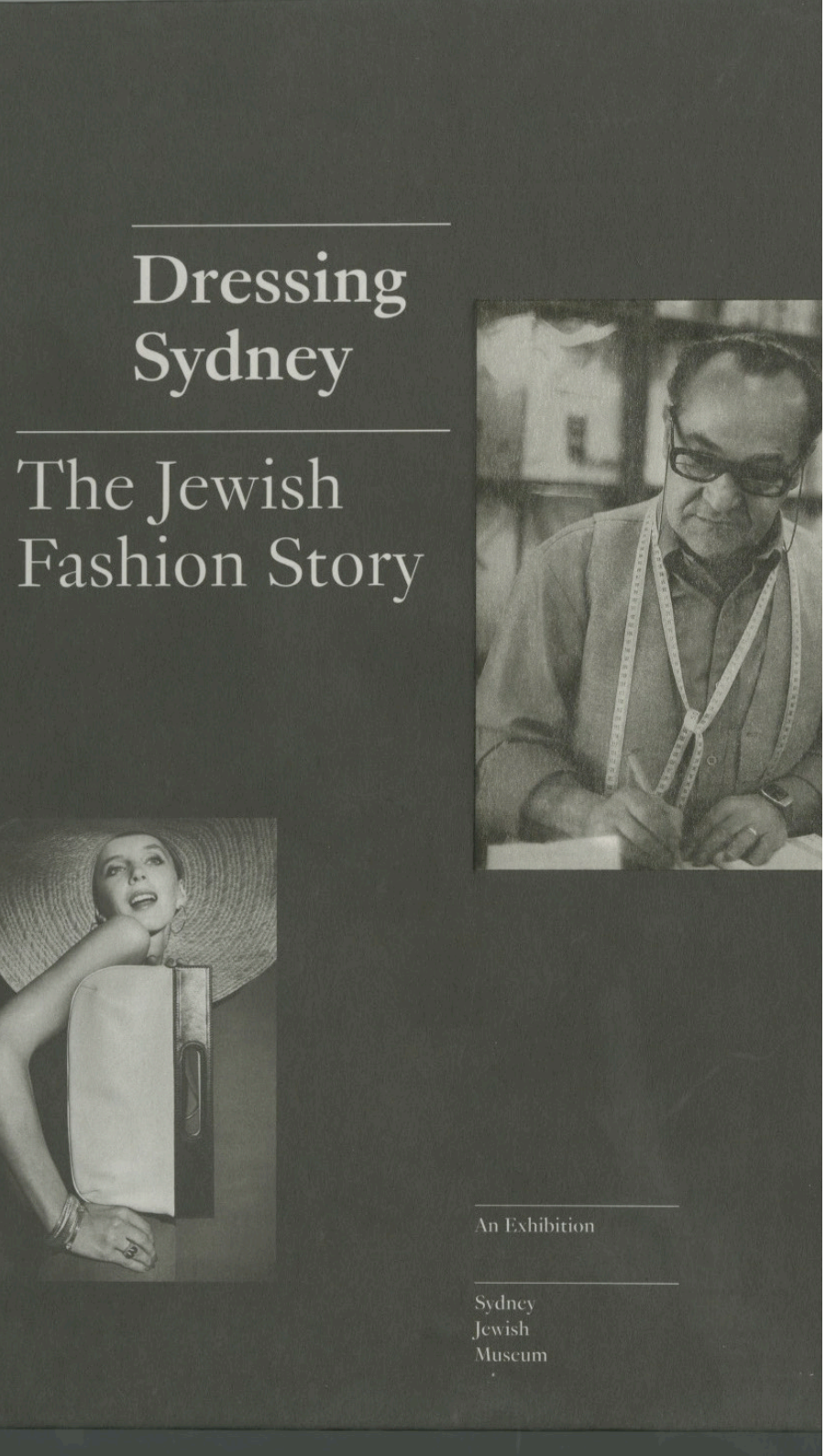

UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY, SYDNEY

PETER McNEIL

The Beauty of the Everyday

2012 | *Dressing Sydney: The Jewish Fashion Story, Sydney Jewish Museum*

Dressing Sydney resulted from a multi-faceted two-year research project conducted between UTS and the Sydney Jewish Museum. It incorporated a major oral history collection, primary research conducted by a team of five UTS researchers (Paul Ashton, Paula Hamilton, Peter McNeil, Cameron White, Amanda Scorrano), an exhibition in which McNeil had a major conceptual input (October 2012-February 2014) and an illustrated catalogue including a 10,000 word essay, 'The Beauty of the Everyday', by McNeil.

'Clothing narratives' have always been a significant component of the oral histories told of re-establishment. Many of the survivor-guides at the Sydney Jewish Museum, some of whom are now in their late eighties and early nineties, worked in the so-called 'rag trade' in the period from the 1930s to the 1980s. Until the research was undertaken, very little was known about how the clothing trade or *schmatte* worked in inter-war and post-war Australia.

In this project we recreated 'fashion-scapes' (in Appadurai's sense) that joined word, image and sound and revealed new perspectives about Australian social and economic history. We explored migration and re-establishment in the face of the Holocaust, as well as the wider picture of innovation in Australian enterprise since the 1930s.

The show and the catalogue were described as moving and empowering in the visitor's book at the Museum, and the exhibit was viewed by 20,000 people. The catalogue won Best Book Design at the 61st Annual Book Design Awards 2013. It received numerous positive reviews in academic journals (attached).

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The Beauty of the Everyday

Peter McNeil
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Dressing Sydney recovers a missing tale of fashion dreams and innovations: the story of the Sydney Jewish ragtraders, designers and entrepreneurs from the late 19th century to now. This narrative incorporates crucial economic, social and cultural changes within New South Wales and Australia, and offers hope and encouragement to a new generation of fashion professionals.

'Clothing narratives' have always been a significant component of the oral histories of re-establishment. Many of the survivor-guides at the Sydney Jewish Museum, some of whom are now in their late eighties and early nineties, worked in the so-called 'rag trade' in the period from the 1930s to the 1980s. Yet very little is known about how the *schmatte* trade worked in inter-war and post-war Australia, no doubt because in a world that valorises consumption, histories of production are very 'out of fashion'. Yet production and consumption in the clothing industries are inter-linked in a commodity chain. The case of Sydney, with its centre of production in Surry Hills, a suburb adjacent to the department and retail stores at Central Station and near Hyde Park, is a compelling example of this connection.

The Sydney Jewish Museum has a distinguished 20-year record of collecting hundreds of oral testimonies of Holocaust survival. It also acquires and exhibits artefacts related to the rebuilding of shattered Jewish lives in Australia. The making and selling of clothing has occupied the hands and imaginations of many Jewish people living in Sydney. The Museum decided to research parts of this clothing narrative with oral history as the driver. It has been a challenge to recover aspects of what is by definition an ephemeral material culture. Clothes wear out, become unfashionable, are discarded and turned back into rags. The materials that have been collected by the Sydney Jewish Museum move across production

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Published essay, p.91 of pp.91-147

(entrepreneurs, workers, managers) to image-making (advertisements, labels, branding) and materiality (surviving artefacts). We have the chance to explain how clothes were really 'made' in the period c.1940–80, as opposed to just showing the finished product. Fashion is about much more than quixotic change, being 'always on the move' or fun for the young. It is a highly specific industry with particular features that enable different social 'actors' to take part: pattern-makers, cutters, finishers, designers, managers, retailers, salespeople and promoters.

In this project we have recreated 'fashion-scapes' that join word, image and sound and reveal new perspectives on Australian social and economic history. We explore migration and re-establishment in the face of the Holocaust, as well as the wider picture of innovation in Australian enterprise since the 1930s. Parts of the story of emigration and re-establishment in the Toronto, Tel Aviv, Hollywood, Melbourne and London clothing industries are well known. We can now tell the Sydney Jewish fashion story for the first time. Sydney's story is not one of high fashion per se, but very much of 'the beauty of the everyday'.

Australian fashion at the turn of the century

Nineteenth-century Australian fashion was not necessarily 'provincial', even though its inhabitants lived far from the fashion centres of the Northern Hemisphere.[1] Consumers in Sydney had access to luxury fashions, such as the genuine seal-fur 'Helene' paletot (woman's cape), retailed in the Farmers' catalogue in 1889 for a staggering £37/10s, and the 'Promenade Mantle' with 'striped velvet, lynx fur and handsome appointments' at 16 guineas.[2] People in regional areas were also catered for; the department store David Jones provided special reception rooms for those visiting the city, and operated a large mail-order service during the inter-war period.

Being fashionable was a part of being a modern 'subject' in a dominion country. The 'culture of respectability' was brought to Australia by 19th-century British immigrants 'seeking dignity and prosperity'.[3] For a woman, being well-dressed – wearing a hat and gloves away from work – was also about being respectable and showing respect to others. Many tradesmen dressed surprisingly well as a sign of pride in their craftsmanship and their relative status.

Fashion, however, was about more than clothing; it embraced the appearance industries generally. In this period there emerged the notion that female beauty was not an inner state, but could be transformed via fashionable clothing, products such as cosmetics, and discipline. International actresses such as Lily Elsie were particularly important figures in promoting brands via the new improved processes of mass-produced photography and cheaper printing.

This period was also marked by the rise of the department store, which catered to a large degree to women: David Jones was established in George Street in 1887; E Way and Co. opened in Pitt Street in 1891; Anthony Hordern and Sons began at Brickfield Hill in 1905; Mark Foys opened its doors in Liverpool Street in 1909; Marcus Clark, originally a modest business in Newtown, relocated to Railway Square in 1906; Grace Bros opened

1 J. Peers, 'London, Paris, New York and Collingwood: reconsidering pre-1945 Australian fashion', *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art*, 10: 1, 2010, pp. 97–122.

2 G. Dexter, '120 Years of fashion', undated newspaper (no title) cutting, c.1959, Mitchell Library.

3 J. McCalman, 'Class and respectability in a working-class suburb: Richmond, Victoria, before the Great War', in R. White & P. Russell (eds), *Memories and Dreams: Reflections in twentieth-century Australia. Pastiche II*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 1997, pp. 21–37; at p. 21.

a five-storey building in Broadway in 1906; and Farmers built a new six-storey store in the CBD in 1910. Although they carried lines of imported fashion, department stores sourced most of their stock from large and small producers in the regional area.

The beginnings of an Australian fashion 'type' developed before World War I with the reinforcement of an antipodean Anglo-Celtic character and identity for men and women. Australians acquired specific tastes that did not mirror those of the British;[4] elements of nationalism were evident in design, such as the use of novel and exotic materials, including platypus fur for the clothes of the well-to-do. In 1888, the artist Tom Roberts painted *An Australian Native*, which showed a fashionable young (white) woman in a silk suit and hat.

Prior to the pre-World War II influx of European Jews into Sydney, the women's clothing industry was heavily concentrated in Melbourne, which continued to enjoy a reputation as a producer of fine quality, expensive clothing. By contrast, Sydney manufacturers specialised in summer clothing and sportswear, although, according to Logan, there was relatively little movement of Sydney-produced clothing to Melbourne.[5] Sydney developed its own distinct fashion sensibility and was held to be more open to new ideas and more Americanised than other parts of the country. The inter-war artist

I remain inspired by my mother's stance: allow others to enjoy what one has ceased to use oneself. What I didn't keep, I passed on to charity, my staff and friends.
Gene Sherman, Chairman and Executive Director, Sherman Contemporary Art Foundation

Thea Proctor, who advocated for better use of colour palettes, noted that the 'colours of the sea' worked in Sydney but not in London.[6]

After the 1920s, Australian fashions were more 'centralising', according to dress historian Margaret Maynard – less about following individual, stylish women and more about social groups. Cinema became very important in spreading fashion ideas: David Jones had a 'Cinema Fashion Shop' on its second floor, selling copies of stars' clothes. Cinema images were not always approved of, however; the upmarket *Home* magazine called them lower class and tasteless.

