6 Picturing Genocide in German Consumer Culture, 1904–10

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Compared with the gravity of events like war, massacre or genocide, the topic of consumer culture might seem trivial. The ubiquity of mass-produced commercial imagery, however, makes it crucial. Pictorial advertising (*Bildreklame* in German) first emerged in the *Kaiserreich* in the last decades of the nineteenth century, but only two decades later had developed into a flood of images. By the time of the Herero war, virtually every person in Germany saw commercial imagery on a daily basis. In fact, many more Germans saw illustrated advertisements than scrutinized the halftone photographs in the new illustrated tabloids (*Illustrierte*). Advertising imagery circulated not just in the tabloids, but also papered city walls and *Litfaßsäulen*, decorated window displays, and adorned cardboard packaging that was carried back into the home. While the various German print media—whether the colonialist bulletins, bourgeois family magazines, socialist newsletters, or even cosmopolitan tabloids—each had their own political slant and reached their own section of a socially stratified readership, the visual appeals of advertising were not bound to a particular social class or political standpoint. Instead, mass-disseminated commercial imagery strove to speak to a depoliticized, "classless" consumer.[1] Its omnipresence and its social reach therefore makes commercial imagery a significant field for scholarly investigation. One way to glimpse how everyday Germans in the metropole looked upon the events perpetrated by their military and colonial authorities is to discover what they actually *saw*.

In discussions of German colonialism, the Herero war looms large. It has often been recognized that the war reverberated through the German metropole, particularly in the so-called Hottentot election of 1907, where nationalist parties gained seats by tapping into wartime patriotism—and by underscoring the "racial" nature of this threat to the German nation.[2] There can be no doubt that the military campaign in South-West Africa was approached as a "race war" by those that waged it.[3] Scholars have also pointed to an escalation of racist rhetoric and imagery in the German metropole during and after the war in literature, magazines, memoirs, and children's books.[4] Yet many scholars approach the escalating racism in the German public sphere as if it were an almost inevitable extension of the

colonial war itself—as if the violence in the colonies was simply channeled back into the metropole. The commercial context of advertising, however, complicates any such direct connection. Advertisers had their own aims and ambitions, and pursued their own agendas, even as the new forces of mechanical reproduction broadcast this agenda to a viewing public of unprecedented scope.

In the years before the war, the nascent consumer imaginary in Germany offered a sprawling tapestry of illustrative motifs. Maternal figures made earnest recommendations; pictorial puns caught the eye of passers-by; national icons played upon patriotic feelings; and panoramas of distant landscapes offered exotic allure.[5] One thread of this mass-produced, commercialized image-world is particularly relevant to the Herero war, namely, the figure of the African. Right around 1900, Africans began to appear frequently in German advertising and product packaging across a whole range of products, including many that had only the most tenuous connection to official colonialism[6].

This motif often depicted an African carrying a burden of supposed "colonial" goods or wares, as in a Zuntz coffee ad from 1901 (see Figure 6.1). (Such "natives," it should be noted, were attached to products from the global commodities market; the tiny handful of goods actually exported from the German colonies themselves were generally marketed with more conservative

Figure 6.1   A. Zuntz, Berlin: "Roasted Coffee."

themes, such as a German flag or a drawing of the prize medallion "won" by the product.) As I have argued elsewhere, the new presence of this figure arose more from purely domestic commercial needs than from the imagery or activities of the institutions of German colonialism: for the figure of the African native allowed the advertiser to couple the allure of tropical exoticism succinctly and efficiently to a power-laden appeal to the German viewer's ego, all within a single, concise illustration.[7] After 1900, the new technologies of cheap image reproduction then standardized the depictions of Africans into a colonial subordinate laboring under a heavy burden. I might even speculate here (without the luxury of evidence) that the increasing prevalence of commercial images of Africans—laboring dutifully on German product packaging—may have contributed to the disbelief that met the news of the initial success of the Herero uprising.

