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Sustaining Independence: Marie Frommer's Networks and Architectural Practices in Berlin and in New York

Abstract

In the mid-1920s Marie Frommer was among the few women who run an independent architectural practice in Berlin. She had obtained a diploma in architecture from the Technische Universität Berlin in 1916 and a PhD in 1919 and had worked several years in employment before opening her practice that specialized in commercial projects. Persecution and occupational bans instigated by the Nazi Regime from 1933 forced Frommer into exile first to London, where she was unable to re-establish her practice, and in 1939 to New York. Here, she procured similar types of commissions as in Berlin and was again among the few women in architecture who ran an independent practice.

Frommer's social and professional networks seemed to have involved predominantly Women's Organizations, Jewish professional communities and exiles and this chapter argues that these networks aided Frommer in establishing and sustaining her practices in Berlin and in New York.

Keywords: Marie Frommer, Women in Architecture, Exile, German Jewish Architect

Introduction

The 1960 *New York Times* article “Women Gain Role in Architecture” reported that among the approximately 13,000 architects registered with the American Institute of Architects (AIA) the New York Chapter had twelve fully accredited women members. Among those only Dr.-Ing. Marie Frommer (1890-1976) and Read Weber (1907-1990) ran independent practices.¹ The article revealed just how few women practiced architecture independently in 1960, highlighted Frommer’s exceptional position and raises the question as to the ways in which she established and maintained her practice.

Although Frommer gained some recognition during her lifetime, it is only since the 1990s that critical studies on her work have been published. While the existing literature predominantly discusses her work in Berlin, this chapter does not focus on her activities in one geographical location or on her stylistic preferences as evidenced in her work;² it instead retraces Frommer’s clients, collaborators and professional women acquaintances.³ As a result networks can be identified that provide strong indications of the ways in which Frommer acquired commissions and established a public profile. The networks that she was involved with appear to have been a means to mitigate disadvantages brought about by her being a professional woman as well as a Jew. It can be argued that her responses to disadvantages were decisive in her ability to sustain an independent practice.

Retail Commissions and Women’s Networks in Berlin

In 1924/25 Frommer [Fig. 1] opened her first architectural office in Berlin. She had gained a diploma in architecture at the Technische Universität Berlin in 1916 and completed her doctorate on *Flusslauf und Stadtentwicklung* (*Courses of Rivers and Urban Development*) in 1919 under art historian and architect Cornelius Gurlitt (1850-1938) at the Technische

Universität Dresden; with this she was the first woman in Germany with a doctoral degree in this subject area.⁴

Little is known about Frommer's professional training up until 1924/25; during the First World War she worked on a restoration project in Angerburg, East Prussia (today Węgorzewo, Poland) as well as for the Building and Planning Department and the Town Planning Department in Dresden while writing her doctoral thesis.⁵ Afterwards, she trained in architectural firms in Germany and worked on personal projects abroad.⁶

That Frommer opened her practice in 1924/25⁷ was perhaps stimulated by the economic recovery of the Weimar Republic that had been – after a period of hyperinflation and the collapse of the fiscal system – stabilized with the help of the Dawes Plan.⁸ At that time she was not the first women in independent practice – Emilie Winkelmann (1875-1951) had had a practice in Berlin since 1907. Frommer was a representative of a generation of women who were enabled by political and societal changes to choose and practice architecture. Most women who studied architecture appear, however, to have worked in employment.⁹

Frommer's first known commissions were for the Jewish owned Schuh- und Seidenhaus Leiser (Shoe and Silk Store Leiser) in 1925/26 and again in 1927 **[Fig. 2]**. The business had been founded by Julius Klausner and Hermann Leiser in 1891 and by the 1920s it had become one of the largest shoe retailers in Berlin. In 1928 architect and architectural historian Paul Zucker (1888-1971) – who would also emigrate to New York where he became a professor at the Cooper Union – designed a Leiser store on Tauentzienstraße 20 and in 1930

Erich Mendelsohn (1887-1953) was commissioned with the Leiser shop on Schönhauser Allee.¹⁰ Frommer altered and modernized the shopping windows and the shop interior on Tauentzienstraße 17 and remodeled a larger branch on Königsstraße (today Rathausstraße).¹¹

That Leiser chose to commission

Jewish architects was not unusual.