The iconic *Australian Women's Weekly* was established in 1933 and featured fashion news from Paris, London and Vienna.[7] Clothing was still relatively expensive; during the Depression import duties were 130 per cent in Australia. Although fascinated by the outside world, with such high duties there was great impetus to produce clothes locally. A 'Buy Australian and Imperial-made' movement, which gathered pace after the Australia-Made Preference League was established in 1924, emphasised the importance of local production.

In the post-war period, which is central to the themes of *Dressing Sydney*, Maynard argues that Australian consumers started to pick and choose more and Australia became a mature market for clothing and

4 Peers, p. 101.

5 M.I. Logan, 'The geography of manufacturing in an Australian city: studies of the function and distribution of manufacturing in Sydney', unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Sydney, Sydney, 1965, p. 282.

6 M. Maynard, *Out of line*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2001, p. 17.

7 Ibid., p. 29.

1 Collins Gloves and packaging. Ibi Collins was born in Hungary in 1913. She came to Australia with her husband Paul in 1939, starting off painting gloves in the windows of David Jones. Her job was to paint the faded colours black. She subsequently learned the trade and became a glove cutter. She then established her own outlet at home with 20 women, supplying gloves to David Jones. 'We sold more than a million pairs of gloves to David Jones alone.'

2 Sample chart for Collins Gloves. The wide range of available colours shows the extent of differentiation in the market. Consumers expected a great deal of variety at this time. The media advised consumers of the colours that were fashionable for the new season and in what combination.

3 Advertisement for Collins Gloves, 1965.

4 Promotional photo for David Jones, featuring Collins Gloves, c.1960s.

textiles. The household spend on clothing, footwear and drapery climbed dramatically, tripling between 1946/47 and 1959/60.[8] With the proportion of married women working rising to 38.3 per cent by 1961, it can be assumed that fewer of them had time for home sewing, creating opportunities for cheaper ready-to-wear lines that could keep pace with the very rapid fashion changes after the war.

The shift from homemade clothing to the ready-to-wear trade was amplified by Jewish entrepreneurship and retailing. There is considerable evidence that *émigrés* introduced new and brighter colours into everyday clothing. They also helped to create the demand for lighter clothes, such as finely knitted garments that were a part of contemporary European fashion aesthetics, modern lines in coats, and the youthful lace that adorned the short mod dresses of the 1960s; for example, the Swieca family created the 'De Nucci Garment of Distinction' brand, made of Estacel nylon (a trademark of Courtaulds London), at Belmode Knitting Mills in Sydney. Several of their women's suits in the collection of the Powerhouse Museum show the practical and boxy simplicity of the mid-1960s.

In 1959 *Vogue* launched an Australian supplement. The 'post-war promises' mixed ideas about the 'feminine mystique', as coined by Betty Friedan, with the notion of working women having better disposable incomes.

The idea was to open a gallery-style boutique selling avant-garde collections, where people would feel they were purchasing precious works of art, something for life.
Elva Galambos, Parlour X

The excitement of new fashions was conveyed via store displays, advertising, parades, and media coverage of the lives of couturiers and their theatrical and high-society customers. The power of brand recognition increased and photography became more common than line drawings in the promotion of fashion, providing a type of proof of the 'quality' of goods.

The impact of Australian economic policy

Economic historians point out that the history of textiles and clothing in Australia reflects the government's growth policy following Federation in 1901. Tariff protection underpinned such growth. After World War I tariffs increased and, as a consequence, employment grew rapidly. Tariffs were increased again in 1925 and 1930, and there was a deliberate attempt to lock out Japanese competition.[9] In those days wool, not cotton, was key. Marrickville was the centre of the woollen industries in Sydney, with large companies such as the Australian Woollen Mills Ltd at Sydenham Road (known as 'The Home of Crusader Suitings'), Globe Worsted Mills and John Vicars and Co. trading from 1894 to 1976.

World War II brought clothing and textile rationing to Australia. In May 1942 the 'Control of Clothing Order' was introduced, and from June of the same year coupons were required for a range of consumer items. The

8 Ibid., p. 50.

9 M. Webber & S. Weller, *Refashioning the rag trade: internationalizing Australia's textiles, clothing and footwear industries*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2001.

5 Jackie Frank, editor, *Marie Claire* magazine. At the age of 21, Jackie began her career with a job at the Melbourne office of *Harper's Bazaar*. An international career as a fashion director led her in 1995 to launch what would become the number one fashion magazine in Australia, *Marie Claire*.

6 Joint Chairman Bernard Leser and Eve Harman, The Condé Nast Publications (Vogue magazines), 1991. Bernard established Australian *Vogue* in 1959.

7 Sydney fashion and social photographer, Robert Rosen, Elizabeth Bay, 2008. Photos: Susie Hagon and Darian Zam.

UTS
UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY, SYDNEY

PETER MCNEIL
The Beauty of the Everyday

Published essay, selected pages

coupon system continued for six years. Maynard tells us the astonishing fact that in 1942 words such as 'luxury, exclusive, glamorous' were banned from public use in the press, and the David Jones windows were boarded up, allowing only glimpses of the fashions inside.[10] By 1943 the David Jones catalogue noted there were no corsets and brassieres to sell. The Trade Union movement demanded corsets for women, citing health, fatigue and morale as reasons (for clothing is always moral as well as practical). These issues of scarcity and lack played out for many years and help explain the excitement surrounding renewed consumption in the 1950s and the opportunities afforded to Jewish immigrants with their new fashion outlooks and imaginations.

Conditions for fashion workers

By the early 20th century the ready-to-wear clothing trades, which developed in the 1860s with the 'technological transfer' of Isaac Singer's sewing machine to Australia,[11] employed more people than tailoring in New South Wales; Victoria had reached this point earlier in the 19th century. Industrial relations in the clothing industries were tense, with male tailors frequently sparring with female tailors in disputes that revolved around issues such as the de-skilling of factory workers, outworking and the absence of a minimum wage.[12]

An 1890 inquiry in New South Wales estimated that one-third of production was performed as outwork.[13] Cutting and pressing (finishing) tended to be done in small factories or workshops, with the sewing farmed out. Union and social reformer pressure resulted in some curtailing of outwork in 1896–97, but only for boys' and men's clothes.[14] As a result, women's outfits were generally much cheaper than men's outer garments; in a late 19th-century David Jones catalogue a man's suit is five times the cost of a woman's dress.

Outworking was one of the principal means of employment of the poor. It was illegal but common among migrant women and many continued to be employed in the 'invisible clothing industry' as outworkers in the 1970s and 1980s. Seamstresses worked day and night for little return in order to compete with the low prices of mechanised clothing production. Nevertheless, this self-exploitation was far less efficient than factory production organised on Taylorist principles,[15] whereby tasks were separated. The price of women's clothes around the world therefore dropped dramatically in the 1920s; in Canada the decrease was as high as 50 per cent between 1922 and 1932.[16]

Women dominated the fashion workforce. The 1911–12 NSW Royal Commission into the Hours and General Conditions of Employment of Females and Juveniles in Factories and Shops found that most female workers in the state were engaged in the clothing trades. The clothing trades needed more labour at this time, as the population was expanding rapidly, becoming more prosperous and requiring better clothes. Many women in Sydney worked in Surry Hills, where David Jones assembled its garments in a modern purpose-built factory in Marlborough Street, built around 1915. It was promoted in *Art in Australia* in 1916 as an exemplar of 'the successful

10 Maynard, p. 38.

11 A. Greig, 'Sub-contracting, the seamy side of the clothing industry', Urban Research Program Working Paper, no. 27, Australian National University, Canberra, 1990, p. 2. There were many more clothing factory workers in 19th-century Victoria than NSW. In NSW there were 1580 workers in 1881, doubling to 3300 in 1889. See B. Ellem, *In women's hands? A history of women's clothing trades unionism in Australia*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 1989, p. 15.

12 Ellem, pp. 38–39.

13 Greig, 'Sub-contracting, the seamy side of the clothing industry', p. 4.

14 Ibid., p. 5.

15 F.W. Taylor developed this theory of management and workflows in the 1880s.

16 K. Srigley, 'Clothing stories. Consumption, identity, and desire in Depression-era Toronto', *Journal of Women's History*, 19: 1, 2007, pp. 82–104; at p. 94.

manufacture and distribution of goods "made in Australia" with 700 workers labouring in the largest building of its type in Australia'.[17]

In the 1940s the manufacturing industry was the biggest employer of women in Australia. At the 1947 census, 21.6 per cent of adult females worked outside the home. Peter Spearrit cites the benefits of living close to textile factory work described in Dorothy Hewett's 1959 novel *Bobbin' Up*: "'Betty, I don't know how you stand it', and Betty replied, 'Ah well, you know it's handy. I only live around the corner and I've been doffin' them spindles so long now I can do it in me sleep.'"[18] In 1947 the highest proportion of female clothing workers were based in Granville (16.1%), Canterbury (16.2%), Balmain (16.3%), Lidcombe (18.3%) and Bankstown (19.0%).

The social and economic geography of men's and women's clothing was connected to the textiles of which they were constructed and the way in which they were made. Women's wear was dominated by smaller units of production; men's wear was nearly always purchased ready-made and produced in larger batches. Men and women also did different work in the industry: men made whole garments while women did piecemeal work.[19] In the 1920s, women appear to have been pushed out of ownership of businesses in the craft sections such as shirt-making, whereas in dressmaking the proportion of women who were proprietors rose.[20] Studies of Victoria's clothing trades up to 1939 conclude that routine rather than skilled work was done by women and juveniles. As Ellem notes, the clothing industry is distinctive as it expanded in the 1920s in Australia 'without substantial industrial change, without the more usual characteristics of a developed capitalism – concentrated capital and large groupings of increasingly homogenous labour'.[21]

The clothing sector: expansion and contraction

In New South Wales, most manufacturing took place in Sydney and half of this was in clothing and textiles.[22] The clothing industry did not match the expansion of other sectors, however. The elasticity of demand for clothing was low compared to other commodities: people wanted fridges and domestic appliances, which were very costly after the war. While Sydney's total industrial employment increased by 88 per cent (from 189,000 to 357,000) between 1940 and 1960, the clothing industry in Sydney experienced an increase of only 22 per cent. From 1954 to 1960, employment in textiles decreased by 5 per cent, and employment in clothing had increased by only 0.3 per cent, despite total industrial employment increasing by 16.3 per cent.[23] The clothing and textiles paid the lowest rates of pay for men in 1949 (160s. 10d.), while printing and bookbinding paid the highest (205s. 6d.), as they had also done back in 1929.[24]

Unlike other western cities, production in Sydney was relatively buffered following the war. As the labour historian Bradon Ellem notes, 'Manufacturing was protected by shortages of foreign exchange and by disruption in other country's economies'.[25] In New South Wales in 1949–50, there were 18,960 workers in clothing and tailoring; 4360 in dressmaking and millinery; and 7998 in shirts.[26] The figure of 9000 pre-war Jewish refugees can therefore be placed in a firmer context. If, as many people claim, a high proportion of the Jewish immigrants in both Sydney and Melbourne worked

17 *Art in Australia*, first issue, 1916, unpaginated advertisement.

