COLONIAL CONTEXTS IN EARLY POSTERS 1854–1914

Decolonial Inventory of a Collection

For the Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
edited by Christina Thomson

Kunstbibliothek
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche National-bibliografie (German National Bibliography); detailed bibliographic data are available online at dnb.dnb.de.

arthistoricum.net
FACHINFORMATIONSDIENST KUNST · FOTOGRAFIE · DESIGN

The online version of this publication is permanently available free of charge at www.arthistoricum.net (Open Access).
DOI (English Version): doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00009516

A German-language version of this publication is also available online:
DOI (Deutsche Fassung): doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00009513

Published by
University of Heidelberg / University Library, 2025
arthistoricum.net – Specialised Information Service Art • Photography • Design
Grabengasse 1, 69117 Heidelberg
www.uni-heidelberg.de

Christina Thomson and Kristina Lowis
in collaboration with Ibou Coulibaly Diop

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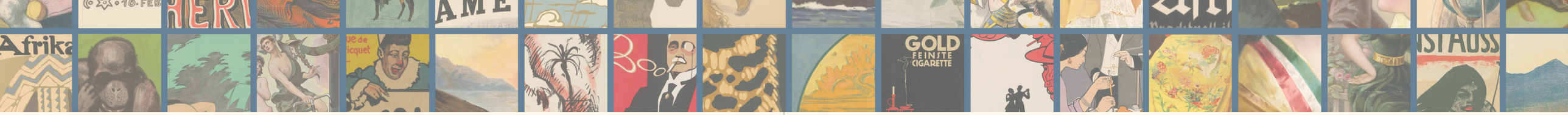

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DECOLONIAL INVENTORY

Art and visual studies in museums and universities are continually challenged to critically examine their Eurocentric perspectives and traditional narratives. In this context, reappraising the colonial past has become an urgent task.
It is well known that colonial contexts are extensively present in Western cultural heritage collections in a wide range of ways. These contexts manifest not only in the stories of people, animals, artefacts, and documents brought from colonized territories to Europe and North America in order to illustrate a hierarchized worldview through “ethnological” museums and travelling exhibitions – often stories marked by suffering and unethical action. Colonial contexts can also be revealed in so-called “objects of reception” – physical expressions of Western art, culture, and science that reflect colonial practices and imperialist thinking.

Theoretically, all cultural assets from colonial and post-colonial periods merit general suspicion, placing constructive pressure on all institutions that manage extensive historical collections. How are museums in particular grappling with the gargantuan task of decolonization? Many have recognized that it can only be addressed in stages – through projects focused on specific parts of their collections, exemplary analyses, and critical interventions.

What matters above all is to begin the process. The Kunstbibliothek der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin has undertaken the first systematic reappraisal of its graphic design collection through a decolonial inventory project, aimed at identifying colonial contexts within 3,800 advertising posters from Europe and the United States, dating to the

period when the German Empire held colonies. The results of this critical survey are presented below. Two hundred and forty case studies illustrate the central role of advertising in early capitalist culture and the imperialist media machinery around 1900. As was our goal, the analysis challenges the perpetuation of the established reception of these images, which has traditionally focused on their aesthetic characteristics.

Christina Thomson
Project Curator and Head of the Graphic Design Collection Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Moritz Wullen
Director Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Richard Winckel
Soennecken & Co.
Depot photographischer Artikel,
poster (detail), c. 1897, ID 2680400

WHOSE PERSPECTIVE?

Is it even possible to reappraise colonial contexts in a museum collection if this reassessment occurs within the well-worn institutional ruts of its own Eurocentric view? Every decolonial action must begin with the self-critical question: who is telling, or attempting to tell, whose story?

The historical protagonists of the "Colonial Contexts in Early Posters, 1854–1914" research project are almost all male Europeans. The poster collection being analysed was compiled starting in the 1890s for the Kunstbibliothek, where art historians – all of them men at the time – worked as directors and researchers. The posters came from colonizing countries in Western Europe and North America, acquired from local dealers, private collectors, and graphic artists. The clients, as well as the advertising experts and designers, were also predominantly *white* men (only two of the 240 posters analysed were designed by women). Women appeared primarily as potential consumers or as figures in advertisements. In this environment in which the posters originated – shaped entirely by a *white* perspective – people from colonized countries and non-European cultures appear solely as advertising motifs. Denied any active role in the depictions, they are relegated to subjects of Western observation, imagination, and control.