Entrepreneurial interests greeted the Herero uprising and the subsequent military campaign with enthusiasm and, in the process, disseminated very different visions of Africans from those of dutiful laborers. In 1904, the commercial press in Germany threw itself into the fray by recounting the atrocities of the Herero, glorifying the brave lieutenants of the colonial forces (*Schutztruppe*), berating the government for inaction, and boasting of exclusive access to up-to-date information (including photographs) from the battlefield. This thrilling current event presented businesses with a new field of opportunity. Almost immediately, a pay-for-admission panorama of the Herero uprising appeared in Berlin.[8] Entertainment personalities became involved: the *Völkerschau* impresario Carl Hagenbeck sent 2,000 camels to South-West Africa in a well-publicized contribution to the war effort.[9] (An advertisement from 1907 by a Hamburg import/export firm illustrates this marketing coup: it depicts three lines of German colonial troops riding in formation on camelback.)[10] Firms like Gustav Kühn and Oehmigke & Riemschneider churned out *Bilderbogen* depicting heroic scenes of courageous German colonial troops battling relentless hordes of fierce African warriors.[11] The satirical humor magazines, from the venerable *Kladderadatsch* and the fashionable *Simplicissimus* to the socialist *Der wahre Jacob*, offered cartoons of the conflict; although they offered pointed and bitter critiques of European and German colonial policy, their caricatures of Africans as savage cannibals were equally sharp.[12] Finally, a surge of soldiers' and settlers' memoirs appeared right after the war, capitalizing on "eyewitness" accounts; many of these books (including Gustav Frenssen's fictional account, *Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest*) feature cover illustrations of a threatening, looming or staring Herero savage, or a triumphant German colonial soldier smiting a cowering brute.[13] Impelled by commercial opportunism, two different visions of Africans circulated: illustrations of rebellious, murderous savages and photographs of defeated Africans in chains or in prison camps.[14] Each of these pictorial motifs contrasted strikingly with the illustrations of natives cheerfully carrying burdens before 1904.

LIONIZING THE *SCHUTZTRUPPE*

To what degree did imagery associated directly with the war appear as *commodity* imagery—as advertising to sell products? First, advertisers began to deploy motifs of the uniformed *Schutztruppe*—the colonial forces. This incarnation of the "white hero in the tropics" differed from the pith helm-wearing explorer long seen in *Liebigbilder* or in the back pages of colonial enthusiast publications—not the least because the colonial trooper appeared in ads by firms with very different habits of pictorial advertising. The small Westphalian cigar manufacturer Carl Warmann & Co, for instance, had long deployed military themes: one of their typical ads might show a discriminating Prussian officer with monocle and riding crop enjoying one of Warmann's cigars. Early in the decade, Warmann also trademarked a "Chinakämpfer" cigarette brand to celebrate the German marines' part in suppressing the Boxer rebellion.[15] So it was not surprising that the South-West African campaign, the German army's largest military action since 1870, emerged in Warmann's advertising, as we see in this dramatic cavalry charge of the *Schutztruppe* trademarked in 1909 (see Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2   Carl Warmann & Co. cigars: "German Riders."

Yet even the large, mass-market firms with a vastly different pictorial inventory participated in marketing the German heroes in the African war. The Dresden cigarette giant Jasmatzi had deployed orientalist themes for its brands such as Cheops, Sphinx, and Ramses from the 1880s onward; but they leapt on to the colonial bandwagon in 1908, introducing a "Südwest-Afrika" brand that featured a colonial officer (see Figure 6.3).[16]

Of course, those companies that had some connection to the German colonial troops found it effective advertising to market this fact to their domestic consumers, as with an ad by the *Conservenfabrik Standard* of Berlin (see Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.3   Jasmatzi, Dresden: "South-West Africa Cigarettes."

Figure 6.4 Conservenfabrik Standard, Berlin: "Standard Tropic-Resistant [Products]."

In 1906, with the nationalistic fervor of the Hottentot election reaching its greatest intensity, this ad's mere depiction of a German colonial soldier might have been enough to capture the attention of patriotic German viewers. But, on closer inspection, we can see that the *Standard* company's pictorial composition displays a great deal of sophistication. First, the officer's own evident fascination draws a viewer's attention directly to the can—and thereby directly to the company logo. By placing the can label upside-down, moreover, the curious viewer is encouraged to crane his head, to get the viewer to read the company name for a second time. Finally, the trooper's facial expression is one of bliss; the contents of the tin are far more than just another bit of potted meat kept fresh by modern technology; they are a little taste of home—perhaps even the essence of German civilization—packaged neatly as a durable, transportable commodity. Overall, this is a

tranquil rather than bellicose scene. The rising sun in the background conveys a sense of optimism; modern civilization in the form of well-equipped troops *and* well-sealed tins will bring a new dawn to the dark continent.

