

Race and Visual Culture  
in Imperial Germany

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ADVERTISING  
EMPIRE

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DAVID  
CIARLO



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# Advertising Empire

RACE AND VISUAL CULTURE  
IN IMPERIAL GERMANY

David Ciarlo

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*To my parents,  
Dorothy and Jim*



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# **Advertising Empire**



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## INTRODUCTION

The larger, more eye-catching, obtrusive, and exotic the advertisement, the less the likelihood that it deals with a real and solid business.

—Rudolf Cronau, in Germany's first  
advertising handbook, 1887

In 1911 a Düsseldorf cigar retailer by the name of Eduard Palm registered a trademark with the German Imperial Patent Office (see Plate 1). Originally designed as a poster by the renowned graphic artist Julius Klinger, the new profession of advertising in Germany heralded it as a masterpiece of form and color. It was also lauded as a clever use of humor, for it plays upon a verbal joke, namely the similarity of the retailer's last name to the tropical tree (*Palme* in German). The glowering, smoking African figure almost adds a visual exclamation mark to the textual wordplay. The figurine might also seem to incorporate the brand name, a sort of virtual spokesperson not entirely unlike famous predecessors such as the Quaker man of Quaker Oats (first appearing in ads in the 1880s) or the Michelin Man (1898). Though it never became as famous as other German commercial icons such as the pale, slender white woman of Persil (laundry soap) or the black serving moor of Sarotti (chocolate), it remained in use for more than eighty years in Berlin, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt am Main, and many other German cities. In the late 1990s a larger tobacco consortium purchased the fourteen stores of the Eduard Palm chain, and the brand disappeared from Germany and from German history.<sup>1</sup>

Scholars have looked at this image, and other images like it, from two entirely different vantage points. The first is to see it as an aesthetic triumph, and correspondingly as a model of advertising acumen. The Palm image is indeed an exemplary work of graphic design: a minimalist palm tree arcs through and over the firm name, culminating in a verdant cluster that compositionally balances the lopsidedness of the first capital *P*. Looping gray smoke rings, the largest in the optical center of the poster, lead the eye incrementally back to the red *O* of the figure's lips—and thence to the cigar. We then realize that the palm tree itself bows under the weight of the glaring, yet innocuous homunculus. Finally, the product itself, “cigars,” appears in knock-out type underneath, subtle as an afterthought. This is a beautiful example of the *Sachplakat* (Object Poster), a commercial style that arose in Berlin and Munich after 1905 that used bold, aestheticized design to convey a vivid advertising message with minimal text. The Object Poster came as a reaction to the more ornate predecessors of *Jugendstil* and Art Nouveau, its simpler mode deemed more suited to the hectic pace of the modern city. This New Objectivity has aptly been termed the German Modern.<sup>2</sup> Whether one traces the genesis of this new design style back to the genius of individual artists, or to the evolution of professional advertising as a new communicative mode of capitalism, or to the acumen of the modern entrepreneur adopting new techniques of branding (all three origins have been averred), the emergence of the Object Poster definitively established Germany as a world leader of graphic design.<sup>3</sup>

A second stance from which to look at this image is to zero in more critically on the precarious position of the black figure itself. Given the violent history of European colonialism and racism in the nineteenth century, this view is less rosy. Caricatures of black figures appear in the advertising of most nations that were colonial powers (and many that were not) and are seen to reflect a Europe-wide popular culture defined by a diffuse sense of racial identity if not an active racism.<sup>4</sup> Advertisements in the vein of Eduard Palm's are often seen as reflective of the political economy of European colonialism. The presence of black figures in British and American tobacco ads, for instance, are seen as a legacy of tobacco plantation slavery, or even as a literal referent to the racial hierarchies around 1900 that still suffused the economies in the colonies that produced tobacco.<sup>5</sup> The presence of the black figure might also be seen as a reflection of the popularity of the “science” of race over the nineteenth century

or, less sinisterly, as a reflection of a broad fascination with an exotic “Other.”<sup>6</sup> Germany came belatedly to imperialism just as it came belatedly to national unification; an advertisement like that of Eduard Palm might be said to merely reflect its new role as colonizer.<sup>7</sup>

We are left with the same logo used to illustrate two very different historical phenomena—the rise of modern advertising culture and the subjugation of colonized peoples. It is one argument of this book that the two phenomena are, in fact, closely intertwined. The Eduard Palm logo is indeed a sign of Germany’s advancing commercial modernity, exemplifying a new modern commercial aesthetic that would attain full fruition in the modern consumer and artistic flowering of the Weimar Republic. Yet it is simultaneously the mark of the power of the colonizer, reflecting a narcissistic interest in the exotic and a casualness with racism that was instrumental to Germany’s often brutal projection of rule overseas. Modernity, however defined, so often seems to possess a Janus face.

