen Anzahl von Mitgliedern der englischen Aristokratie in einem beigefarbenen Zylinder bewandern. Auch König Georg plädiert stets für die Aufrechterhaltung dieser Tradition, und während im allgemeinen der große Zylinder mit einem schmalen schwarzen Band getragen wird, trägt er meistens hier sogar ein kaum abweichendes helles Band vor (siehe untenstehende Abbildung). Verschiedlich unterscheiden sie sich dabei auch für den grauen Gebrauch, der in dieser Zusammenstellung auch von anderen Herren der älteren Generation beibehalten ist, immer durch die weiße Gamasche gebunden. Natürlich findet sich der große Zylinder aber auch mit dem schwarzen Gut ab, ja diese Verbindung ist heute unbestritten die Regel. Von der Kravatte aber verlangt er — eine modische Laune, die morgen genau so gut in die Gegenteil umschlagen kann — daß sie sich als Langbänder mit dem Unterkragen oder als Plastron mit dem Eckkragen präsentiert.



*Der große Zylinder wird heute von der  
älteren Generation ausschließlich in Ver-  
bindung mit dem Gut getragen*

*Die Modisten von London trägt den  
großen (Gebrauch von grauen Zylinder*

*Die grauen Zylinder haben die Majorität (in König Court)*

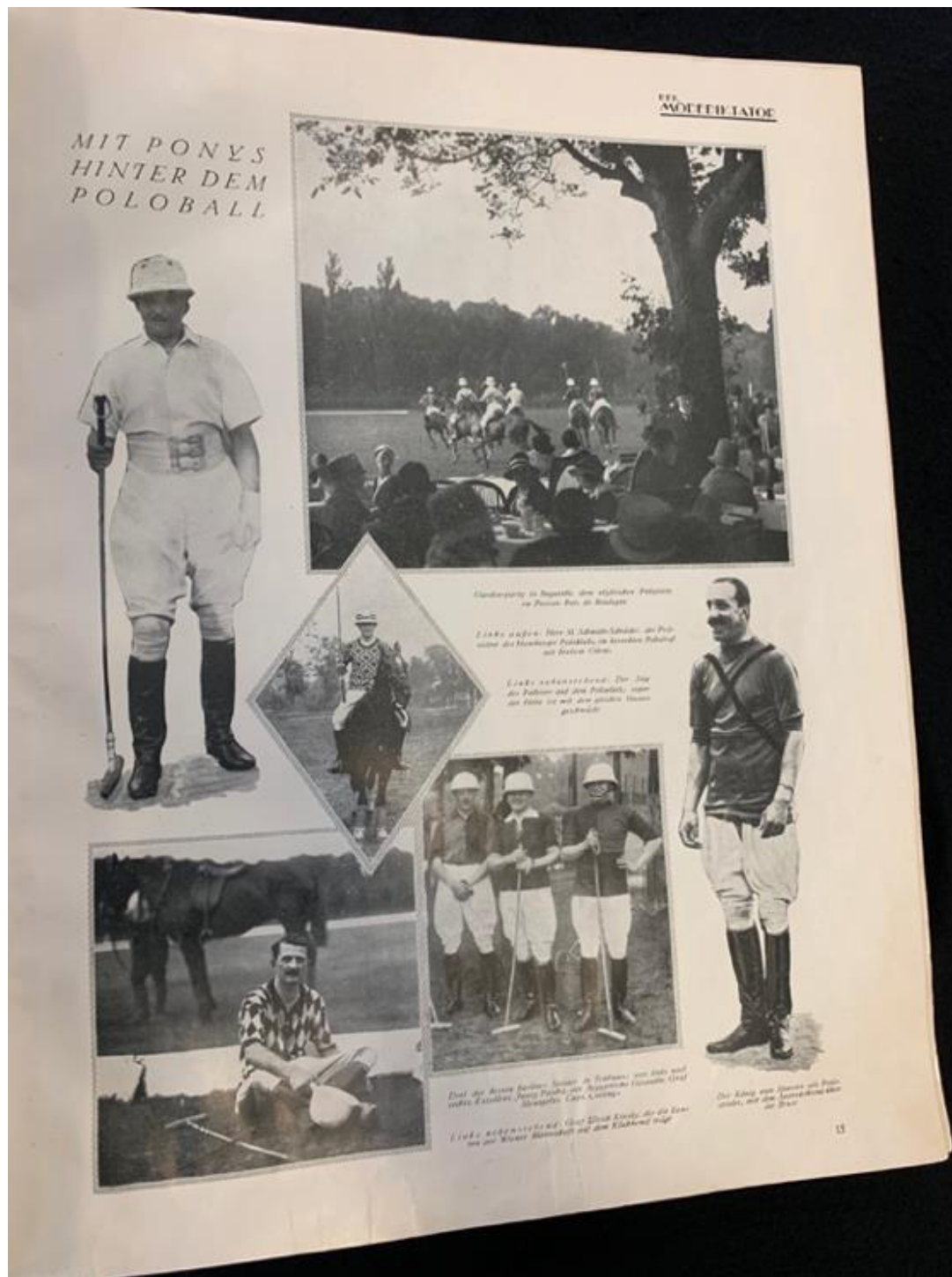
(Figure 10: The Gray Cylinder)

Following the article on the fashion of top hat-wearing spectators, Eelking draws his readers to the athletic elegance of the sportsmen themselves in a photo spread on polo. This equestrian sport also dominated the social season, and Eelking describes how the men in the photographs are correctly dressed in their polo uniforms, (see Figure 11).<sup>139</sup> Included in this spread are the King of Spain, Alfonso XIII, President of the Hamburg Polo Club, M. Schmidt-Schröder, several members of high society, Count Montgelas, Count Ulrich Kinsky, and Captain Collings, along with the Egyptian envoy, Jusry Pasha. Under Eelking's keen editorial eye, these men appear as specimens of athletic elegance in their polo uniforms, a replacement, perhaps, for the déclassé physical exhaustion of more common sports champions?<sup>140</sup>

---

<sup>139</sup> Figure 10: Eelking, "Mit Ponys Hinter Dem Poloball," *Der Modediktator*, 1:3, 15, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>140</sup> Jon Hughes, *Max Schmeling and the Making of a National Hero in Twentieth-Century Germany*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 69.



(Figure 11: With Ponies after the Polo Ball)

The variety of countries and cultures represented by the individuals in Eelking’s spreads is quite impressive. I would argue that the quantity and cosmopolitan internationalism of featured

celebrities is reflective of Eelking's desire to reintegrate German men to the world stage.<sup>141</sup> These short articles demonstrated a number of key points to the readers of *The Fashion Dictator*. First, these articles discuss appropriate clothing for key events of the social season. Next, they also reified the importance of being elegantly and correctly dressed for any occasion—as was Eelking's promise to his readers in his introduction to *The Fashion Dictator*. Finally, the photographs in these articles illustrate Eelking's commitment to highlighting men from modern, international societies. The number of men featured from the United States, France, Italy, Spain, and especially Great Britain, in these articles reinforces the significance of cultural exchange throughout western political culture at this moment in the twentieth century.

In both the fall issue for 1928 and the spring issue for 1930, Eelking selected photographs of the Prince of Wales as the full-page image on the title page, (refer again to Figure 1, and see Figure 12).<sup>142</sup> In both of these images, Edward, Prince of Wales is pictured on his way to the races and attending the Royal Ascot. As an attendee of these relatively elite social affairs, the Prince of Wales is dressed in a top hat, tailcoat, solid trousers, and in one image—an overcoat. Both of these pictures of the future king emphasize his impeccable style and the significance of the social season. Do they, however, also emphasize the style and significance of Britain's constitutional monarchy, by association? The proliferation of articles and photographs featuring the British aristocracy, particularly the Prince of Wales, comes across as overwhelmingly Anglophilic.

---

<sup>141</sup> Robert Gerwarth, *The Vanquished: Why The First World War Failed to End*, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2016). Robert O. Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism*, (New York: Random House, 2004).

<sup>142</sup> Again, see Figure 1: Eelking, "Der Prinz von Wales im Paddock von Ascot," *Der Modediktator*, 1:4, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Figure 12: Eelking, "Der Prinz von Wales begibt sich zum Rennen," *Der Modediktator*, 3:2, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

# Der Modediktator

DAS BLATT DES ELEGANTEN HERRN

Nr. 2-3. Jahrgang

Herausgeber: Baron von Felking  
Verlag: L. Schottlander & Co. G.m.b.H., Berlin SW 19, Kraussstr. 33/36

März 1930



Photo: Epstein

Der Prinz von Wales begibt sich zum Rennen

Während bei uns die Begleiter im allgemeinen nicht in der Spitzenmode reisen, hat man in England, aus dem Lande der elegantesten Herrenmode, die die Spitze nicht nur zum Begleiter, sondern auch zum Vorbildung bei gewissen Anlässen sogar für einen Anführer

„Der Modediktator“ bringt die großen Richtlinien der Weltmode, aufgestellt vom Zentralamt für Herrenmode“

(Figure 12: The Prince of Wales Goes to the Races)

In the same issue from 1928, Eelking and his editorial team included a brief article on the fashionable applications of the umbrella. In “The Umbrella Made from Exotic Canes” Eelking reproached his German countrymen for not including the umbrella in their ensembles, (see Figure 13).<sup>143</sup> Not only was the umbrella a practical component of one’s wardrobe, a precaution against inclement weather, but, Eelking argued, it could be used to further accentuate any elegant man’s ensemble. Umbrellas with handles made from exotic woods, such as Javanese timber, sugar cane, or bamboo could add an understated, modern elegance to any ensemble.<sup>144</sup> In this article, Eelking resolutely admonishes his countrymen for their inability to adapt modern fashions until after they have been modeled on the international stage: “[it is] shameful, however, that foreign countries always have to be quoted before a fashion is really sanctioned in our country. The umbrella debate is not at all a matter of fashion, but only of practical considerations, which nobody can ignore.”<sup>145</sup> And, to reinforce this point, Eelking included a snapshot of King George V of England carrying an elegant umbrella.<sup>146</sup>

---

<sup>143</sup> Figure 13: Eelking, “Der Schirm aus exotischem Rohr,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:4, 30, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>144</sup> “Auch das Material ordnet sich dem praktischen Moment heute mehr unter. Es macht sich nicht gut, bei Regenschauern mit leuchtenden Elfenbeinkrücken oder Goldkugeln zu paradieren. Alles Auffallenden muß gerade hier besonders vermieden werden. So zeigen denn die Schirme heute fast ausschließlich Griffe aus den Rohren der javanischen Tropen, Griffe aus Bambus oder Zuckerrohr, aus Manns oder Jambir und wohl auch einmal aus Ginster,” Eelking, “Der Schirm aus exotischem Rohr,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:4, 30, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>145</sup> “Beschämend nur, daß immer erst das Ausland zitiert werden muß, bis eine Mode wirklich bei uns sanktioniert ist. Dabei handelt es sich bei der Schirmdebatte zunächst einmal gar nicht um eine Modesache, sondern lediglich um rein praktische Erwägungen, denen sich eigentlich niemand verschließen kann.” Eelking, “Der Schirm aus exotischem Rohr,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:4, 30, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>146</sup> Eelking, “Der Schirm aus exotischem Rohr,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:4, 30, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.



This article, as well as its associated imagery, illustrate how Eelking consistently compared German men and their fashion to their international counterparts. Though the German men included in *The Fashion Dictator* could hardly be called unfashionable, Eelking, nevertheless, calls his countrymen's attention to the most recent trends in menswear *outside* Germany's borders, lest they fall behind on the world stage. This article also demonstrates how those individuals that Eelking selected as his points of comparison repeatedly came from the international arena, an interesting point of departure from the growing nationalist clamor of Weimar politics. By referencing these individuals to reinforce his idea of elegant, modern masculinity, Eelking also reinforced the concept of Germans, and quite frankly, Germany resuming its previous position of prestige on the world stage.

In the issues of *The Fashion Dictator* for 1929, Eelking and his team continued to incorporate photo collages and articles that featured celebrities and politicians from different countries. In the winter issue of 1929, the rather expansive article "From the Tailcoat Sphere," included several pages of illustrations and photographs that demonstrated to readers how to adapt the tailcoat to suit their individuality and the changing seasons, (see Figures 14a-c).<sup>147</sup> Over the course of this article there were several examples of men from different nations, successfully (according to Eelking's standards) adapting the tailcoat for their respective occasions. The editors brought in photographs of several international movie stars, including Adolphe Menjou, Alexander Sasha, Werner Fuetterer, Ernst Hofmann, Iwan Petrowich, Peter Voss, and Oscar Marion. Also featured were renowned vocalists, Hans Fidesser, Leo Schützendorf, and Walter Jankuhn. And of course, for the aristocratic touch, the Duke of York. This variety of celebrities not only

---

<sup>147</sup> Figure 14; a-c: Eelking, "Aus der Fracksphäre," *Der Modediktator*, 2:1, 4-11, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

demonstrated a diverse array of tailcoat ensembles, but also reinforced Eelking's claim that German men should follow the examples set forth by internationally renowned celebrities and not be left behind in their inelegant reluctance to follow suit. Again, Eelking's call to modern fashions resonates politically—were his celebrity examples also modeling the success and modernity of self-determinative, cosmopolitan elites?



(Figure 14a: From the Tails-Sphere)



(Figure 14b: From the Tails-Sphere)



(Figure 14c: From the Tails-Sphere)

Each of the men in the following photo collage were pictured in elegant suits, as exemplars of modern political acumen and elegant masculinity. The spring issue of 1929 featured a photo collage that illustrated to readers professional modern elegance. The first of these collages, “The Gentleman’s Portrait from the Perspective of Fashion” analyzed the professional portraits of distinguished, political men, (see Figure 15).<sup>148</sup> Included in this selection of photographs were portraits of the British ambassador, Sir Horace Rumbold, and the American Ambassador, Jacob Gould Shurman. From the continent there was the Italian Ambassador, Count Luigi Aldrovandi Marescotti, as well as the Italian press attaché, Marchesi Dr. F. Antinori, immediately followed by the French Ambassador, Pierre de Margérie, and the Dutch Ambassador, Count Johan Paul van Limburg Stirum. Noteworthy Germans in this collage included the Reich Minister of Food and Agriculture, Dr. Heinrich Haslindé, the famous German inventor, Dr. Anton Flettner, German Reich Minister Schreiber, and the former German Ambassador to Japan, Dr. Wilhelm Solf. The

<sup>148</sup> Figure 15: Eelking, “Das Herrenporträt vom modischen Standpunkt,” *Der Modediktator*, 2:2, 14-15, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

gravitas of these portraits illustrates the success of each of these men, and their elegant, suits indicate their command over their faculties, both professionally and fashionably.



(Figure 15: The Gentleman's Portrait from the Fashionable Perspective)

Whereas the first photo collage from Spring 1929 reinforced the notion of white-collar, political masculinity, the following photo collage titled, "Sport and Fashion," featured elegant, athletic amateur sportsmen. This collage includes pictures of several men in fashionable clothing for a variety of popular recreational activities, (see Figure 16).<sup>149</sup> Several Germans illustrating the most modern attire for golf, shooting, tennis, and riding were tournament rider Major Lotz, publisher Erich Greiffenhagen, and actor Werner Fütterer. On the Italian side there was actor Angelo Ferrari and tennis champion Uberto de Morpurgo. Other athletic celebrities included Austrian actor André Mattoni, King Boris of Bulgaria, and Scottish amateur golf champion Thomas Arthur "Tony" Torrance. In his brief descriptions of each photograph, Eelking praises the

<sup>149</sup> Figure 16: Eelking, "Sport und Mode," *Der Modediktator*, 2:2, 28-29, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

athleticism and style of these individuals. Those men pictured in action, were the paradigm of focus and dedication, and those captured at rest illustrate the physical benefits of athletic activity with their toned physiques. Whether posing with their accoutrement or vigorously playing their respective sports, each of these men represented the standard of elegance—an elegance that was relentlessly portrayed as an increasingly important component of modern masculinity.



(Figure 16: Sport and Fashion)

The fall issue for 1929 also had two photo collages that celebrated the modernity and cosmopolitanism of international celebrities. The first of these articles, “The Suit of Character,” illustrated how men’s fashion could be altered simply to stay abreast of the current trends (a rather stark contrast to women’s *haute couture*), (see Figure 17).<sup>150</sup> To highlight this fashionable point Eelking included photographs of the Duke of York, the Duke of Kent, and several esteemed (and

<sup>150</sup> Figure 17: Eelking, “Der Anzug von Charakter: Die neue Mode liegt mehr im Stoff aus im Schnitt—Muster und Farbe daher diesmal besonders wichtig—Aber auch dem Revers kommt große Bedeutung zu—Am konservativsten ist die zweireihige Front—Dennoch gibt es hier viele Irrungen,” *Der Modediktator*, 2:4, 6-7, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

well-dressed) politicians of the time. Throughout the article Eelking praised these men for their ability to adapt their suits to the dominant style with double-breasted jackets and their choices of appropriate colors and fabrics. Though focused on fashion and style, these compliments seem to implicate that if men on the international stage were staying abreast of current trends, then they were certainly aware of current (political) events.



(Figure 17: The Suit of Character)

The second photo article from this issue focused on the elegance of stately celebrities, (see Figure 18).<sup>151</sup> In “From Our Fashion Archive” Eelking praised the diversity of styles present in the debonair men from the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and France. In his brief descriptions underneath the cacophony of snapshots, Eelking lauded the variety of suit jackets present between the Mayor of New York, Jimmy Walker, and the Governor of New York, A.E. Smith.<sup>152</sup> He even

<sup>151</sup> Figure 18: Eelking, “Aus unserem Modearchiv,” *Der Modediktator*, 2:4, 12-13, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>152</sup> “Bürgermeister Walker von New York mit dem Gouverneur A.E. Smith bei einer Polizei-Parade. Beide Herren tragen hier interessante Kleidungsstücke. Mister Walker eine Art Rockpaletot mit langen

went on to compliment the wedding suit of European middleweight champion, Marcel Thil, and the ensemble of French writer, Maurice Dekobra.<sup>153</sup> If distinguished men, such as those pictured, could be elegantly dressed and in line with the current trends, all while maintaining their professional success, then why couldn't ordinary German men?



(Figure 18: From our Fashion Archive)

Together, these two photo articles continued to emphasize Eelking's use of international celebrities to illustrate contemporary elegant fashions to German readers. Both of these articles

---

Seidenspiegeln und Samtkragen, bei dem außerdem die senkrechten Taschen auffallen. Mister Smith zeigt sich hier in einem Cut, wie man ihn kaum bisher gesehen, nämlich mit Schalkragen. Ein typisches Beispiel wie verschieden die Mode sein kann. Zwei prominente Amerikaner, beide im Cut, jedoch mit den verschiedenartigsten Revers, die sich denken lassen," Eelking, "Aus unserem Modearchiv," *Der Modediktator*, 2:4, 12-13, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>153</sup> "Der berühmte französische Schriftsteller Maurice Dekobra richtete sich sein Pariser Heim wie die Kabinen einer Luxusjacht ein. Seine Bar, die einen Steuerraum darstellen soll, ist bei seinen Freunden unter dem Namen "La gondola aux chimères" dem Titel eines seiner Romane bekannt....In Paris nimmt man es mit dem Hochzeitzeremoniell nicht so genau. Während man bei uns einzig und allein zwischen Frack und Cut schwankt, läßt man sich in Paris, wie die Abbildung von der Trauung des Champions im Europa Mittelgewicht zeigt, sogar im Smoking mit Melone trauen," Eelking, "Aus unserem Modearchiv," *Der Modediktator*, 2:4, 12-13, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

also reinforced the importance of keeping up with other world powers during the interwar years. By voicing his concerns of Germans falling behind their western European peers in the realm of *haute couture*, Eelking seemed to be saying that by extension, Germany was also falling behind geopolitically. Furthermore, it seems that Eelking was also trying to reinforce the notion of self-determination—not only in regard to adapting *haute couture* to fit men's personal tastes and positions, but also in regard to cosmopolitan influence.

Throughout the issues of *The Fashion Dictator*, Eelking clearly directed the tone of his magazine. His editorial curation can be seen through the selection and repetition of featured celebrities, and how artists captured the essence of the season's clothing. This same pattern emerges in his celebrity photographs—regardless of whether Eelking purposely chose to emphasize individuals from different countries, particularly through his repeated inclusion of individuals from Great Britain, the United States, and other western countries reified the significance of self-determination with his vision of cosmopolitan, masculine elegance.

Altogether, these images seem to convey a particular message that span across the issues of *The Fashion Dictator*. Through the repeated use of photographs of elegant celebrities from various countries, Eelking's publication appears as a commentary against middle-class nationalist tendencies in Germany. These photographs also suggests that elegant, modern men were consuming more than one product at a time: not only were readers consuming the latest styles, but they were also simultaneously consuming the associated message, which in this case appeared to be a certain promotion of cosmopolitanism. The associations created through these repeated uses of international celebrities in *The Fashion Dictator* was the connection between elegance, modernity, masculinity, and cosmopolitanism. This connection was created through the frequent

photographs of American and British celebrities, who not only represent fame and style, but their international self-determinism, as well.

Eelking's editorial direction can also be seen through how a concise image of modern masculinity was presented to the audience. The men presented as specimens of modern masculinity seemed to embody a combination of good taste and excellent manners, which can be described as elegant, as well as an appreciation for physical fitness and (some) athletic skill. To round out these characteristics many, if not most, of the icons (both photographed and drawn) illustrate the lifestyle and opportunities available to those with money. Whether those financial means came from success in business or politics, international celebrity and fame, or even the inherited wealth of aristocrats, it did not matter. The significance of economic independence is displayed through the sheer volume of options from which men of taste were expected to choose, the opulence of the clothing and activities featured, and the celebrities featured within the pages of this magazine. In Eelking's eyes and editorial direct, a modern man was a cosmopolitan, elegant individual, ready to take his place in the world.

This connection between modernity, masculinity, and internationalism in Eelking's publication presented a vague message of positive associations between cosmopolitanism and—a topic crucial for German political culture in the 1920s and '30s—self-determination. This self-determination on the international stage manifested not just in but through "elegance." This vagueness, however, is an important element. *The Fashion Dictator* was not a political periodical; it was marketed at white-collar, economically independent men of taste as a leisure and lifestyle magazine. Overt, politics, or politicized defenses or condemnations of the new republic, had no place in Eelking's publication. This magazine was a medium that valued menswear and manners over the ongoing political concerns of the day; it heralded a (privileged) position of personal

disengagement from politics. If men wanted to read about politics and high society they could go to weekly magazines or the newspaper, not *The Fashion Dictator*.

*The Fashion Dictator* therefore linked modern, elegant masculinity with self-determination, albeit subtly. Of course, while other contemporaneous expressions of self-determination were expressed through the vociferous denunciations of the Versailles Treaty--denunciations which became particularly vicious among the parties of the political right—and, moreover, even in the uniformed marching of the Stahlhelm and the small but growing National Socialist movement. Self-determination, clearly, could be invoked by various groups in profoundly different ways, as these groups attempted to offer "solutions" to Germany's problems.

Eelking used his magazine to show his countrymen how to reclaim their masculinity through dressing elegantly, modernly, and correctly. By following, and then, surpassing the examples established by their international competition within the realm of modern elegance and *haute couture*, German men could effectively illustrate how the Weimar Republic had moved on from its imperial past, into a future of cosmopolitan self-determination.



### Chapter III

#### ***Männerbünde of Men's Magazines: Homosociality and Homosexual Aesthetics in The Fashion Dictator***

The world of the Weimar Republic was a world in flux. Following the loss and devastation of the First World War, a revolution (or two), and a new constitution and government, most aspects of German society and culture underwent significant change.<sup>154</sup> Despite all of the social upheaval and cultural turmoil of these years, one cultural focus took on new salience: a concentration on men's comportment and relationships with each other. Male bonds took on an even greater political salience across the political spectrum. Curiously, these bonds became a topic of particular focus in Hermann-Marten von Eelking's magazine. *The Fashion Dictator* was fertile ground for a modern reimagining of cosmopolitan masculinities. The vibrant, homosocial illustrations that peppered the pages of *The Fashion Dictator* reflected both the artistic trends from the contemporary Avant-Garde movement, as well as the rapidly changing dynamics in the glittering nights of the late-1920s.<sup>155</sup>

Homosociality appeared in different contexts, from a social practice, a source of social anxiety, and a topic of discourse, across late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Germany. Throughout the Wilhelmine era, homosocial male relationships were often discussed and understood within a military frame of reference, lauded by many as the foundation for a strong

---

<sup>154</sup> Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 1-5.

<sup>155</sup> Klaus Kreimeier, *The Ufa Story: A History of Germany's Greatest Film Company, 1918-1945*, Robert and Rita Kimber, trans., (New York: Hill & Wang, 1996). *The Many Faces of Weimar Cinema: Rediscovering Germany's Filmic Legacy*, Christian Rogowski, ed., (Rochester, NY: Camden House Publishing, 2010). Susan Laikin Funkenstein, "A Man's Place in a Woman's World: Otto Dix, Social Dancing, and Constructions of Masculinity in Weimar Germany," *Women in German Yearbook*, 21 (2005): 163-191. Gay, *Weimar Culture*. Marhoefer, *Sex and the Weimar Republic*, 19-20. *Women in the Metropolis*. Peter Jelavich, *Berlin Cabaret*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993). See also the provocative Mel Gordon, *Voluptuous Panic: The Erotic World of Weimar Berlin*, 2000 (Berkeley: Feral House, 2008).

army, and by extension, a strong nation.<sup>156</sup> Yet it was also a topic of crisis: the Eulenberg Scandal, where journalist Maximilian Harden accused several prominent members of Kaiser Wilhelm II's court of homosexual conduct. The resulting trials embroiled homosociality in criticisms of homosexuality and saw the rise of bourgeois homophobia. Considered by some as the German equivalent of the Dreyfus Affair (the explosive scandal regarding antisemitism that rocked French political and social institutions in the 1890s), the Eulenberg Scandal of the first decade of the twentieth century allowed critics within German politics to use sexual morality as a weapon in a number of contentious issues, whether the growing tensions in Germany's international relationships, the Prussian cultural and militaristic foundation of the Wilhelmine Empire, or the deeper dissatisfactions of a rising bourgeoisie in a monarchical system.<sup>157</sup> In the scandal, the effeminacy and homosexuality reported to pervade the Kaiser's inner circle made the renowned Prussian militarism—and by association, that Prussian version of masculinity itself—the butt of jokes, the opportunity for slander, and the tool for serious criticisms both inside and outside of Imperial Germany. As a result of this public pressure, scholars such as Claudia Bruns have argued that the political debates between belligerent warmongers and aggressive hardliners “remasculinized” German political culture.<sup>158</sup>

---

<sup>156</sup> Bruns, “The Politics of Masculinity in the (Homo-) Sexual Discourse,” 307. Prickett, “The Soldier Figure,” 68.

<sup>157</sup> Bruns, “Masculinity, Sexuality, and the German Nation,” 120. Domeier, “The Homosexual Scare and the Masculinization of German Politics before World War I,” 739. Fout, “Sexual Politics in Wilhelmine Germany,” 394. Mosse, George. *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe*. (New York: Howard Fertig, Inc., 1985). Thomas Kühne, “Comradeship: Gender Confusion and the Gender Order in the German Military, 1918-1945,” in *Home/Front: The Military, War and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 233-254, 235. Crouthamel, *An Intimate History of the Front*, 19-22. Paul Higate, *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State*, (Westport: Praeger, 2003), 1-2. Eric J. Heed, *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War I*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). Domeier, “The Homosexual Scare and the Masculinization of German Politics before World War I,” 738

<sup>158</sup> Bruns, “Masculinity, Sexuality, and the German Nation,” 119-141, 134.