18 Ibid.

19 Webber & Weller, p. 47.

20 Ellem, p. 122ff.

21 Ibid., p. 125.

22 Spearrit, p. 33.

23 Logan, p. 94.

24 Spearritt, p. 32.

25 Ellem, pp. 193–4.

26 Ibid.

in clothing, then one can sense the impact they must have had on the workforce. Many of the women also worked from home, in the sunrooms and kitchens of their dwellings, while the husbands went to work.[27]

In the period from 1950 to 1967, dressmaking and millinery became more concentrated in Victoria, while men's wear was concentrated in New South Wales. During the 1950s, 'sectionalisation' changed divisions of labour and payment. 'PBR', or pay by result, became more common after changes to the award in 1957. Unions agitated to stop the time and motion control of workers, but piecework had much the same effect.

The use of technology in textile and clothing production accelerated, marked by the replacement of mule spindles with ring spindles and the introduction of automatic weaving looms between 1949 and 1952.

An important shift in the 1960s was a move away from the fashionable women's 'ensemble' towards modularity – the beginning of the idea of 'mix and match'. As Grieg notes, periods of loose fitting clothes 'are more amenable to product standardisation than skin-tight fashions'.[28] New approaches to consumer psychology and sales resulted in brochures such as 'How to sell suits' [swimming costumes], 'For every figure problem there's a solution' and 'Remember, every woman has a figure problem. It may be major or minor. It may only exist in her mind.'[29]

As fashion became more sophisticated, production became more difficult. There were several challenges. First, union activism in the 1970s and 1980s exposed difficult working conditions in parts of the industry and launched negative campaigns, especially against outwork. Reports from the 1970s on migrant women in the clothing trade in inner Melbourne described the poor physical conditions and arduous work, particularly under the piecework system.[30] Relations between workers and bosses became more complicated once unions were present on the shop floor.

Secondly, there were three types of protection in the Australian textile, clothing and fashion industries – tariffs, quotas and bounties (subsidies). Rates of assistance were four to five times that for manufacturing as a whole in the period from the mid-1970s to the late 1980s.[31] In 1973 the Whitlam Government cut tariffs by 25 per cent in an effort to reduce inflation and introduce a new approach to national industry planning. Other governments, such as the British, had, since the late 1960s, sought to promote large business models to achieve economies of scale and to compete in international markets. Fraser opted for a 'standstill program'. At the time of this tumult, the textiles, clothing and fashion sector was not inconsiderable, amounting to some 9.5 per cent of total manufacturing employment, or 117,000 workers. The reduction of tariffs, price gouging, discounting and off-shore production decimated the industry. Employment fell by nearly one-third between 1973 and 1975 and the market share to imports doubled. Grieg points out that retailers have to be considered as a part of this industrial chain, as they are the key link in the 'pull factor' from consumer to manufacturer to suppliers.[32]

As employment fell, production in fact rose, due to technology, subcontracting and outwork. Some Jewish enterprises became very large, such as Freidelle, Anthony Squires and Katies. Spearrit lists the facts about

27 This account emerged strongly in the testimonies collected by the Sydney Jewish Museum. I wish to thank Professor Konrad Kwiet, Resident Historian Sydney Jewish Museum, for pointing this out.

28 A. Greig, 'Rhetoric and reality in the clothing industry: the case of post-Fordism', *Urban Research Program Working Paper no. 26*, Australian National University, Canberra, 1990.

29 'Heroine in the fitting room', brochure, c.1960.

30 K. Browne & D. Storer, Clothing manufacture. *A preliminary survey of migrant women in the clothing trade*, Fitzroy Ecumenical Centre, Fitzroy, 1974.

31 Webber & Weller, p. 44.

32 A. Greig, 'Retailing is more than shopkeeping: manufacturing interlinkages and technological change in the Australian clothing industry', Canberra, *Urban Research Program Working Paper No 23*. Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, Canberra, 1990.

8 Magda Bognar (nee Lowinger), trainee lingerie maker, Hungary (standing middle, at left), undated.

9 Magda Bognar outside her Madelaine Sportswear shop, the Boulevard Arcade, Sydney. Magda, her husband Ernest and son George defected from Hungary in 1948. Magda and Ernest opened their first business manufacturing blouses. They later opened Madelaine Sportswear.

10 Mix 'n Match shop front, undated. Success in the sportswear shop motivated Magda to open up lingerie shops. Mix 'n Match and then Frills 'n Flounces.

8

9

10

factory size in Sydney, which was generally very small. In 1929 there was only one factory with more than 1000 employees; by 1939 there were four such factories, such as John Vicars; by 1949 there were only two. (Globe in Marrickville had 950 staff.)[33] In 1985, 78 per cent of New South Wales clothing factories employed fewer than 10 employees and only 8 per cent employed more than 30.[34]

Computer-aided design was available from the mid-1970s, but was prohibitively expensive. At the same time, the speed of machines increased – lock stitching speeds doubled from the rates of the 1930s, up to 6000 stitches per minute – leaving many workers unable to keep pace. For several business owners, it was time to exit the industry. As the Sydney-Jewish emigré Simon Aizenberg, owner of ITA Frocks, notes in his memoir, 'Most of the people I knew then advised me not to continue with the ladies' fashion business, because of the competition between the local product and the imported one from the Asian countries … The prospect of leaving the factory made me feel unhappy, leaving a place where my creative work was to me like opium; [a] very large part of my life was in it.'[35]

Location, location, location

Logan describes an Australian fashion garment industry that, in Sydney, was highly localised due to 'capricious' changes in fashion and the subsequent need for frequent – sometimes daily – contact between retailers and manufacturers.[36]

Rapid changes in fashion and the manufacture of very few identical dresses kept firms small in size. Daily changes in design could be accommodated most effectively in small plants employing 15 to 20 people. Such firms needed to keep in close contact with large CBD retailers and this, coupled with the interdependence among processors, resulted in a high concentration of the women's fashion industry in the inner-city area.[37] The capital required to enter the industry was small; machines could be hired and floor space rented on a weekly basis. As a result, the rate of entry into the industry was high and competition was very strong:[38] a 'sheltered niche exists for small firms of this type that immigrants might establish'.[39] Lebanese textile businesses were common in early-20th century Sydney, such as Nile Textiles run by the Aboud family; after World War II the Lebanese were prominent in the drapery business.

In contrast, other forms of clothing, especially men's and boy's wear, were manufactured by large-scale firms located in the suburbs surrounding areas of population growth.[40] The standardisation of parts of production allowed firms to move away from inner city sites and achieve internal economies of scale. These firms also attracted overseas capital.

In the 1950s and 1960s a standard pattern was followed in the manufacture of ready-made clothing throughout each season, with weekly deliveries made to retailers.

In the inner city, the garment industry was mainly concentrated in the Wentworth Avenue, Surry Hills area, extending to Rawson Place near Central Station. Low rents due to deteriorating buildings and the lack of demand for office space in that part of the city meant manufacturing could

33 P. Spearrit, *Sydney's century: A history*, UNSW University Press, Sydney, 1999, p. 39.

34 Trans National Cooperative (TNC) Workers' Research, *Anti-union employment practices: Final report*, Sydney, June 1985, pp. 35–38.

35 S. Aizenberg, 'My memoirs by Simon Aizenberg', unpublished manuscript, Sydney Jewish Museum Library, Sydney, June 2007. He would have found a similar large figure in Melbourne where in 1936 40 per cent of the Melbourne Jewish population was in the rag trade.

36 Logan, p. 253.

37 Ibid., p. 278.

38 Ibid., p. 253.

39 M. Morokvasic, R. Waldinger & A. Phizacklea, 'Business on the ragged edge: immigrant and minority business in the garment industries of Paris, London and New York', in Waldinger et al., *Ethnic Entrepreneurs. Immigrant Business and Industrial Societies*, Sage series on race and ethnic relations, vol. 1. Sage, London, 1990, p. 160.

40 Ibid., pp. 277–278.

16 Gertrud and Peter Lubo (at window) in their apron factory, Darlinghurst. Having immigrated from Germany in 1939, Gertrud's first business was making macrame shopping bags. She employed 12 people making string bags during the war. She and her husband then bought some machines and started making aprons in Rawson Chambers as Peter Lubo Pty Ltd.

17 The Lubos, Hyde Park, Sydney, 1940.

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UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY, SYDNEY

PETER MCNEIL
The Beauty of the Everyday

Published essay, selected pages

continue there. Factory buildings replaced terrace houses from 1958 onwards when Surry Hills was zoned for B-class industry. European Jews, mainly from Poland and Czechoslovakia, acquired many old properties and redeveloped them as two-storey factories. The owners occupied only a portion of the building and rented out the remaining space to fellow countrymen in the same industry.

Max Glass, a manufacturer of women's fashion wear, bought two terrace houses in 1960, each with 18-foot street frontages, then erected a two-storey building, occupying the top floor and letting out the ground floor at 15 shillings per square foot (which totalled 2000 sq ft). From an investment of £30,000, Glass received £1500 in rent in addition to the return from his clothing business. Thus clothing manufacturers became real estate investors as well as manufacturers, and in some cases real estate speculation became a more important activity than manufacturing.

In addition to cheap rents and the ease of acquiring derelict terrace houses that could then be developed into factories, an important factor affecting the location of the clothing industry was its ability to operate in multi-storey buildings. The volume of material leaving the factories at any one time was very small due to the fashionable nature of the goods. The goods were also light and compact, meaning lifts and staircases could be used for deliveries. Equipment was also light and easily installed on floors

Surry Hills was important in the schmatte industry because we were there. Everyone wanted to be near us, to get connections and get friendly, be able to sell.

Stan Grotsman, founder of Katies

above ground level. Land in the Surry Hills area, while markedly cheaper than the CBD, was still too costly to allow individual manufacturers to develop large-scale, single-floor factories, meaning multi-storey developments with multiple occupancies were essential. Clothing (and shoe) manufacturing, along with printing and photography services, are some of the only types of industry that could operate in such intensive environments.[41]

Surry Hills was recognised as the main buying centre for fashion garments, and manufacturers needed to be located nearby as buyers would walk from factory to factory. Being located away from the main centre would adversely affect sales. The same situation existed in wholesale clothing, with firms located in close proximity along York and Kent Streets in the CBD.

Labour for the Surry Hills clothing industry was drawn from the entire metropolitan area. It became less skilled as detailed hand-tailoring and dressmaking were superseded by machines, and most clothing employees – 70 per cent of whom were women immigrants – became machine operatives.