Decolonial museum work cannot change the historical character of collections. But it can change the way they are viewed. Keeping in mind the original context – such as the one outlined above – is the first step. Critical questions and multiple perspectives on the collections further help dismantle stubborn narratives and patriarchal interpretations. In our case, the critical approaches to colonialism and discrimination of visual studies scholar Kristina Lowis and cultural scientist Ibou Diop, along with the voices of Anna Yeboah, Tahir Della, and hn. lyonga, all contributed to this re-evaluation. The latter enriched the posters presented in the online exhibition by voicing their thoughts in "audio impulses". We are deeply grateful to them, as well as to the guest authors, for the incredible teamwork.

Fidus (Hugo Höppener)
Wozu hat Deutschland eigentlich Kolonien?
poster, 1911
ID 1420087

Von Atlantis nach Aethiopien

Ausstellung der Frobenius-Expeditionen im Abgeordnetenhause 7.-18. Oktober

Unter dem Protektorat Sr. Hoheit des Herzogs Johann Albrecht zu Mecklenburg

Zum Besten der National-Flugspende.

KLINGER

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PROJECT

Colonial Contexts in Early Posters, 1854–1914

Decolonial Inventory of a Collection

Kristina Lowis and Christina Thomson
in collaboration with Ibou Diop

INTRODUCTION

Modern advertising emerged in the mid-nineteenth century in the United States and Europe, giving birth to a new poster art that reached its first acme around 1900. It developed in an era of industrialization and imperialist-colonial expansion. That this congruence is not coincidental, but has a causal relationship, is demonstrated by this research project, conducted by the Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. A systematic examination of all early advertising posters in the Graphic Design Collection identified several hundred works dating from 1854 to 1914 whose imagery is characterized in different ways by colonial contexts: from everyday visuals revealing subliminal government propaganda and the omnipresence of the colonialist mindset in society, to product advertising – chiefly for coffee, tea, palm oil, cigarettes, and other "colonial goods" – with exoticizing and/or blatantly racist elements.

This publication introduces the topic, presents the project, and shares the findings of in-depth analyses of 240 early posters. The analyses of the individual posters, accessible through links provided in the appendix of images, explore the context behind each advertising motif. Summarizing these analyses, the following essay brings the findings together in a thematically structured study. What becomes evident is that investigating colonial contexts is not only relevant for provenance research and questions of restitution, but rather that the visual worlds which artefacts depict are as significant as the histories of their origin or ownership.[1] Visual advertising, ubiquitous since the 1880s, played a central role in shaping a pro-colonial public. Analysing its imagery and researching its backgrounds makes an important contribution to postcolonial discourses by bringing suppressed history to light and stimulating critical re-examinations in line with decolonizing strategies.[2]

1 In its guide to studying colonial contexts, the Deutscher Museumsbund introduced the term *Rezeptionsobjekte* (reception objects) for such artefacts. See *Leitfaden. Umgang mit Sammlungsgut aus kolonialen Kontexten* (Berlin: Deutscher Museumsbund, 2021), 39 (case group 3).

2 This form of engagement with colonial contexts is often subsumed – along with research on physically dislocated objects – under the term "museum decolonization". Roughly defined, "decolonizing" refers to any kind of practice in which public institutions identify, self-critically reflect upon, and publicize historical and continuing colonial power relations in order to enter into dialogue with the public. Cf. e.g. *Das Museum dekolonisieren? Kolonialität und museale Praxis in Berlin*, Brücke-Museum, Stiftung Deutsches Technikmuseum Berlin, Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin, Daniela Bystron, and Anne Fäser, eds. (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2022) and Katrin Sieg, *Decolonizing German and European History at the Museum* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2021).