An early ad from 1905, by the Mainz champagne manufacturing giant Kupferberg, presents a similarly peaceful theme (see Figure 6.5).
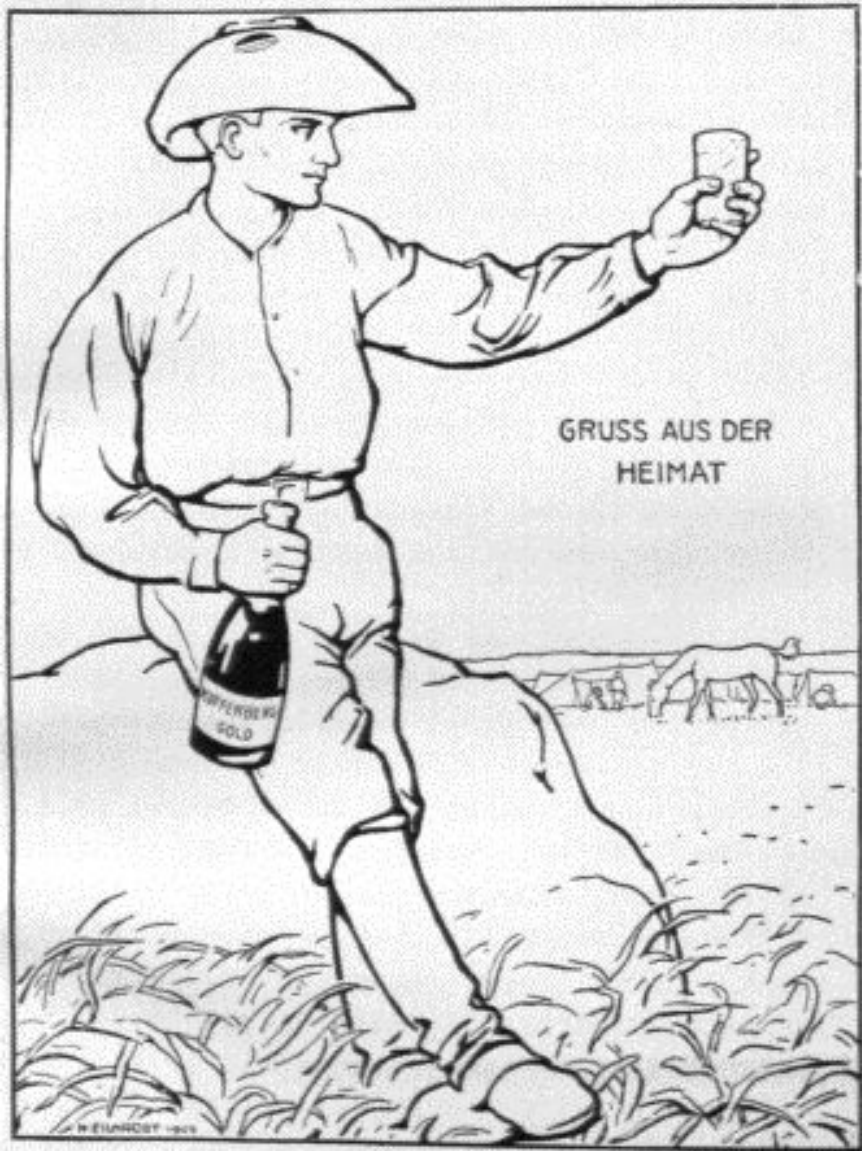

GRUSS AUS DER HEIMAT

Figure 6.5   Kupferberg wines, Mainz: "Greetings from Home."

The colonial soldier here, identifiable as such only by his Southwester hat, is in the role of pioneer in repose; without a visible weapon at hand, he relaxes, as horses graze in the background. He raises a toast, either to those who dispatched such a civilized drink to this frontier or to acknowledge the distant *Heimat* that produced it. As with the Standard firm's tins, the commodity takes on an added gravitas, distilling the very essence of modern civilization. If the colonial troops far from home can find such contentment in the product, then surely those Germans safely back in the metropole will appreciate it as well.

Some visual advertising also sought to evoke the courage and martial heroism of the colonial forces but in a way that effaced the harsh realities of war and the brutality of their actions. A hunting scene for "German-South-West" cigarettes, trademarked by a small Berlin company in 1910, shows a rifleman taking aim at a menacing lion in a typical "white hunter in the tropics" safari tableau (see Figure 6.6).

Yet a devil lies in the details. This hunter wears the uniform of the colonial forces and thereby stands for German military power in the South-West African colony; but the presence of the lion recasts that power to confront hostile *nature* rather than to crush indigenous rebellion. Significantly, the lion menaces the soldier from atop a pile of the brand-name cigarettes themselves. This implies, visually, that the cigarettes or the tobacco to make them can be found in abundance in German South-West. (In point of fact, tobacco was never exported from South-West Africa in significant quantities.) The scene further implies that the "lion," or any "untamed" threat that bars access to this colonial product, needs to be dealt with forcefully and with finality.

The lion as a stand-in for the threat of the Herero was also a theme with products that actually came from the German colony of South-West (see Figure 6.7).

Figure 6.6 "German South-West [Africa]" cigarettes, Berlin.