The cultural and social significance of strong emotional and physical bonds between men, moreover, was reified in World War I through discourse surrounding the comradeship of the trenches (*Frontgemeinschaft*). Forced to fight and (if lucky) survive, men facing the onslaught of modern trench warfare, with all its horrors, found that their shared experiences bound them together in ways that no other close, interpersonal relationship could approximate.<sup>159</sup> Many men also recognized how to fulfill the needs, both emotional, psychological, and physical, of their comrades by taking on responsibilities and acting in ways that were not considered “normal” masculine behavior according to the standards of the day.<sup>160</sup> Many coping mechanisms that soldiers used to survive, as Jason Crouthamel argues, simultaneously restored the reputation of comradeship, but also made visible the latent homoeroticism of the shared experiences at the front to much larger segments of the population of German men.<sup>161</sup>

Around the same time, the success of the hiking and nature movement (*Wandervogel*) also placed a certain significance onto strong emotional and physical male bonds, which ensured that masculinity (and the relationship between men) maintained a position of cultural ferment.<sup>162</sup> Though this movement had been an ongoing social project since the turn of the twentieth century, the escape to the healing essence of nature (with other men), and thereby the opportunity to leave the mechanistic, modernized atmosphere of urban life, had a newfound enticement to many men after World War I.<sup>163</sup> Furthermore, on their own in nature, men also had the opportunity to

---

<sup>159</sup> Kühne, “Comradeship,” 233-254, 250.

<sup>160</sup> Crouthamel, *An Intimate History of the Front*, 170.

<sup>161</sup> Higate, *Military Masculinities*, 2. Crouthamel, *An Intimate History of the Front*, 169-171.

<sup>162</sup> Crouthamel, “Homosexuality and Comradeship,” 422. Crouthamel, *An Intimate History of the Front*, 34. Claudia Bruns, “The Politics of Eros,” 9. Elizabeth Heinemann, “Gender Identity in the *Wandervogel* Movement,” *German Studies Review*, 5:1, (1989): 249-270, 264.

<sup>163</sup> *Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany: The Youth Movement, The Gay Movement, and Male Bonding before Hitler’s Rise*, Harry Oosterhuis ed., Hubert Kennedy trans., (New York: Haworth Press, Inc., 1991). Heinemann, “Gender Identity in the *Wandervogel* Movement,” 253

reconnect with themselves, as well as their fellow campers. Participants also had the ability to reconstruct their ideas regarding their own masculinity as they retreated from “artificial” norms and expectations and predatory figures in modern, bourgeois society, and retreated to the “real” within nature.<sup>164</sup>

The subsequent crises and transformations following the destruction of the First World War, also simultaneously reinforced and challenged the notion of male homosociality, particularly as it was seen through the lens of (frequently, but not always) homoerotic male societies or organizations (*Männerbünde*). These male organizations were contemporaneously lauded as a respite where men could seek to better understand themselves, foster emotional intimacy between each other, and re-masculinize themselves in the wake of the war.<sup>165</sup> Although the Prussian, militaristic foundation for German masculinity had been thoroughly undermined by the destruction, physically and psychologically, of modern trench warfare, men were looking for new cultural and social frameworks to define themselves and their notions of masculinity.<sup>166</sup> Some men turned to veterans associations and *Freikorps* groups that heralded militaristic masculinity and damned the Treaty of Versailles alongside the new republican government.<sup>167</sup> Many of these groups, particularly the paramilitary *Freikorps*, simultaneously rebuked the authority of the newly

---

<sup>164</sup> Michael Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History, 1890-1930*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

<sup>165</sup> “The war had made the different realms of experience for the sexes clearer than ever and had given new energy to the fantasies of a heroic, soldierly masculinity. The war was supposed to have “brought the masculine principle back to the forefront,” according to Alfred Korn in 1917...Precisely because the actual experiences of men were anything but glorious and heroic, military defeat, disappointment, physical and psychological humiliation were considered to be female or even feminizing experiences by many men. A more fundamental *remasculinization* was demanded that associated itself with concepts of (past) national greatness.” Bruns, “The Politics of Eros,” 1, 9-10. Robert Beachy, *Gay Berlin*, (New York: Penguin Random House, 2014).

<sup>166</sup> Feltman, *The Stigma of Surrender*, 194-196. April Trask, “Remaking Men: Masculinity, Homosexuality and Constitutional Medicine in Germany, 1914-1933,” *German History*, 36:2 (2018): 181-206, 182. Bjorn Werner Freitag, *Defeated Heroes: Constructions of Masculinity in Weimar Republic Battlefield Novels*, (Austin, TX: University of Texas, 2006). Zwicker, *Dueling Students*.

<sup>167</sup> Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, 73. Gerwarth, *The Vanquished*, 257-260.

established government of the Weimar Republic, and offered men who were broken and bruised antagonists of the First World War a reprieve from the return to civilian life in a re-militarized (and homosocial) clan. Others returned to hiking and nature clubs, characteristic of the *Wandervogel* movement to retreat from the demands of modern, urban life.<sup>168</sup> Both types of these organizations prioritized close male relationships and valorized male bonds. Ultimately, the psychological and social scars left from the First World War reinforced the need for close male relationships, as the ones seen in *Männerbünde*, and whispers of homosexuality no longer had quite the same effect as they had before the war.

This crisis regarding the need for homosocial male spaces coincided with the rising visibility and outspoken proponents of rights for sexual minorities in the Weimar Republic. Gay men, having fought with valor in the trenches could no longer as easily be maligned as effeminate or unpatriotic.<sup>169</sup> These individuals challenged previous notions regarding the masculinity of homosexual men.<sup>170</sup> While earlier proponents of gay and non-heterosexual identities had long been calling for the abolition of Paragraph 175, after the 1918 revolution, the republican government

---

<sup>168</sup> Heinemann, "Gender Identity in the Wandervogel Movement," 249.

<sup>169</sup> "They had made sacrifices for the war, like everyone else; now they were ready to insist that they be recognized as "upright people" who were "equal with others." Adolf Brand and other writers for *The Special One* naturally saw the war as confirming the virile nature of the homosexual "men's hero" discussed by Hans Blüher in his works. Even Hirschfeld, however, despite his pacifist sympathies, felt that homosexual men had proven themselves "particularly suited to enduring the strain of modern war," as Jason Crouthamel notes. Because they were used to suppressing their love for other men, they were supposedly prepared emotionally to work through the trauma of loss," Whisnant, *Queer Identities and Politics in Germany*, 166. Glenn Ramsey, "The Rites of Artgenossen: Contesting Homosexual Political Culture in Weimar Germany," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 17:1 (2008): 85-109, 90. Robert D. Tobin, "Twins! Homosexuality and Masculinity in Nineteenth Century Germany," *Masculinity, Senses, Spirit*, Katherine M. Faull, ed. (Bucknell University Press, 2011), 1-16, 9. The rise of the New Woman and women's presence in nontraditional roles also played a part in this reconstruction of masculine identity, which can be seen in, *Women in the Metropolis*.

<sup>170</sup> Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality*, 18. Robert Beachy, "The German Invention of Homosexuality," *The Journal of Modern History*, 82:4 (2010): 801-838. Edward Ross Dickinson, "Complexity, Contingency, and Coherence in the History of Sexuality in Modern Germany: Some Theoretical and Interpretive Reflections." *Central European History*. 49 (2016): 93-116. Edward Ross Dickinson, *Sex, Freedom, and Power in Imperial Germany, 1880-1914*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

repealed or revised much of the legislation surrounding censorship and sex workers.<sup>171</sup> These legislative changes, alongside broader social awareness of these issues, made members of this community of sexual outsiders, particularly gay men, more visible.<sup>172</sup> These changes also coincided with the increase of gay, lesbian, and transvestite night clubs, cabaret performances, social groups, and publications in major metropolitan areas, particularly Berlin and Hamburg.<sup>173</sup>

In short, homosocial and even homosexually-focused spaces were on the rise in the Weimar Republic. With these social transformations in mind, we can return to Eelking's male-centered magazine. Eelking was a distinguished-looking Prussian aristocrat who now made a name for himself during the Weimar Republic as the leading expert on men's fashion through his multitude of publications, in particular, *The Fashion Dictator*.<sup>174</sup> The prevalence of homosocial illustrations, coupled with the frequent appearance of effeminate and languid men in the imagery of *The Fashion Dictator* suggests that while Eelking did not appear to reflect the militarism of his Prussian background, he certainly prioritized homosocial male relationships.<sup>175</sup> Unlike militaristic and even proto-fascist imagery that lauded the hardened homosocial environs of the battle front, *The Fashion Dictator* celebrated male bodies and male bonds in a more cosmopolitan setting that illustrated the beauty, and even vulnerability of male figures. A masculine softness, if you will. These kinds of images were more commonly associated with artists during the Romantic turn, if you will, rather than the interwar hardened manliness.<sup>176</sup>

---

<sup>171</sup> Ina Linge, "Sexology, Popular Science and Queer History in *Anders als die Andern (Different from the Others)*," *Gender & History*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2018), 595-610, 597. Marhoefer, "Degeneration, Sexual Freedom, and the Politics of the Weimar Republic," 532, 538. Whisnant, *Queer Identities and Politics in Germany*, 135-139.

<sup>172</sup> Ramsey, "The Rites of Artgenossen," 86-88.

<sup>173</sup> Sutton, "'We Too Deserve a Place in the Sun'," 339. Gay, *Weimar Culture*, 6, 66, 78.

<sup>174</sup> Sven R. Schneider, "Baron Von Eelking--A Life In Men's Fashion," (2011, February 17).

<sup>175</sup> Schneider, "Baron Von Eelking--A Life In Men's Fashion." Sven R. Schneider, "Herrenjournal—The German Apparel Arts," *Gentlemen's Gazette*, (2011, July 18).

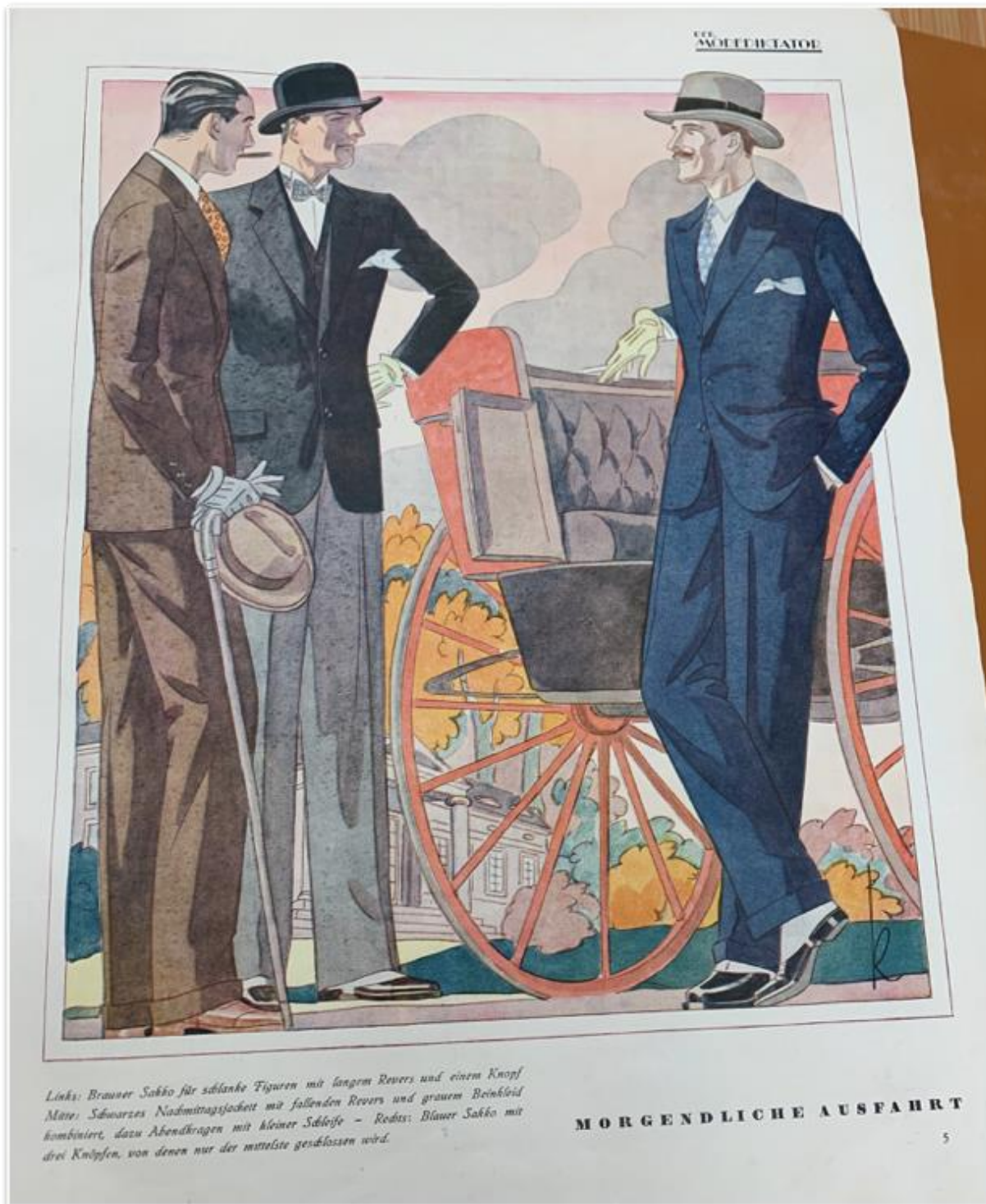
<sup>176</sup> Whisnant, *Queer Identities and Politics in Germany*, 139-144.

As someone who came of age and worked in the cultural milieu that lauded the concept of *Männerbund*, the imagery in Eelking's magazine not only gave preference to male bonds but stylized them in the *haute couture* of the Weimar Republic. To be sure, female figures are featured in *The Fashion Dictator*, but unlike later men's lifestyle and leisure magazines, they are not draped across men in every fashion spread or advertisement in a sexualized manner.<sup>177</sup> When women are featured in photographs, with their fashionable male counterparts, they are fewer in number than men. When women are featured in illustrations, they are in superfluous and tertiary positions within the images, (see Figures 19-22).<sup>178</sup>

---

<sup>177</sup> Tim Pursell, "Queer Eyes and Wagnerian Guys: Homoeroticism in the Art of the Third Reich," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 17:1 (2008): 110-137, 115. Gary Soldow, "Homoeroticism in Advertising: Something for Everyone with Androgyny," *Sex in Consumer Culture: The Erotic Content of Media and Marketing*, Tom Reichert and Jacqueline Lambiase, eds, (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 319-336, 321. Pamela Swett, *Selling under the Swastika: Advertising and Commercial Culture in Nazi Germany*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014), 78-79. Similar to the images Gunther has shown with women's fashion in the Third Reich: Irene Guenther, *Nazi Chic?: Fashioning Women in the Third Reich*, (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2004).

<sup>178</sup> Figure 19: K, "Morgendliche Ausfahrt," *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 5, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Figure 20: K, "Polo in Frohnau," *Der Modediktator*, 1:2, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Figure 21: Rolf Niczky, "An der Grenzstation," *Der Modediktator*, 1:3, 3, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Figure 22: K, "Saisonauftakt," *Der Modediktator*, 1:4, 6, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.



(Figure 19: Morning Drive)

LES MOUTONNETS



**POLO IN FROHNAU**

*Blauer Zweireiter mit heller sichtbarer  
Weise und sehr parallelartig gestellten  
Knöpfen*

*Melangefarbener Zweireiter mit zohler,  
parallel laufender Knopfstellung  
(Modelle Benedict)*

*Seitlich gezierter Zweireiter mit vier  
quadratisch gestellten Knöpfen*

(Figure 20: Polo in Frohnau)



SEE  
MOLLEH-TAIOE

**AN DER GRENZSTATION**

*Apert gestreifter Frisiermantel  
aus rein wollnem Tüffel*

*Eleganter zweiseitiger Pyjama mit Gelbes-Schwarz-rot  
Seidenmantel mit modernen Ornamenten / Modell-Laus*

(Figure 21: At the Border Station)



THE  
WORLD TALES

SAISONAUFTAKT

Links: Abendanzug mit abnehmbaren steigenden Hosen und Strohhut, Alpen  
Mit: Abendanzug mit abnehmbaren steigenden Hosen und Strohhut, Alpen  
Rechts: Abendanzug mit abnehmbaren steigenden Hosen und Strohhut, Alpen

(Figure 22: Season Opener)

As a result of these placements, Eelking's fashion publication emphasized the aesthetic and cultural significance of homophilic imagery through the privileged position of men and male bodies within the images. The Weimar Republic saw an increase in public debates regarding both the homoeroticism and homosexuality, but much of this discourse was centered around the creating respectable display of men and male bodies, as "the emerging paradigm of congenital male homosexuality had to combat longstanding associations between same-sex attraction and what was obliquely referred to as 'the corruption of youth.'"<sup>179</sup> Even as champions of gay rights, particularly Magnus Hirschfeld, were also trying "to shape the emerging paradigm of congenital male homosexuality," to better temper public opinion, others still, wanted "a reminder that *homophile* men were still part of their larger culture, one defined in the first quarter of the twentieth century by an intense German nationalism."<sup>180</sup>

The question of whether *The Fashion Dictator* was a tacit acknowledgement of the increasingly visible gay culture or instead a direct heir (and stylization) of the male-centrism codified in the *Wandervogel*, *Frontgemeinschaft*, and *Freikorps* movements can be addressed through the homosocial images on display. As a fashion magazine, *The Fashion Dictator* offered

---

<sup>179</sup> "Such an understanding of male homosexuality endeavoured to separate same-sex from cross-generational sexual desire and practice – a particularly important move for 'homophilic' sexologists like Magnus Hirschfeld who had a political investment in respectable representations of homosexuality...In their view, homosexuality was not biological, but rather relational. Conflicts regarding the role of age in conceptualizations of male homosexuality demonstrate the importance of attending to both gender *and* age in the history of sexology. Age-related issues fractured *homophilic* communities, especially in Germany, and also led some (but not all) writers and activists to reject science as a political and existential resource. Moreover, assumptions regarding male sexuality clearly entwined with fin-de-siècle fears surrounding youth sexuality to shape the emerging paradigm of congenital male homosexuality." Katie Sutton, Kirsten Leng, "Forum Introduction: Rethinking the Gendered History of Sexology," (John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2019).

<sup>180</sup> "Although the cultural position of [Adolf] Brand's circle differed from [Magnus] Hirschfeld's in that they idolized masculine archetypes rather than androgynous ones, they continued to recognize a clear homoerotic political agenda by championing the healthiness of male emotional attachment." Pursell, "Queer Eyes and Wagnerian Guys," 116.

a specific, focused visual imaginary. Given that the articles, etc. were centered around the modern, physically-fit man, the male body becomes the primary focal point.<sup>181</sup> Overall, *The Fashion Dictator* features men and male bodies as its primary focal point. Now to be sure, as a publication focused on male consumers and a male audience, a certain degree of emphasis on the masculine is expected. *The Fashion Dictator*, however, emphasized this motif to the point of distraction.

Throughout the issues, particularly in fashion spreads, elegantly dressed men enjoy each other's company as they illustrate the latest seasonal trends in *haute couture*. The majority of illustrations in *The Fashion Dictator* were framed in a way that emphasized the homosocial environs. Alongside images of women in superfluous positions, these illustrations and supporting imagery reveal an intriguing ethos within the pages of *The Fashion Dictator*.<sup>182</sup> Was Eelking attempting to engage with gay and queer men as possible consumers, or was this visual atmosphere a *haute couture* reflection of larger homosocial patterns in German society? Equally important, why weren't women advertised as sexualized commodities in a magazine for heterosexual male readers? However, it should be noted that women were not the commodities male readers of *The Fashion Dictator* were seeking to consume—or so it would seem based on the illustrations and articles directed by Eelking. If male readers wanted female-laden imagery (platonic or pornographic) there were plenty of other periodicals from which they could enjoy. I believe Eelking specifically oriented his magazine for the discerning man who was more concerned about achieving the respect, admiration, and attention of his masculine peers—not women. Eelking's magazine was more about passion—and power—than about sex.

---

<sup>181</sup> See the Introduction, Chapters 2 and 4 for further detail on this idealized image of Weimar masculinity.

<sup>182</sup> There are however, a few images featuring role reversal with women in dominant positions and men in yielding ones.

Over the course of its publication, every page of *The Fashion Dictator* is replete with photographs and illustrations. Some of these images highlight the new cut or color that is *en vogue* for the season, while others advertise specific articles of clothing and luxury items, such as cars and vacations. Together, this imagery demonstrates the modernity and elegance of a particular article of clothing or ensemble through the combination of *haute couture*, the repeated use of leisurely settings, and the latest luxury goods. As we look at the artistic renderings and illustrations, bear in mind that photographs with their celebrity focus, are the subject of another chapter.<sup>183</sup> Of the twelve issues of *The Fashion Dictator*, each has a disproportionate number of images that promote a homosocial, and, on occasion, queer, environs.<sup>184</sup> These pictures are discussed in chronological order throughout this analysis, as a shift began to emerge in the illustrated content in 1929 and early 1930—just before Eelking officially transitioned *The Fashion Dictator* into *The Gentleman's Journal*, as we shall see at the end of this discussion.

In the inaugural issue of Eelking's publication, six of the twenty-two illustrations throughout the magazine directly illustrate visions of homosociality (see Figure 23 and refer again

---

<sup>183</sup> The individuals featured in the photographs are fashionably dressed men and women, a mixture of contemporary celebrities (film stars and artists), diplomats and politicians, and socialites. The society spreads of ascots and other sporting events, along with weddings and special occasions simultaneously inform Eelking's audience of the latest gossip, as well as the latest trends.

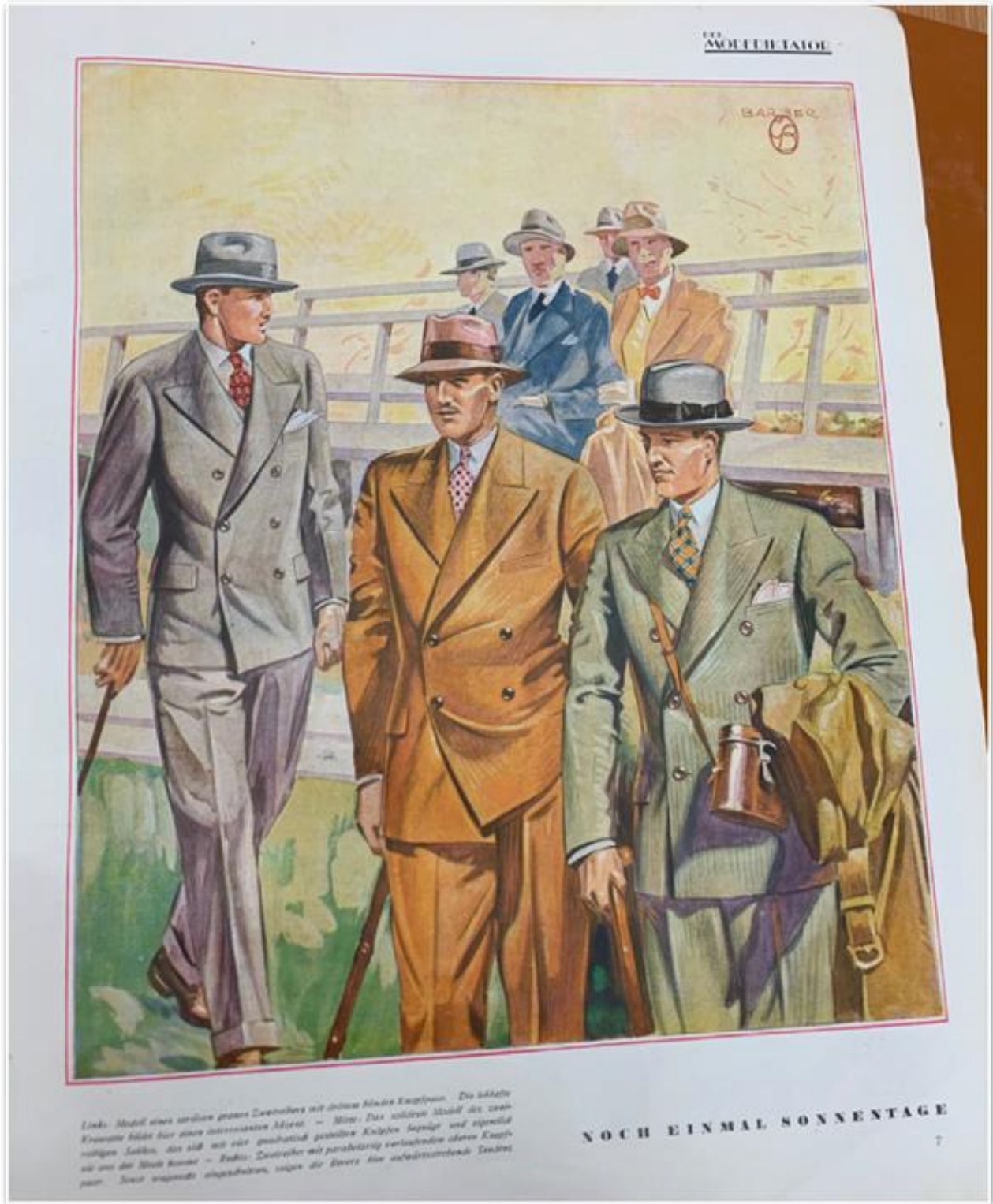
<sup>184</sup> Queerness is more nuanced than a fixed sexual or gender identity; its dynamism extends beyond the socially and culturally enforced binaries of cisgender and heteronormativity. In this discussion I am using "queer" to best encapsulate both a specific orientation, as well as a deep-rooted connection to the larger community of the sexual sub-altern. For more on my usage of queer please refer to Brian James Baer, *Queer Theory and Translation Studies: Language, Politics, Desire*, (London: Routledge, 2020), 11-13, 106-139; Elisa Glick, *Materializing Queer Desire: Oscar Wilde to Andy Warhol*, (New York: State University of New York Press, 2009), 2-17. Beachy, "The German Invention of Homosexuality." Joseph Brennan, "Queerbaiting: The 'Playful' Possibilities of Homoeroticism," *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 21:2 (2018): 189-206. Whisnant, *Queer Identities and Politics in Germany*, 127-151. Thomas Laqueur, *The Making of the Modern Body: Sexuality and Society in the Nineteenth Century*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

to Figure 19).<sup>185</sup> As we shall see in Figure 23, the prospect of sunny days following the horrors of hyperinflation were to be celebrated by going to the races or even a polo match—dressed impeccably, of course. Moreover, there are no women in Figure 23, and only part of a female figure—firmly in the background of the image—in Figure 24.<sup>186</sup> These artistic renderings were a mix of masculine themes. Again, Eelking privileges the homosocial motif in his illustrations, even as some employ more erotic overtones.