'Making-up', whereby manufacturers subcontracted buttonholing, embroidering and button covering to specialist firms, was frowned upon but widespread. This subcontracting also helped keep factories small. The average clothing factory in Sydney employed 14.7 workers, compared to the average of 23.4 workers for all factories.[42]

41 Ibid., p. 283.

42 Ibid., pp. 284–285.

Rawson Chambers was an example of clustering by clothing manufacturers. Built in 1912 and owned by the New South Wales Government, rents were controlled under the *Landlord and Tenant (Amendment) Act 1948*. Of its 198 tenants, 163 were manufacturers of men's and women's clothing and leather. The remaining tenants were mostly wholesalers dealing in soft goods, clothing and manchester. Connections were developed in the building between manufacturers, wholesalers and services (for example, buttonholing). Most tenants were long established, remaining because of the extremely low rentals, which were at least 100 per cent below market rentals. Successful manufacturers acquired additional space in the same building, thereby achieving economics of scale, and the marginal firms were able to continue due to the low rents.[43]

A large concentration of clothing production later emerged in Marrickville, with Vietnamese entrepreneurs and workers replacing the Greeks who had worked in the trade there. By 1985, 34 per cent of workers in the local clothing industry were Asian; 39 per cent were European.[44]

The textiles revolution

There was great excitement concerning new textiles and new fabrication possibilities from 1945 onwards. Corded fabrics, satin lastex miracle yarn, sanforised shrunk fabrics and fiesta nylons from Bonds Industries Ltd are some of the novel fabrics mentioned on the covers of *Textile Topics*, the NSW trade union journal for the textile, clothing and footwear sector. Looking almost like a trade journal, *Textile Topics* celebrated Australian workers and products and proclaimed that its workers had the best conditions and lifestyle in the world. Factory girls, women and men were presented like models, both at work and at leisure; for example, swimming and socialising. In November 1946 its first photographic cover featured a new textile for 'ladies pyjamas, opera top vest and pantette in tea rose cotton interlock'. In April 1947 the journal announced 'Swadex', a special cotton interlock weave for knitted undergarments. In January 1947 the 'Speedo' water short was featured, with 'full inside support for full coverage and "social security" on the beach, the tennis court or the gym'.[45]

These textiles were generally sourced from innovative companies such as Courtaulds in London and Leon Lehrer's StandardKnit Fabrics in Botany, Sydney. Jewish immigrants diversified supply, bringing in large quantities of Swiss mass-produced lace for many decades, for example, and importing new fibres via Hong Kong in the 1960s.

A new migrant workforce

In 1953–54, industrial production exceeded that of agricultural production for the first time. However, Australian-born labour had begun to move out of the manufacturing industries and a new workforce was required.

In 1945 Arthur Calwell had announced 'the longest phase in Australian planned migration since the convict settlement'.[46] Approximately 1.8 million migrants arrived in Australia between 1947 and 1966 and between 1938 and 1961 Sydney's Jewish population more than doubled. By 1966, post-war migration provided 49.48 per cent of the workforce for the clothing

43 Ibid., pp. 285–286. Information on Rawson Chambers was provided to Logan by the managing agents, Aaron Investments.

44 J. Collins et al., Council Industry Survey, *A shop full of dreams: ethnic small business in Australia*, Pluto Press Australia, Sydney, 1995, p. 135.

45 Speedo was produced at Federation Road, Newtown.

46 J. Collins, 'The political economy of post-war immigration', in E.L. Wheelwright & K. Buckley (eds), *Essays in the political economy of Australian capitalism*, vol. 1, Australia & New Zealand Book Company, Sydney, 1975, pp. 105–129; at p. 108.

process. Almost complete freedom of entry meant the fashion industry was 'closer to a perfectly competitive situation' than any other form of manufacturing. Although competition was fierce, the community ties of the entrepreneurs encouraged widespread cooperation and close linkages between firms.

Whitmont Shirts was established by Edward Elias Whitmont (Weissberger), who arrived in Australia in 1909 with limited finances but with a knowledge of tailoring. He was born in Bochnia, a small town in Galicia (now Poland), in 1885. At age 22 he migrated to the United States, arriving in New York in 1907. His older sister Fanny had migrated to Australia in 1891 and urged him to do likewise. In 1911 he purchased six second-hand sewing machines on time payment, hired a staff of six, borrowed two weeks' pay for his staff and opened a small factory in Sydney to tailor suits. He saw a newspaper advertisement calling for tenders for the manufacture of soldiers' uniforms. With his father-in-law he formulated a plan to make 100,000 army great coats at two shillings profit each. The tender was successful and marked Edward's entry into the clothing industry. Just before the outbreak of World War II, Edward and his son Cecil established Chief Clothing Company in a factory in Surry Hills and later manufactured suits. During World War II they once again manufactured uniforms. In 1949 they began manufacturing shirts

I wouldn't call the business 'rags to riches', but it always put food on the table for three families. We were able to take part in the community, Israel and give to charity.

Harold Finger, N Waitz & Co recycling

and slacks. They closed their Goulburn factory and a new one opened in Blacktown in 1952, employing 600 people in the manufacture of shirts. It was one of the largest factory floors in the Southern Hemisphere.[78]

Other examples of Jewish immigrants indicate the transfer of skills from the old world to the new. The Kornmehl family has been involved in hosiery from the late 1890s onwards. Paul Kornmehl's father, David, and grandfather bought and re-sold socks and silk stockings from suitcases in Europe. Paul and his brother Itcho started manufacturing hosiery in Holland immediately after the war. Paul established Kolotex in Australia in 1953 in order to import hosiery from Holland and bought an existing hosiery mill, Rosslyn Hosiery Mills, that was in decline. Paul revamped the mill with new Italian hosiery machines and Kolotex revolutionised not just hosiery but the way it was sold in Australia. It introduced single boxed sets of stockings, multi-packs, stockings in gift packs, stockings sold in novelty packets and Woolworths and Coles own-brand lines. Hosiery was not just sold in department stores but in chemists, convenience stores and Woolworths, Coles and Franklins. Kolotex introduced pantyhose to the Australian market and became the market leader with just under 40 per cent of the total Australian market for stockings and pantyhose.

78 S. Whitmont, 'Edward Elias Whitmont: valuable thread of Sydney's Jewish Community', *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, 18:3, pp. 330–339. Information concerning Whitmont, Howard Lowe, the Hirschhorns, Freedman and Lunzer is drawn from obituary newspaper clippings held in the Australian Jewish Historical Society, Sydney.

54 Packaging for Kolotex Sock-ings, undated.

all social classes. The importance of Vienna to the circulation of world fashion is attested to by the influential international trade journal *Chic Parisien: journal spécial pour modèles des Paris et Vienne* [Chic Parisien: Special journal for the fashion models of Paris and Vienna] also known as *Créations de Paris*. Featuring the latest styles from Paris, the journal was published monthly in Paris, London and Vienna and printed by Bachwitz, Vienna, between 1898 and 1940. It was retailed by agents in Barcelona, Brussels, Bucharest, Madrid, Melbourne, Milan, Auckland, Prague, Sydney and Warsaw (printed in that order on the back cover) at the cost of US$24 per year. It featured high quality colour illustrations with written details of the clothes, some construction details and finely stamped and gilded covers with up-to-date typography. The rise and demise of *Chic Parisien* is coincidental with the rise of Vienna as a style capital and then the decimation of much of that society. The *Anschluss* took place in 1938. Some 130,000 Austrian Jews went into exile; 65,000 were murdered by the Nazis and their collaborators. Vienna never recovered its place as a fashionable capital and many are surprised today to learn of this status.

Almost all of the German Jewish clothing industry was destroyed in a matter of years by Nazi policy. In the 1930s the Nazis claimed that international fashion was 'spiritual cocaine' (*geistiges Kokain*) that deadened the minds and nerves of Germans. The Jewish fashion industry was

Anthony Squires started a factory in Hong Kong because they realised that they could get the clothing manufactured more cheaply over there.

Susan Burns on her father Louis Klein

blamed for this internationalism and immorality, which was also criticised in contemporary art, architecture, film and music. The Nazis were hypocritical; they wanted and needed a fashion industry, attempting unsuccessfully to transplant the whole Paris couture production to Berlin.

In 1939 clothing production was declared *Judenrein* – 'free of Jews'. Ironically, women in Auschwitz made high fashion for the officers' wives and Emmy Göring wore the clothes of Jewish designers as long as she could, as they were superior.[55]

Propaganda, boycott and abuse, Aryanisation or forced acquisition, crippling fines and Jewish immigration almost completely wiped out the Jewish fashion industries. More than half a million Jews lived in Germany when Hitler came to power; 280,000 found refuge in exile and 160,000 were murdered. The genocide of six million European Jews during World War II was accompanied by very broad cultural destruction in many urban societies as well as small Jewish *shtetls*. This was an enormous cultural loss for world society, as fashion also relates to art, design, cinema, photography and photo-journalism and impacts on the history of ideas. To give just one example, the famed Berlin fashion photographer Yva (Else Simon), who trained Helmut Newton (who later lived in Australia), was deported and perished in a camp in 1942.

55 G. Sultano, 'Ridding Vienna's fashion and textile industry of Jews during the Nazi period', translation by A. Mackay, in Kremer (ed.), *Broken Threads*, pp. 110–125, at p. 112.

Paris was a learning pathway and an escape route for many of the Sydney Jewish refugees. Survivors such as Sam Young (Jungzweig) reached Paris, took in the life and fashions immediately post-war, and managed to reach Australia, bringing new ideas with them. By the 1950s over 60 per cent of Australian Jews were foreign-born. While Jews made important contributions to business and architecture, transforming the Sydney urban and cultural landscape, a considerable number were involved in all aspects of the clothing trades, from manufacturing to customer service in the department stores such as David Jones and Farmers, where Jews were employed in large numbers.

Historically, fashion as a cultural practice and choice has always been highly charged for Jewish communities. The sumptuary laws of the Middle Ages and Renaissance forbade Jewish men and women from wearing fine textiles and jewellery in public spaces. In Renaissance Venice, for example, Jewish women were not allowed to wear their fine jewels and accessories outside the ghetto. Instead, Jewish women and prostitutes alike were forced to wear either a yellow badge or scarf in the late-14th century. It was only in the ghetto synagogues that women could wear their rich fashions.[86] Fashion and luxury were often connected using antisemitic language. Fur, for example, had powerful connotations. In 1942 German Jews had to surrender all of their fur items even if the article of clothing was made unwearable by removal of the fur. The wearing of fur and other fine clothing by newly-established immigrants in Australia and elsewhere could be seen as a type of fashion self-affirmation, and not just a sign of wealth or success.

Fashion and care of the self is also a sign of self-worth. Fashion is deeply paradoxical. It can be a thing of great joy and beauty or embody human suffering and exploitation. As Gene Sherman notes in an interview with Rosie Block for the Sydney Jewish Museum, an engagement with clothing is about thought as well as pleasure: 'My interest was in aesthetics – the look, the visual pleasure and impact – as well as the historical and intellectual underpinning'.

Many of the stories presented here indicate great openness on the part of Australian society to experience new products and ideas. The Jewish diaspora had a major impact on all aspects of Australian fashion, from making to wearing. Fashion and dressing in Australia were transformed.

I would like to dedicate this essay to my mother, Mary, who learned to sew in about 1935 and still does so today.