Figure 6.7   Fischer, Reutlingen: "Fischer's German South-West [Africa] Wool."

In an ad trademarked by a small company in Reutlingen, the colonial trooper uses the colonial wool to lasso a lion. The German-produced colonial commodity, in short, can tame the savage beast. (In a more sinister reading, the trooper is pulling the very wool itself out of the lion's whisker's—using the very body of the savage beast as a raw material.) Either interpretation taps into the trooper's heroism, for he and the modern (German) commodity jointly confront the savagery of nature.

REFASHIONING THE NATIVE

What of the images of Africans in advertising during and after the war? Were they shown as opponents of the *Schutztruppe*—as the ruthless, savage hordes illustrated in the *Bilderbogen*—or as defeated, beaten prisoners seen in the photo-pages of the *Illustrierten*? In fact, images of Africans had become so highly charged that they were irresistible to advertisers. Older patterns of depiction were less tenable, however. A trademark showing a Herero warrior, by the import/export company Carl Henckell, stands as a case in point (see Figure 6.8).

The surprisingly placid pose echoes many of the established conventions of ethnographic drawings (such as those found in popular magazines like *Über Land und Meer* in the 1880s) that emphasized the nobility of

Figure 6.8   Carl Henckell import/export: "Herero."

the native subject. Registered in 1905, however, the intent of the image is ambiguous, particularly when placed among the sensationalized savages appearing in other media. Perhaps the allure of Henckell's image was to be its "authenticity." More likely, it was simply taken over from an earlier ethnography tome in the rush to trademark a "Herero" image and capital-ize on the topicality of the war. Indeed, it looks almost identical to the figure on the cover of Friedrich Meister's 1904 *Muhérer riKárra* (Beware, Herero), which itself appears to be pilfered from earlier ethnographic draw-ings.[17] Regardless, static images such as Henckell's became less common after 1905. The competition from more striking or titillating depictions may well have made such ethnographic-style images easy to overlook; and to be overlooked was the fear of every advertiser.

Figure 6.9   "Herero" schnapps, Stettin.

At the other end of the spectrum, some ads celebrated the German vic-
tory over the Herero with downright venom. A bottle label from a small
liquor manufacturer in Stettin, for instance, features a racist caricature
of a "Herero" dancing for the amusement of a German sailor as he pre-
pares to swig the advertised product (see Figure 6.9). The lips of the black
"native" are massively oversized for German advertising of 1904; indeed,
the facial features are not so much caricatured as they are deformed in

an apparent attempt to illustrate racial degeneracy. It is unclear as to whether the cross-hatching on the arms and legs is meant to represent filth or hair; both would serve in the effort to animalize the figure. One can infer from the amateurish composition of this ad that it involved a hasty rush by a smaller business to capitalize on post-victory jingoism. Its most dehumanizing elements, particularly the attempt to illustrate "dirtiness," are extremely unusual for product labels. Even when advertisements presented the most exaggerated racial stereotypes, they generally did so in a style that was as crisp and clean in its delineations as in its discriminations. This is quite understandable: consumer imagery was meant to entice, not disgust.

Illustrations of questionable taste or morality could enjoy a greater degree of latitude from the authorities when they played into patriotic nationalism. In the most startling example that I have found, a Dresden cigar firm trademarked a photograph of a supine and totally nude black woman in a pose that abandoned any pretense at artistic demur in favor of blatant eroticism (see Figure 6.10). Semi-nude erotic photographs of African or South Pacific women were common in ethnographic books or journals, of course.[18] But publicly circulated imagery was held to a far stricter standard and subject to police censorship.[19] A copyrighted trademark, moreover, had to pass through a lengthy bureaucratic registration process. This image of a "Herero Girl" is the first full nude photograph—ever—to appear as a trademark in the German imperial Trademark Registration Rolls. The cigars, a house brand from a tobacconist in Dresden, were named "Swakopmund" after the coastal town in German South-West Africa (an accurate

Figure 6.10 *Cigarrenhaus* "Swakomund," Dresden: "Own Brand 'Herero Girls'."

detail that suggests the tobacconist catered to colonial enthusiasts). The registrant was one Frau Taeß, whose gender may have helped to slip this image past the censors. But the image remains startling: in the context of war, reprisal, repression, and genocide—in Swakopmund, the survivors of Trotha's genocidal policy were at this point suffering forced labor, starvation, and disease in concentration camps—the proffered nudity and sexual access of the "Herero Girl" cannot help but be evocative of symbolic rape.[20] It was not imitated, however.