Architectural historian Myra

Warhaftig has shown that the

approximately 100 Jewish architects

who practiced in Berlin before 1933

received commissions predominantly

from Jewish clients.¹² Leiser might

have chosen Frommer to support a

woman in architecture. It is also possible that not only her portfolio, reputation and skill

convinced her client but that she was appointed out of gender essentialist reasoning; to

appoint a woman to design a large-scale modern store might have been considered as an

advantage because the primary clientele for these stores were women. A similar train of

thought that – at the same time – led women to be considered suitable to design houses and

modern kitchens, might have also been at play when considering the design of modern stores

and department stores. Frommer could have been chosen out of the notion that she, as woman

architect, could recognize the needs of female customers and would thus be able to adopt her

design to instill and perpetuate Kauflust (desire to buy).¹³

Between 1928 and 1930 Frommer built her most substantial retail project; the five-story

department store Textilia in Mährisch-Ostrau, (today Ostrava, Czech Republic) for the Jewish

textiles merchant Igo (also Hugo) Wechsler.¹⁴ Textilia, was one of several modernist

department stores that were built in Mährisch-Ostrau after the First World War by members

of a wealthy Jewish community. The Viennese department store Rix, built in 1928 by the Czech architect Ernst Korner (1888-1966) and Moritz Bachner's (1871-1935) six-storey department store Bachner designed by Mendelssohn in 1933 were Textilia's main competitors.¹⁵ Whether Leiser or members of the Jewish community in Berlin recommended her to Wechsler is not known, but it can be assumed that her work for Leiser promoted her reputation as a capable architect for large-scale retail projects.

The commissions from Leiser and Wechsler indicate a relationship among Jewish business-owners but her Hotel Villa Majestic in Berlin-Wilmersdorf, a project that ran in parallel with Textilia, is linked to Frommer's engagement in Women's Organizations.

Here, Frommer joined two existing buildings and modernized the facades and interiors.¹⁶ As a hotel exclusively available for women it provided rooms, studios and apartments appropriate for women living alone or traveling without a male chaperone.

The restaurant and two bars also provided suitable places to meet and from 1930 gatherings of the Berlin branch of the Soroptimist Club and of the

Deutscher Ingenieurinnen (Association of German Women Engineers) took place here [Fig. 3];¹⁷ Frommer was involved with both organizations.

For the Gesellschaft Deutscher Ingenieurinnen at the *Weltkraftkonferenz (World Energy Conference)* she gave a talk in 1930 on her work as an independent architect.¹⁸ Frommer's office "employed on average two secretaries, 6-7 assistants and draughtsmen, and as many site managers as projects were in progress and assistant site managers where needed."¹⁹ The level of her success might have prompted the invitation for the talk that will have had the goal to motivate women towards choosing engineering professions.

The Soroptimist Club (today Soroptimist International) was also an organization that supported professional women. In 1930 Frommer was a founding member of the branch in Berlin. Initiated in 1921 in Oakland, California the "sorores optimae" admitted representatives of distinct professions – similar to the Rotary Club.²⁰ The club organized gatherings, events and talks, fostered international connections in support of professional women and addressed societal challenges experienced by women. By 1930 several branches aside from the one in Berlin had been founded in the United States as well as in London, Glasgow, Paris and Geneva.²¹

Among the members of the Berlin branch were surgeon Dr. Edith Peritz (1897-1985)²² – the first president – gentile Tilla Durieux (1880-1971) who was an actress and the former wife of art dealer and editor Paul Cassirer (1871-1926), writer and journalist Dr. Gabriele Tergit (aka Elise Reifenberg née Hirschmann, 1894-1982)²³, photographer Lotte Jacobi (1896-1990), gentile Irene Witte (1894-1976) – whose 1922 translation of Christine Frederick's book *Household Engineering* was of pivotal influence to Austrian architect Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky's (1897-2000) 1926 design of the Frankfurt Kitchen²⁴ – and gentile Margarete Kaiser, author of the sex manual *Die Liebe als Kunst (Love as Art)* and editor of the magazine *Die schaffende Frau (The Creating Woman)*.²⁵

Frommer was involved in several activities of the club such as the 1931 exhibition *Wohnung und Mode (Living and Fashion)* organized by the Stadtverband Berliner Frauenvereine

(Municipal League of Berlin Women's Associations). The club planned an exhibit of a professional woman's office and Frommer was to give a talk on Contemporary Living as part of the exhibition.²⁶ For *Die schaffende Frau* Frommer wrote the column *Wohnberatung* (*Advice on Living*) that provided readers with suggestions and guidance for interior decoration.²⁷