NEW EMPIRES

Although it is taken for granted today, omnipresent visual communication through advertising and merchandising – from image advertising and mass media to branded products – only emerged in the late nineteenth century. Production capacity in Europe and the United States soared as a result of the Industrial Revolution and the expansion of global imports, leading to an increase in both the supply of goods and economic competition. Those who wished to succeed in the mass market had to advertise – whether they were selling industrial products or consumer goods, services or cultural offerings. Thanks to the invention of colour lithography in the 1840s and the rotary press in the 1880s, colour printing had become fast and inexpensive. A torrent of new printed matter entered everyday life, especially in cities. These included daily newspapers, illustrated periodicals, and pictorial broadsheets, as well as packaging and advertisements. Aesthetic pleasure was no longer the sole province of the museum-going and art-collecting educated middle class, but to a certain extent became accessible to all echelons of society. Poster art and advertising graphics, the new images for the masses, played a central role in the melding of visuality and commerce that characterized this period. The fourteen different advertising magazines that existed in Germany between 1891 and 1914 alone testify to the significance of the new advertising imperium, which vigorously forced its visual messages into the public psyche.

The capitalist principles of economic growth, expansion, and exploitation, which are still in effect today, revealed their power on a massive scale in the nineteenth century. But even before then, European seafaring nations had begun to deploy military violence to colonize vast swathes of the Earth. This included forcible occupation, exploitation of resources, forced trade, and subjugation. After Spain and Portugal, followed by Great Britain and France, had established themselves as colonial empires in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this development accelerated in the industrial era. The increasingly efficient production of shipping fleets, railways, and arms coincided with a new culture of production and consumption that demanded more and more raw materials from around the world. The private sector and governments worked hand in hand to build an economic and ideological infrastructure that exploited and suppressed others to satisfy their own needs.

The German Empire only officially became a colonial power in 1884, when the European nations and the United States "divided up" the continent of Africa between themselves during the Berlin Conference (also known as the Congo Conference).[3] The violent seizure of territory and the exploitation of both humans and nature already practiced at the time by private companies in colonized countries were thus consolidated by governments and supported by the military. Under Wilhelm II, who had ascended the throne in 1888, Prussia forcefully pursued a policy of militaristic expansion. The emperor sought global assets for his empire and a central position of influence in the

Kolonial-Ausstellung. Gruppe XXIII der Berliner Gewerbe-Ausstellung 1896, poster for the colonial exhibition, section XXIII at the Industrial Exposition of Berlin, 1896

Deutsche Kolonial-Ausstellung, postcard released for the opening of the Industrial Exposition of Berlin at Treptower Park, 1896

Gustav Meineke, Deutsche Kolonial-Ausstellung 1896. Gruppe XXIII der Berliner Gewerbe-Ausstellung official exhibition catalogue, 1896

imperialist structure – the much-vaunted "place in the sun".[4] German colonizers shrank from no act of violence in their zeal to fulfil their ruler's aims. The genocide of the Herero and Nama peoples (1904–08) in German South West Africa (now Namibia) marks a gruesome peak in this brutality.[5]

At the beginning of the First World War, which would put an end to German colonialism, the German Empire was one of the four largest colonial powers.[6] Such a rate of expansion was only possible through the vigorous engagement of the German people, including the settlers, soldiers, financiers, engineers, missionaries, and nuns in the overseas territories, as well as broad swathes of the population in Germany itself. A massive propaganda campaign promoted the colonial project domestically in order to gain this support. Possible moral objections to the use of subjugation were countered through a multichannel ideological campaign. In Germany, Otto von Bismarck initiated the use of ambiguous terms such as Schutzgebiete (colonies, lit. "areas of protection") and Schutztruppen (military forces stationed in colonies, lit. "protective forces"). Although the sole aim was to protect Germany's own territorial and economic interests, the lexis chosen evoked altruistic motives. *White* individuals professed to be "helping" the colonized peoples to achieve a better life, bolstered by their claims of representing a superior civilization and "race".[7] Two visual documents illustrate these hierarchical ideas. The main advertising motif for the Kolonialausstellung in 1896, the First German Colonial Exhibition, section XXIII at the Industrial Exposition of Berlin (Figs. p. 22), portrays an armed askari proudly wielding the flag of the German Empire.[8] Framed by a golden disc that represents the "place in the sun", he embodies the fiction of a colonized individual happily fighting on behalf of colonialism. Illustrations in magazines and books also disseminated nationalist and pro-colonial messages in visual shorthand. For instance, a cover design from 1901 (Fig. p. 24) depicts an imperial eagle perched atop a globe with its head held high and its wings spread in an ambivalent pose, suggesting both a claim of ownership and a gesture of protection. The image reinforces the idea of Germany as a "land and seafaring power, both at home and in the colonies", as the headline reads.