A far more typical engagement of advertising with the Herero, at least among the capitalized firms and businesses that invested large sums in advertising, played in a more indefinite realm. Given that marketers had little wish to alienate prospective purchasers, the perfect advertisement would stimulate popular interest with its topicality, yet avoid taking a position on an issue that was potentially divisive. After all, potential customers included the working class, a broad swath of which was organized by Social Democrats who were explicitly opposed to the colonial policy of the German state. Over the first decade of the twentieth century, advertisers increasingly sought to address Germans as (theoretically) classless consumers and thereby avoided divisive political statements; yet the thrill of political events offered unparalleled opportunity. One seemingly safe avenue through these competing demands was that of humor.

A 1905 advertisement by the Chemische Fabriken Meer for photography products offers a case in point (see Figure 6.11). A black man-child whips and lectures a coy and somewhat embarrassed baboon that appears to wear a monocle. The implicit violence of the image might very well arrest attention. (The illustration also plays upon popular German children's comics like Wilhelm Busch's *Phipps der Affe*.) The image itself can be interpreted in a variety of ways. It could be read as a visual narrative where the Prussian baboon is learning a "lesson" at the hands of the African native— and thus could be viewed as a satirical critique of military policy. Another interpretation, however, could instead read the scene as an illustration of natural hierarchy, where the native scolds and punishes his biological inferior, the thieving monkey, who has stolen an object from him. *This* African can punish a thieving inferior, just as the German can similarly punish his unruly inferiors. These two interpretations (and others) contradict each other; which is correct?

I would argue that this question is not really important for the advertisement to work. Instead, the crucial element of the image is what all of the possible interpretations *share*. Regardless of the political valence or meaning derived from the image, the viewer is confronted with the graphic racialization of the bodily features of the native. The lips are absurdly, comically exaggerated; the figure is manifestly immature (he is not really a child—but not really an adult, either); and his bare feet and curly hair are both emphasized. These details are all deliberately deployed by the graphic artist to make it difficult, if not impossible, to see the native as similar to
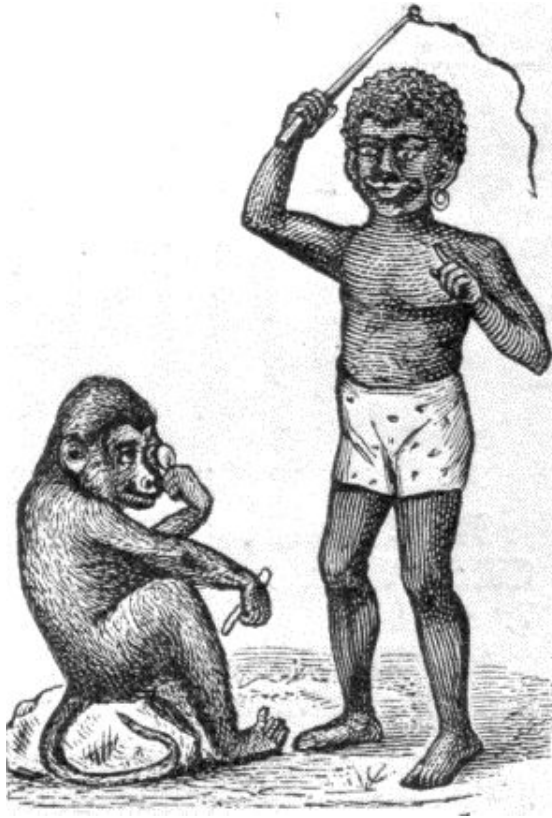
Figure 6.11   Chemische Fabriken Meer photography products.

the European viewer. The interpretation of the scene might be ambivalent, but the most elemental, graphic message cannot be mistaken: the body of the African is fundamentally different.

Such graphic racialization of African figures in advertising began before the Herero uprising; but it is after 1905 that this pattern of depiction really gathers momentum.[21] Is this a result of the war, or even a post factum justification of the genocide? In fact, a whole host of factors came together right at mid-decade around this thorny issue of race, and only some were directly related to the war in South-West Africa. For instance, Andrew Zimmerman, Pascal Grosse, and others have skillfully charted the rapid ascendancy of "race science" in professional disciplines, with the middle of the decade similarly emerging as a pivotal moment.[22] Advertisers and graphic artists were largely oblivious to these academic debates about race, however. Instead, advertisers' own professional concerns, coupled with the expectations of their viewing public, ultimately drove their own pictorial production.

The racialization of black figures was one pictorial strategy that spoke the new language of the mass market. Professional advertising writers

increasingly insisted that an ad should make bold statements; it should force its way into the attention—into the psyche—of the casual passer-by. A 1904 insecticide advertisement by the Berlin company Hermann Bardorf illustrates this vividly (see Figure 6.12).