An exhibition unrelated to the club that Frommer was involved with and that indicates her connections with women in architecture was *Die gestaltende Frau* (*The Shaping/Forming Woman*) at the Jewish-owned department store Wertheim in 1930. Here, Frommer's work was exhibited alongside that of the gentile architects Hanna Löw (1901-1989), Elisabeth von Tippelskirch-Knobelsdorff (1877-1959) and Winkelmann.²⁸

From 1931 Frommer's activities outside her architectural practice diminished, possibly because of an increase in design projects. As Vertrauensarchitekt (trusted architect) she was commissioned by the "Allianz und Stuttgarter Verein, Schweizerische Lebensversicherungs- und Rentenanstalt [Swiss Life Insurance and Pension Company, today Swiss Life], and Guyerzeller Bank"²⁹ – the latter of which might have come about due to Frommer's acquaintance with Swiss architect Lux (Louise) Guyer (1894-1955), who was related to the Guyer-Zeller family.³⁰

Between 1924/25 and 1934 Frommer established an architectural practice; the commissions of which grew from shop alterations to the remodeling of a hotel to conversions of office buildings for international clients. An indication of the level of confidence that her clients had in her skill and professionalism that would have been a foundation of her independent practice is expressed in a 1935 letter of recommendation:

Your ability, your energy and prudence have resulted in a masterful conversion, which is excellent in the technical sense as well as in architectural-artistic aspects, and

this despite the rush and the repeated changes of the original program, so that the virtually new house is in every sense of the word work well done, which we enjoy very much.³¹

Still, it was not only skill and professionalism that drove the success of Frommer's practice in Berlin. During the early stages of her career she was commissioned by Jewish clients which suggests the support of this community. Her talk at the *Weltkraftkonferenz*, her column in *Die schaffende Frau* and her engagement in the Soroptomist Club show her to have been also well-connected among professional women. Her engagement with these organizations, together with her skills as an architect, seem to have been a means to develop her reputation and expand her practice.

This came to a complete halt and her practice disintegrated after Jewish architects began losing their memberships to the Bund Deutscher Architekten (Association of German Architects, BDA). From 1933 the BDA was gradually subsumed into the newly-founded Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich Chamber of Culture) to which a new application had to be made. As a Jew Frommer's application was rejected and in November 1934 she lost her permission to practice.³²

The above letter of recommendation was written a year later by the directorate of the Schweizerische Lebensversicherungs- und Rentenanstalt and probably to support her in exile. After completing ongoing projects Frommer left Germany in 1936/37 and went to London.³³

First exile in London

After arriving in London she was supported by her brother Leopold Frommer (1894-1943), a mechanical engineer who had been forced into exile in 1934 and who worked at High Duty Alloys, Ltd. in Slough.³⁴ While in London, she did not join the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) nor register with the Architects Registration Board (ARB).³⁵ The only

work she was engaged with was “the designing of many bomb-proof shelters.”³⁶ These might have been so-called Anderson Shelters, rudimentary self-build air-raid shelters that were sent to households in kit-form from 1939.³⁷ It is possible that Frommer helped with installing Anderson Shelters on private properties.

Frommer is also mentioned in the 1937 article “A New Buttress for the Alliance” in *The International Women’s News*. The article reported on the inauguration of the Second Wednesday Luncheon Club hosted by the British suffragist and politician Dame Margery Corbett Ashby (1882-1981) who was, among other things, the president of the International Alliance of Women.³⁸ None of Frommer’s activities appear to have yielded opportunities to re-establish her practice and she left London to immigrate to the United States in November 1939 and arrived in New York on December 5th.³⁹

New York Clients and Collaborators

During the late 1930s New York provided exile for a great number of refugees who were supported by multiple organizations.⁴⁰ Frommer received help through her connections with the Soroptimist Club as demonstrated in her providing the address of the club member Miss M.F.E. Smith upon her arrival.⁴¹

A number of her acquaintances and clients also found refuge in New York. Among them were the Soroptimists Annot (Anna Ottilie Krigar-Menzel, 1894-1981), who later founded the Annot Art School and Gallery at the Rockefeller Center, possibly Kaiser⁴² as well as Jacobi and Peritz, who re-joined the Soroptimist Club.⁴³ Frommer’s former client Leiser, whose business was sold under coercion after 1933 came to New York and Wechsler, whose property was seized and “Aryanized” in October 1940 came to the United States as well.⁴⁴