In order to advance their colonial aims, German leaders needed the population on their side: both the working class and bourgeoisie were expected to support imperialist nationalist ideals instead of instigating social-democratic revolutions. In 1900, for example, the Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft (German Colonial Society) instructed its upper-class members to seek ways of enthusing the wider public for colonial ideas; for "the millions of voters, factory workers, farmers, day laborers, etc. know nothing about it, have no idea of the location and significance of our current colonies and of the shape of our Earth in general."[9] To influence as many people as possible, mass media deliberately manipulated public opinion through both explicit and subliminal messages. Advertising imagery was part of this: disseminated in the millions, product adverts, for example, presented imported luxuries as consumer goods for all, bringing exoticism into even the blandest of daily lives. The aim was to give Germans the feeling that they were participating in conquering the world. Against this historical backdrop, it makes all the more sense to analyse the references to colonial contexts in a set of advertising posters from 1854 to 1914.

Otto Eckmann, Deutsche Land- und Seemacht daheim und in den Kolonien (German land and seafaring power at home and in the colonies), design for a magazine cover, 1901

3 In 1884, the German Empire was assigned Togo, Cameroon, and German South West Africa (now Namibia) as colonies. German East Africa (now Tanzania, Burundi, and Rwanda), Kaiser-Wilhelmsland and the Bismarck Archipelago in New Guinea (now the northern part of Papua New Guinea), and the Marshall Islands followed in 1885. In addition to the territories in Africa and the Pacific, the German Empire operated a "model colony" in Jiaozhou (Kiatschou), China, from 1898 onwards. The Caroline Islands, Palau, and the Mariana Islands (now Micronesia), as well as the Samoa Islands (now Western Samoa) were also German colonies as of 1899. On the topic of German colonial history, see, among others, *Deutscher Kolonialismus* (Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 2016) and Sebastian Conrad, *German Colonialism: A Short History*, trans. Sorcha O'Hagan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). A detailed statistical overview of the German colonies can be found on the website of the Deutsches Historisches Museum: www.dhm.de/lemo/kapitel/kaiserreich/aussenpolitik/statistische-angaben-zu-den-deutschen-kolonien.html

4 The phrase was coined in 1897 by State Secretary and later Chancellor Bernhard von Bülow during a Reichstag debate on colonial policy: "We do not want to put anyone in our shadow, but we also demand our place in the sun." Cf. "Wilhelmine Germany and the First World War, 1890–1918", trans. Adam Blauhut, German History in Documents and Images 5, accessed September 4, 2023, germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/docpage.cfm?docpage_id=1371.

5 Between 35,000 and 95,000 people were murdered in the genocide ordered by Lieutenant General Lothar von Trotha, which is considered the first genocide of the twentieth century. Cf. *Genocide in German South-West Africa: The Colonial War of 1904–1908 and Its Aftermath*, Jürgen Zimmerer and Joachim Zeller, eds., trans. E. J. Nascher (London: Merlin Press, 2008).

6 The three other major global colonial powers were Great Britain (whose "Empire" comprised nearly a fifth of the Earth), France, and the Netherlands, followed by Belgium and Italy. Around 1900, the US and Japan also became colonizing nations, and Russia became active in Asia. Military violence underpinned the colonial policies of all these countries.