---

<sup>185</sup> To be sure, *The Fashion Dictator* includes an array of photographs and illustrations throughout the issue, emphasizing the winter color palette and patterns, different accessories gentlemen should include in their toilettes, and contemporary celebrities and distinguished individuals who effectively demonstrate modern, elegant fashion. Figure 23: C. Barber, "Noch einmal Sonnentage," *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 7, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Refer again to Figure 19: K, "Morgendliche Ausfahrt," *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 5, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Figure 24: K, "Rendevous im Tiergarten," *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 11, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

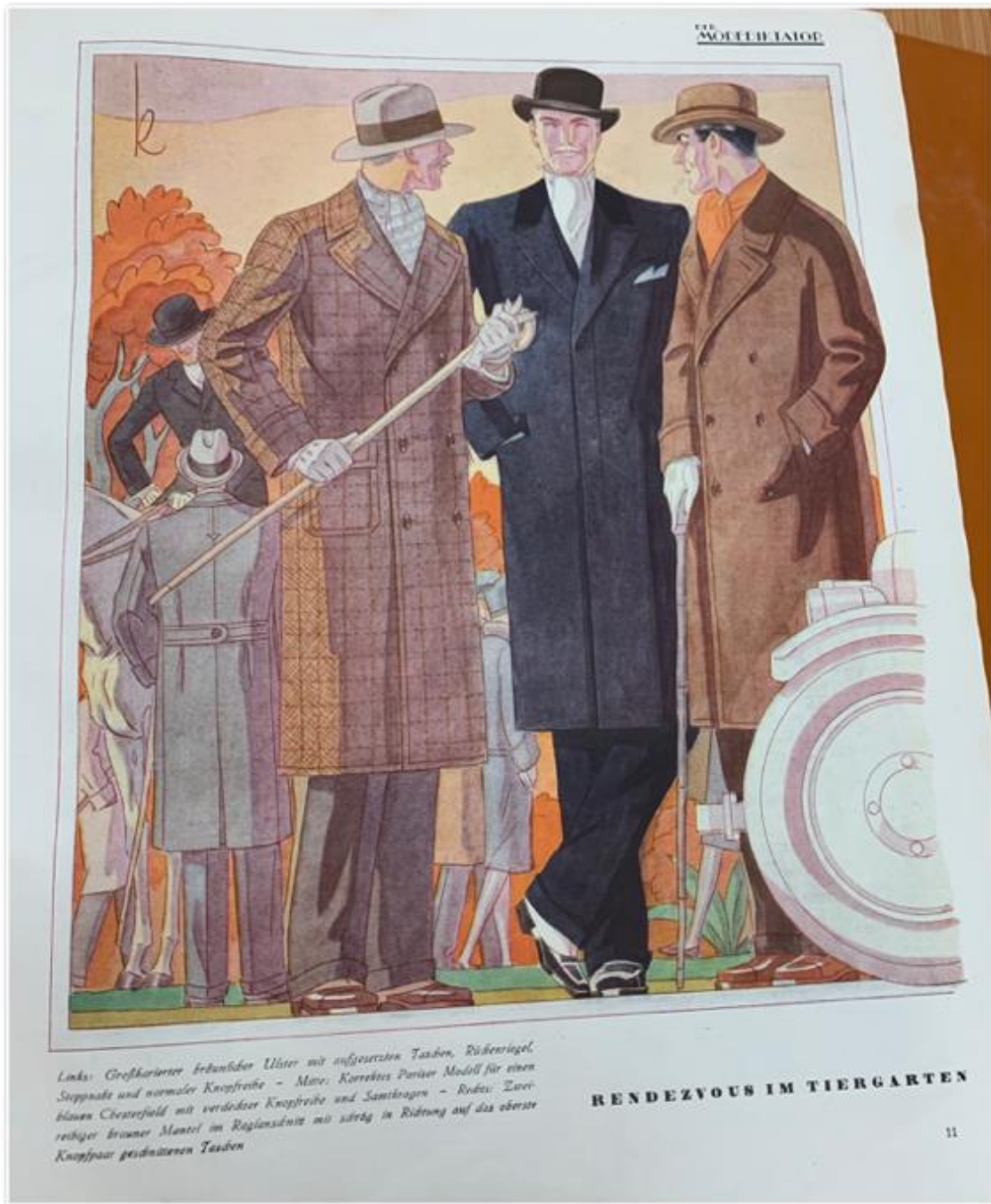
<sup>186</sup> Refer again to Figure 24: K, "Rendevous im Tiergarten," *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 11, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. The single, individual woman in this image: she is neither facing nor walking toward the viewer in the illustration, and the viewer has to peek through two of the three gentlemen who make up the focus of the image in order to see her.



Links: Modell eines sehr gut gewaschenen Zweifachknopfes mit einem kleinen Knopfen. Die linke Kravatte bildet hier eine interessante Akzent. — Mitte: Das rechte Modell des zwei Knopfes Jacketts, das sich mit einer qualitativ gewissen Knopfelemente und eleganten Stoffen aus der Mode heraus — Rechts: Zweifachknopf mit parallel verlaufenden Knopfen. Diese Variante ist besonders geeignet, wenn die Herren ihre schützenden Trenchcoats tragen.

NOCH EINMAL SONNENTAGE

(Figure 23: Sunny Days Once Again)

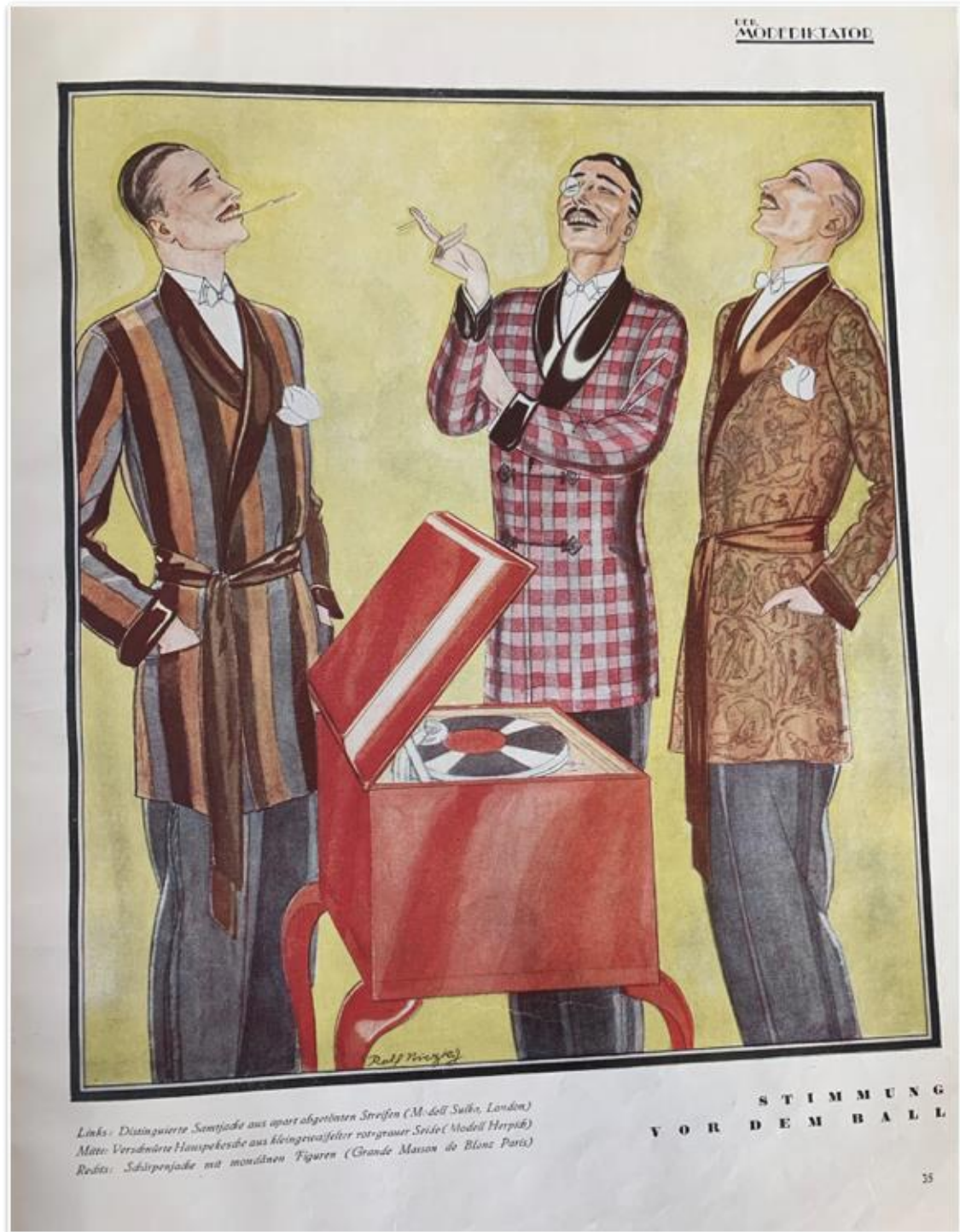


(Figure 24: Rendezvous in Tiergarten)

The following image, “The Pre-Ball Mood,” depicts three attractive men enjoying conversation, music, and smoking, (see Figure 25).<sup>187</sup> To the left, one man stands in a relaxed pose, tilting his head back in laughter, his hands in the pockets of his smoking jacket, with his elegant cigarette holder clutched in his teeth, through his laughter. The overall effect of his posture is one of gentlemanly leisure. He is laughing with his companions, as though the artist has captured them just after one of them has told a witty joke. His two companions, standing to his opposite on the righthand side of the image are quite close together. They too, have their heads thrown back in laughter. The central figure stands with one arm crossed over his chest, his other arm is flung outward in mirth, holding his cigarette as it dangles precipitously from his limp wrist. Their counterpart also enjoys the mirthful atmosphere and has his hands, like the first man, in the pockets of his smoking jacket.

---

<sup>187</sup> Figure 25: Rolf Niczky, “Stimmung vor dem Ball,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 34, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.



(Figure 25: The Mood before the Ball)

All of the strikingly similar men in the image are smartly dressed in complementing smoking jackets over their evening wear; one is striped, one is checkered, and the other is printed

in various images—images that are themselves quite intriguing, for this smoking jacket features a couple ballroom dancing, a banjo player, or jazz musician, a man proposing to a woman, a woman stretched out erotically under a parasol, a gondola steered by a Venetian oarsman, and many other images that combine festive with the exotic. This jacket would seem the most provocative of the three. These men are enjoying this moment of leisure and good humor, and stand behind a record player, which seemingly adds an additional layer to their evening amusements. Taken in altogether, the image conveys a sense of homosocial refinement and engagement. On the one hand, we can interpret this illustration as a fashionable snapshot of modern, white-collar *Männerbund*, that Eelking (vis-à-vis his illustrators) effectively encapsulated through an evening's repose amongst friends. On the other hand, however, keeping in mind the leisurely and even ostentatious ethos, we can interpret this image as a message of tacit acceptance regarding the lifestyles of homosexual men. This message of acceptance was conveyed through Eelking's demonstration of these men's refined and respectable leisure activities.

In keeping with the motif from the vivacious, exotic printed smoking jacket in the previous image, comes an illustration with a similar dash of exoticism "In the House Bar," depicts another trio of men lounging in their vibrant smoking jackets, (see Figure 26).<sup>188</sup> Appearing in the following issue of *The Fashion Dictator*, Spring 1928, it was featured as a brightly colored (and thus expensive), full page illustration. This illustration also offers a scene that even more clearly draws homoerotic overtones (refer again to Figure 2).<sup>189</sup> At the margins on the left, a man

---

<sup>188</sup> Figure 26: Rolf Niczky, "In der Hausbar," *Der Modediktator*, 1:2, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>189</sup> To compare the looks of homoerotic intimacy versus illustrations of a homosocial platonic ideal see the following images. Again, Figure 20: K, "Polo in Frohnau," *Der Modediktator*, 1:2, 3, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. K, "Der einreihige Sakko mit zwei Knöpfen, von denen der unterste in Höhe der Taschen liegt," *Der Modediktator*, 1:2, 4, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. K, "Solider Einreihiger, auf drei Knöpfe zu schließen, mit einreihigem Revers," *Der Modediktator*, 1:2, 5, Deutsche

(ostensibly the host) pours his friend a drink while he himself enjoys a cigarette. He is wearing a longer, vibrantly striped smoking jacket, which balances his mature appearance with youthfulness. Then we are drawn to the central figures, two of the three men are seated on a striped couch in front of a dynamic and exotic wall; the young man in the center wears a warm brown smoking jacket, smiles as he crosses his legs, leans back on his left arm, and raises his right, as his host pours a beverage into his waiting glass.

---

Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. F.v. Santho, "Zuschauer Beim Olympiadetraining," *Der Modediktator*, 1:2, 6, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Krotowski, "Der Cut in Zwei Londoner Phasen," *Der Modediktator*, 1:2, 7, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Kreujkher, "Promende 'Unter den Linden'," *Der Modediktator*, 1:2, 15, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Rolf Niczky, "Das Schöne Pyjama," *Der Modediktator*, 1:2, 35, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.



(Figure 26: In the House Bar)

As the central figure in this illustration, it is interesting to note that his gaze does not stray from the liquor his host pours into his glass. Their seated companion gazes in the direction of the other younger men with an undisguised look of longing. It is unclear, however, if this very clear desire is directed at his immediate companion, or his libation. He is seated with his legs crossed, reclining on his arm, with his hand hidden from view, as the man to his left is doing, and rests his opposite hand on his leg. His cigarette drips languidly out of his lips, drooping towards his lavender smoking jacket. He also appears to be wearing makeup—particularly some kind of eyeliner or kohl—which further accentuates the sloping lines of his cigarette and lavender-colored shoulders. While there are no other individuals in the image, as the title suggests, these men are enjoying the modern attributes, particularly a cocktail lounge, of a gentleman's abode.

What is more, however, is the visible absence of the seated men's unseen hands. This absence appears to denote an erotic moment between the two men, or a more benign position of relaxation—supporting themselves with their outstretched arms. Regardless, the absence of their hands only serves to reinforce their lithe physicality and languid dispositions.

The exoticism of the wallpaper and the liveliness of the couch accentuates the illustration's tangible homosexual overtones: the cacophony of colors and patterns in the image transfers to the three dashing coifed men. The background for the image is a wallpapered wall of palm trees and tropical fruits, which highlights the colorfully striped couch. The decor in this modern lounge reflected the kinds of accessories and baubles advertised in the backmatter of the early issues of *The Fashion Dictator*—the colorful and unique tchotchkes, that adorn the walls and end tables of any elegant abode.<sup>190</sup> With these characteristics in mind, this illustration comes across, not only as

---

<sup>190</sup> Eelking, "Die Krawattennadel kehrt wieder," *Der Modediktator*, 1:4, 42, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Eelking, "Uhren für den Frack," *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 44, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Eelking, "Porzellane im Ankleidezimmer," *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 46, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

an image that would not only appeal to homosexual or queer members of the audience, but also seemingly glorifies or even promotes the elegance of such an alternative, or dare I say exotic, lifestyle primarily vis-à-vis the wallpaper and opulent setting.

In contrast to the other seasonal installments of this magazine, two of the three summer issues of *The Fashion Dictator* seem to celebrate homosociality and male physiques in a way that is slightly more transparent than in other numbers.<sup>191</sup> The summer installments from 1928 and 1930 are celebrations of the bronzed male physiques of swimsuit models, and smartly dressed men out for a promenade or relaxing in the lounge with a cocktail. This excessive homophilic imagery only serves to reinforce the prioritization of masculine beauty and aesthetics, as well as the cultural significance of male homosociality.

An image from the summer of 1928 appears fairly early in the magazine, (see Figure 27).<sup>192</sup> Two relaxed men seem to enjoy conversation on the bridge of an ocean liner, though they are separated by a column of text. The man to the left leans against the railing, one foot on the banister, and his arm encircled around the pillar, while his opposite hand rests in his pocket. The position, though seemingly at ease, conveys a sense of action. His companion, across the column, leans leisurely against the railing, with his arms resting on the banister creating an image of masculine repose, topped off by his pipe. The way the men are looking at each other, across the column of text, suggests a private conversation, that the readers have stumbled across.

---

<sup>191</sup> Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany*, 20.

<sup>192</sup> Figure 27: “Für die Promenade längs der Reeling, nach dem Souper, liebt der Herr zum Smoking statt des Chesterfields den massigen Überzieher im Ulsterstil,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:3, 5, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.



Beneath the two men enjoying the sea breeze and conversation is a trio of individuals also taking advantage of the cool night air on the bridge of an ocean liner (see Figure 27a).<sup>193</sup> On the left, a modern woman with blonde, bobbed hair reclines on a lounge chair, though she is facing away from the readers, and toward her male companions. Seated across from her, on the opposite side of a beverage table are two seated men in tuxedos. The fair man is enjoying a pipe, and leans forward, as though engaging in conversation, while his darker companion lounges with his legs up and arm resting on the chair, his gaze fixed on his male associate. Though the female individual in this illustration, adds an element of heterosociality to the image, her distance from her male counterparts, along with their proximity to each other, indicates her tertiary position within the context of the picture. And, when taken into consideration of the two, larger men in conversation immediately above this image, her presence seemingly indicates a feminine imposition on the after-dinner conversation, directed by the duration of pipes and cigars.

Another image from the 1928 issue is titled, “At the Border Station,” (refer again to Figure 21).<sup>194</sup> This full-page color illustration features two handsome young men in their sleeper cabin on board a train or ocean liner. The first man is wearing a striped dressing gown (robe) over his shirt and tie, (and ostensibly his trousers, which are not visible) as he leans against a side table. He smiles widely as his companion hands him a small red and white striped parcel or notebook. His confidante is dressed in a black patterned robe which is open, allowing readers to glimpse his white and salmon striped pajamas. He is standing on the bed, ostensibly so he is able to rummage through the luggage rack for the red and white striped object he is handing to his cabin mate. Though the two figures appear to be the same age, the man standing maintains a demeanor of assuredness and

---

<sup>193</sup> Figure 33a: “Die internationale Etikette verlangt heute auf allen größeren Ozeandampfern als Abendanzug kategorisch den Smoking,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:3, 5, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>194</sup> Figure 27: Niczky, “An der Grenzstation,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:3, 3, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

experience with his outstretched arm and cigarette resting erect between his lips.



(Figure 21: At the Border Station above)

The close quarters of this sleeper car reinforce the significance of homosociality. The sheets on the beds and the dressing gowns, however, add a sexual element to this nocturnal environ. This fashion choice indicates to readers that men can be relaxed and open with each other in a way that is untoward with members of the opposite sex—not dressed in suits as they would wear in public, social encounters, but unwinding in their pajamas and loungewear. This illustration not only reinforces the significance of male relationships vis-à-vis the close proximity and strictly homosocial environs captured in the image, but also introduces a sexual element with the nocturnal, close quarters.

The summer issue of 1928 also includes a variety of fashionable choices for the discerning reader. Bathing costumes for trips to the beach, leisure summer suits for afternoon promenades, loungewear for relaxing evenings at home, and tails and tuxedos for luxurious nights on the town. In the corresponding illustrations for these outfits, there are several which feature female figures, including one image that is arguably heterosocial rather than homosocial. Here the overall mood of homosociality is infused with the class distinctions of luxury and travel.

The swimsuit spread for 1928 features several colorful individuals enjoying the spray of the sea and the chance to frolic in the sunshine (see Figure 28).<sup>195</sup> The first figure in this illustration is an athletic man who diminutively dips his toe into the sea. His lithe physique is outfitted in a smart, striped bathing suit with white and gold stripes on the torso, with a coordinating gold stripe down the black shorts. His head is tilted down, seemingly focused on dipping his foot into the incoming waves, while his arms are crossed behind his back, with an elegant cigarette holder peeking out from his hand. The effect of this body language is straightforward: this man appears, quite plainly, delicate and queer.

---

<sup>195</sup> Figure 28: Niczky, “Zweiteiliger Badeanzug mit breitem gelben Bruststreifen und gelben Galons,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:3, 10-11, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.



(Figure 28: Two-Piece Swimsuit with a Wide Yellow Chest Stripe and Tailoring)

The centerfold between these two pages from Summer 1928 is a chic, modern couple. A couple, who, could appear as having switched their gender roles. The man—smartly dressed in bright plaid bathing trunks with white top and coordinating white sailor’s cap, tilted lazily to one side—stands with one hand on his hip, smoking a cigarette, holding an equatorial-inspired umbrella for shade. In contrast, his female companion sits on the sand at his feet. She too is dressed as the epitome of a modern beachgoer with her striped bathing suit, tilted white sailor’s cap and white shoes. She sits with her legs bent, and her arms resting on her knees, with her hands held together. The overall effect of this image is seemingly one of role reversal. Instead of appearing as a modern couple, the two figures embody each other’s respective gender through their body language. Though he is standing over his female companion, the male figure appears more effeminate than his female counterpart, as she is presented, if anything, as a more staid, thoughtful partner to her beach beau.

Rounding out the four figures, is a handsome man on the far edge of the left page. He is wearing blue, red, and white striped bath robe over his coordinating bathing suit. He wears a tilted white sailor's cap, sunglasses, and has a cigarette dripping carelessly out of his mouth as he holds a camera, seemingly taking a photograph of his companions in the centerfold. Together these individuals highlight several themes: the newest style of bathing suits, the invigorating pleasures of seaside vacations, and the beauty of lithe, athletic, and occasionally, effeminate, men. Once again, the imagery throughout Eelking's magazine effectively illustrates how men of taste should spend their leisurely summer days. If, however, those men happened to admire the lithe, bronze physiques of male bathing suit models, with something more than a platonic appreciation, then Eelking's illustrations once again reinforce the notion that the leisure time of gay and queer consumers was not incongruent with that of their heterosexual counterparts.

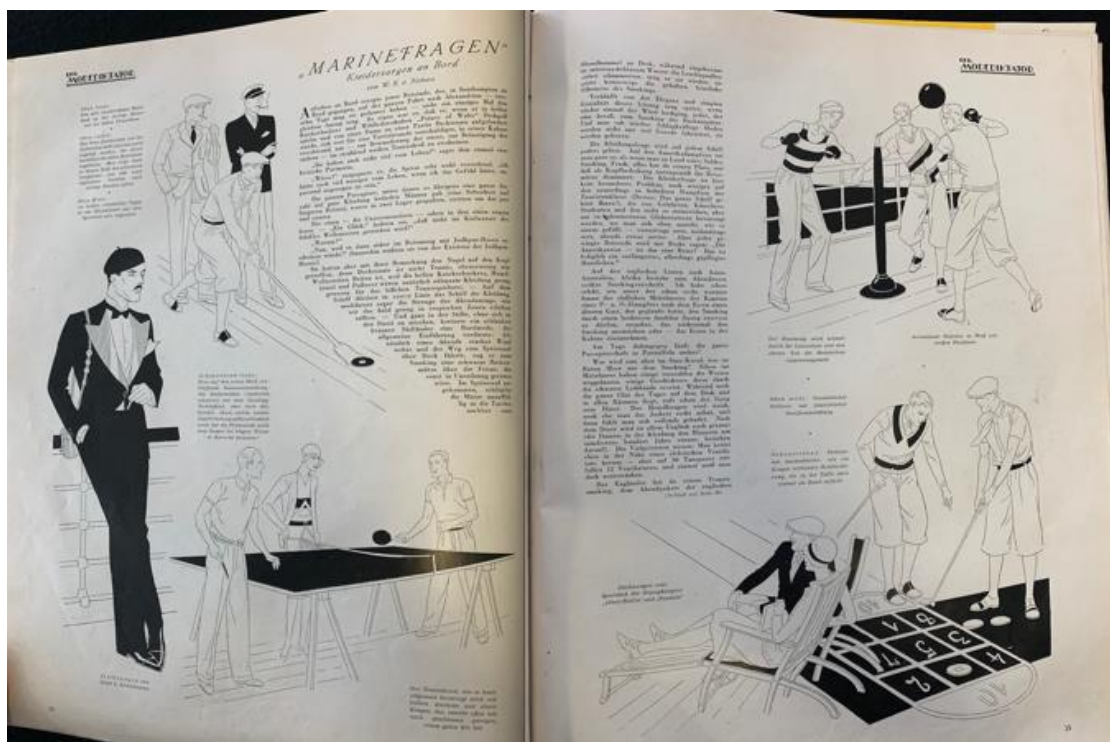
Continuing with the June 1929 issue of *The Fashion Dictator*, this issue is slightly more conservative than its 1928 and 1930 counterparts. Unlike the other summer editions of the magazine, 1929 does not employ the use of effeminate, languid, queer masculine imagery. Instead, this issue utilizes a more neutrally-homosocial, handsome masculine aesthetic. This imagery in this edition, however, still prioritizes homosocial environs and the significance of male relationships.

The first images from this issue feature several men enjoying leisurely activities on the sports deck of an ocean liner (see Figure 29).<sup>196</sup> On the left page of this spread are three individual illustrations. In the upper, left corner is a trio of attractive men playing shuffleboard. Beneath this group are two men in polo shirts and trousers playing table tennis, while a fashionable woman watches. And, rounding out this page along the far-left side is a rather elegant man in a tuxedo and

---

<sup>196</sup> Figure 29: Ernst L. Kretschmann, "Marinefragen," *Der Modediktator*, 2:3, 18, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

beret smoking a cigarette, leaning against the ship railing. Though the woman in the second illustration injects an element of heterosociality to the image, as an onlooker to the tennis table game, she is superfluous to the action in the picture. And, as the only (dispensable) female figure on this page, the homosocial theme remains intact.



(Figure 29: Marine Queries; Figure 29a: Sports Deck on Hapag Ocean Liners *above*)

On the right page of this sport spread are two images, again, of men enjoying recreational activities while onboard a cruise ship (see Figure 29a).<sup>197</sup> In the upper right corner is a threesome playing tetherball or possibly practicing their boxing reflexes. All three men are dressed for sport in varying combinations of knickerbockers, pullovers, and striped shirts. Beneath them, in the bottom right corner of the page are two men playing a curious combination of miniature golf and curling enjoy their game, while a handsome couple reclines in a pair of deck chairs seemingly

<sup>197</sup> Figure 29a: Kretschmann, "Sportdeck der Hapagdampfer," *Der Modediktator*, 2:3, 19, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

looking at the sea. Again, though there is a lady in one of these illustrations, she is not central to the imagery on this page. In short, the featured images on the sport deck spread reinforce the significance of male bonds established through sport, recreation, and leisure.

In the vibrantly colored swimsuit pages of this issue, the male bodies of the models take on a secondary position in comparison to the clothes advertised in the illustrations. Unlike the swimsuit features in the 1928 and 1930 summer issues of *The Fashion Dictator*, which seemingly use male bodies and masculine aesthetics to sell bathing costumes, the spread in 1929 relies far more heavily on color and the individual articles of clothing to entice readers.

The fall issue for 1929 had several vibrant, and homosocial images. Men in the city, dressed for business, as well as men enjoying a the repose offered by a quiet corner during a formal occasion.<sup>198</sup> An image of two men seemingly enjoying a private conversation outdoors, titled, “From the New Jacket Fabrics,” draws the readers’ eyes away from the surrounding fabric patterns and color palettes most suited for the fall (see Figure 30).<sup>199</sup> One man leans against a fence, on the side opposite his partner in conversation, with his arms resting on the railing and his left foot jauntily crossed over his right. He is facing his companion and holds his cane in one hand and a cigarette in the other. Next to him, reclining against the fence railing, facing the reader is his relaxed partner. He too holds a cigarette in one hand, while his cane is hooked on his arm and his other hand rests in his pocket.

---

<sup>198</sup> C. Barber, "Einreihiger sportlicher Sakko...Grauer Einreihiger," *Der Modediktator*, 2:4, 9, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. K, "Der Cut, Der Frack, Der Smoking," *Der Modediktator*, 2:4, 31, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. "Kein Paletot ohne Samtkragen," *Der Modediktator*, 2:4, 38, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>199</sup> Figure 30: "Von den neuen Sakko-Stoffen," *Der Modediktator*, 2:4, 8, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.



DES  
**WOLLEHAAR**



**Der zweiseitige Sakko**

Am weitesten entwickelten Sakko-Konstruktionsweise.  
Die Ärmel außer gelegentlich Revers bleiben  
die einzige Enden bei und auch die mittlere  
Hals-Längsform als weiter als möglich.

**Der einseitige Sakko**

Der sich gegen einseitigen Schnitt trägt, hat eine  
eine Verankerung in der Mitte - nur zum Knöpfen. Auch  
die Einseitigkeit der zweiseitigen Weite durch  
die weichen, streifenartigen Klappen Konstruktionen.



**Rechte:**  
Vollständigste  
in Muster und  
farblichen  
Konstruktion  
beinhaltet die  
Kunststoffe  
verwendet ist,  
es bezieht sich  
auf die Stoffe der  
Streifen, und  
hauptsächlich der  
breite Streifen, den  
Hals, Nebenklappen  
und unteren Teil  
suchen sich nach  
weiter Klappen  
und Revers, sowie  
Hals- und Halbhals  
Modelle: L.A.C.O.