It was not until 1946 that Frommer regained a license to practice architecture in New York but almost immediately upon arrival she was mentioned in newspaper articles. The earliest

was at the end of January 1940 when Frommer joined the members of the Voteless District of Columbia League of Women Voters in a visit to a slum area in Washington D.C. She was introduced as having assisted in planning low-cost houses in Germany.⁴⁵ While this cannot be corroborated as having been part of her expertise it shows the organizers interest in housing and in the expertise of an architect trained in Germany. It also indicates that Frommer either drew on pre-existing connections to join this group or that she was able to create opportunities quickly. In October 1940 Frommer appears again in the press for a talk on “the influence of women as homemakers and consumers on manufacturing and domestic architecture” at a dinner of the Business and Professional Women’s Club in Utica, New York.⁴⁶ This topic was more in keeping with her expertise and akin to the content of her column in *Die schaffende Frau*. After re-establishing her practice Frommer continued to give talks discussing “Designs for the Modern Store Under Present Conditions”⁴⁷ in 1951 and “the necessity of exchange of ideas between builder and architect to further the understanding and performance of progressive housing” in 1958.⁴⁸ The first talk indicated Frommer’s ongoing involvement in shop designs, an activity that is also mentioned in the 1970 entry of the *American Architects Directory*. Here, Frommer’s practice is recorded as having been focused on “layout & rehab. for sundry off. in downtown N.Y.C.” between 1951 and 1970.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, only four of her “sundry offices” were published – all of which were designed during the 1940s.⁵⁰

The earliest was the 1943/44 interior of Radio Frank’s Night Club that Frommer refurbished in collaboration with German interior decorator Paul Bry (1899-1953).⁵¹ The client might have been “Radio” Frank Smith a lyrical tenor and radio personality.⁵² Frommer might have already known Bry as he had studied interior architecture and practiced in Berlin where he, among other projects, designed the interior and furniture for the consulting room of Austrian-American psychoanalyst Dr. René Árpád Spitz (1887-1974).⁵³ Bry had relocated to Paris in

1933 where he worked with Joachim Hoffmann (aka Jo Kim, 1908-1995) before coming to New York in 1938.⁵⁴

The club was published in the architectural magazine *Pencil Points: The Magazine of Architecture* that also featured Frommer's first independent project, the 1945/46 Specialty Shop Regina in New Rochelle.⁵⁵ This shop was photographed by Ezra Stoller (1915-2004) who in the 1950s would become well-known for his photographs of modernist architecture. It is likely that Frommer approached Stoller to obtain professional photographs in an effort to

enhance her public profile; her two remaining published projects were also photographed by a professional photographer.⁵⁶

The first of these was the interior for the Jewish law office of Milton Mansbach (1901-1983) & Louis J. Paley in 1948 [**Fig. 4**].⁵⁷ The offices were photographed by Ben Schnall (1906-1998) and published in *Interiors* edited by gentile Austrian writer and architect Bernard Rudofsky (1905-1988). Mansbach had been admitted to the New York bar in 1924, and appears together with Paley in court records and newspapers during the 1930s. Both seem to have been employed at the law firm Lachman & Goldsmith before founding Mansbach & Paley between 1946 and 1948.⁵⁸

The last retail project that Frommer published was the 1949 store Creative Looms; it was also photographed by Schnall and featured in *The Architectural Record* [Fig. 5].⁵⁹ The shop made textiles for designers such as Pierre Kleykamp (1921-1984), Joseph Provato and Ruth Adler Schnee (1923-) who, in a 2002 interview, recalled that it was established by Mr. Hesslein and

Lili Blumenau (1912-1976). Blumenau had studied in Berlin, Paris, arrived in New York in 1938 and had attended the Black Mountain College in North Carolina.⁶⁰

There is no full account of Frommer's oeuvre, little is known about the clients of her published commissions and even less on her other work. Jews were the largest minority group in New York and between 1920 and 1960 formed between a quarter and a third of the city's population.⁶¹ Frommer's

commissions by Jewish clients such as by the

law firm Mansbach & Paley could therefore be considered as not surprising. It seems, however, that there were societal aspects that led to the commissioning of a Jewish architect by a Jewish business owner. On the example of the rise of large Jewish law offices in New York during the 1950s law and ethics scholar Eli Wald has shown that, despite a decline in Anti-Semitism, factors such as "discriminatory hiring and promotion practices" of White, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant (WASP) firms created a phenomenon according to which Jewish law firms predominantly hired Jewish lawyers.⁶² This fostered a separation of communities while at the same time providing opportunities for Jewish lawyers. While Wald's study focused on law offices, a study on the hiring practices of architects and designers by Jewish

business owners in 1950s New York has not yet been undertaken. This example allows only for the assumption that in post-war New York – as had been the case in 1920s Berlin – mechanisms and conventions existed that fostered the appointment of Jewish architects by Jewish business owners.