This particular ad was certainly *not* crafted as a direct response to the Herero uprising; although the illustration was issued in 1904, the company trademarked the brand name "Massenmord" (Mass Murder) back in 1896. But even though Bardorf's brand is not crafted as a reference to colonial genocide, it is indicative of a new cultural syntax—a dramatic way of presenting power to the broad public in a stark visual form. Advertisements like this were unthinkable in the German public sphere of the 1880s; yet by World War One, they were everywhere. They came with a new creed among the makers of mass culture—a creed that insisted that sensationalism sells and that presentations of power persuade.[23] At the same time, brutal, total, even genocidal solutions to "problems" were being casually advocated in the political realm. I would suggest that these two streams—stark, dramatic, and aggressive presentations of power in commercial culture, on the one hand, and a stark, dramatic, and aggressive political rhetoric of "solutions," on the other—are more closely interlaced than we commonly recognize.

If Bardorf's insecticide did not directly reference the war in South-West Africa, then an image for Müller's Ink-Remover certainly did (see Figure 6.13). Registered by an office-supply firm in Stettin, the advertisement

Figure 6.12   Hermann Bardorf insecticide, Berlin: "Bardorf's Mass Murder. The Best Remedy against Bedbugs."

Figure 6.13 Müller ink-remover, Stettin: "Eradicate all your Spelling Mistakes and Blots with Müller's Ink Remover."

exhorted, "Eradicate your Spelling Mistakes and Blots with Müller's Ink Remover." The advertisement attempts to deploy humor by drawing both on the adage of the *Mohrenwäsche* and on the visual puns of advertising that related the blackness of "black" products (such as ink, coffee, or shoe polish) to "black" people.[24] The illustration ties into these long-established twin pictorial lineages of blackness, which then serves (rather paradoxically) to *de*politicize the figure's "Africanness."

The implications of the ad, however, are striking. First, its language is quite sinister. News of the war in South-West Africa saturated the mass media in 1904, and the choice of words—*vertilgen* (destroy, eradicate, exterminate) for correcting the "mistake" of too much blackness—cannot be accidental. Even more ominous are its visual elements: the ink is literally dissolving the blackness of the African. In a startling (and powerful) visual gesture, the figure has inadvertently transferred some of the ink-remover to his neck—a mistake that has left, quite literally, a white hand grasping the black figure's throat. Finally, the figure is graphically racialized. The figure's skull is deliberately elongated with a receding hairline to emphasize it better, the eyes are drawn wide, and the size of the lips is exaggerated.

By 1910, such pictorial conventions underscoring physiognomic and bodily differences had become ubiquitous with African figures. One can trace this ongoing racialization even in the ads of a single firm (see Figure 6.14).

Nama

Figure 6.14 Henkelmann groceries, Magdeburg: "Nama" I.

A mail-order grocery company in Magdeburg registered an illustration for *Kolonialwaren*—groceries of a certain sort, namely, coffee, cocoa, tobacco, spices, and the like. Registered in 1911, the trademark is clearly amateurish and decidedly odd. There is no indication why they chose to name their brand "Nama," after one of the peoples destroyed by the German colonial forces in South-West Africa. (The firm is not likely to have been a colonial company, for such would have registered instead under the category "Produkte aus den deutschen Kolonien.") An ad from just two years later, however, is revealing (see Figure 6.15).

First of all, the artistic execution is more professional, if nonetheless still a bit cluttered. It clearly shifts the trademark to a more "humorous" plane: the lion is anthropomorphized, for instance, and the figure is drawn as a caricature. The graphic racialization of the Nama figure,

Figure 6.15   Henkelmann groceries, Magdeburg: "Nama" II.

however, is sensationalistic; it dramatizes by gross exaggeration, thereby calling attention to the composition as a whole. The caricature of man and beast also seeks to draw upon humor to temper the political implications of the image and its brand name. Finally, the seemingly good-natured humor of the caricature draws attention away from illustrations of bloodthirsty, savage Africans that had so saturated the public sphere during the war. This caricatured "Nama" cannot be the same as those fearsome foes who waged guerilla war for three long years, for this figure is clearly foolish. In a way, then, racialization offered one means by which to continue to use the figures of Africans in commercial culture—but without calling to mind the more threatening images circulating in other media and further contexts.