Die neuen Stoffe zeigen ebenfalls  
Streifenmusterkonstruktion und  
ebenso Bandstreifenmuster wie  
mehrfache Streifenbündel.

Stoffmuster aus  
der Weltkriege  
Gabe, Wollwaren  
London, Italien



Charakteristisch für die  
neuen Stoffe (insbesondere  
auch ein in Streifenmuster  
angewandtes Tapetenmuster  
seltener Muster)

*Von den neuen Sakko-Stoffen*

Nur der Streifen wird in der neuen Saison  
Lösung haben, und zwar der Streifen in drei  
verschiedensten Variationen. Neben dem Band-  
streifenmuster, das sich nach wie vor weiter  
behauptet, sind es diesmal vor allem die mehr-  
seitigen Streifen (Manylines), die im Vordergrund  
stehen. Oft begnügen sie sich schon mit einem  
Doppelstreifen, dann wieder sind es ganz  
Streifenbündel, die dem Design ihren Charakter  
aufprägen. Auch Verbindungen von Bandstreifen-  
mustern und mehrseitigen Streifen sind nicht  
unüblich. Und selbst, wo sich die neuen  
Punkt- oder Tupfenmuster finden, sind sie immer  
in Streifenmuster angeordnet (Spotlines).



(Figure 30: On the New Jacket Fabrics)

Behind the two men is small heterogeneous crowd of people. Though the view of this congregation is limited, they are captured waist-down in the top left corner of the image standing on a hill, and one of the individuals is wearing a skirt, suggesting mixed company of men and women. And, although there are other figures, the men at the focal point of this illustration are unaccompanied except for each other reinforcing the homosocial motif that runs throughout *The Fashion Dictator*. This image captures a private moment between two handsomely dressed men, suggesting to viewers that the intimacy of this reprieve is on account of the privacy and single-gendered nature of this encounter. This motif of a leisurely retreat from city crowds is repeated in the Spring 1930 issue.

The spring issue of *The Fashion Dictator* 1930 includes several homosocial illustrations that capture impeccably-coifed men traveling and conducting business, but also enjoying their leisure times as well.<sup>200</sup> The image that accompanies an article regarding the triumph of double-breasted lapels over single-breasted lapel jackets for the coming season features a group men relaxing and enjoying an elevated view of a seaside town (see Figure 31).<sup>201</sup> Three well-dressed men, perched on a terrace above a coastal city, appear to be appreciating the views of their elevated position. To the left, is the first young man. He sits on the stone wall of the terrace, seemingly resting, as he crosses one leg over the other and holds his hat and cane in hand. His companion, immediately to his right, reclines against the wall as he rests his hand on the top and crosses one leg over the other in a most leisurely manner. On the right side of the illustration is the last member

---

<sup>200</sup> K, "Der Frühjahrsmantel," *Der Modediktator*, 3:2, 9, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. K, "Die Richtige Krawatte," *Der Modediktator*, 3:2, 14, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. K, "Zum blauen Sakko," *Der Modediktator*, 3:2, 14, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. K, "Zum Sportanzug," *Der Modediktator*, 3:2, 15, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>201</sup> Figure 31: K, "Die Sakkolinie bleibt die Gleiche: Die Neue Tendenz liegt bei den Stoffen—Der Zweireiher triumphiert zahlenmäßig über den Einreihler—Drie Revers herrschen nebeneinander Die Details verdienen besondere Beachtung," *Der Modediktator*, 3:2, 2, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

of this fashionable trio. He rests his hand on the shoulder of the companion closest to him while his other hand sits in his pocket. His cane is hooked on his arm, and he is enjoying a lit cigarette. All in all, the three male figures in this image convey a sense of refinement and leisure. This scene again suggests the tranquility to be attained in a homosocial repose from the crowds that saturate urban life.

Moreover, Eelking's incorporation of photographs beneath this illustration offers an interesting point of departure from the artistic rendering. Photography is significantly less flexible, and more realistic, in comparison to the hand-drawn illustration. These photographs highlight the cut of the collar and the lines on the men's suits for the coming season with a detached, almost calculated precision. Together they appear to simultaneously offer readers the fantasy of consumerism, with a dose of reality.

REVUE MODERNISTE



# DIE SAKKOLINIE BLEIBT DIE GLEICHE

Die neue Tendenz liegt bei den Stoffen — Der Zweireiber triumphiert zahlenmäßig über den Einreiber — Drei Revers herrschen nebeneinander Die Details verdienen besondere Beachtung



Stärkung  
angewandter  
geschlossener  
in großer Linie  
aufschneiden  
Revers, die das  
reine Revers für  
den Zweireiber

Für Kräfte. Bisher in den  
letzten Jahren nicht  
genügend beachtet  
Revers, die das  
reine Revers für  
den Zweireiber



Seit langer Zeit war die Modelllinie für den Herren nicht so konstant wie  
weitere fortwähren. In der Saison hat sich überhaupt nichts geändert,  
einzig und allein durch die veränderten Stoffe wird vielmehr jetzt der  
Modewechsel dokumentiert. So steht denn eigentlich nur in Frage: Soll  
man sich aus einreihigen Sakko entschließen oder dem zweireihigen Anzug  
den Vorrang geben? Da es auf den Sommer zugeht, müßte natürlich, gewiss  
genommen, in den meisten Fällen die Entscheidung zugunsten des Einreihers  
ausfallen. Denn er ist der prädestinierte Anzug für die Gürtellinie. Aber  
— die Mode läßt es nun einmal, als wolle sie unlogisch zu sein — in der  
zweireihigen Jacke. Was sich jetzt in südlicheren Zonen, wo bereits  
die Fühlungsprobe paradiert, aufrecht, konnte mit einiger Sicherheit  
für diese Prognose feststellen. Überall jedenfalls mußte  
der einreihige Sakko zahlenmäßig dem Zweireihigen den  
Vorrang lassen. Vielleicht, daß die neuen Stoffe  
daran Schuld sind, die sich meist ihrem Muster  
nach für die doppelte Knopfreihe besser  
eignen, vielleicht aber auch, weil man  
es wieder lieber „angenehmer“ zu  
gehen. Und vielleicht ist man



Stoffe:  
Der Füllkörper in Sommer-  
mode ist immer der ein-  
reihige, schmale, Modellen,  
Lack, einreihiger Sakko  
mit kleineren Revers und  
dem Knopf, von denen  
sich viele geschlossenen  
aufsetzen. —  
Mitte: Zweireihiger Sakko  
mit doppeltem Knopf,  
gerade und abgewinkelte ein-  
reihigen Revers, —  
rechts: Einreihiger Sakko  
mit abgewinkeltem Revers

Auch im Sommer muß man  
sich ein gut gewähltes  
Revers wählen, das  
auf der Anzugslinie  
den Revers nicht über-  
steigt. — Die  
Anzugslinie und die  
Revers — vollständig  
aufeinander abgestimmt,  
wenn man auf der  
Reise im Revers die  
günstige Proportionen

(Figure 31: The Jacket Lines Remain the Same)

In the summer and travel issue for 1930, the combination of beach and bathing costumes and vacation and leisure environments are especially enthralling. This vacation focus provides only the thinnest veneer of content to distract readers from the male bodies on display. These paragons of masculine youthfulness are clearly the theme of the summer and travel issue for 1930. There are several images here, but the cover of the magazine may be the best place to begin this analysis (see Figure 32).<sup>202</sup> Two men are engaged in conversation on the boardwalk at the beach. One man is standing, with his left leg elevated on a step, allowing him to lean toward his companion with his hand resting on his upper thigh, cigarette between his fingers, quite close to his groin, and his other hand relaxed in his pocket. His torso and face are bent down toward his confidante as they appear to be enjoying conversation. He is wearing a colorful leisure suit, with white-striped trousers, a brown jacket, red tie, yellow shirt and pocket square, and to complete the ensemble, a white boater fedora with a yellow trim. His companion is seated, leaning against the edge of the illustration in a rather modern juxtaposition. He is facing his associate, smiling as he relaxes and reclines. He is wearing a brightly striped, ankle-length bath robe and his hands are in his pockets. These two men stand out from the cool blue background and warm beachfront scene. Another beachgoer appears in the image; however, their back is to the viewer, and it is not possible to discern their gender. The nature of this illustration is such that, depending on the viewer, this conversation could be interpreted as a friendly chat between friends, or a more erotic overture, particularly given the body language of the standing man. In short, this vibrant cover has an ambiguous quality that appeals to both fashionable and gay readers.

---

<sup>202</sup> Figure 32: K, Cover Illustration, *Der Modediktator*, 3:3, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.



(Figure 32: Cover Illustration)

The next images in this particular issue were designed to highlight the latest bathing suits and lounge wear trends for the summer of 1930 (see Figures 33 and 33a).<sup>203</sup> The two-page spread features a vivid illustration of three men in beach robes and bathing suits (resonating with the previous image of men in smoking jackets in Figure 26), with black and white drawings underneath to further highlight the variety of patterns suggested for this season. The colors and patterns featured on the bathing costumes in this image are vibrant, contrasting, and accentuate the both the physicality of the models and their bronze summer tans. The monochromatic drawings below the colorful image emphasize both lively patterns, as well as the polished features of the male figures modeling the bath robes.



(Figure 33: The Modern Belted Swimsuit; Figure 33a: One-Piece Swimsuit with Attached Loops and Belt)

<sup>203</sup> Figure 33: K, “Moderner Gürtelbadeanzug,” *Der Modediktator*, 3:3, 10, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Figure 33a: K, “Badetrikot aus einem Teil, mit aufgesetzten Schlaufen und Gürtel,” *Der Modediktator*, 3:3, 11, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

On the opposite page a young man models a bathing suit and beach pajamas in a photograph. He is the picture of youthful vitality with his schoolboy grin, and mischievous eyes enjoying his seaside vacation. The juxtaposition between these photographs and illustrations emphasizes the more malleable nature of illustrations, particularly when outlining the detail of the physical form. The photographs seemingly convey a sense of reality but lack the ambiguity and vibrancy of the colorful illustrations. Furthermore, the illustrations allow for more complex or subtle messages that photographs fail to encode.

Encircling this lively spread are two diving men. Together the divers appear almost as giant parentheses uniting the full spread. Both men are captured mid-dive with their arms outstretched and their legs swan-tailed behind, as if they were gracefully flying through the air. One diver is fair and the other brunet, but both are paragons of physical beauty, with their long, muscular legs, round buttocks, and outstretched arms—one could almost overlook the bathing suits they are modeling. Altogether this summertime spread illustrates the beauty and elegance of male bodies and idealizes those who can afford to enjoy the bathing costumes and seaside leisure advertised in the accompanying article.

The next vibrant, illustration from this summer holiday issue captures a quiet moment between two men as they lounge in chairs on the sun-warmed sand of the beach (see Figure 34).<sup>204</sup> Two men, impeccably dressed in the latest leisure suits, seemingly just arrived at their seaside escape (as they have not changed into bathing suits), relax in striped cabana chairs. One man leans forward, his legs crossed with one hand in his trouser pocket, and the other holding his pipe as he enjoys a puff. His fedora shades his face from the sun, while his companion reclines under the

---

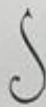
<sup>204</sup> Figure 34: K, “Das helle gestreifte Beinkleid,” *Der Modediktator*, 3:3, 7, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

canopy awning of his cabana chair. He smiles blissfully though his eyes are closed, his arms draped leisurely on the armrests with his legs crossed. His fedora rests on the sand, in the shade as though its owner has forgotten it as he enjoys this idyllic moment. There is another figure in the background, but as they are facing away from the audience, dressed in bathing suit and swim cap, and partially obscured by a large, striped beach umbrella the gender of the individual is indeterminate.

The contrast of warm and cool colors in this illustration draws the readers' eyes, while the languid body language and air of leisure convey the sentiment of a seaside, masculine escape from the bombardment of urban, workaday life. Further, the black and white photographs at the bottom of the page only serve to reinforce the vibrancy of the illustration in comparison to the monotone pictures. This calming homosocial environs seemingly reinforces the notion of sanctuary amongst fellow men, especially among those who enjoy their natural surroundings. This image further reinforces Eelking's personal belief that summer holidays should be spend in sun-drenched leisure.

DER MODERATOR

Das helle gestreifte Beinkleid



Das hochsommerliche Charakter der hellen Flanellbeinkleider hat sich die Kopfbedeckung in der letzten Ausgabe...  
Kopf und Stiefel hier eigentlich nur Strick- und Felle...

Mittelschwere Schuhe aus hellen Materialien, Leder- oder Stoffschuhe, die im Sommer besonders mit Zerschnitten besonders zum Gehen...  
Mitte und eine Anweisung auf den besten Sommer-Modell...  
Wahl: Jacht - 201

Leinwandbeinkleider: Durch die neuen Modelle hat das helle Flanellbeinkleid eine ganz neue Möglichkeit sich farblich aufhellend oder dunkler zu gestalten...  
Modell: K. Brandner

Unter: Nicht nur einfache Beinkleider, sondern auch ganz leichte werden aus gestreiftem Flanell getragen, sie haben dann wieder einen besonderen Charakter...  
Modell: K.



Die simple Flanellbeinkleider, ebenfalls abgetragen oder aus hellen Materialien, sind in der letzten Ausgabe...  
Kopf und Stiefel hier eigentlich nur Strick- und Felle...  
Komponiert sind diese Beinkleider hauptsächlich für die See, für die Kurpromenade sommerlicher Badeplätze und für das Deck schwimmender Hotelschiffe...  
Auch bei den Herren wollen sie nur etwas von hochsommerlichen Modellen wissen, von dem festig beherrschten Mantel, dem Panama oder dem Leibar...  
Jedenfalls haben sie gegen jeden Fall einen hochwertigen Stoff, so sei denn, daß er sich als einer jener federleichten Gewebe präsentiert, die gegenwärtig leicht international Mode sind.



Neben dem einfachen Naturleder...  
Gehen sich bei den hellen Flanellbeinkleidern...  
Auch bei den Herren wollen sie nur etwas von hochsommerlichen Modellen wissen, von dem festig beherrschten Mantel, dem Panama oder dem Leibar...  
Jedenfalls haben sie gegen jeden Fall einen hochwertigen Stoff, so sei denn, daß er sich als einer jener federleichten Gewebe präsentiert, die gegenwärtig leicht international Mode sind.



(Figure 34: The Light Striped Trousers)

The images in this analysis draw on popular, contemporary themes regarding the restorative nature of sojourns from city life with its constant demands on urban life. The seaside respite, as illustrated in this issue, also provides men with the opportunity to simultaneously flaunt and admire their physiques in the latest swimwear. Like the imagery previously mentioned in this discussion, these illustrations could suggest something beyond mere homosociality, to the erotic. Between the variety of colors, the body language and physiques on display, as well as proximity between the male figures and distinct lack of female individuals in the illustrations, a tone reminiscent of *Männerbünde* emerges from *The Fashion Dictator*.

The photography that appears in the Summer 1930 issue, however, offers an interesting caveat. Aside from the routine society photographs, which highlighted fashionable male and female individuals in every issue of *The Fashion Dictator*, after this suggestive spread were several photographs of young ladies modeling the latest in feminine fashions, including swimwear (see Figure 35).<sup>205</sup> In one image, a young man is photographed unzipping a woman's bathing suit (see Figures 36, 36a)!<sup>206</sup> While these photographs might appear at first hand to be antithetical to the homophilic theme running through the summer issue of *The Fashion Dictator*, they offer, quite literally, something for every reader across the spectrum of sexualities. Drawing after drawing of athletic, bronze male bodies, accompanied by several titillating photographs of swimsuit models. These photographs, however, appear a bit pedestrian in contrast to the colorful fantasies in the beach illustrations. In fact, the men in the black-and-white photos adjacent to the illustrations,

---

<sup>205</sup> Figure 35: Eelking, "Alles zu seiner Zeit," *Der Modediktator*, 3:3, 12, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>206</sup> Figure 36: Kiesel, "Die modernen Badeanzüge haben diesmal wie manche Damenpullover sehr originelle geometrische Figuren, die oft ans Bizarre und Exzentrische streifen," *Der Modediktator*, 3:3, 25, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Figure 36a: Dührkoop, "Wirklich einmal eine praktische Neuheit. Man hatte bisher oft Mühe, den nassen Badeanzug abzustreifen. Der Reißverschluß erleichtert einem das jetzt." *Der Modediktator*, 3:3, 25, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.



DER  
MOTTENKATZE



Die modernsten Badebekleidung heute darstellt eine moderne Damen-  
polster sehr originale geometrische Formen, die sich aus  
Blau und Zinngrün bestehen. Photo Kunst

Rechts: Wirklich einmal eine praktische Neuheit. Man hätte  
sicher oft Mühe, das neuen Bademode abzuschreiben. Der  
Reiz besteht natürlich darin die Preis- Photo Kunst

Die Wandlungen des Lebens  
(Schluß von Seite 12)

nach Naturgemäß stimmung hoch und  
dem entspricht man natürlich auch mit  
den Habseln. Zwei sind sie,  
wie bei allen höchsten Habseln, über-  
aus hoch, sehr robust, aber sie  
können ebenso fertig gestreift wie  
schwarz oder im Gegensatz zu der  
Habselblau, bei der genau geform-  
ten Haut, wenn sie von Habsel  
getragen wird, hoch, — und wenn  
mit Mau — sein sollte, während die  
schwarze Haut dem Badegestill be-  
schaffen wie möglich. Von bei der  
neuen Lederform (Sie wissen doch,  
dich Leder die englische Bezeich-  
nung für Leder ist), die aber  
eben nicht mehr zu den Feinern  
rechnet, ist die stielartige (nicht je-  
doch schwarze Haut) immer hoch,  
dafür ist es aber meist sehr gefällig  
gelegt, stielartig und stellt sich  
in einer Kunst überausstehend, so  
wie man es bei den Korkhabseln hat,  
die man von Marseille aus erreicht.

Gedanken über deutsche Leute  
(Schluß von Seite 12)

Das Geheimnis des Dandys ist  
nicht — das. Bei aber findet sich  
bei einzelnen Menschen und ganzen  
Völkern nur dort, wo Form und In-  
halt harmonisieren; wo aller Anstren-  
gung der Unversehrte und kongeniale  
Ausdruck der Inneren ist. Aus  
diesem Grunde ist es wichtig, ob man  
gelbe Schuhe in einem Cutaway trägt  
oder nicht.

Der Dandy in den gesellschaft-  
lichen Sphäre seiner Zeit immer von  
mehreren Jahrhunderten voran. Dieser  
verändert die oft hat die Grundsätze  
streifende Stilrichtlinien im  
Wesen jedes echten Dandys.



FÜR  
DEN  
HERRN



Herren-Konfektion		Herren-Artikel	
Sport-Anzug mit engl. Tricot Stoffen, mit Knopf an langer Hose, eigene Anfertigung	78,—	Hemd hose mit Maß, Hemd Paar	4.50
Sakko - Anzug aus verschiedenen Kamengarn, mit auf Knopf, mit eigene Anfertigung	85,—	Garnitur (Leder und Silberblech, Silber Kamengarn, gute Verarbeitung)	6.90
Sakko - Anzug mit gelber Kammgarn, eigene Farben für Maß, eigene Anfertigung	148,—, 128,—, 118,—	Socken Für alle verschiedenen Wollarten, engl. Stoffe	1.95
Slipon - Mantel mit engl. Tricot Stoffen, mit Knopf, eigene Anfertigung	73,—	Sportstrümpfe mit Maß, für Knopf Knopf oder mit Knopf	4.50
Flanellhose mit gelber engl. Stoffen, eigene Anfertigung	27.50	Handschuhe Wollwolle, engl., gelb, gute Qualität Paar	2.25
Knickerbocker mit engl. Tricot oder Kammgarn, eigene Anfertigung	19.50	Handschuhe Wollwolle - Knopf, weiß Paar	5.90
<b>Wir nehmen Maß</b> und fertigen jedes dieser Kleidungs- stücke ohne Preisaufschlag innerhalb 24 Stunden an.		Schnürschuhe schwarz oder braun, Knopf oder Lack, verschiedene Farben, Maße 40-42, Paar	18.50
Maß-Abteilung unter Leitung erster Fachkräfte. Tadelloser Sitz. Beste Verarbeitung. Deutsche und engl. Stoffe in großer Auswahl.		Schnürschuhe braun, Knopf, versetzt, Knopf, Original England Paar	21.50



(Figure 36: The Modern Swimsuits; Figure 36a: Really a Practical Novelty)

While these photographs seemingly increase the appeal of *The Fashion Dictator* to a wider audience, they could also serve as a foil to homophobic or conservative readers who might be offended by the masculine sensuality on display in this swimsuit issue of the publication. However, as the fall and winter of 1930 saw the transition from *The Fashion Dictator* into the more versatile, but also more overtly heterosexual *Gentlemen's Journal*, was the inclusion of these photographs a signal to readers regarding the coming changes to the content and title of Eelking's publication?<sup>207</sup> Eelking grappled with these and other challenges amidst the changing political environs, as we will see in the conclusion.

The fall issue for 1930 features several homosocial images, however the one for this discussion seems to reflect the changing politics of the 1930s.<sup>208</sup> This image features a trio of men in a similar pattern to other featured illustrations, outside enjoying their environment and each other's company (see Figure 37).<sup>209</sup> These men are all dressed in thick winter coats (specifically the latest overcoats in the style of Ulsters and Paletots), and seem to be taking in the autumnal scenery as they are enjoying the outdoors. The first man is seated, and staring pensively out of the frame, as he holds his hat and gloves. The man immediately to his right is standing over him,

---

<sup>207</sup> George Mosse, *Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*, (New York: Howard Fertig, 1975), 17. Peter Fritzsche, *Germans into Nazis*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998). Michael Burleigh and Joseph Wippermann, *The Racial State: Germany, 1933-1945*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Detlev Peukert, "The Genesis of the 'Final Solution' from the Spirit of Science," *Reevaluating the Third Reich*, Thomas Childers and Jane Caplan, eds, 1989 (Holmes & Meier, 1994).

<sup>208</sup> Kenay, "Nächtliche Begegnung," *Der Modediktator*, 3:4, 14, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Kenay, "Der Smoking hat sich--von einigen extravaganten Modellen abgesehen--gegenüber dem letzten so gut wie gar nicht geändert," *Der Modediktator*, 3:4, 15, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. I believe these images may have served as an indication to readers the nature of the changes coming to Eelking's publication. This number was the last issue of *The Fashion Dictator* before it officially changed names and motifs to *The Gentleman's Journal*. This subsequent publication, though still under Eelking's editorial control, was markedly more heterosexual and heterogeneous in its fashion and etiquette advice as well as its featured articles and imagery.

<sup>209</sup> Figure 37: K, "Ulster und Ulsterpaletot in verschiedenen Fassons," *Der Modediktator*, 3:4, 8, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

facing him as if he is about to say something. Both of his gloved hands grip his belt, while a cigarette drips below his waist. His collar is upturned, and his fedora is fitted snugly to his skull, nearly covering his gaze, in a manner that appears slightly intimidating. The last man of the group is smiling at his companions. With his well-groomed mustache he seems like the most mature of the three and smokes his cigarette contentedly. He stands to the left of his confidantes and rests with his hands in his pockets. Together, these men form an image of a close-knit, comradely group of friends. Again, this homosocial motif reinforces the necessity of masculine sojourns away from the frenetic lifestyle of the city, and into the relaxed environs offered by nature.

WOLLE TAIOR



ULSTER UND ULSTERPALEOT IN VERSCHIEDENEN FASSONS

Das mittlere Modell trägt den Ausdrucksreichen Ulster, mit Gürtel, aufgesetzten Taschen und Knopfleisten. Auch das Kern findet man hier noch gelegentlich. Bei dem rechten Modell sind einige der Eigenschaften des Ulsters schon verschwunden; geblieben sind aber nur noch die Rispenreihen und die Aermelaufschlagung. Das Modell links ist fast schon ein Paletot geartet. Nur daß es sich eine gewisse Weite im Schnitt bewahrt hat und auch das oberste Knopfpaar durchschlägt. Dieses Modell repräsentiert daher ein halbes des Ulstermantels.

(Modelle Knecht)

Links links: Drei Malbücher für den Ulster in den verschiedensten Farben, vielfarbigen Querstreifen, feinen Linienstrich und Bordüre, Blau-Braun, Grau-Grün und Ziegelfarben. (Modelle Lenz)

DAS VERHÄLTNISS VON MANTEL ZU SCHAL

Wen jeder Mantel bei dem gut angelegten Herrn Anspruch auf eine ganz bestimmte Haltung hat, so ist es auch bei den Schals. Schals natürlich pro toto genommen. Denn neben ihnen regieren ja heute auch die Cachemire und deren Sammelnamen für beide gibt es auch noch, will man sie nicht gerade unter der Rubrik „Halbtuch“ führen.

Aber der Unterschied zwischen Schal und Cachemire ist ja überdies viel weniger ein Unterschied der Kategorien und auch in der Tragemode; er kann daher das Material, die Farbe und bis zu einem gewissen Grade auch das Muster.

Früher stellte der Herr in dieser Beziehung nicht so viel Ansprüche. Ein vierziges Halbtuch schien genügt ihm. Das trug er dann morgens wie abends, gleichviel wozu, woanders er sich befand. Heute nun ist das anders; Paletot und Abendmantel alle hier ihre eigenen Wünsche haben, wird selbst auch der Herr, der nur über einen einzigen Universalmantel verfügt, diesem je



Eine Neuheit unter Halbtüchern für den Ulster und Cachemire in einer eleganten 2 farbig Bindung, einen feinen durchsichtigen Streifen (Keller), Filzfarb Auerbach - Krammströmer



(Figure 37: The Ulster and Ulster Overcoat in Different Styles)

Throughout these images we have seen different juxtapositions of homosociality and homoeroticism. Both of these ideas convey the singular significance of masculine intimacy, regardless of the sexual or platonic nature of the relationship depicted. I believe that by repeatedly illustrating this kind of intimacy, Eelking and his team of artists created a tripartite connection between consumerism, homosociality, and homoeroticism. I would argue that these images offered readers a segue into non-normative aesthetics, but one that did not offend bourgeois sensibilities, by expressing these non-normative aesthetics as refined, respectable, and luxurious. As mentioned previously, many crusaders for gay rights during the Weimar Republic were more concerned with circulating images of respectable homosexual imagery.<sup>210</sup> The domination of this “positive” imagery would theoretically increase the likelihood that traditional, bourgeois audiences would accept members of the sexual sub-altern because they were presented both in a refined albeit ostentatious, light, and a socially respectable one.<sup>211</sup> It was easy (and still is) to condemn those that one finds deplorable, or whose actions seemingly go against the cultural values of a given society, but when their aesthetics and lifestyles are commodified it becomes much more difficult to denounce them.

Many of the images in this analysis may appear at first glance to be innocuous or simply fashion illustrations designed to highlight different clothing options for men of taste. While both of these aspects may be true, they can also be read within a homosocial interpretation, as positive reinforcements of a homophilic image of society: men in close quarters, men on vacation, and men at work. These were also idealized scenes—not photographs. Photography was too “real,” whereas these illustrations were fully controlled, executed fantasies. In short, *The Fashion Dictator*, was

---

<sup>210</sup> Sutton and Leng, “Forum Introduction.”

<sup>211</sup> Sutton, “‘We Too Deserve a Place in the Sun’,” 339. Gay, *Weimar Culture*, 6, 66, 78. Pursell, “Queer Eyes and Wagnerian Guys,” 115. Soldow, “Homoeroticism in Advertising,” 321.

offering readers a vivid, colorful fantasy of male relationships, some of which were eroticized. This fantasy extended not only to the homosocial relationships and environs, but also the svelte bodies on display. For the male consumer, gazing at the lithe, illustrated bodies could simultaneously be an escape from their lived reality, but also a condemnation of it. These illustrations do not romanticize middle-aged, portly, balding men—those bodies had no place in these colorful images. *The Fashion Dictator* offered readers a leisurely escape from the confines of their corporeal realities, but this magazine also reinforced unrealistic expectations regarding individuals' physical shortcomings, no matter how well their tailor had transformed them.