Conclusions

The fragmentary traces of Frommer's career suggest that she was involved with specific types of networks in Berlin and in New York. In both cities Frommer seems to have applied similar methods to acquire commissions and raise her public profile in that she engaged with Women's Organizations, Jewish professional communities and in New York with other exiles.

These networks are reflective of Frommer's status in both contexts and it appears that she chose networks and organizations where her being a Jew, a professional woman, or an exile would not be an overt disadvantage and where the challenges associated with her disadvantages were known and shared by the members of these networks and communities. She might have joined Women's Organizations to support other women, but also in the hope of finding support and in gaining recognition. She might also have been involved in Jewish Communities in Berlin and New York knowing that here her cultural heritage would not be a hindrance, whilst perhaps being aware that hiring practices among Jewish business owners would provide opportunities that would have been more difficult to obtain elsewhere. It appears that Frommer chose networks as a means to mitigate disadvantages, so that her networks were among the pivotal elements in sustaining an independent architectural practice in Berlin as well as New York.

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¹ Thomas W. Ennis, “Women Gain Role in Architecture,” *The New York Times*, March 13, 1960, 1+6.

² Research on Frommer is challenging because her papers and that of her family appear to have been lost. Email conversation with Doris Bailiss, 4 May 2020 and Tom Ravetz, 8 May 2020. For literature on Frommer see for example: “A thousand Women in Architecture: Part 1,” *Architectural Record* 103, no. 3 (1948): 105-15, Susana Torre, ed. *Women in American Architecture: A Historic and Contemporary Perspective* (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1977), 98. Mary Pepchinski, “Frauen und moderne Architektur: Drei Dresdnerinnen der Weimarer Zeit,” in: *Frauen an Hochschulen: Förderung, Konkurrenz, Mobbing, Kultur, Kunst, Können, Komposition*, ed. Karin Reiche (Dresden: Technische Universität, Referat Gleichstellung für Frau und Mann, 1995), 121-34. Kerstin Dörhöfer, *Pionierinnen in der Architektur: Eine Baugeschichte der Moderne* (Tübingen, Berlin: Wasmuth, 2004), 124-35, Tina Cieslik, “Marie Frommer: Architektin, Emigrantin” (MA diss., ETH Zuerich, 2008), Arne Sildatke, “Die Berliner Architektin Marie Frommer und ihr Beitrag zur Architektur der Moderne” (MA diss., Freie Universität Berlin, 2008), Ines Sonder, “Marie Frommer: Projekte zwischen Berlin und Exil in New York,” in: *Frau Architekt*, eds. Mary Pepchinski et al (Berlin: Wasmuth, 2017), 141-45.

³ On networks in exile see: Burcu Dogramaci and Karin Wimmer eds. *Netzwerke des Exils: Künstlerische Verflechtungen, Austausch und Patronage nach 1933* (Gebr. Mann Verlag: Berlin, 2011).

⁴ Arne Sildatke, “Flusslauf und Stadtentwicklung: Marie Frommer’s Dissertation als Beitrag zur Theorie des Städtebaus (1919),” in: *Theoretikerinnen des Städtebaus: Texte und Projekte für die Stadt*, eds. Katja Frey and Eliana Perotti (Berlin: Reimer, 2015), 121-34.

⁵ Marie Frommer, “Application for Membership,” in: *The American Institute of Architects, Application No. AP8861* (August 28, 1952), 2.

⁶ Marie Frommer, “Lebenslauf [ca. 1957],” in: *Entschädigungsamt Berlin, Frommer, Marie: File no. 150.633*, Landesamt für Bürger- und Ordnungsangelegenheiten Berlin [hereto forward LABO].

⁷ It is not clear when her practice opened. Frommer’s 1952 application at the AIA mentions 1925 and her 1957 CV 1924: Frommer, “Application for Membership,” 3 and Frommer, “Lebenslauf [ca. 1957].”

⁸ Adelheid von Saldern, “Einleitung,” in: *Geschichte des Wohnens: 1918-1945, Reform, Reaktion, Zerstörung*, ed. Gerd Kähler (Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt: Stuttgart, 1996), 15.

⁹ Corinna Isabel Bauer, “Bauhaus- und Tessenow-Schülerinnen: Genderaspekte im Spannungsverhältnis von Tradition und Moderne” (PhD diss., Universität Kassel, 2006), p. 33 ff.