There is no simple, cause-and-effect relationship between the Herero war and the stereotypes that circulated during and afterward: racist advertising did not flow naturally from the colonies as a byproduct of racially motivated warfare. Rather, the ultimate arbiter of this imagery—and its motor for change—was the dynamic commercial and consumer forces in the German metropole. In the short term, amateurs registered images of virulently racist jingoism; but the professional designers looked more to the (German) colonial trooper as a way to capitalize on the public's attentions. In their portrayals of Africans, meanwhile, professional advertisers turned to ambiguity and to "humor"—in part, I argue, to lend their images broad appeal that would cross class and especially political boundaries. During the Herero revolt and subsequent genocide, stylistic conventions of graphic racialization accelerated and intensified in German consumer culture. This was not so much because advertisers were politically committed to convincing the German public—in the fashion of propaganda—that Africans far away in the German colonies were racially inferior and therefore deserving of brutal treatment. Instead, I would suggest that, for German advertisers, the motif of the African was simply too useful to abandon. The figure of the African native had proved too adept at arousing curiosity with exoticism, too useful at seizing attention through sensationalistic exaggeration, and too powerful in demonstrating the significance of the product by juxtaposing it against a representation of the "uncivilized." In short, images of African subjects could flatter the German viewer with a presentation of power that was (to them) inoffensive. After 1904, advertisers racialized the figures of Africans, in order to continue to exploit them.

NOTES

1. Cf. Peter Borscheid and Clemens Wischermann, *Bilderwelt des Alltags. Werbung in der Konsumgesellschaft des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995).
2. See Ulrich van der Heyden, "Die 'Hottentottenwahlen' von 1907," in *Völkermord in Deutsch-Südwestafrika*, ed. by Jürgen Zimmerer and Joachim Zeller (Berlin: Links, 2003), pp. 97–102. See also Woodruff D. Smith, *The German Colonial Empire* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), pp. 183–91.
3. See *Genozid und Gedenken*, ed. by Henning Melber (Frankfurt/M.: Brandes & Apsel, 2005); Helmut Bley, *South-West Africa under German Rule, 1894–1914* (London: Heinemann, 1971), p. 165; Pascal Grosse, *Kolonialismus, Eugenik und bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland 1850–1918* (Frankfurt/M.: Campus, 2000); Gesine Krüger, *Kriegsbewältigung und Geschichtsbewußtsein. Realität, Deutung und Verarbeitung des Deutschen Kolonialkriegs in Namibia 1904 bis 1907* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), p. 84f.
4. See, for example, Jörg Wassink, *Auf den Spuren des deutschen Völkermordes in Südwestafrika* (Munich: Meidenbauer, 2004); *Kolonialismus, Kolonialdiskurs und Genozid*, ed. by Mihran Dabag, Horst Gründer and

Uwe-K. Ketelsen (Munich: Fink, 2004); Marieluise Christadler, "Zwischen Gartenlaube und Genozid. Kolonialistische Jugendbücher im Kaiserreich," in *Die Menschen sind arm, weil sie arm sind*, ed. by Jörg Becker and Charlotte Oberfeld (Frankfurt/M.: Haag & Herchen, 1978), pp. 61–98.

5. For examples, see *Reklame: Produktwerbung im Plakat 1890 bis 1918*, DVD-Rom (Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 2005); *Selling Modernity: Advertising in Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. by Pamela E. Swett, S. Jonathan Wiesen and Jonathan R. Zatlin (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Detlef Lorenz, *Reklamekunst um 1900* (Berlin: Reimer, 2000); Jeremy Aynsley, *Graphic Design in Germany, 1890–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Jürgen Schwarz, *Bildannoncen aus der Jahrhundertwende* (Frankfurt/M.: Kunstgeschichtliches Institut, 1990); *Das frühe Plakat in Europa und den USA*, vol. 3: *Deutschland*, ed. by Helga Hollmann et al. (Berlin: Mann, 1980).

6. Claims about the prevalence of certain imagery or the larger patterns of commercial motifs are based on my research into the trademark registration rolls (*Warenzeichenblatt*, henceforth WZB) of the *Kaiserliches Patentamt*. In fin-de-siècle Germany, ads and packaging were often registered as trademarks as a form of copyright. From 2,000 to 4,000 images were registered every year before 1914, providing an enormous pool of imagery, all precisely dated.

7. See David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire, Consuming Race: Colonialism, Commerce and Visual Culture in Germany, 1887–1914* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, forthcoming).

8. See *Schilder, Bilder, Moritaten. Sonderschau des Museums für Volkskunde im Pergamonmuseum*, ed. by Erika Karasek et al. (Berlin: Staatliche Museen, 1987), appendix.

9. See Carl Hagenbeck, *Von Tieren und Menschen* (Berlin: Vita, 1909). Cf. also Eric Ames, "Where the Wild Things Are: Locating the Exotic in German Modernity" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2000), p. 6.