All of these spaces are illustrated as strongly, if not strictly, homosocial. The prioritization of homosociality, in turn, reinforces the cultural significance of male bonds, masculine aesthetics, and homosocial relationships. The images in this discussion that appear on the surface more queer or even homoerotic achieve two objectives: they normalize queer, gay, and homonormative images of masculinity, and second, they reinforce the cultural significance of homosocial male environs. I believe that these objectives were intentional on the part of Eelking. Not only were they the byproduct of his emphasis on modern, cosmopolitan fashion with the male body as subject of the reader's gaze, but they were also a fantasized mirror that reflected the social circles and cliques surrounding Eelking.<sup>212</sup>

As Gary Soldow discusses in his article, "Homoeroticism in Advertising: Something for Everyone with Androgyny," appeals to both hetero- and homosexual audiences have been constructed in such a way that the sexuality of the individual in the image "resides in the eye of the beholder."<sup>213</sup> Further, "sex is used in a way that is attractive to both heterosexuals and

---

<sup>212</sup> Schneider, "Baron Von Eelking--A Life In Men's Fashion."

<sup>213</sup> "At this point, we can conclude two things: First, homoeroticism can appeal to many segments across the spectrum of sexuality, and second, homoeroticism can be employed in advertising with minimum

homosexuals, without offending either group. These “dual” appeals are accomplished with a deliberate use of attractive and androgynous male models who are erotic by virtue of their youthfulness, physical beauty, and scantily clad bodies.”<sup>214</sup> In short, through imagery—and specifically through illustrations—*The Fashion Dictator* stands as a publication that effectively conveyed masculine homosociality and masculine aesthetics in such a way that would appeal to readers across the spectrum of sexualities.

This kind of open appeal, moreover, paralleled the same atmosphere that characterized other “male” movements around 1930—including the SA (*Sturmabteilung*), under the leadership of Ernst Röhm, who was, in addition to being a violent Nazi leader, also fanatic promoter of male-bonding (and also a homosexual).<sup>215</sup> If “homoeroticism can appeal to many segments across the spectrum of sexuality, and second, homoeroticism can be employed in advertising with minimum

---

offense. As such, referring to this trend as homoerotic advertising does not accurately represent what is occurring. Indeed, a more accurate characterization might be *androgynous marketing* that entails a multifaceted eroticism that includes homoeroticism. One of the hallmarks of androgynous marketing is the deliberate use of beautiful male models in the sense previously discussed...The use of male representation as aesthetic object has a long history....A similar depiction of male perfection was emphasized during the Nazi regime in Germany...One example of the Nazis’ use of physical perfection through homoeroticism may be found in the work of Leni Riefenstahl, an associate of Hitler and a well-known filmmaker during the Nazi era (e.g., *Triumph of the Will*)...Fascism, which eschewed and severely punished homosexuality, may be seen as glorifying it through dissemination of male images that were asexual and masculine, and, at least according to Sontag, were nonetheless “prurient . . . with an ideal eroticism”...However, a group of men, absent women, can be suggestive of homosexuality. Depending on the context, however, images of groups of men are ripe for homoerotic interpretation,” Soldow, “Homoeroticism in Advertising,” 320. Sontag, S. “Fascinating Fascism,” *Under the sign of Saturn: Essays*, (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1980), 73–105.

<sup>214</sup> Soldow, “Homoeroticism in Advertising,” 321.

<sup>215</sup> Kühne, *The Rise and Fall of Comradeship*, 13. Eleanor Hancock, “‘Only the Real, the True, the Masculine Held Its Value’: Ernst Röhm, Masculinity, and Male Homosexuality,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality*. 8:4 (1998): 616-641. Peter Lambert, “Heroisation and Demonisation in the Third Reich: The Consensus-Building Value of a Nazi Pantheon of Heroes,” *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 8:3-4 (2007): 523-546, 525. Richard Plant, *The Pink Triangle: The Nazi War Against Homosexuals*, (New York: Holt, 1986). Geoffrey J. Giles, “Legislating Homophobia in the Third Reich: The Radicalization of Prosecution against Homosexuality,” *German History*, 23:3 (2005): 339-354. Geoffrey J. Giles, “Denial of Homosexuality: Same-Sex Incidents in Himmler’s SS and Police,” *Sexuality and German Fascism*, Dagmar Herzog, ed., (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005). Domeier, “The Homosexual Scare and the Masculinization of German Politics,” 759.

offense,” then this androgynous marketing tactic was effective for both men’s periodicals, as well as paramilitary organizations.<sup>216</sup> Nazis’ “deliberate use of beautiful male models...[and] the use of male representation as aesthetic object” glorified masculinity—specifically, in the case of the SA, homosocial masculinity.<sup>217</sup> And, as we have seen through the discussion of *The Fashion Dictator*, Eelking also understood how to glorify homosocial masculinity for consumers.

Homophilic male imagery had a significant role in German culture from the Wilhelmine era to the rise of the Third Reich.<sup>218</sup> The homosocial and erotic imagery found throughout *The Fashion Dictator* is merely a continuation of this larger cultural tradition. The images in this publication illustrate how they served to reinforce the privilege of masculine homosociality, but also served as a conduit to normalize non-heterosexual masculine aesthetics and imagery. By curating a magazine that commodified exotic, cosmopolitan expressions of masculinity, alongside imagery of homosocial leisure, Eelking made *The Fashion Dictator* the periodical for men searching for modern interpretations of *Männerbünde* in their lives.

---

<sup>216</sup> Soldow, “Homoeroticism in Advertising,” 320. Sontag, “Fascinating Fascism,” 73–105.

<sup>217</sup> Soldow, “Homoeroticism in Advertising,” 320. Sontag, “Fascinating Fascism,” 93.

<sup>218</sup> Pursell, “Queer Eyes and Wagnerian Guys,” 116.



## Chapter IV

### Looking the Part: Athletic Style as Seen in *The Fashion Dictator*

*The Fashion Dictator* was, thanks to Eelking's keen editorial prowess, the discerning man's fashion publication with leisure and lifestyle articles. The articles concerning sport, and sportswear in *The Fashion Dictator* illustrated the popularity of athleticism and star athletes during the Weimar Republic. Though these articles concentrated on the ways in which men could adapt their clothing for recreational athletic endeavors or purchase the most popular and current athletic trends for streetwear, this content nevertheless reified the social capital of masculine athleticism embodied through fashionable and physical prowess. These articles also indicated the cultural rise of elite sport as a way to reaffirm masculine prowess and physical capabilities in the shadow of the loss of World War I. Furthermore, these articles also undergirded class divisions in the nascent republic vis-à-vis sport, as we can see by the sports that appeared most frequently in Eelking's creation: Alpine skiing, polo, golf, tennis, game shooting, fox hunting, and (fly) fishing.

All the sports referenced in *The Fashion Dictator* were exclusive. They were exclusive in that they required the financial means for club membership, land or estates for stalking and shooting, as well as the equipment and clothing required for these athletic endeavors—not to mention the time and leisure to engage in such sporting traditions. Instead of appealing to a broad audience, like boxing, these elite sports were closely associated with luxury, exclusivity, and social distinction.<sup>219</sup> What is more, “from the late nineteenth century onwards, the nobility began practicing sports other than hunting. Tennis, motor racing, and golf were all widespread forms of entertainment practiced by leading elite throughout Europe, and polo, like hunting, was a particular

---

<sup>219</sup> Hughes, *Max Schmeling and the Making of a National Hero*, 75-77.

example of this: its difficulty and expense surrounded by a lavish network of social relations.”<sup>220</sup> As John Martin points out in his work on British lowland game hunting, “the sport was pursued not only by the upper echelons of rural society, but also by the ‘nouveaux riches,’ who had made their fortunes in trade and commerce and desired to participate in high status rural sports.”<sup>221</sup> Furthermore, “traditionally equestrian pursuits like fox-hunting had been limited to the upper classes, to those who were able to afford such activities (e.g. horse, stabling, equipment, clothing) and to have the leisure time and place to partake in them,” as Erica Munkwitz notes in her work on fox-hunting in Great Britain.<sup>222</sup> Whereas skiing “was still confined to the wealthier classes and stood for a fashionable leisure activity for well-off city dwellers across the skiable world. The sport’s exclusivity and novelty attracted public and media interest.”<sup>223</sup> Erik Jensen also addresses this class disparity in regard to tennis, “‘anyone’ could play it—provided, of course, that ‘anyone’ had the financial means to join a club and buy the equipment. This posed a formidable barrier to entry, and tennis had a decidedly aristocratic reputation throughout the interwar period.”<sup>224</sup>

Not only are all these sports exclusive in nature due to the equipment or space needed to participate, but they are all club sports—without membership to a country club, one cannot play polo, tennis, or golf. Meanwhile, game shooting, fox hunting, and fly fishing were incumbent upon ownership of or connection to private estates, and alpine skiing, alongside other winter sports were

---

<sup>220</sup> José Miguel Hernández Barral, “Polo: Social Distinction and Sports in Spain, 1900-1950,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 36:2-3, (2019): 149-168, 150.

<sup>221</sup> “Participation was mainly by private invitation, or by the purchase or renting of a shooting estate...it was clearly established as an ostentatious display of the wealth and power of the leisured elite who could afford the time to indulge in shooting forays and the accompanying evening house parties which took place over several consecutive week days.” Martin, “The Transformation of Lowland Game Shooting,” 1143.

<sup>222</sup> Munkwitz, “Angels and Amazons,” 512-513.

<sup>223</sup> Podkalicka and Strobl, “Skiing Transnational,” *Leisure Cultures and the Making of Modern Ski Resorts*, 5.

<sup>224</sup> “Tennis seemed designed principally as a pretext for flirtation and afternoon socializing, a game that conjured visions of genteel luxury and fashionable posing.” Jensen, *Body by Weimar*, 16.

determined based on where one could afford to spend their winter holidays. In short, all of the spaces where these sports were played were *exclusive* areas of sociability—if a man did not have the prerequisite financial means or leisure time, let alone the personal comportment, wardrobe, and social standing, he would most certainly not be allowed to participate.

During the interwar years, most notably in the Weimar Republic, sport culture flourished. As Erik Jensen notes in *Body by Weimar*, “one’s physical self, according to the emerging ethos, had become a matter of concern to the nation as a whole, and that nation increasingly judged its citizens on the qualities and capacities of their bodies.”<sup>225</sup> The German bourgeoisie had been concerned with the physical and spiritual (psychological) capacities of the body politic since the Wilhelmine Era. With those anxieties in mind, Imperial Germany saw the rise of body culture and physical education (*Körperbildung*), gymnastics (*Turnen*), and hiking (*Wandervogel*) movements.

Advocates of *Körperbildung* “were worried not only about the health of individuals but about the healing process (*Gesundung*) of society as a whole. They believed that modern civilization, urbanization, and industrialization had alienated human beings from their “natural” living conditions, leading them down a path of progressive degeneration that could only be reversed by living in accordance with man’s and woman’s natures (*naturgemäße Lebensweise*).”<sup>226</sup>

While in turn, “the *Turnen* (gymnastics) movement, which consisted largely of synchronized routines, had conceived of itself since the early nineteenth century as a unifying force for pan-German expression, more or less open to Germans of all backgrounds.”<sup>227</sup> As Elizabeth Heinemann notes in her work on the *Wandervogel* movement:

---

<sup>225</sup> Jensen, *Body by Weimar*, 4.

<sup>226</sup> “[Men and women] attempted to regain a sense of agency and assert control over their lives by means of bodily discipline and other health measures; and men in particular hoped that healthy living and natural therapies would increase their physical fitness and mental performance levels.” Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany*, 1-3.

<sup>227</sup> “Its gatherings invariably featured elaborate displays of patriotic pageantry and choreographed movements performed in unison. As its advocates constantly reminded the public in the 1920s, *Turnen* had sprouted from German soil.” Jensen, *Body by Weimar*, 18.

The *Wandervogel* movement was a meeting of such spirits who recognized, admired, challenged, and nurtured each other. While the boys hardened the bodies and spirits against the harsh natural elements in their wanderings, they sustained the potency of their souls with intense friendships with each other... To youth who had found modern society to be lacking in spirit and depth, the *Männerbund* represented not just a group of friends, even an extraordinary group, but the basis for a whole new society.<sup>228</sup>

The elevation and appreciation of star athletes during the Weimar Republic, was therefore part of a longer cultural tradition of recreational athleticism and ushered in an era of modernity and self-development—two things the war worn people of Germany seized hold of with gusto.<sup>229</sup>

For German men and women, “athletes provided the template for just such a [modern] body—sleek, streamlined, and engineered for maximum performance. Not only did they project images of peak performance and efficiency, but they also exuded a distinctly modern spirit that captivated legions of postwar fans.”<sup>230</sup> Not only did athletes serve as examples of physical excellence, but they also demonstrated the tenuous promise of meritocratic democracy, as athletes of all social backgrounds and both sexes became champions and international celebrities. And, with the increase in sports publications and journalism, ordinary German citizens could venerate and imitate the athletic celebrities they worshipped.<sup>231</sup>

---

<sup>228</sup> “Groups of informally attired teenaged boys led by one perhaps three to six years their senior trekked through the woods, cooking their own simple fare and camping out in barns or in the open air. Not only did they leave parental and educational authority behind, they escaped what they saw as the banalities and conventions of bourgeois, urban society... Romantic *Wandervogel* thought often transformed the *Männerbund* from a group of friends whose heightened spirits elevated them above the banal bourgeois world into an alternative form of social organization.” Heinemann, “Gender Identity in the *Wandervogel* Movement,” 250-252.

<sup>229</sup> “During the Kaiserreich and the Weimar Republic, many Germans organized themselves into voluntary associations concerned with natural therapy and lifestyle reform...The relation between a modern, industrializing society and the life reform movement was therefore not primarily one of modernization and protest against modernization, as some authors argue. Rather, the contemporary explosion in people’s attention to their health was an expression of the contradictions and tensions characteristic of the period of classical modernity.” Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany*, 1-3.

<sup>230</sup> Jensen, *Body by Weimar*, 5.

<sup>231</sup> “As a consequence of both sports’ ubiquitous presence and a modern media capable of circulating images of leading competitors far and wide, athletes in the 1920s radiated broad appeal throughout Europe and North America...the interwar period gave rise not only to a greater appearance-consciousness among some

However, unlike the contemporary sports publications, *Sports and Sun* (*Sport und Sonne*) and *Sports in Picture* (*Sport im Bild*), *The Fashion Dictator* did not concentrate on sports and star athletes. Instead, Eelking's articles showcased the incomparable *style* of tennis champions and the seemingly effortless equine sportsmanship of polo players. As *The Fashion Dictator* was primarily a fashion and lifestyle publication, the sports-related articles therefore took on a definitive clothing-centric focus. These articles informed readers about the appropriate clothing one should wear when going shooting on the grounds of a grand estate or fishing contemplatively in the bubbling streams crisscrossing the Alpine forests. These articles also enlightened readers as to which sporty affects could be worn off the golf green or tennis court, and onto the boulevard for a leisurely promenade. In short, these sportswear articles effectively illustrated Eelking's keen editorial insight regarding cultural overtures to celebrity athletes and sport—particularly keeping in mind the distinction between sports for the masses and sports with a more exclusive following.

A well-rounded man, by Eelking's standards must not only participate in certain athletic endeavors, but also be well-dressed for the occasion. In both of the following pieces, Eelking's use of prose and photographs undergirds his primary statements concerning men's attire. The summer issues of *The Fashion Dictator* featured lengthy articles regarding the swimwear one should wear at the beaches that particular season but did not actually engage with their readers regarding swimming as an athletic endeavor. Summer athletic events worthy of their readers' time and attention included regatta sailing, polo, tennis, and golf—though golf was played fairly regularly throughout the seasons, with the exception of winter. In the summer issue of *The Fashion Dictator* for 1928, there were several articles that address polo, sailing, and tennis. The first piece is a photographic collage titled "With Ponies after the Polo Ball," which showcased several illustrious

---

men, but also to a host of unforeseen body issues, as many of those men worried about their failure to measure up." Jensen, "Arousing Cheer," 40, 44.

polo players, including the Spanish sovereign, King Alfonso XIII, who was a renowned athlete (see again Figure 10).<sup>232</sup> Of course, the focus of this collage was to emphasize the sportsmanship of the featured men, as well as their sporting uniforms. The next article in this issue of *The Fashion Dictator* told men how to dress for the regatta. In “Chasing Yachts,” Eelking chastised sailing men for their stubborn refusal to incorporate more fashionable changes to their regatta clothing:

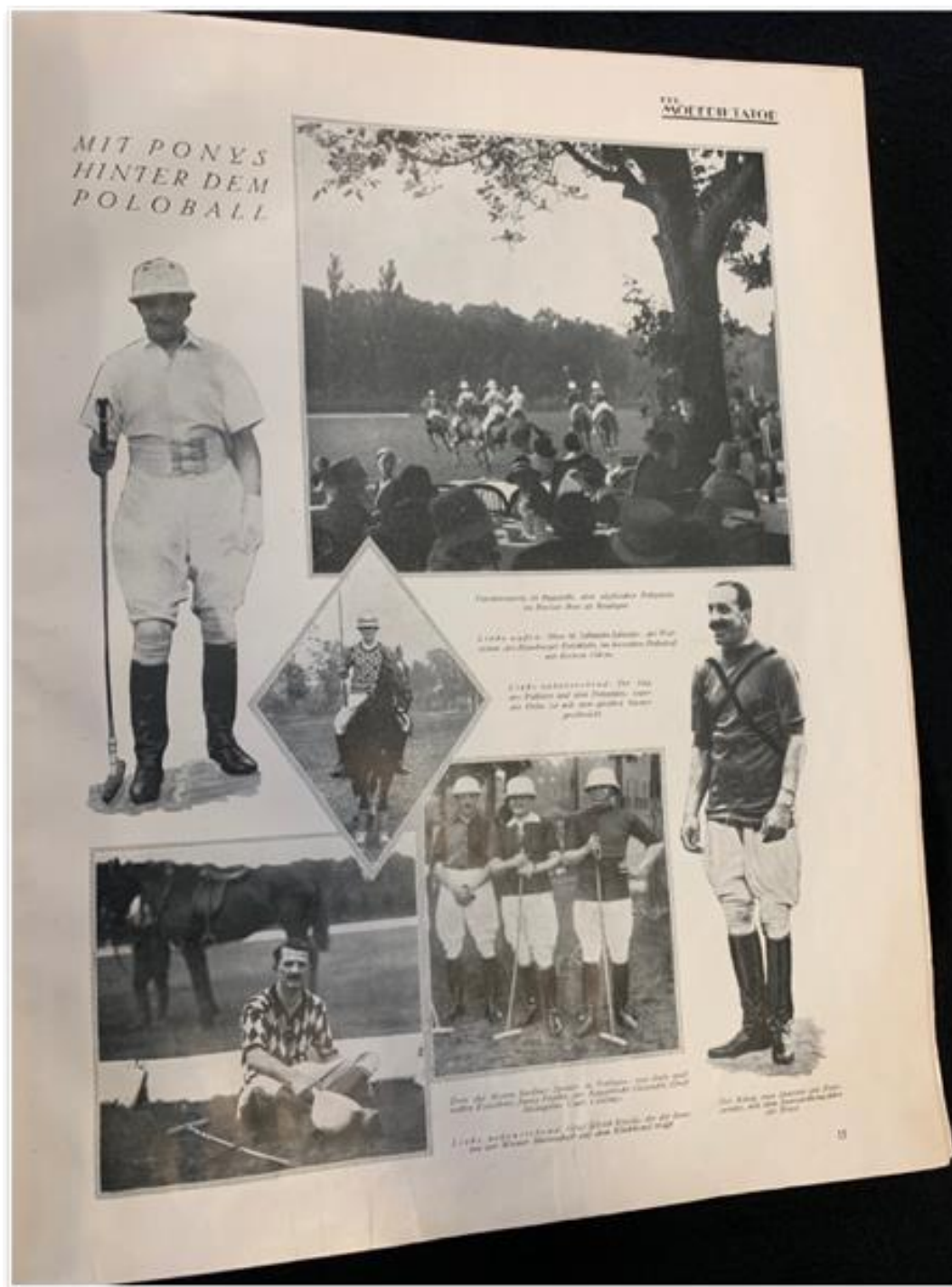
No sportsman is as averse to fashionable innovations in general as the regatta people. They steadfastly adhere to their conservative dress, the blue double-breasted jacket, the white trousers and the blue yacht cap. And yet, even here, fashion is very gradually beginning to make small corrections. For example, the black diplomat tie, which today seems too old-fashioned and reminds us of the time when it was worn with a frock coat, is receding more and more.<sup>233</sup>

If a modern man was an athlete, then he had to be a well-dressed one.

---

<sup>232</sup> See again Figure 10: Eelking, “Mit Ponys Hinter Dem Poloball,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:3, 15, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. “His image abroad was, and is therefore, well-known. He was a soldier, sportsman, diplomat, statesman, businessman, beloved son, devoted father and perfect modern *gentleman*, aspects that were disseminated both by the government and the monarchical press, or the King himself.” González-Aja, “Sport, Nationalism and Militarism,” 1993-1994.

<sup>233</sup> “Kein Sportsmann ist modischen Neuerungen gegenüber im allgemeinen so abgeneigt, wie die Regattaleute. Unentwegt halten sie an ihrem konservativen Dreß fest, dem blauen zweireihigen Jackett, dem weißen Beinkleid und der blauen Jachtmütze. Und doch beginnt auch hier die Mode ganz allmählich kleine Korrekturen vorzunehmen. Wie etwa bei der Krawatte; mehr und mehr weicht heir der schwarze Diplomat zurück, der uns heute hier zu altväterlich anmutet und an die Zeit erinnert, da man ihn auch zum Gehrock trug.” Eelking, “Auf Jagd hinter Jachten,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:3, 19, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.



(Figure 10: With Ponies after the Polo Ball)

Tennis was another pastime that athletic men of leisure enjoyed in the warmer temperatures. Rather, tennis was one of the more popular sports in the Weimar Republic given its more libidinous reputation and lithe star athletes. As Jensen notes:

Unlike other physical activities, tennis placed a premium on debonair self-presentation, and it afforded seemingly endless opportunities for flirtation, since men and women regularly played against one another in official matches of mixed doubles and informal games of singles. In the German popular imagination, tennis served just as much as a catalyst for romance as it did as a form of physical exercise.<sup>234</sup>

*The Fashion Dictator* featured two articles devoted to the game of tennis, “The White Sport,” and “How Do the Champions Play?.” Eelking’s first piece, “The White Sport,” commented on the composition of tennis outfits, white overall with only small splashes of color from the player’s socks, or club emblem adorning his blazer.<sup>235</sup> He also warned his readers not to be so ridiculous as to attempt wearing a tie while playing tennis—that particular accessory had no business on the tennis court:

The only thing responsible is the collar, cut in such a way that it can be worn closed, but also open. And since this is the rule...it follows that even the tie has no place in tennis, not even the little bow, and now not at all the long tie with its fluttering ends. (How? A clip? Horrible!)<sup>236</sup>

By contrast in his second article, “How Do the Champions Play?” Eelking went on at length about the variety of colors displayed throughout the course of a tennis match. He even referenced tennis celebrity and media darling, René Lacoste’s color coordination between his blazer, jumper, and beret:

---

<sup>234</sup> “The game’s foreign [British] provenance, along with its well-heeled tournament circuit around Europe, lent tennis a worldly, sophisticated air from the very start...Added to this vaguely subversive openness, tennis players in Weimar Germany also exuded privilege, beginning with the noble surnames that guaranteed them admission to clubs in the first place...The patina of gentility situated men’s tennis within a matrix of class and gender, since gentility conveyed wealth and good breeding, but also a certain delicacy...Tennis’s own noble pedigree, therefore, reinforced its equally pervasive reputation for licentiousness in the Weimar period, which drew heavily on precisely the stereotype of the aristocratic rake.” Jensen, *Body by Weimar*, 18-21.

<sup>235</sup> Eelking, “Der weiße Sport,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:3, 18, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>236</sup> “Zuständig ist allein der angewachsene Kragen, so geschnitten, daß er wohl geschlossen, aber doch auch offen getragen werden kann. Und da dies die Regel...resultiert daraus, daß auch die Krawatte beim Tennisdreß nichts zu suchen hat, nicht einmal mehr die kleine Schleife, und nun schon ganz und gar nicht der Langbinder mit seinen flatternden Enden. (Wie? Eine Klammer? Horribel!)” Hermann-Marten von Eelking, “Der weiße Sport,” *Der Modediktator: Die Zeitschrift für den gut angezogenen Herrn und alle seine Lieferanten*, 1:3, 18, June 1928, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139 Leipzig, Germany.

When people spoke of tennis, they usually associated the term "white sport" with it. And at that time, at least for the gentleman, there was not even the slightest color in the player's suit. Today this has changed. Colors now dominate everywhere at the big tournaments...Of course, each of the heroes here has his own touch, if not playing in his club colors. Quite striking, for example, is the wine-red sweater worn by Lacoste...Before the match, the world champion still wears the dark blue blazer over it, which, together with the large beige beret, makes an amusing color ensemble.<sup>237</sup>

The contrast between these two articles indicated how Eelking kept abreast of changing fashions—from one year to the next—and insisted his readers should as well, regardless of their commitment to their athletic endeavors. It is worth noting, however, that this tennis champion was the same Lacoste who went on to invent the polo shirt and found his own fashion empire in 1933.

The cooler temperatures and changing foliage ushered in a new course of seasonal sports in the fall issue for 1928. Eelking's articles on game shooting and hunting suggested that these sporting traditions were the fall sports of choice for outdoorsmen. All of these sports were dominated by men of leisure as they required the time and money to access the property where one would fish, shoot, and ride, along with all the necessary equipment. The elite connotations of these sporting traditions harkened back to the pre-war era of fin-de-siècle opulence and the early romantic notions of conservationism.<sup>238</sup> Eelking recognized the well-established sporting tradition

---

<sup>237</sup> "Wenn man da vom Tennisdreß sprach, so verband man meist damit auch den Begriff: "weißer Sport." Und wirklich gab es damals—wenigstens für den Herrn—auch nicht das geringste farbige Moment im Anzug des Spielers. Das ist nun heute anders geworden. Ueberall dominieren jetzt auf den großen Turnieren die Farben...Natürlich hat jeder von den Heroen hier seine eigene Note, falls nicht in den Klubfarben gespielt wird. Recht markant ist so der weinrote Sweater, den Lacoste trägt...Vor dem Spiel trägt der Weltmeister darüber noch den dunkelblauen Blazer, der zusammen mit der großen beigefarbenen Tellermütze ein amüsanter Farbenensemble abgibt." Eelking, "Wie spielen die Champions?," *Der Modediktator*, 3:2, 12, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>238</sup> "Angling...[provided individuals] with a unique foundation of opportunity to access, create and even dominate space within the natural world through the primary and overlapping roles of tourist, naturalist and conservationist...Whereas the natural world could be possessed through intellectual and technological progress, it was also looked upon to provide relief from this progress, specifically the pressures which came from industrialization and urbanization. Thus, while scientific and rational thought became the primary criterion upon which the universe was interpreted and valued, a counter-movement known as Romanticism emerged from within the literary world that sought to reintegrate humanity back into a primitive and enchanted world of nature. McMurray, "The Charm of Being Loose and Free," 827-828.

of game shooting, and referred to the entrenched positions of many of its participants, however, he also recognized that many of readers sought to illustrate their success through “conspicuous consumption” vis-à-vis the embodiment of prevailing expressions of wealth and leisure.<sup>239</sup> In his article, “On Decorum and Stalking,” Eelking identified hunting men as traditionalists, who were seemingly reticent to change their ways as well as their wardrobes:

The hunter of old grist and grain does not generally want to know too much about fashionable things. He sticks to tradition here, too, and doesn't let anything get in the way of his weather-tested Norfolk, with broad shoulder panels, belt and patch pockets...In this form, the hunting suit will probably live on for a long time. Nevertheless, the younger generation already thinks about this much differently.<sup>240</sup>

He did, however, recognize that the younger, and more refreshing generation, was introducing modern modifications to the hunting suit, the Norfolk (though he did identify it as the suit for general outdoor and sportswear, as we shall see in several coming articles). In his second article on hunting attire, Eelking again, criticized the obstinacy of those older members of the fox hunt who seemingly ignored the march of progress, led by the younger generation of riders, in regard to their clothing:

The hunt riders generally do not want to know anything about fashion. They stick orthodoxly to their red coat as uniform. But just as even military outfits tend to undergo minor changes over time, even though of all items of clothing tradition is most dear to

---

<sup>239</sup> “Lavish shooting parties of the pre-war era, run for gentlemen of leisure were replaced by weekend shooting as the new clientele of industrialists and city tycoons needed to dovetail their leisure activities with their working week.” Martin, “The Transformation of Lowland Game Shooting,” 1147. “By the mid-nineteenth century, however, industrialization and economic growth had created a burgeoning bourgeoisie...These aspiring middle classes turned to riding and hunting as evidence of conspicuous consumption, at a time when horse sports were becoming more affordable.” Munkwitz, “Angels and Amazons,” 512.