¹⁰ “Erich Mendelsohn: Haus des Deutschen Metallarbeiterverbandes, Kaufhaus Schocken, Leiser-Filiale,” *Bauwelt*, 41 (1930): 15-6. Wolfgang Schäche, Norbert Szymanski, *Paul Zucker: Der vergessene Architekt* (Berlin: Jovis, 2005), 139.

¹¹ Arne Sildatke, *Dekorative Moderne: Das Art Déco in der Raumkunst der Weimarer Republik* (Berlin: Hopf, 2013), 383ff.

¹² Myra Warhaftig, *Deutsche jüdische Architekten vor und nach 1933 – Das Lexikon* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2005), 23 + 168.

¹³ Women as primary customers in Department Stores in particular were discussed in: Paul Lerner, *The Consuming Temple: Jews, Department Stores and the Consumer Revolution in Germany, 1880-1940*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2015), 3ff.

¹⁴ Marie Frommer, “Warenhaus in Mährisch-Ostrau,” *Bauwelt* 22, no. 4 (1931): 122. Other retail projects in Berlin were the shoe shop Jacoby, the conversion of the Modellhaus Max Becker in 1931-1932 and a shoe shop for Nicolas Greco in Deauville, France. “A thousand Women”: 105-15. Dörhöfer, *Pionierinnen*, 124-35.

¹⁵ “Ernst Korner,” *The Other Moderns: Sydney’s Forgotten European Design Legacy* <https://theothermoderns.com/2017/08/29/ernst-korner/> (accessed 9 July 2020), “Department Store Bachner,” *Bachner Erich Mendelsohn Moravská Ostrava* <http://bachner.cz/od-bachner/?lang=en> (accessed 9 July 2020).

¹⁶ “Eine Frau baut ein Hotel,” *Die schaffende Frau* 1, no. 7 (1929/30): 240. See also: “Architektin Dr.-Ing. Marie Frommer, Berlin: Umbau der Villa Majestic in Berlin-Wilmersdorf zum Hotel,” *Bauwelt* 21, no. 15 (1930): 9-12.

¹⁷ The pre-existing Club berufstätiger Frauen joined the Soroptimist Club in 1930. “Bericht des Clubs berufstätiger Frauen (Soroptimist-Club Berlin)” *Die schaffende Frau* 1 (August 1930): 374.

¹⁸ Dörhöfer, *Pionierinnen*, 128.

¹⁹ “Ich beschäftigte im Durchschnitt 2 Sekretärinnen, 6-7 Assistenten und Zeichner, und so viele Bauführer, als Bauten liefen, mit Hilfsbauführern (sic), wo es nötig wurde. Frommer, “Lebenslauf [ca. 1957].” One of her employees was Rudolf Hamburger (1903-1980) who might to have assisted with the hotel while studying in Hans Poelzig’s master class at the Akademie der Künste. Eduard Kögel, *Zwei Poelzigschüler in der Emigration: Rudolf Hamburger und Richard Paulick zwischen Shanghai und Ost-Berlin (1930-1955)* (PhD diss., Bauhaus-Universität Weimar, 2007), 39.

²⁰ “Bericht des Clubs berufstätiger Frauen (Soroptimist-Club, Berlin),” *Die schaffende Frau* 1, no. 9 (June 1930): 317-19.

²¹ “Soroptimist-Klub Berlin: Mitteilungen für Februar 1931, Zirkular Nr. 5” in: *Soroptimist Club*, Landesarchiv Berlin, D Rep. 920-05, Nr. 4.

²² Felicitas von Aretin, *Mit Wagemut und Wissensdurst: Die ersten Frauen in Universitäten und Berufen*, (München: Elisabeth Sandmann, 2018), 169-77.

²³ Elke-Vera Kotowski, *Salondamen und Frauenzimmer: Selbstemanzipation deutsch-jüdischer Frauen in zwei Jahrhunderten* (Berlin, München, Boston: De Gruyter, 2016) and Hans Wagener, *Gabriele Tergit: Gestohlene Jahre* (Osnabrück: V&R Unipress, 2013).