86 R. Sennett, *Flesh and stone: the body and the city in western civilization*, London, Penguin, 2002, pp. 237–242.

UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY, SYDNEY

PETER MCNEIL

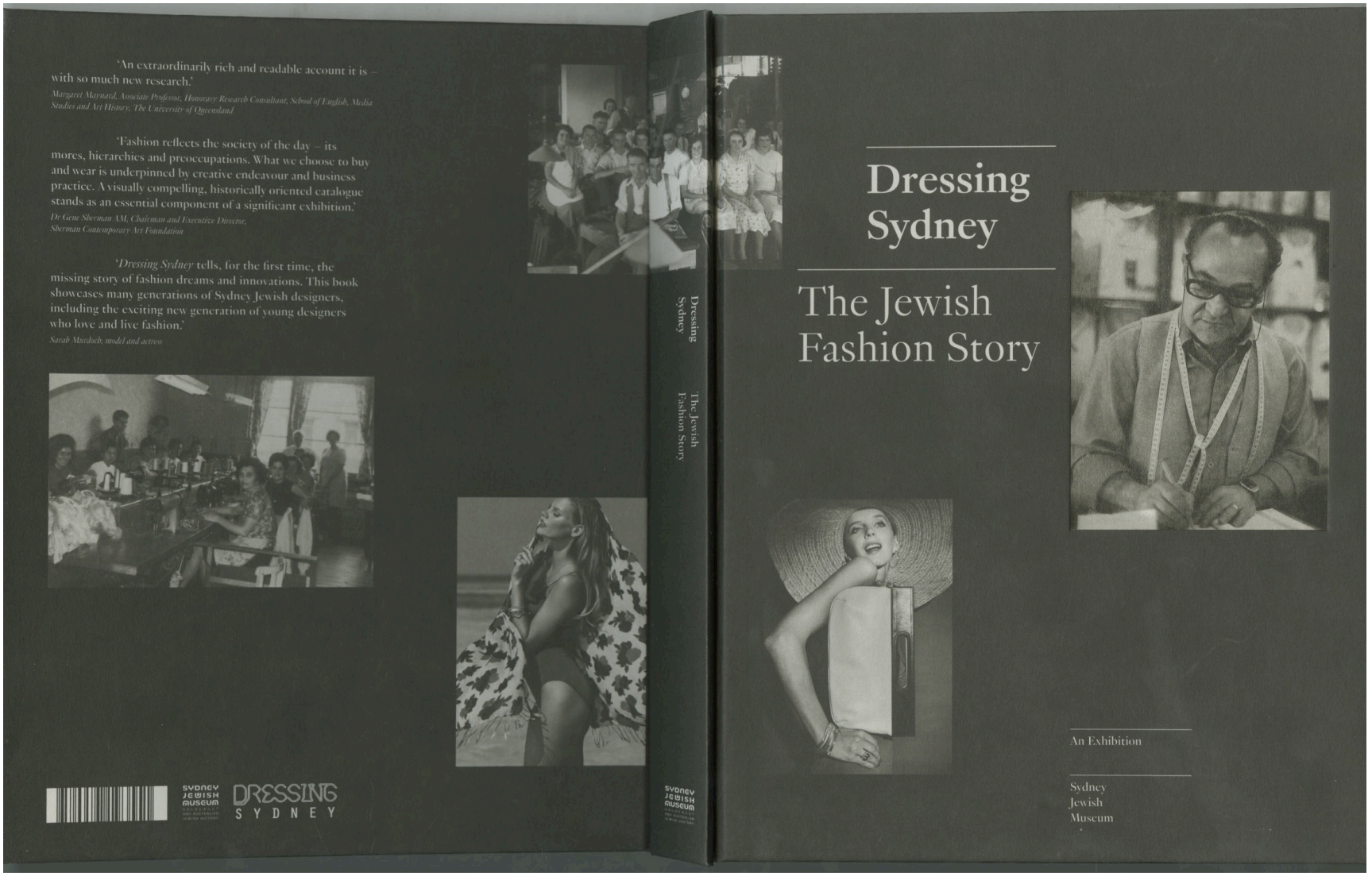
The Beauty of the Everyday

Published essay, selected pages

PETER MCNEIL

The Beauty of the Everyday

Book front and back cover



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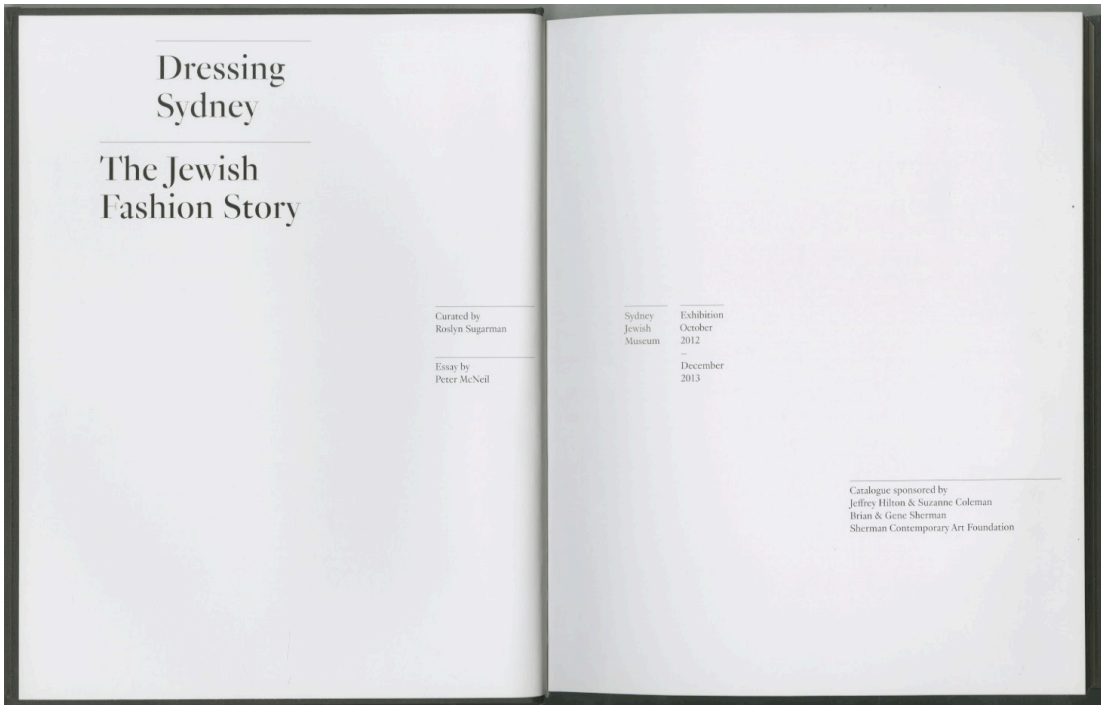

Dressing Sydney

The Jewish Fashion Story

Curated by
Roslyn Sugarman

Essay by
Peter McNeil

Sydney Jewish Museum

Exhibition
October
2012
–
December
2013

Catalogue sponsored by
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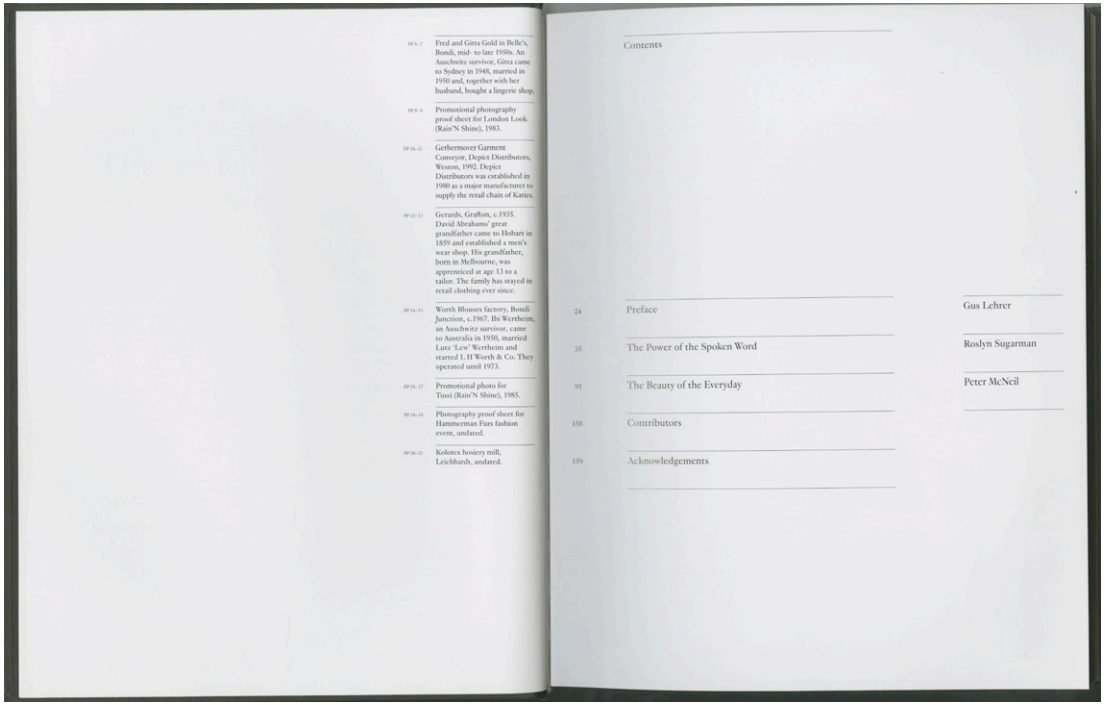

pp 6–7 Fred and Gitta Gold in Belle's, Bondi, mid- to late 1950s. An Auschwitz survivor, Gitta came to Sydney in 1948, married in 1950 and, together with her husband, bought a lingerie shop.

pp 8–9 Promotional photography proof sheet for London Look (Rain'N Shine), 1983.

pp 10–11 Gerbermover Garment Conveyor, Depict Distributors, Weston, 1992. Depict Distributors was established in 1980 as a major manufacturer to supply the retail chain of Katies.

pp 12–13 Gerards, Grafton, c.1935. David Abrahams' great grandfather came to Hobart in 1859 and established a men's wear shop. His grandfather, born in Melbourne, was apprenticed at age 13 to a tailor. The family has stayed in retail clothing ever since.

pp 14–15 Worth Blouses factory, Bondi Junction, c.1967. Ibi Wertheim, an Auschwitz survivor, came to Australia in 1950, married Lutz 'Lew' Wertheim and started I. H Worth & Co. They operated until 1973.

pp 16–17 Promotional photo for Tussi (Rain'N Shine), 1985.

pp 18–19 Photography proof sheet for Hammerman Furs fashion event, undated.

pp 20–21 Kolotex hosiery mill, Leichhardt, undated.

Contents

24 Preface — Gus Lehrer

35 The Power of the Spoken Word — Roslyn Sugarman

91 The Beauty of the Everyday — Peter McNeil

158 Contributors

159 Acknowledgements

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Book Review

Dressing Sydney: The Jewish Fashion Story, An Exhibition

Roslyn Sugarman & Peter McNeil, *Sydney Jewish Museum, 2012. 176 pp., cloth, AUD $49.95. ISBN: 9780987193551.*

The contribution of Jews to the clothing and textile industries is a story that has been treated with increasing depth in a number of publications and exhibitions over the past two decades. From their narrowly proscribed roles in the medieval European *schmatte* trade (Yiddish for 'rags'), Jews developed networks, skills and a knack for entrepreneurship that flourished during the age of industrialization through to the present era. In pre-Nazi Germany, Jews owned and operated more than half of the country's clothing businesses, while in the United States of America, Jews have been an integral part of the clothing industry at every level from piece-workers, to global brands and celebrity designers. The Australian experience was no different. However, it was not until the arrival of refugees in the 1930s, and particularly post-war immigration, that Jews would replicate a similar scale of achievement in the Antipodes to that of their counterparts in the northern hemisphere. In this concise and lively book, curator Roslyn Sugarman and historian Peter McNeil capture the spirit of entrepreneurial drive and ingenuity that characterizes the thousands of Jewish émigrés who settled in Sydney and established thriving businesses at every level of the industry.

In Australia, published research on the subject has hitherto focussed on the Melbourne garment trade. This includes an exhibition at the Jewish Museum of Australia,[1] a subsequent article by its curator Anna Epstein,[2] and a book by Lesley Sharon Rosenthal focussing on the epicentre of the city's garment industry.[3] While Melbourne had long been considered the hub of the Australian fashion industry, Sydney was by no means the poor cousin. In its heyday the inner-city district of Surry Hills alone housed hundreds of thriving clothing and textile firms, many of which were owned by Jews.