<sup>240</sup> “Der Weidmann von altem Schrot und Korn will im allgemeinen von modischen Dingen nicht Ballzuviel wissen. Er hält auch hier an der Tradition fest und läßt nichts auf seinen wettererprobten Norfolk kommen, mit breiten Schulterbahnen, Gürtel und aufgesetzten Taschen...In dieser Form wird der Jagdanzug wahrscheinlich noch lange weiterleben. Dennoch denkt die jüngere Generation hierüber schon wesentlich anders.” Eelking, “Auf Anstand und Pirschgang,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:4, 31, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

them, so of course there are minor corrections here and there in the sphere of the red coat as well.<sup>241</sup>

Though their ostentatious red coats were changing, albeit, slowly over time, Eelking compares them to contemporary British trends in regard to hunting fashions:

In England, the red coat, which is called swallow-tail there and is considered the *crème de la crème*, is the pronounced fair-weather coat, and that is also the right thing to do...Despite such rigid conventions—there, for example, it is considered more correct in England to wear a black coat for a fox [hunt]—on the other hand, people on the other side of the Channel have recently been advocating some fashions that seem like an affront. Not only do people hunt in a soft silk racing cap, which, by the way, the heir to the throne himself approves of, they also like to ride in it.<sup>242</sup>

As discussed in a previous chapter, Eelking's frequent comparisons between German and British or French fashions and fashion icons was an ongoing attempt to return German culture and members of German high society to their previous position of western European dignity and authority.<sup>243</sup>

*The Fashion Dictator* also included an extensive article on the gentleman's sport of fly fishing—another noble athletic endeavor that took place in the in the cooler temperatures of the alpine spring. In comparison to Eelking's articles which reprimanded fashion traditionalists and instructed his readers on how to dress as fashionably and modernly as possible, guest writer, Paul Rauser, introduced readers to the noble sport of angling, more commonly referred to as fly fishing.

---

<sup>241</sup> “Die Jagdreiter wollen im allgemein nichts von der Mode wissen. Sie halten orthodox an ihrem roten Rock als Uniform fest. Aber wie sich selbst militärische Monturen mit der Zeit zu kleinen Abänderungen zu bekehren pflegen, obwohl gerade ihnen von allen Bekleidungsstücken Tradition am meisten am Herzen liegt, so gibt es selbstverständlich auch in der Sphäre des roten Rockes hier und da kleine Korrekturen.” Eelking, “Dress hinter den Hunden,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:4, 34-35, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>242</sup> “In England ist der rote Frack, der dort swallow-tail gennant wird und als die *crème de la crème* gilt, des ausgesprochene Schönwetterrock, und das ist auch das Richtige...Trotz solch starrer Konvention—da gilt es beispielsweise in England als korrekter, für einen Fuchs den schwarzen Rock zu tragen—plädiert man andererseits neuerdings jenseits des Kanals für manche Moden, die wie ein Affront erscheinen. Da wird nicht nur mit einer weichen seidenen Rennkappe, wie sie übrigens auch der Thronfolger selber goutiert, gejagt, da gefällt man sich auch darin—.” Eelking, “Dress hinter den Hunden,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:4, 34-35, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>243</sup> See Chapter 2.

In his lengthy article, Rauser shifted the usual focus of *The Fashion Dictator* from sport-related fashion to a sport itself. In his piece, Rauser introduces anglers (gentlemen amateurs) and non-anglers alike to less popular species of fish that populated alpine rivers and lakes:

The sport of [fishing for] salmon, trout and grayling, which in Germany and Austria are joined in the Danube by the catfish, is the most popular among all the followers of fishing who, by disposition or intuition, have a love for the water and its inhabitants. Many non-anglers know the names and tastes of the first two of the four sport fish mentioned, but nine-tenths of anglers have only a vague idea of the existence of the silver-grey grayling and the mighty pike, which can weigh up to half a ton.<sup>244</sup>

He went on to discuss the most ideal locations to find these fish, which turned into an ode these German-speaking lands, many of which were formerly encapsulated in the Imperial state:

Now it is a fact that the preconditions that the trout primarily demands from its living waters, namely purity of the water and a high oxygen content, especially with regard to the last requirement, are more easily found in the more agitated mountain waters, which are more intimately in contact with the air, than in those of the plains. In Mecklenburg, Pomerania, in the Grenzmark, in the Harz and everywhere else, where streams come down from only moderately high mountain ridges, there are trout and with them usually also the grayling, which also belong to the salmonid [family]. East Prussia and Silesia have very good trout waters. But what has gained name and fame in this area, we have to look for in the west and south of our fatherland...Through an extremely lovely river valley, this strong brook winds its way past the old spa toward the Weser, offering in its entire course the very first sport of our *Trutta Fario* [brown trout]. At Bad Wildungen it is again the Eder, which there, incomparably richer in water than the previously mentioned Emmer, has a very large stock of brown trout and grayling. The Eifel, the Taunus, all the mountain ranges down from north to south, hold many a jewel of a trout stream. In Thuringia the Schwarza [River] between Schwarzburg and Blankenburg offers first-class sport, in Franconian Switzerland it is the old-famous Wiesent which makes every fly-fisher's heart beat faster, while in the Black Forest the Enz near Wildbad must be

---

<sup>244</sup>“ Der Sport auf die Salmoniden Lachs, Forelle und Aesche, zu denen in Deutschland und Osterreich im Donaugebiet noch der Kuchen tritt, ist der Entwicklung Spitze bei allen der Anhängern Petri, die durch Veranlagung oder Einfühlung die Liebe zum Wasser und semen Bewohnern in sich tragen. Vielen Nichtanglern sind von den vier genannten Sportfischen die beiden ersten dem Namen und dem Geschmack nach bekannt, von der Existenz der silbergrauen Aesche und der des mächtigen Huchens, der bis über einen halben Zentner schwer wird, haben dagegen auch neun Zehntel der Angler nur eine recht vage Vorstellung.” Paul Rauser, “Der Angelsport auf Forellen,” *Der Modediktator*, Eelking, 2:2, 24-26, 38-39, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

mentioned, which has preserved its old reputation, especially among English anglers, beyond the war and enjoys undiminished esteem.”<sup>245</sup>

The geographic span in this piece champions the natural beauty of the German countryside. This kind of comprehensive German appreciation is also echoed in Kirsten Belgum’s *Popularizing the Nation*.<sup>246</sup>

Rauser also took the time to illustrate differences between German and British equipment necessary for the “gentle art:”

Recently angling has been "discovered" as a sport, and finally in Germany, too, the sport of angling is coming to enjoy the prestige it has long enjoyed in Western countries, and especially in England. This England, from which we have borrowed the word and the term gentleman, gives us also for the sport with the artificial fly on the trout a name and a term, just as apt as that and just as-untranslatable: "the gentle art." It really is a fine and noble art, this stalking of a noble, defensible fish, with weapons whose apparent fragility does not give any idea of their performance in the hands of those who know how to use them.<sup>247</sup>

---

<sup>245</sup> “Nun ist es eine Tatsache, daß die Vorbedingungen, die die Forelle in erster Linie an ihr Wohngewässer stellt, nämlich Reinheit des Wassers und ein hoher Sauerstoffgehalt, besonders in Hinsicht auf das letzte Erfordernis, leichter in den bewegteren, mit der Luft inniger in Berührung kommenden Bergwässern, als in denen der Ebene zu finden sind...In Mecklenburg, Pommern, in der Grenzmark, im Harz und überall sonst, wo auch von nur mäßig hohen Bergrücken Bäche herabkommen, gibt es Forellen und mit ihnen meist auch die gleichfalls zu den Salmoniden gehörenden Aeschen. Sehr gute Forellengewässer weisen Ostpreußen und Schlesien auf. Was aber auf diesem Gebiet zu Namen und Ruf gekommen ist, müssen wir im Westen und Süden unseres Vaterlandes suchen... Durch ein äußerst liebliches Flußtal windet sich dieser starke Bach an dem alten Heilbade vorbei der Weser zu bietet in seinem ganzen Lauf allerersten Sport auf unsere Trutta Fario. Bei Bad Windungen wieder ist es die Eder, die dort, ungleich wasserreicher als die vorher genannte Emmer einen sehr großen Bestand an Bachforellen und Aeschen aufweist. Die Eifel, der Taunus, alle die Gebirgszüge von Norden nach Süden herunter, bergen manches Juwel eines Forellenbaches. In Thüringen bietet die Schwarza zwischen Schwarzburg und Blankenburg erstklassigen Sport, in der Fränkischen Schweiz ist es die altberühmte Wiesent, die jedes Flugfischerherz höher schlagen läßt, während im Schwarzwald die Enz bei Wildbald genannt werden muß, die ihren alten Ruf, besonders bei den englischen Anglern, über den Krieg hinaus bewahrt hat und sich unverminderter Wertschätzung erfreut.” Rauser, “Der Angelsport auf Forellen,” *Der Modediktator*, Eelking, 2:2, 24-26, 38-39, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>246</sup> Kirsten Belgum, *Popularizing the Nation: Audience, Representation, and the Production of Identity in Die Gartenlaube, 1853-1900*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

<sup>247</sup> “Denn seit kurzem ist das Angeln als Sport “entdeckt” worden, und endlich kommt nun auch in Deutschland der Angelsport zu dem Ansehen, das er in den westlichen Ländern und besonders in England schon lange genießt. Dieses England, dem wir das Wort und den Begriff Gentleman entlehnt haben, gibt uns auch für den Sport mit der künstlichen Fliege auf die Forelle eine Bezeichnung und einen Begriff, ebenso treffend wie jenen und ebenso—unübersetzbar: “the gentle art.” Es ist wirklich eine feine und

Again, we see how the theme of comparison between Germany and other western European nations, particularly Great Britain, is invoked in an attempt to reestablish Germany's cultural and social position amongst world powers. This point of comparison, however, coincides with what can only be called a Teutonophilic description of the German countryside. Rauser closed his article with an overture to the overall motif of *The Fashion Dictator*, a brief account of the clothing—waders and vests—best suited to the noble art of angling:

This type of fishing necessarily involves special clothing, where, depending on the depth of the water, waterproof, so-called waders or waders can be considered. The latter go up to the chest and are held above the armpits by straps. The stockings as well as the pants are worn in especially suitable boots...Thus one has come to the production of so-called wading vests, which are quite short sleeved vests, which are provided everywhere, in front and behind and on the sleeves, with pockets, in order to accommodate fly and leader tins, hook scissors and all other small devices.<sup>248</sup>

Overall, these articles concerning sports for the outdoorsmen illustrate a fine balance between celebrating traditional elite pastimes and criticizing traditionalist participants for their refusal to modernize. This juxtaposition seemingly reflects the changing tenor of German politics during the 1930s. As the younger far-right generation of Nazis took charge from the older traditionalists—particularly the respectable monarchists—they mirrored themselves on previous well-established foundations, while seemingly carrying Germany forward.

---

vornehme Kunst, dieses Pirschen auf einen edlen, wehrhaften Fisch, mit Waffen, deren anscheinende Zerbrechlichkeit nicht ahnen läßt, was sie an Leistung in der Hand dessen hergibt, der sich ihrer zu bedienen weiß." Rauser, "Der Angelsport auf Forellen," *Der Modediktator*, Eelking, 2:2, 24-26, 38-39, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>248</sup> "Zu dieser Art des Angelns gehört unbedingt eine spezielle Bekleidung, bei der je nach der Tiefe des Wassers wasserdichte, sogenannte Watstrümpfe oder Wathosen in Betracht kommen. Letztere gehen bis zur Brust und werden über den Achseln durch Bänder gehalten. Die Strümpfe sowohl wie die Hosen werden in besonders dazu geeigneten Stiefeln getragen...So ist man zur Herstellung sogenannter Watwesten gekommen, das sind ganz kurzschößige Aermelwesten, die überall, vorn und hinten und auf den Ärmeln, mit Taschen versehen sind, um Fliegen- und Vorfachbüchsen, Hakenscheren und alle sonstigen kleinen Geräte unterzubringen." Rauser, "Der Angelsport auf Forellen," *Der Modediktator*, Eelking, 2:2, 24-26, 38-39, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

These articles also highlighted distinct varieties of outdoorsmen masculinities: the thrill-seeking riders, the conservationist game hunters, and the romantic, contemplative anglers. By including each of these sporting traditions, Eelking calls attention to these expressions of elite sporting masculinities. Furthermore, the recognition of these elite sporting traditions and perpetuating continued participation in these athletic endeavors, Eelking, and by extension, *The Fashion Dictator*, offered readers a genuine notion of legitimacy regarding traditional, elite displays of wealth and leisure, and, simultaneously called on men to rise to the evolving standards of modernity and elegance in the sports they played, and sportswear they adopted in their wardrobes.

This duality undergirds many of the struggles present throughout the Weimar Republic, at both an institutional, and individual level. This balancing act between traditional, elite expressions of performative consumption and modern leisure was later mirrored in the fascist celebration of Neo-classical art, which reinforced both long-held cultural aesthetics, as well as traditional displays of wealth and taste.<sup>249</sup>

Eelking recognized the need for all men of leisure to be fashionably dressed at all times—particularly while on vacation, but the physical concerns between avid skiers and less athletic holiday-goers saw a rift between *haute couture* and practicality.<sup>250</sup> Skiers and avid participants of

---

<sup>249</sup> Pursell, “Queer Eyes and Wagnerian Guys,” 114. Guenther, *Nazi Chic?*, 82. *Art, Culture, and Media Under the Third Reich*, Richard Etlin, ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

<sup>250</sup> “Blusenform statt Litewkaschnitt beim Kristaniastil—Fünfteilige Garnituren—Golfknicker oder Norwegerhosen—Es geht nicht ohne Reserven...Kaum einer von denen jedenfalls, die Sicht jetzt zu einer Fahrt in die winterlichen Berge rüsten, der nicht auch ein paar Skier unter seinem Gepäck hat...In hunderten von Läufen erprobt, gibt es daher für den passionierten Skiläufer neue Parolen auf diesem Gebiet kaum, anders dagegen für den Laien.” Eelking, “Winterlicher Sportdress: Der Norfolk als Standardanzug für Jagd, Golf und Touristik, für Ski, Bob und Curling,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

other winter sports needed a far more substantive wardrobe than their more relaxed counterparts.<sup>251</sup> Luckily for both audiences, *The Fashion Dictator* provided the guidance they needed to be properly weatherproofed for winter sports, and luxurious for lounging around an alpine sojourn. According to Eelking's formidable standards, the only winter sports men should have been entertaining were the ones included in snow-capped, alpine retreats, such as the ones featured at the resort town of St. Moritz.<sup>252</sup> *The Fashion Dictator* featured several articles regarding both the clothing one needed to participate in winter sports such as, curling, bobsledding, and skiing, and how one should spend the winter holidays in mountain retreats. This relatively multifaceted motif in regard to winter sports undergirds the leisure and lifestyle aspect of Eelking's publication. His first article on winter sports/wear, "Winter Sportswear" from the inaugural issue of *The Fashion Dictator* illustrated the evolution and ubiquity of the Norfolk, and also urged men to insure that *the* suit for sport and leisure was in their wardrobes.<sup>253</sup> From golf, to the boulevard, to skiing, Eelking assured his readers that the Norfolk was the most fashionable and versatile ensemble,

---

<sup>251</sup>“Zuerst gilt es für diesen, sich zu entscheiden, ob er den traditionellen Kristianashchnitt oder eine Kombination mit dem modernen Pullover wählen soll. Maßgebend für die Entscheidung muß dabei sein, daß sich diese Zusammenstellung in der Hauptsache nur für kleine Touren, gewissermaßen für Schneepromenaden vor den großen Luxushotels eignet, selbst wenn sie nicht durch ein paar moderne Golfknicker, die auch beim Bob und Curling Dienst haben, sondern durch Norwegerhosen ergänzt wird...Trotz der dekorativen Wirkung dieser farblich sehr reizvollen Sweater, die allerdings oftmals durch Windjacken ein wetterfesteres Aussehen erhalten, wird vom praktischen Standpunkt aus der Kristianashchnitt vorgezogen, zumal da er neuerdings in einer eleganteren Modifikation erscheint.” Eelking, “Winterlicher Sportdress,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>252</sup> In this piece, the author, (whom I suspect was a *nom de plum* for Eelking or one of his close associates,) creates a fictitious scenario describing an aristocratic gentleman flaunting his wit and good taste, whilst illustrating the opulent delights of the resort, St. Moritz. John O'Possum, “Halbgefrorenes à la St. Moritz: Rund um das bißchen Wintersport,” Eelking, *Der Modediktator*, 3:1, 10-11, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>253</sup>“Einfachheit im Schnitt ist jetzt hier die Parole, und so präsentiert sich denn nun der Norfolk, der heute wohl kaum noch in irgendeiner Garderobe fehlt (selbst bei dem nicht, der praktisch keinen Sport ausübt) wie folgt: ganz unkompliziert ist das Jackett geschnitten.” Eelking, “Winterlicher Sportdress,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

particularly when worn in combination with lively accent sweaters or ties.<sup>254</sup> These patterned sweaters, however, were a point of contention for Eelking.

It should be noted that in this substantial article on the nuances of winter sportswear, Eelking did not favor the sportsman over the spectator. He simply provided his readers with a veritable avalanche of information regarding the modern, appropriate clothing for winter sport and winter resorts. It is interesting, moreover, that this ethos was present in all of Eelking's articles on sportswear. Given the cultural significance of athletes and athleticism in the Weimar Republic, one would expect Eelking to encourage his readers to participate in sports. His neutrality regarding both sportsmen and spectators, however, reinforced the notion that *The Fashion Dictator* was the source for men's clothing and lifestyle advice. In his article regarding winter sports/wear for the following winter, Eelking focused his attentions on winter accessories that any man retreating to the mountains needed in their luggage. In "Winter in the Mountains," Eelking illustrated the increasing popularity of winter sports, especially skiing, with his lengthy remarks regarding the differences in winter boots for winter sportsmen and those spending their holiday in more sedentary leisure.<sup>255</sup> Eelking continued at length regarding the different kinds of scarves men

---

<sup>254</sup>“ Der abstechende Pullover, ein feinkarierter Schal oder auch die Krawatte sorgen ohnedies ja schon für Belebung und auch dem farbigen Hemdkragen werden hier ja keine Schwierigkeiten gemacht. Vielfach ist er hier gleich fest mit dem Hemd verbunden, unbedingt jedenfalls, wenn dieser, wie es der Jahreszeit angepaßt und außerdem sehr modern, aus Wolle ist, etwa in einem Champagnern und mit feinem gelben Streifen durchsetzt.” Eelking, “Winterlicher Sportdress,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>255</sup> “Wie der ernsthafte Wintersportler, der stets damit rechnen muß, durchnäßt nach Hause zu kommen, zwei Anzuggarnituren mit sich führt, so gehören eigentlich auch zwei Paar Skistiefel zu jeder Ausrüstung, zumal diese noch weit schwerer trocknen, als Anzüge selber. Dem Skistiefel gesellt sich dann zunächst der hohe Bobstiefel hinzu. Er gleicht dem hohen Schnürschuh, der sich auch für den Motorsport durchgesetzt...Natürlich sind diese hohen Stiefel nicht unbedingt notwendig. Ein Paar respektable Tourenstiefel aus braunem Elchleder, mit wasserdichtem Futter und geschlossener Lasche, tun es schließlich auch...Ja, wer klug ist, nimmt auch von ihnen wieder ein Reservepaar mit sich. Gibt es ja außerdem hier verschiedene Modelle, so daß auch für Abwechslung gesorgt ist. Als Spezialstiefel aber wieder muß der Schlittschuhschuh mitgenommen werden...Aber auch mit diesem Schuh ist die Reihe noch nicht erschöpft; denn auch der filzbornierte Stiefel für das Hochgebirge mit seinem eigenartigen, um Sohle

should wear if, once again, they are skiers or spectators.<sup>256</sup> In short, as long as a man was correctly dressed, it did not matter if he was an athlete or simply copying sporty styles, for streetwear.

Being correctly dressed was of the utmost importance—even on the golfing greens. Wearing the incorrect sweater or shoe indicated that a gentleman neither knew nor cared about the propriety of his ensemble. And if a man was content expressing such a sentiment about his clothing, then what did that say about his character? Unlike the seasonally specific sports of skiing, shooting, and polo, golf could be enjoyed year-round. And, as the trusted source of advice for the correctly dressed modern man, Eelking made sure to include a plethora of articles regarding general sportswear and recreational suits in *The Fashion Dictator*. To be sure, the content of several of these articles overlaps with other seasonal sports. However, Eelking provided his readership with advice on how to best adapt athletic fashions for the boulevard, and to look the part of an amateur sportsman on the green. In his article, “Nothing for the Boulevard,” Eelking carefully outlines which fashions could not be translated from the arena of athletes to quotidian streetwear, as the variety of fashions could be confusing to the untrained eye.<sup>257</sup> According to

---

und Absatz herumlaufenden Beschlag wird in vielen Koffern nicht fehlen. Für die aber, die zwischen dem Training gerne selber den Zuschauer spielen—und wer täte das nicht?—kommen schließlich sich die Ueberziebstiefel hinzu.” Eelking, “Winter in den Bergen,” *Der Modediktator*, 2:1, 17-21, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>256</sup>“ Für den dagegen, der nur gekommen ist, um sich das Leben und Treiben an den Sprungschanzen oder in den Kurven der Bobbahnen anzusehen, wird der Sportpelz, eine kurze karierte Joppe mit Mufftaschen oder wohl gar eine kompletartige Garnitur, wie wir sie bei den Pelzen gezeigt haben, das wichtigste Kleidungsstück sein. Lange Mäntel sind hier weniger am Platz, da sie bei den Schneepromenaden immer hinderlich sein werden, und dann, diese kurzen Pelzjoppen sind ja auch so sehr kleidsam und vor allem auch ausschließlich für den Winter in den Bergen komponiert. Der Schal des Wintersportlers unterscheidet sich wesentlich von dem Schal, den man in der Stadt trägt. Seidene Schals oder gar Cachenez sind daher hier nicht angebracht. Im Gegensatz jedoch zu den allzu wilden und bunten Dessins vergangener Jahre zieht man auch hier heute ruhige Muster vor.” Eelking, “Winter in den Bergen,” *Der Modediktator*, 2:1, 17-21, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>257</sup>“Nur wenige bedenken heute, daß im gewissen Sinne auch die Straße ihre Etikette hat. Sie sehen den Wirrwarr der modernen Boulevards, die durcheinanderschwirrenden Farben, hören all 'die Schreie, mit denen einer den anderen übertrumpft, und denken, wie kann es da auf einen Mißton mehr oder weniger ankommen. Und doch hat die Großstadtstraße empfindliche Nerven, ebenso wie sie ihren besonderen Stil

Eelking, boldly patterned sweaters should never replace the vest on the street, as they had on the driving range, and he passionately argued the same sentiment regarding knickerbockers or “plusfours.”<sup>258</sup>

From the greens to the streets, the clothing brought to prominence by celebrity golfers should be selected and worn with careful consideration and the utmost elegance.<sup>259</sup> The consideration taken to dress correctly would not only underscore a man’s (theoretical) athletic capabilities, but it would also signal that he recognized the social capital of masculine athleticism. In the following issue, Spring 1928, Eelking expertly detailed the versatility and variety of the sports vest, in “The Versatile Sports Vest.” As Eelking explains the upcoming trends in sports vests, he impressed upon his readers that his article was a key component to any amateur’s athletic attire, particularly while golfing. The new array of button-flaps, pockets, and zippers ensure that one has everything they need without sacrificing symmetry for function while on the green.<sup>260</sup> But,

---

hat.” Eelking, “Nichts für den Boulevard,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 30-32, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>258</sup>“Seit aber die kraßfarbigen, wildornamentierten Pullover in den Trousseau eingezogen (schon sind sie natürlich wieder erledigt), fühlt sich jeder Außenseiter genötigt, diese ständig gegen seine Weste einzutauschen. Er sieht, wie exklusiv der Golfsport ist, der sie lanciert hat, sieht die luxuriösen Limousinen vor den Landhäusern der Klubs, und, gewohnt, immer nach dem Ausland zu schielen, kennt er keinen größeren Wunsch, als sich auch im Alltagsleben so zu kostümieren, wie die amerikanischen Nabobs und die englischen Herzöge...Auch flanierende “Knickers” sind auf ihm schlechtesten Geschmack. Unerträglich, ihnen etwa “Unter den Linden” zu begegnen.” Eelking, “Nichts für den Boulevard,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:1, 30-32, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>259</sup>“An Hosen trägt man nach wie vor die weiten Knickerbockers, Plus-fours genannt, die ganz breit und faltenlos fallen müssen...In den Strümpfen kann der Golfer seinem persönlichen Geschmack weiten Spielraum lassen...Wenn ich nun zum Schluß noch einen Rat für die Golfkleidung geben darf, so ist es der, möglichst gute Stoffe zu wählen, um diese lange zu tragen. Eine gewisse Patina, ein in Ehren Graugewordensein, schadet dem gut geschnittenen Anzug nie. Im Gegenteil wird man finden, daß wirklich gut angezogene Golfer etwas befangen sind, solange ihre Kleidungsstücke noch neu aussehen.” Bernhard von Limburger, “Die Mode auf dem Golfplatz,” *Der Modediktator*, 2:3, 20-23, 38, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>260</sup>“Da haben zunächst all die anderen Westen seine Taschen mitübernommen. Nicht immer mehr sind sie heute als Brusttaschen oder auf den Hüften placiert, ganz neuartig einmal sitzen sie jetzt mit ihrer unteren Kante da, wo sonst im allgemeinen bereits der Einschnitt der Hüfttaschen ist... Immer sind diese Taschen selbstverständlich aufgesetzt und auch die Klappe zum Knöpfen ist die Regel...Selbstverständlich fehlt

be sure, as Eelking noted, that this was only one piece of an ensemble—an ensemble that was only completed with the appropriate cap and trousers.<sup>261</sup> Two additional articles that continued along this same golfing motif were, “The Norfolk Shoes,” and “Fashion on the Golf Course.” Surprisingly brief in comparison to his other articles, “The Norfolk Shoes,” illustrated, in detail, the differences between golf shoes. The diverse styles of shoes offered men options for inclement weather, occasions off the green, and more durable options for the serious amateurs.<sup>262</sup> The accompanying illustrations further elucidate the readers on the distinctions Eelking described in the article (see Figure 38).<sup>263</sup> In the longer piece, “Fashion on the Golf Course” guest writer, Bernhard von Limburger, discusses how athletes’ style, particularly that of golfers’, had been imitated and adapted for daily streetwear.<sup>264</sup> It should be noted, that once again, this article does not give the athlete preferential treatment over the spectator. Both occasions offered men of taste

---

auch bei diesen Westen nicht der neue Reißverschluß, der sich so schnell bei den verschiedensten Sportmonturen durchgesetzt. Er ist nicht nur praktisch, sondern auch ästhetisch durchaus einwandfrei als Kragenverschluß.” Eelking, “Die Vielseitige Sportweste,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:2, 18-25, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>261</sup> “Aber bei aller Vollkommenheit dieser Hemdblusen muß auch noch etwas Anderes gefordert werden. Gar nichts sind sie für lange Beinkleider. Nur mit den Plusfours und der Golfmütze bilden sie ein Ganzes.” Eelking, “Die Vielseitige Sportweste,” *Der Modediktator*, 1:2, 18-25, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>262</sup> “Nicht für jedes Wetter natürlich paßt der Halbschuh aus zweifarbigem Leder. Bei bedecktem Himmel wird man Brogues aus braunem Scotch Grain vorziehen, wie sie das Modell Figur 3 zeigt, das außerdem starke Nonslip-Sohlen und eine sehr geschmackvolle Voluten-Ornamentierung hat. Ein solcher Schuh wird außerdem nicht nur von dem Golfer getragen werden; er ist überhaupt der Standardschuh jedes Norfolk, ja selbst zum langen Beinkleid hat er hier eine gewisse Berechtigung.” Eelking, “Die Schuhe des Norfolk,” *Der Modediktator*, 2:2, 22, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>263</sup> Figure 38: C. Barber, “Die Schuhe des Norfolk,” Eelking, *Der Modediktator*, 2:2, 22, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>264</sup> “Es ist merkwürdig Ding um die Golfmode: Sie hat die Kraft, sich auch in der Alltagsmode durchzusetzen, was die Kleidung wohl keines anderen Sports vermag. Wer könnte sich etwa die kurzen Hosen des Fußballers, den weißen Flauschmantel des Tennisspielers auf der Straße vorstellen? Wie oft aber sieht man die typischen weiten Knickerbockers des Golfers von gut angezogenen Herren auch bei anderen Gelegenheiten als auf dem Golfplatz tragen, so beim Skifahren, auf der Jagd und beim Wandern. Wie schnell haben sich die früher nur auf dem Golfplatz getragenen Brogues als Straßenschuhe zu allen Homespunanzügen durchgesetzt. Dieses Beispiel ließe sich fast mit jedem Kleidungsstück des Golfers durchführen.” Limburger, “Die Mode auf dem Golfplatz,” *Der Modediktator*, 2:3, 20-23, 38, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.



occasion.<sup>265</sup> He also warned readers not to strip away the distinguishing features of specific articles of clothing (specifically, in this case, those of the Norfolk jacket). Eelking argued that because men's clothing, particularly in comparison to women's *haute couture*, had so few distinct aspects, they must not be diminished, lest they strip away the very characteristics that make them unique.<sup>266</sup> The articles which concerned more general recreation and sportswear focused on the ensembles and individual pieces which best facilitated many of the sports previously mentioned—game shooting, golfing, and skiing. The Norfolk suit, which has been addressed at several points in this analysis was *the* suit for active men. This poetic call to the defense of the Norfolk not only undergirded Eelking's passion and lifelong commitment to men's *haute couture*, but also emphasized the utility, modernity, and elegance of this jacket.