- ²⁴ Christine Frederick, *Die rationelle Haushaltsführung: Betriebswissenschaftliche Studien*, trans. Irene Witte (Berlin, 1922). Rita Pokorny, *Die Rationalisierungsexpertin Irene M. Witte (1894-1976)* (PhD diss., Technische Universität Berlin, 2003).
- ²⁵ "Generalversammlung 1931: Punkt IV der Tagesordnung: Vorstandswahlen," in: *Soroptimist Club*, Landesarchiv Berlin D Rep. 920-05 Nr. 4.
- ²⁶ Whether this talk took place is not certain as it was announced but not mentioned in the subsequent annual report. "Jahresbericht 26. Mai 1932" in: *Soroptimist Club*, Landesarchiv Berlin, D Rep. 920-05 Nr. 4.
- ²⁷ Marie Frommer, "Wohnberatung," *Die schaffende Frau* 1, no. 13/14 (1930): 429.
- ²⁸ "Ausstellung des deutschen Staatsbürgerinnen-Verbandes," *Die gestaltende Frau* (Berlin 1930).
- ²⁹ Marie Frommer, "Lebenslauf [ca. 1957]."
- ³⁰ Cieslik, *Marie Frommer*, p. 43-4.
- ³¹ "Ihrem Können, Ihrer Tatkraft und Umsicht ist es gelungen den schwierigen Umbau sowohl in technischer, wie auch in architektonisch-künstlerischer Beziehung trotz der Eile und der mehrfachen Änderungen des ursprünglichen Bauprogramms in vorbildlicher Weise zu meistern, sodass das sozusagen neue Haus ein in jeder Hinsicht wohl gelungenes Werk ist, an dem wir Freude haben." Direktorate of the Schweizerische Lebensversicherungs- und Rentenanstalt, Letter to Marie Frommer, December 30, 1935, LABO.
- ³² Eugen Hönig an Marie Frommer, November 14, 1934, LABO and Anke Blümm, "Im Namen der Baukultur: 1933-1945: Der BDA im Dritten Reich," in: *Aufbruch in den Untergang: 1933-1945*, ed. Bund Deutscher Architekten, https://www.bda-bund.de/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/BDA-Chronik_Band-04_1933-1945.pdf (accessed 1 May 2020), 10-7.
- ³³ It is not clear when exactly she arrived in Britain. Her indemnification application mentions that she left in 1937 other paperwork mentions late summer 1936. Marie Frommer, "Erklärung zum Antrag vom heutigen Datum: 25. Oktober 1952," LABO and "Brief an Rechtsanwalt Max Baum. Begründung, 28. November 1958," LABO.
- ³⁴ Marie Frommer, "Eidesstattliche Versicherung am 29. Juni 1956," LABO. See also "Frommer, Leopold, Frommer, Jadwiga: File no. 59.891," LABO., "Obituary: Dr.-Ing. Leopold Frommer," *The Journal of the Institute of Metals and Metallurgical Abstracts* 69 (1943), 511-12. Reinhard Rürop, *Schicksale und Karrieren. Gedenkbuch für die von den Nationalsozialisten aus der Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft vertriebenen Forscherinnen und Forscher* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2008), 198-99.
- ³⁵ Email from Katherine Onadeko, ARB on 25 June 2019 and Stephanie Johnson, RIBA on 20 June 2019.
- ³⁶ "Miss McKernan To Receive Scroll," *Utica Daily Press*, October 9, 1940.
- ³⁷ *Anderson Shelters*, <https://www.andersonshelters.org.uk> (accessed May 5, 2020).
- ³⁸ "A New Buttress for the Alliance," *The International Women's News* 31, nos. 11-12 (1937): 81-2.
- ³⁹ Marie Frommer, "Bescheid, 20. Oktober 1953," LABO.
- ⁴⁰ Claus-Dieter Krohn, *Intellectuals in Exile: Refugee Scholars and the New School for Social Research* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993).
- ⁴¹ "Frommer, Marie, S.S. Statendam, List or Manifest, December 5, 1939: List 14, line 22" in: *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1820-1897*. Records of the U.S. Customs Service, Record Group 36. National Archives at Washington, D.C. *Soroptimist Club of New York. Temporary Roster*, February 7, 1939.
- ⁴² This assumption is based on the following immigration records: "Kaiser, Margaret, S.S. Laconia, List or Manifest, December 5, 1936: List 5, line 1" in: *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1820-1897*. Records of the U.S. Customs Service, Record Group 36. National Archives at Washington, D.C.
- ⁴³ See collection of letters from Frommer to Jabobi, at the University of New Hampshire, Milne Special Collections and Archives, Estate Jacobi, MC 58, Box 7 f.31.
- ⁴⁴ Darlene Leiser-Shely, "Signs," *Aktuell aus und über Berlin*, <https://bit.ly/386nRH4> (accessed 15 June 2020) and Holocaust Survivors and Victims Database, *Igo Wechsler*, <https://bit.ly/2YDXJQH> (accessed 15 June 2020). David Lawson, Libuše Salomonovicčová, Hana Štůtková, *Ostrava and its Jews: "Now No-one Sings You Lullabies"* (London, Portland: Vallentine Mitchell, 2018), 47ff and 152ff.
- ⁴⁵ "Women Voters Visit Slum Areas to be Rehabilitated," *The Evening Star*, January 31, 1940, B-11.
- ⁴⁶ "Miss Mary L. McKernan Given 1940 Women's Scroll of Honor," *Utica Daily Press*, October 9, 1940. Frommer also joined the Saturday's Children Club in 1942. "Saturday's Children Include Eleven Nationalities in Roster," *The New York Times*, March 8, 1942, 4D.
- ⁴⁷ "Clinic Offers Free Tips on Modernization," *New York Amsterdam News*, March 10, 1951, 124.
- ⁴⁸ "County Builders Elect Officers," *Orangetown Telegram*, November 27, 1958, 4.
- ⁴⁹ George Koyl, ed. *American Architects Directory*, 3rd edition (New York City: R. R. Bowker Company, 1970), 301.
- ⁵⁰ Other projects were: Multiple dwellings on 19 West 31st Street, alterations to Manhattan Towers Hotel, a Penthouse on Park Avenue, Site Plan for Military Housing, a townhouse on 75 East 52nd Street. "Building Plans Filed," *New York Times*, November 8, 1946, 41 and Koyl, *American Architects Directory*, 301.
- ⁵¹ "Radio Frank's Knight Club, New York City," *Pencil Points* (July 1944): 60-1. "Paul Bry, Designer: Interior Decorator," *The New York Times*, June 30, 1953, 23.
- ⁵² "Old Bavaria Features 'Radio' Frank Smith," *The News – Owl*, September 8, 1933, 6.
- ⁵³ Volker M. Welter, *Ernst L. Freud, Architect: The Case of the Modern Bourgeois Home* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2012), 198. Paul Bry, "Vom Forsthaus zum Jungesellenheim," *Innendekoration* 44, no. 1 (1933): 244-47.
- ⁵⁴ "Bry, Paul, S.S. Washington, List or Manifest, February 24, 1938: List 9, line 2" in: *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1820-1897*. Records of the U.S. Customs Service, Record Group 36. National Archives at Washington, D.C. "Guide to the Kim Hoffmann Photograph Collection 1937-198 (bulk 1949-1960) PR 77: Biographical Note," *New York Historical Society. Museum & Library*, <https://bit.ly/3843wSL> (accessed 22 June 2020), Paul Bry, *How to build your own furniture* (New York: Macmillan, 1951).
- ⁵⁵ "Inexpensive design for specialty shop," *Pencil Points: Progressive architecture* (August 1946): 73-76.