Yet neither angle of approach, whether seeing the Eduard Palm design as innovative and modern or as racially insensitive and anachronistic, appreciates the full cultural landscape in which it sits. First and foremost, this image was never, at any point, just a single illustration. It was one droplet in a visual cascade. It appeared as chromolithographs lining the street and plastered onto walls of train stations. It was painted onto store display windows and laminated onto porcelain storefront signs. It circulated, as a black-and-white insert, in newspapers and tabloids seen by readers numbering in the millions. It rolled through the city on the sides of new electric delivery trucks; it was carried back into the home as a chromolithographed cigar tin; and as a package-sealing stamp, it was collected and doted over by adults and children alike. More important, tens of thousands of designs, many of them cut from the same cloth, were mass-reproduced by thousands of other firms and circulated in similar ways—a veritable tide of visuality washing through the urban landscape.

Four decades earlier, at the founding of the German nation, there was no such pictorial ocean. Though chromolithography traces as far back as the 1830s, five-color printing for such a trifle as a throwaway poster or advertising stamp before the 1880s was economically impracticable. In the 1860s lithographs were found in expensive journals and books and were purchased to hang as art above the mantelpiece. Technological innovations, such as the rotary press, offset printing on tins, and, eventually, offset printing on paper, would all make image reproduction cheaper and

more readily available. Far more important, however, was a fundamental transformation in the economic, social, and cultural priorities of Germans. In 1870 the desire to pay for thousands or millions of images to be circulated among the public to stimulate sales might have been technologically possible, but it was commercially risky, socially unacceptable, and culturally peculiar. By 1911 it was ordinary.<sup>8</sup> On the eve of the First World War, the stirrings of a mass consumer society had already profoundly altered not only the tenor of economic life but the cultural landscape as well.

The German nation had also changed in other ways. In 1887 the first advertising handbook appeared in Germany; just three years earlier, however, Germany had staked a claim to colonial dominion over territory in West and South-West Africa (now Namibia). A small but vocal minority of Germans looked to colonialism as the solution to all of Germany's social problems, but they were quickly disappointed; despite a brief surge of interest (buoyed largely by the press), the German public seemed, at least to the die-hard colonial "enthusiasts," to largely ignore Germany's colonies. The German public could engage with themes of colonialism outside of these enthusiasts' purview, as we will see; but as a topic of politics and in the public sphere, Germany's colonies often took a back seat to other pressing issues of the day. In 1904, however, this all changed when Germany's ostensible subjects, the Herero, rose in armed revolt. Germans waged a colonial war in South-West Africa but with extreme brutality, using genocidal rhetoric and genocidal tactics. The appearance of Eduard Palm's glowering native on the heels of this colonial warfare and genocide might seem, on the face of it, odd—controversial or even confrontational. As this book will show, however, there was nothing unusual at all about Klinger's design or Eduard Palm's use of it; countless such figures were appearing then, all increasingly similar to each other. It is the task of this book to explain why, though German physical rule of its colonies swung through phases of apathy, brutality, and reform, commercial imagery of the colonies followed a more linear historical trajectory. Visuality, we will see, answered to its own logic—a logic that revolved around the dynamics of commercialized pictorial power.

The history of commercial visuality in Germany is a fascinating one. Advertising's empire was built, in part, on the advertising *of* empire. The notion of adorning a product with an illustration, of fusing commerce with image, first emerged in Germany, curiously enough, intertwined with

elements that many have termed colonial, using the broadest sense of the word. Pioneers of German commercial culture looked overseas, at exotic lands, at exotic peoples, at the commercial cultures of other colonizing nations, and (eventually) at their “own” colonies. Yet advertising in Germany was not only an observer, importer, and imitator; it would soon carve out its own dominion. It would build its *own* “empire” in Germany and beyond. The empire of advertising is an enormous realm; its domain can be mapped in countless ways. This book traces it by focusing on a single thread, the growing hegemony of a single visual construction of race. In Germany advertising generated a new vision of race that not only overshadowed earlier ideological constructions, but also pointed to and even produced a new social identity. Benedict Anderson famously described nations as imagined communities.<sup>9</sup> This book explores one of the diverse processes by which identity, racial and national both, were not just imagined, but materially imaged. In color.

The larger arc of the visual commercial culture of race is foreshadowed here in four images. The first is a so-called Tobacco Moor (*Tabakmohr*) from the second half of the nineteenth century (Figure I.1). The second, from 1900, is a trademark for cigarettes that references a famous Shakespearean play (Figure I.2). A soap advertisement from 1905 is the third; its illustration plays upon an old German adage about the futility of trying to “wash a moor white” (Figure I.3). Finally, we come to the Sarotti Moor, the brand of a leading Berlin chocolate manufacturer in the second decade of the twentieth century (Figure I.4). At first glance, all of these images might seem broadly similar: each is an illustration used in some sort of mercantile setting, and each falls under the same descriptive rubric—“the moor”—a term denoting blackness and which holds a long history and a dense web of associations.<sup>10</sup> Any superficial similarities, however, obscure the profound distinctions between them.

Seen side by side, these images immediately reveal a host of differences in style, artistic technique, and quality of reproduction. The gulf that separates them, however, is far wider even than any point-by-point comparison of the pictures would indicate. For the crucial aspects of each image are those *not* seen: the historical backdrop; the images’ commercial and cultural functions; and their potential viewing audiences. The Tobacco Moor (Figure I.1) was a traditional icon, carved into a cliché block that could stamp the image onto the wrapping of tobacco packages. (This particular one was actually registered as an early trademark in 1875 by a small

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