Eelking shows his readers how to pull on the aesthetics of athleticism in “The Pullover, His Trousers, and His Belt.” In this article, Eelking highlighted the versatility, fashionability, and practicality of the individual's entire sports suit. The foundation of the aforementioned Norfolk suit was the sweater (which supplanted the vest), belt, and trousers. Eelking detailed the changing trends that forced the belt to become a star accessory in this fashion equation, and how one could

---

<sup>265</sup> ““So schmucklos wie möglich,” das war all die letzten Jahre die Parole auch für den Norfolk. Sehr gegen alles Herkommen eigentlich, denn das Wesen des Norfolks ist es ja gerade, daß er seine besondere sportliche Verarbeitung hat...Das hat man denn auch eigesehen und nun haben wir wieder die verschiedensten Modelle für den Norfolk. Ohne weiteres obligat sind so zunächst die aufgesetzten Taschenn, mit denen—wenn keine anderen Garnituren hinzukommen—die Jacke auch noch gelegentlich den Tagessakko vertreten kann; vorausgesetzt, daß nicht auch die rechte Brust noch mit einer Tasche besetzt ist. Zu überlegen ist dabei immer, ob die Brusttasche einen Knopf haben darf oder nicht. Für manchen vielleicht eine gleichgültige Bagatelle; und doch zeigt sich auf diese Weise der Grad des modischen Stilgefühls.” Eelking, “Der wiedererstandene Norfolk,” *Der Modediktator*, 3:1, 13, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>266</sup> “Wie immer aber in solchen Fällen, war diese Maßnahme zu radikal, auch des letzten Kennzeichens entkleidet man den Norfolk und er sah nun genau so aus wie jeder andere Sakko. Zwar hatte das für manche auch wieder sein Gutes, denn mit langen Beinkleidern war das Jackett auf diese Weise auch als regulärer Tagesanzug zu verwenden. Bald würde dann auch jeder anderen Anzugskategorie ihre Eigenart genommen sein, dem Smoking seine Seidenspiegel und der Frackhose ihre Salons.” Eelking, “Der wiedererstandene Norfolk,” *Der Modediktator*, 3:1, 13, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

coordinate the belt with other necessary accessories.<sup>267</sup> He also offered suggestions of exotic leathers that were currently *en vogue*.<sup>268</sup> In short, this article further illustrated the depth of Eelking's knowledge regarding men's clothing through his description of the components of a sporting suit, and his commitment to ensuring men of leisure were appropriately dressed for all their sporting endeavors.

As we have seen in these articles, Eelking sought to establish that a modern man in the Weimar Republic was an athletic one—even if that athleticism only extended to the realm of spectator. Simply participating as a spectator did not necessarily separate the man from the athleticism—so long as the spectator wore the correct attire. Eelking illustrated this point time and again in his refusal to privilege the athlete over the spectator in his articles. And, to successfully embody the masculine athleticism featured in both the images and articles of *The Fashion Dictator* a man had to dress the part. The advice and knowledge Eelking provided for his readership was remarkably free from any bias toward either the avid sportsman or leisurely onlooker (as I suspect he himself may have been). It was not, however, inexpensive. The sports and sportswear featured were purchased, practiced, and perfected by men of means. From warm-weather sports such as sailing and polo, to hunting, shooting, and skiing in the cooler and winter months, all these athletic endeavors required a great deal of time and money to successfully participate in these elite expressions of recreational consumption.

---

<sup>267</sup>“ Verdeckte er bisher den Gürtel, so ist jetzt gerade das Umgekehrte der Fall, der Pullunder wird in die Hose gesteckt, und der Gürtel darüber geschnallt... Denn der Gürtel hat nun, mehr denn je, eine dekorative Mission...Das Koppelschloß wird heute—einem Vorschlag aus Paris folgend—fast ausschließlich aus Emaille in sehr aparten Mustern und Farben gebracht (in den mondänen Badeplätzen des Auslandes vielfach mit Manschettenknöpfen und Krawattenklammern zu einer einheitlichen Garnitur zusammengestellt) und hauptsächlich auf feine Kalb- und Rindleder montiert.” Eelking, “Der Pullunder, seine Hose und sein Gürtel,” *Der Modediktator*, 3:3, 16-17, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>268</sup> “Aber auch Ledersorten wie Seehund, Alligator, Straußleder oder Schweinsleder sind große Mode, zumal sie fast unverwüsthlich sind.” Eelking, “Der Pullunder, seine Hose und sein Gürtel,” *Der Modediktator*, 3:3, 16-17, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

This cultural elitism not only reaffirmed the significance of athletic masculinity, but also clearly demonstrated the class divisions inherent in its different expressions. For instance, both Max Schmeling and Alfonso XIII could represent paragons of modern, masculine athleticism, albeit in two very different frames. As boxing champion, and international celebrity Schmeling, represented mass spectacle, the opportunity of upward mobility, and working-class ideals.<sup>269</sup> Schmeling was never featured in *The Fashion Dictator*, however. Whereas, the Spanish monarch, Alfonso XIII frequently graced the pages of *The Fashion Dictator*; he clearly represented the exclusivity, luxury, and aristocratic sportsmanship at a time when many of those principles were coming under criticism due to the political and economic ramifications of the First World War.<sup>270</sup>

My point in bringing these Max Schmeling and Alfonso XIII into this discussion, is that both men successfully embodied a physical prowess that was fashionable—a prowess that the media, (in this case *The Fashion Dictator*) perpetuated in its articles on sports and sportswear. Baron von Eelking offered his readers the knowledge they needed to identify and imitate, vis-à-vis sportswear, the kind of athletic masculinity heralded during the Weimar Republic, regardless of their actual athletic capabilities. This kind of athletic embodiment via consumerism, as opposed to any kind of genuine athleticism is illustrated time and again in *The Fashion Dictator* by emphasizing celebrity athletes for their style, rather than their athletic prowess. Schmeling was a real athlete in comparison to the Spanish monarch, but by highlighting Alfonso XIII alongside René Lacoste, Eelking demonstrated to his readers that looking like a fashionable athlete had far more social capital than a déclassé, working class champion.<sup>271</sup> In short, Eelking's athletes—that

---

<sup>269</sup> Hughes, *Max Schmeling and the Making of a National Hero*, 75. Jensen, *Body by Weimar*.

<sup>270</sup> González-Aja, "Sport, Nationalism and Militarism," 1997.

<sup>271</sup> Ward, *Weimar Surfaces*, 81.

is the spectator as athletic participant through the purchase of athletic clothing—were all Polish and no practice.

Though participation through purchase has only become endemic in the twenty-first century, it is worth noting how Eelking's athletes seemingly echo Walter Benjamin's analysis of fascism.<sup>272</sup> Participation in spectacle, a critical component of the aestheticization of politics, was not only necessary for the successful implementation of a fascist regime, but also the rising consumer culture of the interwar period. Moreover, as we shall see in the conclusion, after the rise of National Socialism, participation in spectacle extended to both spectators, and those spectators as participants in brownshirt uniforms, as Eelking illustrated with his athletes.

---

<sup>272</sup> Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, 1935, (New York: Random House, 2005).



## Conclusion

### The Fate of *The Fashion Dictator*

In the autumn of 1930, Eelking changed the name of his magazine from *The Fashion Dictator* to *The Gentleman's Journal*. Alongside the change of the title, Eelking also updated the general content of his magazine. Though still focused on the modern, dashing man, the articles, advertisements, and illustrations had a distinctly more versatile, and less provocative tone. Gone were the vivacious illustrations featuring languid, effete youths. The same can be said of advertisements for men's swim and loungewear; the once homosocial images were replaced with pictures of men entertaining glamorous women on either arm. Eelking's articles regarding the latest styles or how to best accessorize a seasonal suit were exchanged for articles on contemporary interests, such as cocktails, automobiles, and the other leisurely activities of modern men.<sup>273</sup> Eelking recognized that "there are the many passions to which our hearts belong, from the most expensive passion—apart from women—to the ever more comfortable convertibles and limousines, to bibliophilic eroticas, a droll Scotch terrier, the collection of selected tobaccos or the concoctions of refined liquors."<sup>274</sup> The pages of this issue duly usher in the new motif of *The Gentleman's Journal* with a featured article on how to best match ladies' evening wear.<sup>275</sup>

---

<sup>273</sup>“Fashion will continue to be in the foreground, but it will no longer be the only topic. There are just too many areas besides it, which find strong interest with the gentleman, quite apart from the fact that between fashion and fine life culture lie so many points of contact, which cannot be denied in the long run at all.” Translated from, “Wohl soll auch die Mode weiterhin im Vordergrund stehen, aber das Alleinrecht wird sie nicht mehr haben. Zu viel Gebiete gibt es eben neben ihr noch, die bei dem Herrn starkes Interesse finden, ganz abgesehen davon, daß zwischen Mode und seiner Lebenskultur so viele Berührungspunkte liegen, die sich auf die Dauer gar nicht verleugnen lassen.” Eelking, “Der Modediktator wird umgetauft!,” *Der Modediktator-Das Herrenjournal*, 3:5, 1, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>274</sup> Translated from, “Weiter gibt es dann diese vielerlei Leidenschaften, denen unser Herz gehört, von der teuersten Passion—von den Frauen abgesehen—den immer komfortableren Cabriolets und Limousinen angefangen bis zu bibliophilien Eroticas, einem drolligen Scotchterrier, der Sammlung ausgesuchter Tabatieren [Tabak sortieren] oder den Mixturen raffinierter Alkoholikas.” Eelking, “Der Modediktator wird umgetauft!,” *Der Modediktator-Das Herrenjournal*, 3:5, 1, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>275</sup> Eelking, “Die Partnerin des Smokings: Das kleine Kleid,” *Der Modediktator-Das Herrenjournal*, 3:5, 4-5, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139 Leipzig, Germany.

It should also be noted that the illustrations and articles in the newly minted *Gentleman's Journal* created an overtly heterosexual motif. Illustrations of lithe, delicate men enjoying cocktails were replaced with athletic, stalwart men surrounded by women. Instead of cover illustrations of conversation between two men, men grab women by the waist, or are captured mid-stride in athletic activities. The androgynous cosmopolitanism of *The Fashion Dictator* was gone, replaced with the hardened athleticism of the fascist man.

This change which came after three seemingly successful years was in response to what Eelking described as “the numerous requests with which our readers have approached us in the meantime.”<sup>276</sup> Though it could be true that readers fervently requested such a change, this was also a standard formulaic phrase Eelking could have printed simply to justify the changes he wanted to make—or thought necessary to make—in his magazine. In order to adequately address the plethora of questions and concerns put forward by his readers, Eelking realized that the fashion focus and title, *The Fashion Dictator* no longer suited his magazine, and so *The Gentleman's Journal* emerged as the successor to answer any and all queries regarding “every field of interest in the world of elegance.”<sup>277</sup>

Through the lens of the changing economic, social, and political environment of the final years of the Weimar Republic, this departure from the original ethos of *The Fashion Dictator* is especially interesting. The Great Depression eroded any economic growth following the

---

<sup>276</sup> “Die Entwicklung aber, die der “Modediktator” dann in diesen drei Jahren genommen, das Interesse, das er überall in der Herrenwelt gefunden und die zahlreichen Wünsche, mit denen unsere Leser inzwischen an uns herangetreten, geben uns nun doch Anlaß, die Tendenz der Zeitschrift etwas zu ändern,” Eelking, “Der Modediktator wird umgetauft!” *Der Modediktator-Das Herrenjournal*, 3:5, 1, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

<sup>277</sup> “Unter dieser neuen Flagge hoffen wir den großen Kreis unserer Freunde noch erheblich zu erweitern, denn unter dem neuen Titel ist für jedes Interessengebiet der eleganten Welt Raum, und wer vieles bringt, wird jedem etwas bringen,” Eelking, “Der Modediktator wird umgetauft!,” *Der Modediktator-Das Herrenjournal*, 3:5, 1, Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139.

stabilization of the Republic's "Golden Years."<sup>278</sup> Following the United States' stock market crash in October of 1929, U.S. banks called in all of the short-term loans which were floating the German economy. As a result, the Weimar Republic spiraled, yet again, into financial ruin. As a result of eroding markets, declining profits, and rampant unemployment, retail sales dropped by more than 40% and the fashionable, cosmopolitan glamor that characterized the 1920s gave way to clothing of necessity: pieces mended until they had to be torn into scraps and repurposed; jackets and dresses made from upholstery and drapes.<sup>279</sup> This was not the moment for a fashion dictator, but did that mean it was the moment for a gentleman's journal?

In March of 1930 President Paul von Hindenburg appointed Heinrich Brüning as Chancellor to deal with the economic and unemployment national crises after Hermann Müller's coalition government collapsed.<sup>280</sup> Ultimately, Brüning's inability to adequately handle the issues emerging from the Great Depression further jeopardized the already tenuous stability of the Reichstag. After attempting to rule vis-à-vis emergency decrees and largely circumventing the Reichstag, Brüning requested the government dissolved by Hindenburg, who did so in July of 1930.<sup>281</sup> The subsequent election in September saw an alarming shift in the electorate with radical parties on either side of the political spectrum gaining significant increases, particularly the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP) increasing their seats in the Reichstag from a measly 12 to an alarming 107.<sup>282</sup>

---

<sup>278</sup> Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 161.

<sup>279</sup> Guenther, *Nazi Chic?*, 83, 88.

<sup>280</sup> Joseph W. Bendersky, *A Concise History of Nazi Germany*, (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2014), 62. Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 161-162.

<sup>281</sup> Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 163-164. Bendersky, *A Concise History of Nazi Germany*, 64. Fritzsche, *Germans into Nazis*, 157.

<sup>282</sup> Weitz, *Weimar German*, 351. Bendersky, *A Concise History of Nazi Germany*, 65-70. Fritzsche, *Germans into Nazis*, 149-150.

With the rising political presence of National Socialists, and continued economic crisis, social anxieties only continued to increase. Leading up to, and immediately following their dramatic election success in 1930, the Nazi Party further exacerbated conflicts between rival political parties, particularly the *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* (KPD).<sup>283</sup> Though the Nazi rise to power would not come for several years, it is important to note how the contemporary political, economic, and social milieu may have affected the spirit of Eelking's magazine. Was his transformation of *The Fashion Dictator* simply a business-minded response to the calls of his readers, as he claimed? Or was there some forward-thinking calculation on the part of Eelking as he surveyed at the tumultuous world around him?

What is perhaps more startling was Eelking's personal transformation. Following the surge of the National Socialist movement, Eelking joined the *Sturmabteilung* (SA) in 1933. It should be noted that Eelking joined after Adolf Hitler was made chancellor in January and the Nazis' secured electoral victory in the Reichstag in March, and so was part of the flood to join the Nazis following their success.<sup>284</sup> This is a particularly surprising personal choice as the SA was arguably the working-class branch of Nazi organizations with its brawlers and bruisers, and Eelking was, if anything, something of a snob.<sup>285</sup> This influx of membership into Nazi organizations following the political success of the NSDAP, as well as the violence of the Night of the Long Knives in July

---

<sup>283</sup> Bendersky, *A Concise History of Nazi Germany*, 64. Weitz, *Weimar Germany*, 352.

<sup>284</sup> Bendersky, *A Concise History of Nazi Germany*, 81-83.

<sup>285</sup> "Most of the early SA recruits were demobilized soldiers of lower-middle-class origin who could not adjust to the routine of civilian life or accept the loss of the social status they had formerly known as officers during the war...To others [recruits], the attractive features were the radicalism of the party and the search for adventure. But many were nothing more than young toughs and alienated antisocial elements. The activities of the SA offered them an outlet for their aggression." Bendersky, *A Concise History of Nazi Germany*, 43-44.

1934, removed the more thuggish and radical—not to mention notoriously homosexual—components that had previously characterized Nazi organizations, particularly the SA.<sup>286</sup>

The year after Eelking joined the SA, he published *The Uniforms of the Brownshirts* in 1934 so that “all good Germans will understand their uniforms.”<sup>287</sup> This book lays out the uniforms for each rank and associated organization under National Socialism, (see Figures 39 and 40).<sup>288</sup> The attention to detail and care with which Eelking previously described men’s accessories and evening wear in *The Fashion Dictator* was still present in his evaluation of Nazi uniforms. Eelking carefully details the dress and combat uniforms of the different branches of Nazi organizations, as well as all the distinctive accoutrement that distinguished individual ranks, (see Figures 41 and 42).<sup>289</sup> Much like his original aim of enlightening Weimar-era men on correct and elegant clothing in *The Fashion Dictator*, Eelking recognized that many Brownshirts needed to be educated on the insignia and distinctions of their newfound uniforms.

---

<sup>286</sup> Bendersky, *A Concise History of Nazi Germany*, 94-95.

<sup>287</sup> Guenther, *Nazi Chic?*, 181. Eelking, *Die Uniformen der Braunhemden: (S.A., S.S., Politische Leiter, Hitlerjugend, Jungvolk und B.D.M)*, (Munich, Germany: Zentralverlag der N.S.D.A.P. Frz, Eher Nachs. GmbH, 1934).

<sup>288</sup> Figures 39: Eelking, “Hitlerjugend,” *Die Uniformen der Braunhemden*, 34-35. Figure 40: Eelking, “Truppführer eines Marinesturmes; Scharführer eines Marinesturmes im Mantel,” *Die Uniformen der Braunhemden*, 50-51.

<sup>289</sup> Figures 41: Eelking, “SS Adjutant im Range eines Sturmabführers im Ausgehanzug,” *Die Uniformen der Braunhemden*, 10-11. Figure 42: Eelking, “Gruppen- und Zugehörigkeitsabzeichen,” *Die Uniformen der Braunhemden*, 30-31.



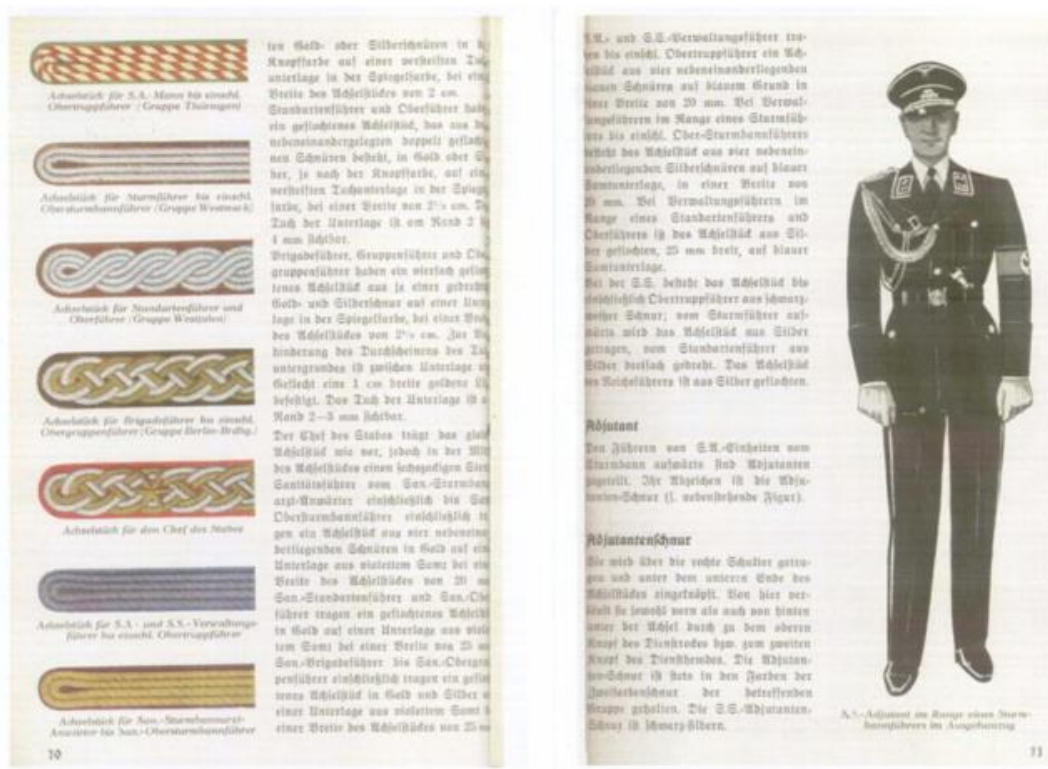
all Germans to recognize and appreciate the transformation in men's fashion from suits to military uniforms.



(Figure 40: Squad Leader of a Naval Turret)

Eelking believed that well-dressed, elegant men carried themselves with dignity, and brought honor and distinction to themselves, and Germany as a whole. Eelking also recognized how men's fashion changed over time, and that certain articles of clothing could recede from popular style. What is interesting, however, is that the well-dressed men who supposedly carried themselves with distinction in 1934, were men in uniform—specifically the brownshirted uniforms of the SA. This nazification of Eelking's taste seems, to this author, a peculiar contrast with the motifs that previously circulated in *The Fashion Dictator*. Was Eelking one of thousands of Germans who joined Nazi organizations after their political success? Powerful social pressures certainly manifested in the all-pervasive *Gleichschaltung* of German society after the Nazi consolidation of power. Or was he drawn to the SA for its homosociality and its reputation as a

haven for gay men (prior to the Night of the Long Knives)? Was Eelking's membership in the SA a reflection of *Gleichschaltung* or a reflection of his Weimar-era appreciation of homosocial environs? Or could it be that Eelking recognized that Nazism was *en vogue* and in order stay *au courant* he kept a close eye on the brownshirted fashions?



(Figure 41: SS Sturmabteilung in Dress Uniform *above*)

Though Eelking's motif of the gentleman at leisure did not at all fit with the pugilistic atmosphere of the SA, perhaps the exaltation of homosociality (prior, of course, to 1934) provided Eelking with the necessary tolerance to enjoy this seemingly incompatible environment. Or perhaps, Eelking, like so many others, was enraptured by the powerful (even erotic) allure of Nazi uniforms.<sup>291</sup> Together, with the newfound Nazi aesthetics of masculinity, these visuals may have

<sup>291</sup> Susan Sontag, "Fascinating Fascism," *New York Review of Books*, 1975.

been the perfect cultural cocktail to ensure Eelking's participation in Nazi organizations prior to the Second World War.<sup>292</sup>

Eelking's SA *Sturmführer* title seemed ornamental at best, as he seemingly avoided close association with the Nazi regime, focusing instead on personal projects involving fashion and his growing wine collection during the 1930s and 40s.<sup>293</sup> Ultimately, he successfully skirted military duty until 1945.<sup>294</sup> Though there are not many sources detailing Eelking's personal politics, it would appear that Eelking was somewhat antisemitic, as he had been a member of the Horst Wessel Brigade in World War I and in 1913 had written for *Kreuz-Zeitung*, a paper known for its vehement antisemitism.<sup>295</sup> It is unclear, however, if this sentiment was emboldened during the Nazi regime (which was very likely given the nature of the Third Reich) or if this was a long-held personal prejudice.<sup>296</sup> Furthermore, there is not any obvious antisemitic rhetoric, articles, or illustrations in *The Fashion Dictator*.