⁵⁶ The film that would have contained images of the shop could not be found in Stoller's archives and Erica Stoller speculates that the photographs could have been commissioned outside his regular business and as a personal favour. Email conversation with Erica Stoller, 5 June 2020.

⁵⁷ "New Light on Forensic Interiors," *Interiors* 5 (1948): 96-98. *The Yellow Pages*, 1948, 873. Email conversation with Harold Appel 14 May 2020.

⁵⁸ "Right Of Executor-Trustee To Double Commissions," *Banking Law Journal*, 51, no. 9 (1934): 752-809, "141 New Lawyers Admitted to Bar," *The Standard Union*, January 30, 1924, 3. "Milton Mansbach, Registration Card, Serial Number 1872, Order Number 10734," *Draft Registration Cards for New York State, 10/16/1940 - 3/31/1947*. 863 boxes. NAI: 7644744. Records of the Selective Service System, 1926-1975, Record Group 147. National Archives and Records Administration, St Louis, Missouri.

⁵⁹ "Showroom and Building for Creative Looms, Inc.," *The Architectural Record* 104, no. 10 (1949): 124.

⁶⁰ "Oral history interview with Ruth Adler Schneer, 2002 November 24-30," Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, <https://s.si.edu/3eJO6FF> (accessed, 25 June 2020). Nell Znamierowski, "Lili Blumenau 1912-1976," *Craft Horizons* 37, no. 1 (1977): 10.

⁶¹ Eli Lederhendler, *New York Jews and the Decline of Urban Ethnicity, 1950-1970* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2001), 11ff.

⁶² Eli Wald, "The Jewish Law Firm: Past and Present," *HLS Center on the Legal Profession Research Paper No. 2015-9*, https://digitalcommons.du.edu/law_facpub/28 (accessed 1 June 2020).