Apart from the odd company history, several articles in the *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal* and research on three figures in an essay discussing Sydney's most exclusive dressmakers and milliners,[4] the Jewish contribution to the Sydney trade had been biding its time until the exhibition and publication *Dressing Sydney: The Jewish Fashion Story*. Both drew extensively on 100 plus interviews conducted for the project, in addition to memoirs, letters and what must have been a mountain of photographs pulled from personal albums and company archives. The book encompasses three approaches, a combination of two essays and a succession of corresponding and independent images which flow seamlessly between the texts.

Roslyn Sugarman, curator of the exhibition, charts the progress of the many people from arrival to establishment and, in some cases, through to the second and third-generations. Her essay, 'The Power of the Spoken Word', reflects the exhibition's use of recorded voice and printed quotations, to highlight common themes of working life and relationships with workers and clients, assimilation, business ethics and philosophy, and the implicit custom of Jewish values (family, education and hard work). Sugarman's privileging of oral history via quotations and paraphrasing captures the mood, character and the vivaciousness of the subjects. Two notable accounts are the story of Edward Elias Weissberger, the German peddler who arrived in Sydney in 1909 whose family established Whitmont **[1]**, one of the largest shirt makers in the country (p. 36). Another is that of Aneta and Joseph Weinreich of Rainbow Blouses. Aneta honed her skills in a Polish slave labour camp sewing German uniforms alongside her mother, Franka Baral (p. 38). Shortly after arriving in Sydney, Aneta and her husband identified the dearth of colourful blouses in the post-war market, bought some fabric and took the bedroom door off its hinges to cut their first samples (p. 38).

Peter McNeil's essay 'The Beauty of the Everyday' knits together multiple narratives that locate the Jewish fashion story in Sydney within a shifting framework of national and global transformation. From the cast of Australian fashion culture at the turn of the century to the impact of changing economic and immigration policies that supported a boom in local manufacturing well

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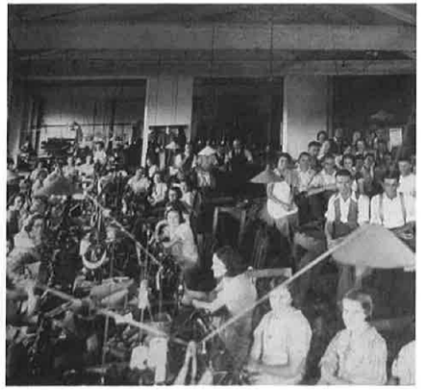

Fig 1. Staff of the Chief Clothing Company (trading as Whitmont), Surry Hills, 1932. Reproduced with permission from Sydney Jewish Museum

into the 1970s, he discusses issues of labour history, urban regeneration, the introduction of new technologies and the innovative work practices that Jewish entrepreneurs brought to Australia's manufacturing and retail culture. The question of why many Jewish businessmen and women were successful in the Australian context has been addressed before, by historians such as Anna Epstein, in respect of the Melbourne garment trade. The familiar themes of mercantile, entrepreneurial and tailoring skills and, for many, substantial experience in European industry, gave the new arrivals a competitive edge.[5] McNeil's essay argues for a more complex reading. The broader Australian market was lacking in sophistication, the post-war economy and population was booming and, despite mounting international competition, the local clothing and textile manufacturing was still, until the 1970s, one of the most highly protected industries in the world. McNeil's essay dexterously navigates these and other related issues. One of McNeil's most salient points is that in the post-war period, many Australian-born entrepreneurs were leaving the sector due to the 'depressed state of the industry' (p. 126). Thus, as in the Middle Ages when Jews found opportunities by trading *schmatte*, through ingenuity, hard work and extensive international networks, they succeeded by occupying the vacuum in Australia.

The book teems with illustrations, over sixty in colour alone, and a good number of impressive double-page spreads. The images stand on their own as a single narrative forming a photo-essay of an almost vanished world when countries like Australia used to manufacture most of what they consumed. At times the images are drawn from glossy marketing brochures. But the most precious are the informal snapshots that capture the 'warp and the weft' of factory life and the overriding flavour of European-ness within the context of an emerging multiculturalism. This is a book grounded in fact and filled with humanity.

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Notes

1 '*Schmatte* Business—Jews in the Garment Trade', Jewish Museum of Australia, St Kilda, 20 February–31 May 2001.

2 A. Epstein, 'Jews in the Melbourne Garment Trade', in *Berg Encylcopedia of World Dress and Fashion*, vol. 7, *Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific Islands*, M. Maynard (ed.), Berg, Oxford & New York, 2010, pp. 95–9.

3 L. S. Rosenthal, *Schmattes: Stories of Fabulous Frocks, Funky Fashion and Flinders Lane*, self- published, South Yarra, 2005.

4 R. Leong, 'Sydney's Most Fashionable Europeans', in *The Europeans: Émigré Artists in Australia 1930–1960*, R. Butler (ed.), National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, 1997, pp. 209–20.

5 Epstein, op. cit., pp. 95–9.

Book review:

Leong, Roger 2014, 'Dressing Sydney' in *Journal of Design History*, (Advance Access publication 12 September 2014)

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BOOK REVIEW

***Dressing Sydney: The Jewish Fashion Story*, Exhibition catalogue with essays by Peter McNeil and SJM Curator Roslyn Sugarman (2012)**
Darlinghurst, NSW: Sydney Jewish Museum, (160 pp.),
ISBN 9780987193551, Hardback, AU$49.95

Reviewed by Danielle Sprecher, University of Leeds

> Mum and Dad's early history in Australia, from the time they arrived in Sydney in 1947 from Shanghai, is certainly not unique. With no tertiary qualifications, they turned to the business world, and the schmatte industry in particular. They had no training there either, but were, like so many of their fellow European refugees, receptive to the opportunities this industry provided at the time.

This quote from John Roth, the son of Henry and Ann Roth of Wimbledon Fashions (p. 23), opens *Dressing Sydney: The Jewish Fashion Story* and encapsulates many of the stories that are told throughout this wonderful exhibition catalogue. He goes on to describe the importance of the *schmatte* (the Yiddish for rag trade) industry to his family and their friends – the networks and communities of Jewish people built up through the fashion business in Australia.

Focussing on the post-World War II period, the book explores the significant contribution of Jewish fashion designers, workers and entrepreneurs to the Sydney fashion industry within the context of post-Holocaust immigration. It addresses the relative lack of knowledge about the

commercial institutions of the fashion business and the 'interface between enterprise, culture, and consumers in producing fashion' (Blaszczyk 2008). Both Gus Lehrer in the preface, and exhibition curator Roslyn Sugarman, emphasize that the exhibition and associated catalogue provide a snapshot rather than a systematic history, a glimpse into what Lehrer calls 'a story of re-established lives, fashion dreams and innovations' (p. 25). The book is divided into two essays and is liberally illustrated with an astonishing range of photographs – from hawkers to chain stores, home production to mass manufacture, tailoring to Hawaiian shirts, underwear, children's wear, swimwear and furs, the book tells the story of the broad range of the clothing industry and the many different people who take part in it.

The use of oral histories is fundamental to the 'Dressing Sydney' project and the first essay, 'The Power of the Spoken Word' (pp. 35–80) by Sugarman presents a thematic insight into the complex and interrelated world of the fashion business in Sydney through selected excerpts from over 150 hours of interviews with 100 participants. This was obviously a substantial undertaking and fourteen interviewers are acknowledged in the credits of the catalogue. While Sugarman does not discuss the methodology involved in the collection of these histories, Peter McNeil in the second essay of the book explains that as the Sydney Jewish Museum already actively collected oral histories of Holocaust survival, interviews would be the driver of the research (p. 91). The use of oral interviews as a source in fashion history is surprisingly infrequent especially considering its value as a way of recovering the everyday and lost aspects of clothing and its production (Taylor 2002). As McNeil comments: 'It has been a challenge to recover aspects of what is by definition an ephemeral material culture. Clothes wear out, become unfashionable, are discarded and turned back into rags' (p. 91). This is also often the case with the industrial and business side of the story, as Katrina Honeyman noted in her history of the Leeds tailoring industry, which also had a significant Jewish presence (Honeyman 2000).

The importance of these interviews is considerable as they provide an entry into a culture and community of fashion production, retailing and design. Aneta and Joseph Weinreich transformed the style of women's blouses when they noticed that there were only white blouses on sale in a large Sydney department store – they went home and produced colourful samples, using the bedroom door as a cutting table (p. 38). Other stories demonstrate the influence of overseas styles. Leonard Karpin, the 'Coat King' said that he 'couldn't do a thing other than have the ideas and I would travel around the world. I would go out of Australia with one suitcase and I'd come back with six' (p. 80). What does become clear is the sense of individual stories making up a collective memory, 'many voices with similar experiences and responses have enabled us to build up a narrative that reflects the majority of individual stories' (p. 54). The account by John Roth of his parents' experience is repeated throughout Sugarman's essay in different forms as Jewish people arrived from Europe and entered the rag trade, becoming successful through adaptation, hard work and persistence, often

moving on into other businesses. Unsurprisingly oral research on the Jews in the garment trade in Melbourne tells a comparable story (Epstein 2010). Interestingly it is success which is emphasized; the narratives only briefly touch on issues such as discrimination and industrial problems.

Tellingly the fashion industry is described as the *schmatte* business throughout the book. As McNeil's essay 'The Beauty of the Everyday' (pp. 91–147) makes clear it is the everyday, ordinary fashion and clothing production rather than high fashion which is the story of the Jewish involvement in the Sydney industry. The book goes some way to rectify the problem identified by McNeil that 'very little is known about how the *schmatte* trade worked in inter-war and post-war Australia, no doubt because in a world that valorises consumption, histories of production are very "out of fashion"' (p. 91). McNeil's essay provides an excellent historical contextualization of the oral histories. The longer history of Jewish experience in Australia is outlined with the accessibility of the rag trade for Jewish immigrants as it was an industry that required no qualifications and could be undertaken from home. Crucially McNeil also pays attention to the economic framework of Australia within which the rag trade operated. The importance of the geography of the industry in Sydney is stressed, with the close proximity of manufacturers and necessity of being easily accessible to buyers from the inner city leading to a concentration of the clothing trade in areas such as Surry Hills (p. 108). The essay concludes with an exploration of the destroyed German and Austrian fashion industry within which Jews played a central role: in Germany in 1933 'Jews owned 80 per cent of department and chain stores; 40 per cent of textile wholesale business; and 60 per cent of wholesale and retail clothing businesses' (p. 139). This was obliterated by Nazi policy. Survivors who reached Australia after the war often brought this fashion background with them along with new ideas and a desire to innovate (p. 147).

Mention must be made of the extensive number of photographs that populate the catalogue. These range from family portraits, images of existing garments – such as painted ties that were made by Charles 'Rafi' Widder (p. 73) – promotional displays, fashion shoots, advertisements, shop fronts, brand names, factory interiors and fashion drawings. The majority of these items (including Otto Philippsohn's hawker's licence from 1946 in which his physical build is described as 'nuggety' [p. 69]) are from private and family collections and illustrate the kind of companies that often disappear from the record of fashion history. They along with the other aspects of this project expose the complexity and diversity of the fashion business and successfully fulfil McNeil's desire to 'explain how clothes were really "made" in the period c. 1940–1980, as opposed to just showing the finished product' (p. 92).

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losing ground to Asia, achieved enormous global success — Ralph Lauren, Calvin Klein and Donna Karan (although they do not feature in this book). However you look at it, the Jewish contribution to the garment industry and American clothing identity has been hugely significant, and this book charts some of that connection.