---

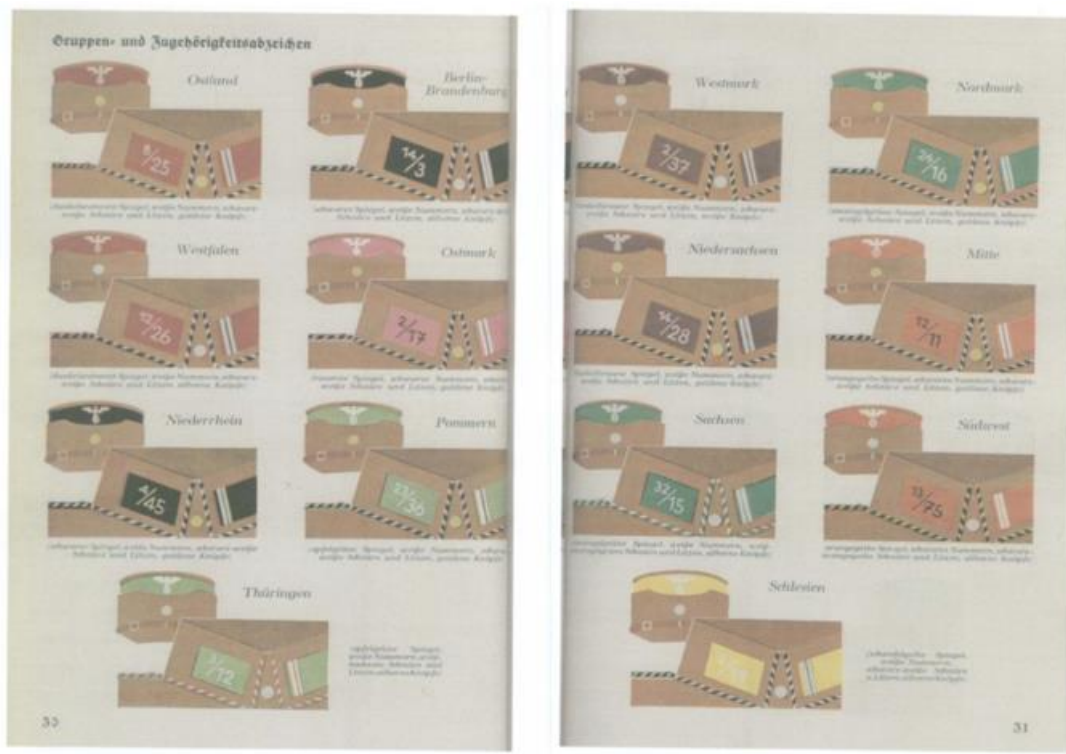
<sup>292</sup> Claudia Koonz, *Nazi Conscience*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

<sup>293</sup> Schneider, "Baron Von Eelking--A Life In Men's Fashion." Schneider, "Herrenjournal—The German Apparel Arts."

<sup>294</sup> Schneider, "Baron Von Eelking--A Life In Men's Fashion." Schneider, "Herrenjournal—The German Apparel Arts."

<sup>295</sup> "Er wurde im Ersten Weltkrieg ausgezeichnet (Mitglied der Brigade Horst Wessel) und schrieb bereits 1913 für die "Kreuz-Zeitung", die für ihren vehementen Antisemitismus bekannt wurde." Uwe Westphal, *Berliner Konfektion und Mode 1836-1939: Die Zerstörung einer Tradition*, 1992, 196.

<sup>296</sup> Uwe Westphal, *Berliner Konfektion und Mode 1836-1939: Die Zerstörung einer Tradition*, 1992.



(Figure 42: Group and Rank Badges)

After the Second World War Eelking returned to his work on men's fashion and resumed publication of *The Gentleman's Journal* in 1950. After a lifetime commitment to modern, fashionable elegance and literary publications Eelking died in 1970. Though a reflection of Eelking's personal beliefs and prejudices is still present in his publications, a more detailed exploration of his life and work are beyond the scope of this project. His postwar publications continued to focus on men's fashion and lifestyle, particularly the *Encyclopedia of Men's Fashion* (1960) and *The Portrait of an Elegant Man* (1962).<sup>297</sup>

*The Fashion Dictator* illustrates the complexities inherent in white-collar, Weimar masculinity. Conspicuous consumption was key to the successful embodiment of the vision of

<sup>297</sup> Eelking, *Das Bildnis des eleganten Mannes*. Eelking, *Lexikon der Herrenmode*.

modern masculinity put forward in Eelking's magazine. As we have seen in this analysis of *The Fashion Dictator* the purchase and adoption of the correct clothing could demonstrate the wearer's social capital, professional success, or even athletic capabilities. A colorful accent piece could even advertise a man's tacit support of the nascent republic or a more exotic lifestyle.

*The Fashion Dictator* illustrated how a well-dressed elegant man came to embody a new vision of masculinity during the Weimar Republic. Inspired by the dandies of the nineteenth century, born from the ashes of Wilhelmine-era aristocratic finery, and christened with the burgeoning consumerism that would later define the twentieth century, this image of modern, elegant masculinity could be achieved by wearing a suit. However, as Eelking has shown, not just any suit would elevate a man to the realm of distinction. Only by closely following the guidelines and suggestions laid out by the Fashion Dictator, could male consumers ascend to the status of a modern, elegant man.

This version of Weimar masculinity was also premised on the notion of men as consumers. This gendered shift in the consumption of material goods changed, particularly during the interwar years. Advertisers and merchants now marketed their merchandise for male shoppers; female consumers no longer cornered this particular market. Men as consumers also forcefully reinforces the notion that masculinity can be embodied through a passive act—namely, an act as passive as self-presentation. Whereas expressions of femininity were traditionally understood through self-fashioning and presentation, masculinity was grounded on the notion of action and exerting power. By purchasing the correct clothing and presenting themselves in said clothes, these modern, elegant men achieved this embodiment of masculinity through a relatively passive role. *The Fashion Dictator* effectively demonstrated how clothing and fashion were no longer strictly the realm of female consumers.

*The Fashion Dictator* emphasizes the cultural significance of clothing, especially men's clothing. Just as scholars have analyzed women's rising hemlines, cosmetics, and *Bubikopfs*, so too should scholars turn their attention to men's patterns of consumption, most especially in relation to their public-facing presentations of self. If women and historically marginalized sexual minorities can have their outward appearances dissected and analyzed by scholars (and society at large) then why should men, particularly those seemingly in the most secure social strata, not undergo the same scrutiny? Such analysis not only enriches the historiographical discourse surrounding gendered expressions of consumerism, but also draws sources like *The Fashion Dictator* into conversation with more well-known analyses of the Weimar Republic and visual ephemera. By including men's fashion magazines in cultural histories, scholars can better explore a whole range of issues, including the subtle political influences that impact the consumer culture and masculinity in the Weimar Republic. Furthermore, incorporating male fashion and embodiments of masculinity into discussions of cultural history enriches both the discourse surrounding consumerism, gender, and public presentation as well as the role of visibility in the Weimar Republic.

Of course, the link between masculinities in magazines (or in culture more broadly) and individual identity, self-conception, and even self-expression is not uncomplex. Personal presentation and self-expression are inherently personal and subjective. They are also fundamentally public. Regardless of how an individual sees themselves, the public they interact with draw conclusions about them based on their outward appearance. These assumptions can be fleeting and superficial, or observant and well-informed. Regardless, these momentary impressions dictate how one interacts with the people around them, as well as how one can see oneself.

My goal in exploring this rather incredible magazine, was to analyze how men's fashion and self-presentation changed from the Weimar Republic to the Third Reich, to identify certain continuities and emphasize points of departure in the circulating images of masculinity. Why was the suave, sophisticated, androgynous cosmopolitan less influential—in the historiography of German history—than his violent, misogynist, racist, toxic Nazi successor? I have attempted to identify, explore, and unpack a very specific (and often ignored) masculinity; one that is often overshadowed by others—violent Nazism being one. Through this exploration, the (white) heterosexual male identities that are so often taken as the “default”—i.e., men equal people—and are peeled back to expose the complexities inherent in their construction and illustrate their history. This analysis will then help to undermine the privileged position of “default” overall, while exposing the substantial impact of consumerism on the construction of gender expressions.



## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

- Lill, Friedrich A. (1848). “*Verfassungsgebende deutsche Nationalversammlung.*” [Painting]. Frankfurt am Main Historisches Museum, Frankfurt am Main.
- Loewenstein, Joe “Loe.” (1919). “*Aufruf zum Eintritt in den Republikanischen Führerbund.*” [Painting]. Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, Germany.
- Loewenstein, Joe “Loe.” (1912). “*Dr. Axelrod’s Joghurt—Gesundheitsmilch für Jung und Alt, Kranke und Gesunde.*” [Painting found in Berlin, Germany]. Retrieved August 25, 2020, from <https://www.plakatkontor.de/plakatkatalog-16/nr-48---54/index.html>
- Kessler, Harry. *Berlin Lights: The Diaries of Count Harry Kessler*. Edited and translated by Charles Kessler. 1961. (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1999).
- von Eelking, Hermann-Marten. *Das Bildnis des eleganten Mannes*. (Berlin-Grunewald: Verlag Herbig, 1962).
- von Eelking, Hermann-Marten. *Garderoben-Gesetze*. (Berlin, Germany: Budeju-Buchverlag, 1923).
- von Eelking, Hermann-Marten. *Das Herrenjournal*. 1931-1941, 1950-1987. Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139. Leipzig, Germany.
- von Eelking, Hermann-Marten. *Lexikon der Herrenmode*. (Göttigen: Verlag Musterschmidt, 1960).
- von Eelking, Hermann-Marten. *Der Modediktator: die Zeitschrift für den gut angezogenen Herrn und alle seine Lieferanten*. 1927-1930. Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, ZC 6139 Leipzig, Germany.
- von Eelking, Hermann Marten. *Die Uniformen der Braunhemden (S.A., S.S., Politische Leiter, Hitlerjugend, Jungvolk und B.D.M)*. (Munich, Germany: Zentralverlag der N.S.D.A.P. Frz, Eher Nachs. GmbH, 1934).

## Secondary Sources

*Art, Culture, and Media Under the Third Reich*. Richard Etlin, ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

Baer, Brian James. *Queer Theory and Translation Studies: Language, Politics, Desire*. (London: Routledge, 2020).

Barber, Kristen. *Styling Masculinity: Gender, Class, and Inequality in the Men's Grooming Industry*. (Ithaca, NY: Rutger University Press, 2016).

Beachy, Robert. *Gay Berlin: Birthplace of a Modern Identity*. (New York: Penguin Random House, 2014).

Beachy, Robert. "The German Invention of Homosexuality." *The Journal of Modern History*. 82:4 (2010): 801-838.

Bendersky, Joseph W. *A Concise History of Nazi Germany*. (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2014).

Bengry, Justin. "Who Is the Queer Consumer? Historical Perspectives on Capitalism and Homosexuality." 21-36. *Consuming Behaviors: Identity, Politics and Pleasure in Twentieth Century Britain*. eds. Erica Rappaport, Sandra Trudgen Dawson, and Mark J. Crowley. (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015).

Benjamin, Walter. *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. 1935. (New York: Random House, 2005).

Berghoff, Hartmut and Thomas Kühne, "'It Makes Princes of Those Who Have It': Beauty and Consumerism in the Twentieth Century." 1-24. *Globalizing Beauty: Consumerism and Body Aesthetics in the Twentieth Century*. eds. Hartmut Berghoff and Thomas Kühne. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Blackbourn, David. *History of Germany, 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century*. 1997. Fontana Press. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2003).

Brennan, Joseph. "Queerbaiting: The 'Playful' Possibilities of Homoeroticism." *International Journal of Cultural Studies*. 21:2 (2018): 189-206.

Brezeale, Kenon. "In Spite of Women: *Esquire* Magazine and the Construction of the Male Consumer." 226-244. *The Gender and Consumer Culture Reader*. ed. Jennifer Scanlon, (New York: New York University Press, 2000).

Bruns, Claudia. "Masculinity, Sexuality, and the German Nation: The Eulenberg Scandals and Kaiser Wilhelm II in Political Cartoons." *Pictorial Cultures and Political Iconographies*:

- Approaches, Perspectives, Case Studies from Europe and America*. Udo J. Hebel and Christoph Wagner, eds. (De Gruyter, Inc., 2011), 119-141.
- Bruns, Claudia. "The Politics of Masculinity in the (Homo-) Sexual Discourse (1880-1920)." *German History*. 23:3, (2005): 306-320.
- Bruns, Claudia. "The Politics of Eros: The German *Männerbund* between Anti-Feminism and Anti-Semitism in the Early Twentieth Century." *Masculinity, Senses, Spirit*. Katherine M. Faull, ed. (Bucknell University Press, 2011).
- Burleigh, Michael and Joseph Wippermann. *The Racial State: Germany, 1933-1945*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
- Chickering, Roger. *Imperial Germany and the Great War, 1914-1918*. 1998. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- Connell, R.W., James W. Messerschmidt. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept." *Gender and Society*. 19:6, (2005): 829-859.
- Consuming Modernity: Gendered Behavior and Consumerism before the Baby Boom*. Cheryl Krasnick Warsh and Dan Malleck, eds. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013).
- Craig, Gordon. *Germany, 1866-1945*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).
- Crouthamel, Jason. "Homosexuality and Comradship: Destabilizing the Hegemonic Masculine Ideal in Nazi Germany." *Central European History*. 51 (2018): 419-439.
- Crouthamel, Jason. *An Intimate History of the Front: Masculinity, Sexuality, and German Soldiers in the First World War*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
- Davis, Belinda. *Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin*. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).
- "Der Modediktator: d. Zeitschr. Für d. Gut Angezogenen Herrn u. Alle Seine Lieferanten." Zeitschriften Datenbank (ZDB). Deutsche Nationalbibliothek (DNB). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SBB). <https://zdb-katalog.de/title.xhtml?idn=013024426>.
- Dickinson, Edward Ross. "Complexity, Contingency, and Coherence in the History of Sexuality in Modern Germany: Some Theoretical and Interpretive Reflections." *Central European History*. 49 (2016): 93-116.
- Dickinson, Edward Ross. *Sex, Freedom, and Power in Imperial Germany, 1880-1914*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

- Domeier, Norman. "The Homosexual Scare and the Masculinization of German Politics before World War I." *Central European History*. 47:4 (2014): 737-759.
- Dutton, Kenneth. *The Perfectible Body: The Western Ideal of Male Physical Development*. (New York: Allen & Unwin, 1995).
- Easton, Laird M. *The Red Count: The Life and Times of Harry Kessler*. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002).
- Eineigel, Susan. "(En) gendering a Modern Self in Post-Revolutionary Mexico City." 200-219. *Consuming Modernity: Gendered Behavior and Consumerism before the Baby Boom*. eds. Cheryl Krasnick Warsh and Dan Malleck. (Victoria, British Columbia: University of British Columbia Press, 2013).
- Eley, Geoff. *Nazism as Fascism: Violence, Ideology, and the Ground of Consent in Germany, 1930-1945*. (New York: Routledge, 2013).
- Erbe, Günter. *Der moderne Dandy*. (Köln: Böla Verlag, 2017).
- Excitement Processes: Norbert Elias's Unpublished Works on Sports, Leisure, Body, Culture*. Jan Haut, Paddy Dolan, Dieter Reicher, Raúl Sánchez Garcia, eds. (Springer VS: 2017).
- Felski, Rita. *The Gender of Modernity*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).
- Feltman, Brian. *The Stigma of Surrender: German Prisoners, British Captors, and Manhood in the Great War and Beyond*. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).
- Fout, John C. "Sexual Politics in Wilhelmine Germany: The Male Gender Crisis, Moral Purity, and Homophobia." *Journal of the History of Sexuality*. 2:1 (1992): 388-421.
- Freitag, Bjorn Werner. *Defeated Heroes: Constructions of Masculinity in Weimar Republic Battlefield Novels*. (Austin, TX: University of Texas, 2006).
- Fritzsche, Peter. *Germans into Nazis*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).
- Funkenstein, Susan Laikin. "A Man's Place in a Woman's World: Otto Dix, Social Dancing, and Constructions of Masculinity in Weimar Germany." *Women in German Yearbook*. 21 (2005): 163-191.
- Garvey, Ellen. *The Adman in the Parlor: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- Gay, Peter. *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider*. 1968. (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2001).

- The German Bourgeoisie: Essays on the Social History of the German Middle Class from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century*. David Blackbourn and Richard J. Evans, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2014).
- Gerwarth, Robert. *The Vanquished: Why the First World War Failed to End*. (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2016).
- Giles, Geoffrey J. "Legislating Homophobia in the Third Reich: The Radicalization of Prosecution against Homosexuality." *German History*. 23:3 (2005): 339-354.
- Giles, Geoffrey J. "Denial of Homosexuality: Same-Sex Incidents in Himmler's SS and Police." *Sexuality and German Fascism*. Dagmar Herzog, ed. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005).
- Glick, Elisa. *Materializing Queer Desire: Oscar Wilde to Andy Warhol*. (New York: State University of New York Press, 2009).
- González-Aja, Teresa. "Sport, Nationalism and Militarism—Alfonso XIII: Sportsman, Soldier, King." *The International Journal of the History of Sport*. 28:14, (2011): 1987-2030.
- Gordon, Mel. *Voluptuous Panic: The Erotic World of Weimar Berlin*. 2000. (Berkeley: Feral House, 2008).
- Grossmann, Atina "The New Woman and the Rationalization of Sexuality in Weimar Germany." Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, Sharon Thompson, eds. *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983).
- Guenther, Irene. *Nazi Chic?: Fashioning Women in the Third Reich*. (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2004).
- Hancock, Eleanor. "'Only the Real, the True, the Masculine Held Its Value': Ernst Röhm, Masculinity, and Male Homosexuality." *Journal of the History of Sexuality*. 8:4 (1998): 616-641.
- Hau, Michael. *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History, 1890-1930*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).
- Hau, Michael. *Performance Anxiety: Sport and work in Germany from the Empire to Nazism*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017).
- Heinemann, Elizabeth. "Gender Identity in the Wandervogel Movement." *German Studies Review*. 5:1 (1989): 249-270.
- Hernández Barral, José Miguel. "Polo: Social Distinction and Sports in Spain, 1900-1950." *The International Journal of the History of Sport*. 36:2-3, (2019): 149-168.

- Higate, Paul. *Military Masculinities: Identity and the State*. (Westport: Praeger, 2003).
- Histories of Leisure*. Rudy Koshar, ed. (New York: Berg Publishers, 2002).
- Hochman, Erin. *Imagining a Greater Germany: Republican Nationalism and the Idea of Anschluss*. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2016).
- Homosexuality and Male Bonding in Pre-Nazi Germany: The Youth Movement, The Gay Movement, and Male Bonding before Hitler's Rise*, Harry Oosterhuis ed. Hubert Kennedy trans. (New York: Haworth Press, Inc., 1991).
- Hughes, Jon. *Max Schmeling and the Making of a National Hero in Twentieth-Century Germany*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).
- Jelavich, Peter. *Berlin Cabaret*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).
- Jensen, Erik. "Arousing Cheer: Exhibitionism in Men's Sports from Weimar to the Present." *The Palgrave Handbook of Masculinity and Sport*. Rory Magrath, Jamie Cleland, Eric Anderson, eds. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 39-56.
- Jensen, Erik. *Body by Weimar: Athletes, Gender, and German Masculinity*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- Jünger, Ernst. *Storm of Steel*. 1920. (New York: Penguin, 2003).
- Kalman-Lamb, Nathan. "'I Hate Christian Laettner' and the Persistence of Hegemonic Masculinity and Heteronormativity in Sporting Cultures." *The Palgrave Handbook of Masculinity and Sport*. Rory Magrath, Jamie Cleland, Eric Anderson, eds. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 241-260.
- Koonz, Claudia. *The Nazi Conscience*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).
- Koshar, Rudy. "Germans at the Wheel: Cars and Leisure Travel in Interwar Germany." 215-232. *Histories of Leisure*. ed. Rudy Koshar. (New York: Berg Publishing, 2002).
- Kreimeier, Klaus. *The Ufa Story: A History of Germany's Greatest Film Company, 1918-1945*. Translated by Robert and Rita Kimber. (New York: Hill & Wang, 1996).
- Kühne, Thomas. "Comradeship: Gender Confusion and the Gender Order in the German Military, 1918-1945," in *Home/Front: The Military, War and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 233-54.
- Kühne, Thomas. *The Rise and Fall of Comradeship: Hitler's Soldiers, Male Bonding and Mass Violence in the Twentieth Century*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Lambert, Peter. "Heroisation and Demonisation in the Third Reich: The Consensus-Building Value of a Nazi Pantheon of Heroes." *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*. 8:3-4 (2007): 523-546.

Laqueur, Thomas. *The Making of the Modern Body: Sexuality and Society in the Nineteenth Century*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

Laqueur, Thomas. *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

*Leisure Cultures and the Making of Modern Ski Resorts*. Philipp Strobl and Aneta Podkalicka, eds. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

Lerman, Katharine Anne. *The Chancellor as Courtier: Bernhard von Bülow and the Governance of Germany, 1900-1909*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Linge, Ina. "Sexology, Popular Science and Queer History in *Anders als die Andern (Different from the Others)*." *Gender & History*. (New York: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2018), 595-610.

*The Many Faces of Weimar Cinema: Rediscovering Germany's Filmic Legacy*. Edited by Christian Rogowski. (Rochester, NY: Camden House Publishing, 2010).

Marhoefer, Laurie. "Degeneration, Sexual Freedom, and the Politics of the Weimar Republic, 1918-1933." *German Studies Review*. 34:3, (2011): 529-549.

Marhoefer, Laurie. *Sex and the Weimar Republic: German Homosexual Emancipation and the Rise of the Nazis*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).

Martin, John. "The Transformation of Lowland Game Shooting in England and Wales in the Twentieth Century: The Neglected Metamorphosis." *The International Journal of the History of Sport*. 29:8, (2012): 1141-1158.

McCormick, Richard. *Gender and Sexuality in Weimar Modernity: Film, Literature, and 'New Objectivity'*. (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

McMurray, David. "'The Charm of Being Loose and Free': Nineteenth-Century Fisherwomen in the North American Wilderness." *The International Journal of the History of Sport*. 30:8, (2013): 826-852.

"Der Modediktator : d. Zeitschr. Für d. Gut Angezogenen Herrn u. Alle Seine Lieferanten." Zeitschriften Datenbank (ZDB). Deutsche Nationalbibliothek (DNB). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SBB). <https://zdb-katalog.de/title.xhtml?idn=013024426>.

Mosse, George. *The Image of Man*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

- Mosse, George. *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe*. (New York: Howard Fertig, Inc., 1985).
- Mosse, George. *Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*. (New York: Howard Fertig, 1975).
- Munkwitz, Erica. "Angels and Amazons: Fox-hunting and Sporting Emancipation for Women." *The International Journal of the History of Sport*. 35:6, (2018): 511-529.
- Natter, Wolfgang. *Literature at War, 1914-1940: Representing the "Time of Greatness" in Germany*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999).
- The Oxford Handbook on the History of Consumption*. ed. Frank Trentmann, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Paxton, Robert O. *The Anatomy of Fascism*. (New York: Random House, 2004).
- Peukert, Detlev. "The Genesis of the 'Final Solution' from the Spirit of Science," *Reevaluating the Third Reich*, Thomas Childers and Jane Caplan, eds, 1989 (Holmes & Meier, 1994).
- Plant, Richard. *The Pink Triangle: The Nazi War Against Homosexuals*. (New York: Holt, 1986).
- Podkalicka, Aneta and Philipp Strobl. "Skiing Transnational: Cultures, Practices, and Ideas on the Move." *Leisure Cultures and the Making of Modern Ski Resorts*. Philipp Strobl and Aneta Podkalicka, eds. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 1-23.
- Pouillard, Véronique. "The Rise of Fashion Forecasting and Fashion Public Relations, 1920-1940: The History of Tobé and Bernays." 151-169. *Globalizing Beauty: Consumerism and Aesthetics in the Twentieth Century*. eds. Hartmut Berghoff and Thomas Kühne. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
- Prickett, David James. "The Soldier Figure in Discourses on Masculinity in Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany." *Seminar: A Journal of Germanic Studies*. 44:1, (2008): 68-86.
- Pursell, Tim. "Queer Eyes and Wagnerian Guys: Homoeroticism in the Art of the Third Reich." *Journal of the History of Sexuality*. 17:1 (2008): 110-137.
- Ramsey, Glenn. "The Rites of Artgenossen: Contesting Homosexual Political Culture in Weimar Germany." *Journal of the History of Sexuality*. 17:1 (2008): 85-109.
- Reichert, Tom and Jacqueline Lambiase. "Peddling Desire: Sex and the Marketing of Media and Consumer Goods." *Sex in Consumer Culture: The Erotic Content of Media and Marketing*. Tom Reichert and Jacqueline Lambiase, eds. (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 1-10.

- Reinhardt, Dirk. *Von der Reklame zum Marketing: Geschichte der Wirtschaftswerbung in Deutschland*. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993).
- Rodgers, Nigel. *The Dandy: Peacock or Enigma?* (London: Bene Factum Publishing Ltd, 2012).
- “Rolf Niczky, Mondäne Dame.” GermanArt. National Humanist Association, 2011. <https://germanartgallery.eu/rolf-niczky-mondane-dame/>.
- Rossol, Nadine. *Performing the Nation in Interwar Germany: Sport, Spectacle and Political Symbolism, 1926-1936*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
- Schneider, Sven R. “Baron Von Eelking--A Life In Men's Fashion.” (2011, February 17). <https://www.gentlemansgazette.com/baron-von-eelking-life-in-mens-fashion/>
- Schneider, Sven R. “Herrenjournal—The German Apparel Arts.” *Gentlemen’s Gazette*. (2011, July 18). <https://www.gentlemansgazette.com/herrenjournal-the-german-apparel-arts/>
- Selling Modernity: Advertising in Twentieth-Century Germany*. eds. Pamela E. Swett, Jonathan Wiesen, and Jonathan R. Zatlin, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).
- Smith, Whitney. *Flags through the Ages and across the World*. (London: McGraw-Hill, 1975).
- Soldow, Gary. “Homoeroticism in Advertising: Something for Everyone with Androgyny.” *Sex in Consumer Culture: The Erotic Content of Media and Marketing*. Tom Reichert and Jacqueline Lambiase, eds. (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 319-336.
- Söll, Änne. “Mode und Männlichkeit in den Lifestyle- und Männermodezeitschriften der Weimarer Republik.” 255-274. *Journalismus und visuelle Kultur in der Weimarer Republik*. eds. Katja Leiskau and Patrick Rössler. (Baden, Germany: Nomos, 2016).
- Sontag, Susan. “Fascinating Fascism.” *The New York Review of Books*. 1975
- Sport, Promotional Culture and the Crisis of Masculinity*. eds. Sarah Gee and Steven Jackson. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).
- Sporting Modernity: Sports, Art, and the Athletic Body in Germany, 1918-1938*. Joann Maria Skrypzak, ed. (VDM Verlag, 2008).
- Stumpp, Sébastien. “Alsation Ski Clubs between 1896-1914: An Exploratory Evaluation of the Role of Employees in the German ‘Sportization’ of Skiing.” *The International Journal of the History of Sport*. 27:4, (2010): 658-674.
- Sutton, Katie and Kirsten Leng. “Forum Introduction: Rethinking the Gendered History of Sexology.” (John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2019).

- Sutton, Katie. "'We Too Deserve a Place in the Sun': The Politics of Transvestite Identity in Weimar Germany." *German Studies Review*. 35:2, (2012): 335-354.
- Theweleit, Klaus. *Male Fantasies*. Translated by Stephan Conway. (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1987).
- Tobin, Robert D. "Twins! Homosexuality and Masculinity in Nineteenth Century Germany." *Masculinity, Senses, Spirit*. Katherine M. Faull, ed. (Bucknell University Press, 2011), 1-16.
- Trask, April. "Remaking Men: Masculinity, Homosexuality and Constitutional Medicine in Germany, 1914-1933." *German History*. 36:2, (2018): 181-206.
- Vendrell, Javier Samper. "The Queer Threat to Civilization in Fritz Lang's *M*." *The Germanic Review: Literature, Culture, Theory*. 92:3 (2017): 264-279.
- Wagner, G. "Berlin Fashion Magazines of the Twenties: Deutsche-Elite, Vogue, Blau-Rot." *Waffen-Und Kostumkunde* 45, no. 2 (2003): 113-130.
- Ward, Janet. *Weimar Surfaces: Urban Visual Culture in 1920s Germany*. (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2001).
- Weitz, Eric D. *Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy*. 2007. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).
- Westphal, Uwe. *Berliner Konfektion und Mode 1836-1939: Die Zerstörung einer Tradition*. 1986. (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1992).
- Whisnant, Clayton J. *Queer Identities and Politics in Germany: A History, 1880-1945*. (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2016).
- Williamson, Judith. *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising*. 1978, (New York: Marion Boyars Publishing, 2005).
- Women in the Metropolis: Gender and Modernity in Weimar Culture*. Katharina von Ankum ed. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997).
- Zwicker, Lisa. *Dueling Students: Conflict, Masculinity, and Politics in German Universities, 1890-1914*. (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2011).