10. F. Reddaway & Co. (Hamburg): see WZB (1907), p. 2253, no. 102005.

11. For *Bilderbogen*, the caricatured buffoonery of colonial natives in the late 1880s gave way to scenes of heroic German soldiers fighting hordes of tough and merciless Africans. See Astrid Frevert, Gisela Rautenstrauch, and Matthias Rickling, "Kolonialismus und Darstellungen aus den Kolonien," in *Neuruppiner Bilderbogen. Ein Massenmedium des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Stefan Brakensiek, Regina Krull, and Irina Rockel (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1993), pp. 137–55; and Theodor Kohlmann, *Neuruppiner Bilderbogen* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen, 1981).

12. See the "Kolonial-Nummer" of *Simplicissimus*, 9.6 (1904). See also Edward Graham Norris and Arnold Beuke, "Kolonialkrieg und Karikatur in Deutschland," in *Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus in Afrika*, ed. by Peter Heine and Ulrich van der Heyden (Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus, 1995), pp. 377–98.

13. See Medardus Brehl, "Die Vernichtung der Herero und Nama in der deutschen (Populär-) Literatur," in *Völkermord*, ed. by Zimmerer and Zeller, pp. 86–96.

14. Cf. Joachim Zeller, "Images of the South West African War: Reflections of the 1904–1907 Colonial War in Contemporary Photo Reportage and Book Illustration," in *Hues Between Black and White*, ed. by Wolfram Hartmann (Windhoek: Out of Africa, 2004), pp. 309–23.

15. Carl Warmann & Co (Bünde i.W.): see WZB (1904), p. 317, no. 66474.

16. Cf. *Historische Plakate 1890–1914*, ed. by Susanne Anna (Stuttgart: Daco, 1995), p. 265f. On the orientalism of German cigarette advertising, see *Smoke*, ed. by Sander Gilman and Zhou Xun (London: Reaktion, 2004);

Michael Weisser, *Cigaretten-Reclame* (Münster: Coppenrath, 1980); and David Ciarlo, "Consuming Race, Envisioning Empire: Colonialism and German Mass Culture, 1887–1914" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 2003), pp. 169–183.

17. See the cover of *Muhérer riKárra* (*Beware, Herero*), reproduced in Brehl, "Die Vernichtung," p. 89.
18. See Jutta Engelhard and Peter Mesenhöller, *Bilder aus dem Paradies* (Cologne: Jonas, 1995); Michael Wiener, *Ikonographie des Wilden. Menschen-Bilder in Ethnographie und Photographie zwischen 1850 und 1918* (Munich: Trickster, 1990); *Prehistories of the Future: The Primitivist Project and the Culture of Modernism*, ed. by Elazar Barkan and Ronald Bush (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), p. 86f; Raymond Corbey, "Alterity: the Colonial Nude," *Critique of Anthropology*, 8 (1988), 75–92.
19. See Lynn Abrams, "From Control to Commercialization: The Triumph of Mass Entertainment in Germany, 1900–1925," *German History*, 8 (1990), 278–93; Robin Lenman, "Control of the Visual Image in Imperial Germany," in *Zensur und Kultur*, ed. by John McCarthy and Werner von der Ohe (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1995), 111–22.
20. The Herero war facilitated a broader relaxation of mores in conservative circles. The German Colonial Society, for one, moved away rather suddenly from its ethnographic gaze, and began to print blatantly erotic or shockingly violent imagery. See Ciarlo, "Consuming Race, Envisioning Empire," Ch. 5. On the concentration camp at Swakopmund, see Zimmerer and Zeller, *Völkermord*, pp. 64–79.
21. Cf. Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire*, Chs 5 and 6.
22. Andrew Zimmerman, *Anthropology and Antihumanism in Imperial Germany* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Wolfgang U. Eckart, *Medizin und Kolonialimperialismus* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1997).
23. Professional advertising writers insisted on decorum and urged tasteful designs to legitimize advertising with the cachet of *Kunst*. See Christiane Lamberty, *Reklame in Deutschland 1890–1914. Wahrnehmung, Professionalisierung und Kritik der Wirtschaftswerbung* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2000). The visual record of early German advertising practice, however, strongly contradicts such discursive invocations.
24. See, for example, Michael Scholz-Hänsel, *Das exotische Plakat* (Stuttgart: Cantz, 1987); Hermann Pollig, *Exotische Welten: europäische Phantasien* (Stuttgart: Cantz, 1987); Peter Martin, *Schwarze Teufel, edle Mohren. Afrikaner in Bewußtsein und Geschichte der Deutschen* (Hamburg: Junius, 1993). The *Mohrenwäsche* was a venerable popular folk saying about the futility of attempting to wash the color off an Ethiopian; see Jean Michel Massing, "From Greek Proverb to Soap Advert: Washing the Ethiopian," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 58 (1995), 180–201.