David Wilcox
Edinburgh College of Art

Dressing Sydney: The Jewish Fashion Story. An Exhibition by the Sydney Jewish Museum (Darlinghurst, New South Wales: Sydney Jewish Museum, 2012). 160 pp., 180 col. and b&w illus. Hbk $49.95. ISBN 9780987193551.

This book accompanies the exhibition of the same name, displayed at the Sydney Jewish Museum from October 2012 until December 2013, documenting the strong Jewish involvement in the Sydney rag trade, or *schmatte* business in Yiddish, with a natural focus on the post-war period. It is copiously illustrated and consists of essentially two essays: 'The Power of the Spoken Word' by Roslyn Sugarman, John Saunders Curatorial Chair at the Sydney Jewish Museum, and 'The Beauty of the Everyday' by Peter McNeil from the University of Technology, Sydney and Stockholm University. They trace the innovations brought to the trade due to this immigration and its influence through to the present day.

The first essay by Sugarman is a collection of oral testimonies which document the personal stories of many of the key players in the industry and relate how immigrant Jews assimilated into Australian society. The essay is broken down into short sections with titles such as 'Hard Work in a Hard Business', 'Fitting In' and 'Ingenuity and Entrepreneurship'. It provides an effective and highly personal account of the foundation of Jewish clothing businesses in the post-war era. The second essay by McNeil takes a more in-depth look at the Australian clothing trade in a historical context, tracing its roots briefly back into the late nineteenth century. He notes, for example, that prior to the pre-World War II influx of European Jews into Sydney, the women's clothing industry was previously concentrated in Melbourne. Also with import duties at 130 per cent during the Depression, the impetus was to manufacture clothing locally. Again, the essay is divided into short sections, for example, 'Conditions for Fashion Workers' and 'The Impact of Australian Economic Policy', to guide the reader presumably in conjunction with the exhibition. The impact of the Holocaust on those who made it to Sydney is movingly recounted. Although not always wanting to be in the clothing trade it was often the only option for those newly arrived. Simon Aizenberg, a tailor from Poland, had arrived in Sydney after surviving the Holocaust hoping to find other opportunities than one in the clothing trade. However, he established ITA Frocks in 1953, named after his mother, keeping her name alive with his brand name as her memorial.

In conclusion, McNeil notes the sophistication of the fashion capitals of Berlin and Vienna during the 1930s, much of the clothing made and retailed by the Jewish community there. Innovations such as the tricot-taillen, finely meshed knitwear, came from the two cities. As the German Jewish clothing industry was destroyed by Nazi policy, the openness of Australia embraced both the immigrants and the new ideas they brought with them to the benefit of all involved, transforming the Australian clothing industry in the process. This is a thought-provoking essay both about the Jewish influence in Australia and in pre-World War II Germany and Austria, and a valuable addition to literature on the ready-made industry. Its aims and methodologies would perhaps be equally enlightening if applied to other similar cities.

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PETER MCNEIL
The Beauty of the Everyday

Supporting evidence

1. Sprecher, Danielle 2013, 'Book Review', *Critical Studies in Fashion & Beauty*, Vol.4 Nos.1&2, pp.207-210. doi: 10.1386/csfb.4.1-2.207_5

2. Wilcox, David 2014, 'Book Review', *Costume*, Vol. 48, No.1, p.117

PETER MCNEIL

The Beauty of the Everyday

Supporting evidence

Sugarman, Roslyn 2013, 'Dressing Sydney: The Jewish Fashion Story', *Museums Australia Magazine*, Vol. 21 (3), pp.27-32

An exhibition built around oral histories, artefacts and first-person witness

Dressing Sydney: The Jewish Fashion Story

Roslyn Sugarman

To this day I get accosted by people saying, 'Oh, I wish you had a shop, because it was so easy.' They'd come to us. I'd put them in the change room. I'd throw things at them. They'd put them on and I'd say, 'No you can't have that'; or 'That looks fantastic'; and everyone went away happy. I couldn't dress myself, but I could dress half of Sydney.
Anne Melkman, Paulson Bargain Centre.

We had many famous clients including Sir Robert Helpmann, Margaret Whitlam, Lady Fairfax, Dan Lane, Bert Newton, Paul Hogan and then Bette Davis, Marlene Dietrich, Sophia Loren and Dame Edna Everage. We made wonderful designs for them in stranded mink and sable. But we also served many young girls who could just afford a rabbit collar. Sometimes their budget only permitted a silk cord with two fur pompoms at the end, worn as a necklace.
Stella Cornelius, Cornelius Furs.

Dressing Sydney: The Jewish Fashion Story presents a snapshot of the impact of Jewish people on the post-1945 Australian garment and fashion industry, or schmatte business, as it is known in Yiddish.

Approximately nine thousand Jewish immigrants fleeing Nazi persecution arrived in Australia from 1933 to 1940, and a further seventeen thousand survivors of the Holocaust arrived in the period from 1945 to 1954. Many used their previously acquired sewing and tailoring skills to earn a living in their adoptive country, and Australia's garment industry bloomed.

The long-running exhibition in Sydney developed around this collective contribution to Australian social life in the post-War period presents the diverse and colourful experiences of this remarkable group of immigrants. The contribution in fact continues through those who have inherited and also expanded these traditions today.

The formula for success has always been hard work, often seven days a week and fifteen hours a day. Fashion work is not always glamorous. Jews have hawked clothes from the boots of their cars and set up stalls in local markets; they have collected discarded clothing for recycling. Many Jewish retailers started off working in small shops set up as outlets for their manufactured goods.

From modest beginnings, many businesses have grown into leading fashion chain stores today. It is a testament to Australia's open and accepting attitudes to new products and ideas that these enterprises flourished. As the businesses were built, meanwhile, they steadily employed Australians and other immigrants, and provided the commercial catalyst for new styles to emerge.

What can we learn today from the 'DIY' ethos, improvised technologies and innovative manufacturing methods and distribution networks employed by the large number of Jewish emigrés who shaped this part of the Australian economy? How did individual designers or groups of manufacturers gain their reputations in a period when competition was fierce?

In developing the *Dressing Sydney* exhibition, I

An exhibition built around oral histories, artefacts and first-person witness

assembled a core team of advisers and consultants who not only guided me as mentors for themes and content development, but also provided crucial historical reference-points and hands-on help throughout: notably Bob Biederman, who shared his expertise in editing and writing via email from Los Angeles; and Margaret Gutman, Barbara Linz, Eva Scheinberg and Barbara Solomon. Their collective knowledge of the Sydney Jewish community over a long period provided the perfect scaffold for a South African-born curator to build an exhibition project from inception to full realisation.

We relied on oral history as the driver for the exhibition. One hundred people from diverse aspects of the clothing and fashion industry – hawkers, tailors, seamstresses, manufacturers, retailers, designers – were interviewed; and a multitude of voices was gathered and interconnected, many for the first time. There was a ground-swell of community interest and enthusiasm for the 'Dressing Sydney' project, and many people volunteered to be part of the process of developing the exhibition for the Museum.

Interviews began in May 2010, with the help of a dozen volunteers (some had years of experience as voluntary oral historians; others were given a crash course). The process took around eighteen months. Among many results of the project development process, we now have a significant social history archive related to the Sydney Jewish clothing industry. These stories would otherwise have been 'lost' with the passage of time. Despite our best efforts, however, we are aware that countless further stories of Jews in the garment industry in Sydney still remain untold.

Each interview took roughly one-and-a-half hours, resulting in 150 hours' collective recording of oral histories. This amounts to nine thousand minutes of listening accomplished in thirty-minute bursts in my motor car during three hundred trips to and from work. Every interview was transcribed, yielding some 5,000-10,000 words for each on average.

From a research viewpoint, and the power of first-person accounts for audience engagement: this

Another theme that emerged is that Jewish migrants demonstrated an affirmative commitment to assimilation within the broader Australian society.

accumulated resource provided more than 600,000 potential words as textual support, ensuring the rich 'voicing' of the exhibition in its final form. Meanwhile through these recordings of personal experiences and anecdotes, we learned important primary-source information about the Jewish rag-traders: their work ethic, entrepreneurship, ingenuity and creativity.

A collaboration with the University of Technology (UTS), Sydney, provided the historical context for the exhibition. Why UTS? Among other factors, UTS was pivotally located within a rich network of physical and social connections. The academic and administrative buildings of the UTS Broadway campus abut a former light-industrial district that was historically the principal garment-making district for NSW. Surry Hills and Camperdown meanwhile housed sites of production and distribution ranging from sweatshops to the modern operations of Anthony Hordern's and Edwin Jones' Marlborough Street factory.

In all major centres of clothing production, immigration has provided essential human capital. In the 1930s and 1940s, Jewish émigrés to Australia established both small- and large-scale production, some bringing through their diverse backgrounds the innovative textile and luxury fabrication possibilities that met the rising demand for new, lighter clothes, such as finely knitted garments that were a part of modern fashion-aesthetics. The area continues to be a 'rag-trading' area with new immigrant 'actors' from China, Turkey and Vietnam.

Fashion historian, Professor Peter McNeil – Associate Dean in the Faculty of Design, Architecture and Building, and Professor of Design History, UTS – became a crucial expert collaborator. He researched the historical background of Sydney's garment industry and wrote the exhibition text panels. His expertise lent authority and integrity to the exhibition. At the same time, the historical backdrop he compiled formed a framing context for the narratives – contextualising the voices of the business people who provided first-person detailing of the overarching story shaped throughout the exhibition. We meanwhile attempted to retain the distinctiveness of individual recollections and therefore produced snapshot summaries of every transcript, ultimately capturing in no more than 300 words the 'essence' of each fashion story.

In the process of gathering these oral histories, we also began to build an archive of Jewish work and community, eliciting memorabilia that provided important contexts for the exhibition – such as patterns, sketches, tools, business documents, photographs and clothing or textiles. It has been a challenge to recover physical aspects of what is by definition an often fugitive or ephemeral material culture. Clothes wear out, become unfashionable, are discarded, and are even turned back into rags.

The materials that have been collected move through processes of design (often via informal interactions), production (by entrepreneurs, workers, and managers) to image-making (in advertisements, labels, and branding) and final clothing products (represented by surviving artefacts). Oral histories also function as an important means of gathering provenance around the history of particular objects held in private collections, elucidating their meaning for the person who owns them and enriching the broader narrative of the work experience.

Recording such memories and first-hand testimony has provided valuable windows into people's unique experiences, their motives, relationships and working lives. This lends a strongly human perspective on processes and events, providing the texture of remembered emotions and details that would otherwise not find their way into written accounts – for example, how hard most of these Jewish refugees worked to set up small businesses (often in their homes), before moving to larger factory premises; the nature of family and social networks in the clothing trade; and the often personal inspirations for designing and making clothes, according to prototypes derived from Europe.

From the outset, a designer was engaged to help conceptualise the exhibition. Jinuk Han, of X-Squared Design, in fact redesigned and reconceptualised the exhibition repeatedly throughout the project, in order to create an innovative solution for the richly packed wardrobe that has become 'Dressing Sydney'. Ideally, the designer would have preferred to work with much less text, and we had many heated discussions about

An exhibition built around oral histories, artefacts and first-person witness

how much a visitor will actually read during an exhibition experience.

Nevertheless reading is an integral aspect of this social history exhibition that has engaged a hundred people's contributions in the broader community, and for which the curator – instead of making a selection of the 'top 20' or so stories – decided ultimately in favour of the democratic inclusion of everyone!

Looking now at the narrative development presented for visitors, the story unfolds in chronological phases, with personal testimonies highlighting each chapter. For example Margaret Gutman, pioneer of the 'Shopping while you work' concept, introduces us to the 1950s, putting the fashion scene of the period in sharp perspective:

The country's population was small, maybe half of current Australia, and still recovering from the shortages of war. Consumer society as we know it today was non-existent. People didn't wear anything spectacular and home dressmaking was popular.

Jody Somogy, who studied fashion at East Sydney Technical College in the late 1960s, later explains why so many Jewish immigrants chose to work in the clothing business:

People could start doing these kinds of things from home. You get a sewing machine and you start sewing. You don't need the language for it. European Jews learned to be very resourceful through circumstances. Circumstances are the best teachers. You could start sewing anywhere you were. There were lots of little businesses that were multifunctional: a little dry cleaning; a little alteration; a little this, a little that. You tried to fit as much as you could into a business to make a living. My parents started out with shoe repairing. That became a leather goods and dry cleaning place. Afterwards, they had a tobacco shop and giftware. You do what you've got the strength to do because you start with nothing. You have to be adaptable.

Csibi and Julia Koval arrived in 1951, and set up a business in their living room making artificial flowers as adornments for women's coats. According to their daughter Anna Berger:

Every woman knew how to use a sewing machine because most of them had come from homes where they made their own clothes. When they arrived, they found it fairly easy to get a job working for clothing manufacturers. So they would be outworkers, working from home, or they would work in the factories. It was a skill they all had. And as more people came, more clothing was needed, and more of them found jobs.

Sam Moss arrived in Sydney in 1948. At first he worked at a brush factory, later for a handbag and shoes retailer; but wanting to go into business on his own, he eventually bought a bakery and coffee shop. Next he created a business out of buying empty shops, fitting them out, building them into delicatessens and selling them. In 1973 he joined Katies, which had been founded by another Holocaust survivor, Stan Grossman, in 1952.

Sam relates:

We were the first in Australian retail to operate a vertical business strategy. Not only did we produce all our own fashion garments, we also made our own fabrics in our plant in Wangaratta. Since there was no middle man, we were able to offer competitive prices. Our motto became 'high quality products at affordable prices'.

Oral histories are an enlightening research tool. Many migrants with similar experiences and responses enabled us to interleave many recollections and build up a narrative that reflects a larger texture of interconnected individual stories.

Another theme that emerged is that Jewish migrants demonstrated an affirmative commitment to assimilation within the broader Australian society.

Peter Hulm, Director of Sealskly, Australia's beloved beach-lifestyle brand, meanwhile emphasised how much learning and adaptation were required in a new social setting. He identified the most difficult thing about establishing himself in a new country as a lack of understanding of the differences between the way people did business in Australia and the way people thought.

I came from Hungary, so there was a completely different mindset. Having lived in a communist country, and before then under the Nazis, we were always afraid of the police, afraid of what comes around the corner, so suddenly this freedom was incredible.

Peter, like many others we interviewed, felt readily

Here are four of the world's most beautiful women looking great in Osti you can make it five

accepted into the Australian community:

I don't think I ever had a problem being a foreigner. I was always conscious of my accent though – still am. Although my children didn't think I had an accent until someone told them!

For many, immersion in the trade began at an early age and often led to later involvement in the industry. The Silverton brothers' earliest memories are of counting buttons in the Freidelle factory – which they perceived as a completely unnecessary activity, just something to shut us up'. At home, the dinner table conversation was always about what was going on in the business and what had to be done. They went on to follow in their parents' footsteps.

The concept of doing something for a purpose, for charity in particular, is something that Gideon Silverman of Gideon Shoes identifies closely with his Jewishness.

The concept of 'Tzedakah (charity) is important to me. It really starts at a school like Moriah where you just help your friends, and it becomes a very powerful force, even in later life.
Gideon started out donating a portion of each shoe sold to the Ted Noffs Foundation's Street University, and this 'giving back to others' became a continuing social strand in his business development.

Susan Burns, daughter of Louis Klein of Anthony Squires fame, revealed that her father believed: 'From those to whom much is given, much is to be expected.' Accordingly, 'As he became more secure financially, he believed that the right thing to do was to look after organisations and communities.'

The years 1972 and 1973 were a turning point for hundreds of businesses in the trade. Gough Whitlam became prime minister and introduced equal pay for women and the gradual reduction of protective tariffs. Local costs skyrocketed. To avoid some of these costs, business owners started using contractors to make garments.

Fortunately for Australia's economic stability, many rag traders were able to continue production in Australia. As Jessika Allen, of Jets swimwear, told us: 'Ninety-five per cent of our product is [still] made in Australia'.

There are many wonderful examples of innovation. Hibodress, a company established in Woollomoolloo by the Horaks in 1949 within a few weeks of arriving in Sydney, wholesaled women's blouses to all Australian states and for all climates. A textile scientist

An exhibition built around oral histories, artefacts and first-person witness

from cosmopolitan Brno in the Czech Republic, John Horak worked with his untrained but fashion-conscious wife Olga to create stylish wash-and-wear garments for their new life in the Australian setting.

John J Hilton was one of those astute businessmen who was always thinking about the products Australians *didn't* have. His success had its roots in a town near Bratislava, Slovakia, where he helped his parents in their general store, learning how to buy and sell. With his brother Emil, who arrived in Australia in 1948, they started a business manufacturing ladies knitwear under the name John J Hilton.

They looked around for what Australians were lacking in fashion and decided to focus on women in their mid-twenties and older who enjoyed dresses that would be durable and not likely to go out of fashion quickly. Jeffrey Hilton expands on his father's creativity: 'My father travelled overseas extensively and would stand outside department store windows, sketch the frocks, and use these for new designs. He understood the power of a brand and decided to use his personal name as the brand which, though commonplace now, was unusual at that time.'

Numerous other stories reflect the risk-taking approach and entrepreneurship of Jewish people in the industry. Goldcraft led the fast-growing pleating industry by inventing a sound system and constantly improving on it. The Whitmont company pioneered 'permanent press', a process that produced a garment that remained smooth without ironing, and ensured pleats and creases that stayed sharp regardless of washing and wearing.

It is a testament to Australia that none of the struggling Jewish immigrants reported incidents of antisemitism standing in the way of their progress. Australians generally had a respect for the hard work and success the European Jews brought to their new home country. Meanwhile as the Jews built their businesses, they employed other immigrants from Greece, Italy, the Balkans, and the broad spectrum of all the 'New Australians' of that era.

Some generational characteristics can be differentiated. The first generation of 'designers' tended to be individuals with an eye for fashion who copied what they knew or noted developing in Europe and America. They gave birth to a second generation of young Jewish designers. Peter McNeil has particularised the changes as a significant shift in self-consciousness as well as continuity in building on earlier achievement:

For the next generation, being a part of the rag trade is now a choice and not an imperative. In the fashion designs of the new Jewish generation we see the continuation of the visual curiosity and business imagination that sustained many of their parents and grandparents in their adopted land.

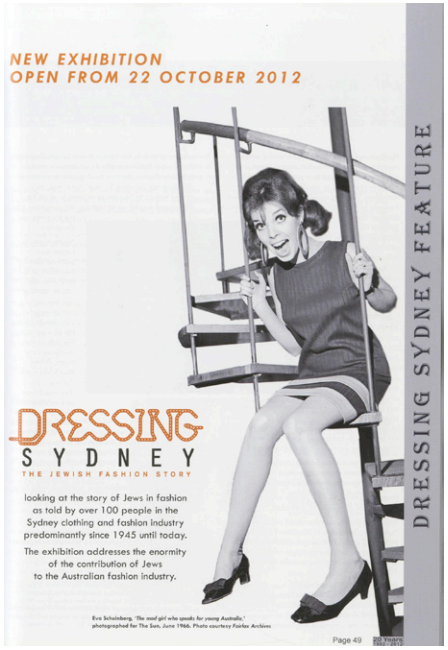
An exhibition of this scale is best served by the presence of a catalogue, both for historical record and for extending the audience for a project after the physical exhibition comes to a close. Against the historical background of a social contribution that has proved so enduringly significant in the evolution of Sydney – and with a broader impact extending beyond the NSW capital – the Sydney Jewish Museum was committed to producing a permanent record of *Dressing Sydney* in the form of a book supporting the exhibition, and for long-term sale in the Museum shop.

All exhibitions of this kind draw on personal generosity and social collaborations as well as curatorial shaping and historical expertise. I wish to acknowledge the contribution of all the 'actors' and participants in this project, who gave their time and shared their memories and memorabilia, often digging deep into their wardrobes to find examples of garments that they had manufactured.

Full appreciation and acknowledgment is extended also to the *Dressing Sydney* exhibition team; to our consultant partner from the University of Technology Sydney, Professor Peter McNeil; to the numerous volunteers for their dedication to the project; and finally to the donors whose generous financial contributions enabled the Sydney Jewish fashion story to be told.

Roslyn Sugarman is Exhibition Curator at the Sydney Jewish Museum. She grew up in the schmatte business in Johannesburg. Her parents owned a doctors' and nurses' uniform manufactory company called Kildare Sales, where Roslyn worked on a Saturday morning and during school and uni holidays. She was encouraged to join her family in the business but followed her own path and studied fine arts and then museum studies.

Dressing Sydney opened at the Sydney Jewish Museum in October 2012, and will continue to be on view until December 2013.



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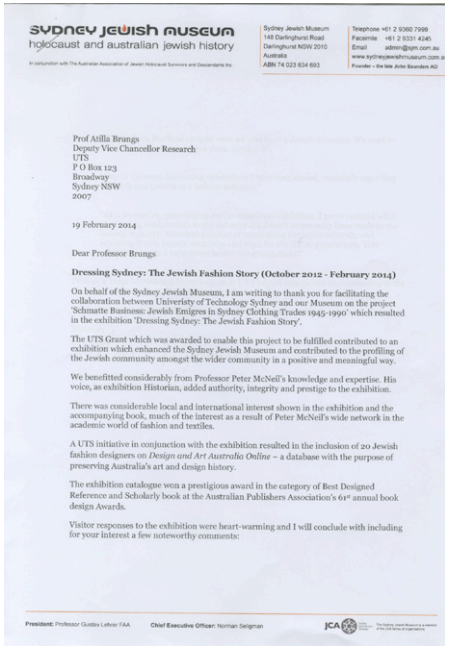

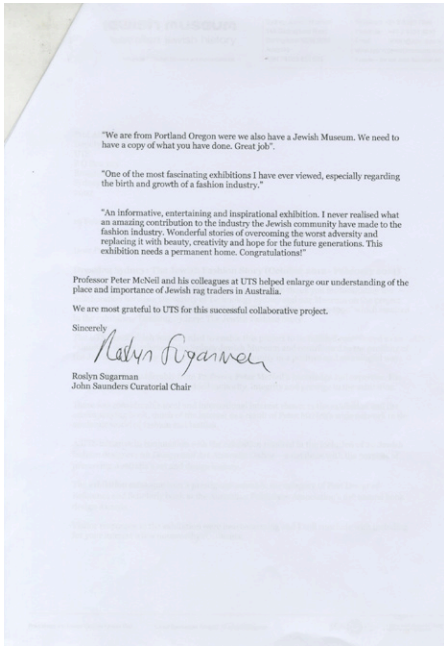

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PETER MCNEIL
The Beauty of the Everyday

Supporting evidence

1. Dressing Sydney feature by Peter McNeil in Sydney Jewish Museum 2012 Yearbook, p.50.

2. Acknowledgement of collaboration between the University of Technology Sydney and the Sydney Jewish Museum

3. UTS News story by Melinda Ham as circulated in The Sydney Morning Herald, February 2013