7 The texts published as part of this project italicize the term *white* and capitalize Black, in keeping with the anti-racism guidelines published in 2015 by a German collective working against racism in language (www.elina-marmer.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/IMAFREDU-Rassismuskritischer-Leiftaden_Web_barrierefrei-NEU.pdf): "Black (in contrast to the constructed *white*) refers […] not to biological characteristics, but to the self-conception of a group of people who, in reaction to the devaluation of their African origin within the racially constructed *white* / Black power structure, draw their self-awareness precisely from this, reinterpret Black as positive, and highlight this through capitalization. In contrast, *white* is written as an uncapitalized adjective. The use of italics is meant to call attention to the constructed nature of this term." Cf. Modupe Laja et al., "Einleitung", *Autor*innenKollektiv Rassismuskritischer Leitfaden: Rassismuskritischer Leitfaden zur Reflexion bestehender und Erstellung neuer didaktischer Lehr-und Lernmaterialien für die schulische und außerschulische Bildungsarbeit zu Schwarzsein* (Hamburg, Berlin: Afrika und afrikanischer Diaspora, 2015), 5. This distinction can also be found in Maureen Maisha Eggers, Grada Kilomba, Peggy Piesche, and Susan Arndt, eds., *Mythen, Masken und Subjekte. Kritische Weißseinsforschung in Deutschland* (Münster: Unrast, 2005).

8 The motif was used in various media: as the cover of the exhibition catalogue, in the poster, on postcards, and as souvenirs. However, the poster is not held by the Kunstbibliothek. The exoticized depiction of the flag bearer with a turban, bare torso, and without shoes does not correspond to reality, as colonial soldiers were usually equipped with uniforms.

9 *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, February 22, 1900, 109, quoted in Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, Kurt Wettengl and Almut Junker. *Plakate 1880–1914. Inventarkatalog des Historischen Museums Frankfurt*, Frankfurt am Main 1986, p. 282. Translation from the German by Sylee Gore.

GENESIS AND METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

As objects in museum collections, posters are doubly interesting: on the one hand, they are artistic works; on the other, they are a means of visual communication and thus documents of economic, social, and ideological contexts. The unique challenge of researching historic posters is to see these aspects not as separate concerns of art history and cultural studies, but holistically. To do so is an exciting and time-consuming task seldom accorded sufficient scope in everyday work, given the immense holdings of museums. As a result, the decision taken in 2021 for an expert team to study a portion of the early posters held in the Kunstbibliothek was all the more important.[10] The research project on "Colonial Contexts in Early Posters"[11] initially emerged from a digital inventory: between 2021 and 2022, all posters and poster designs in the Kunstbibliothek collection dating from 1840 to 1914 were recorded, digitalized, and tagged as part of a funded initiative.[12] These roughly 3,800 works by almost one thousand designers from Germany, fifteen other European countries, and the United States present a panorama of visual communication. They illustrate the history of design, advertising, and printing during the transition from historicism and art nouveau to object posters, while also offering insights into the (cultural) history of the *fin de siècle*. From the start, the project aimed to make the collection available online to allow the public to view its full breadth and to encourage further research. This was to include the option to download public domain images. Yet the digital overview also raised new internal questions about these early posters, such as: How many works by women are in the collection?[13] Why are there almost no political posters, but many advertisements for unusual inventions? How did the Kunstbibliothek come to acquire these posters?[14]

One question was of particular concern, and ultimately served as a catalyst for the "Colonial Contexts in Early Posters" project: Should images that require explanation or are deemed problematic by today's standards continue to be freely available for download? The scepticism was initially sparked by Ludwig Hohlwein's *Café Odeon* (Fig. p. 27) and Paul Scheurich's *Von Tieren und Menschen* (Fig. p. 29), as well as Julius Klinger's *Palm* (Figs. pp. 28, 40, 41), as the depictions in these posters are racist in nature. Yet the reservations quickly spread to include other works. The more carefully we looked, the more we realized that imagery of colonial history and Eurocentric viewpoints shaped by fantasies of *white* superiority were rife – and thus in urgent need of critical contextualization. Every visual representation of "foreigners" and the "other" in advertising is embedded in a network of historical and economic contexts with specific social power dynamics. Each product advertisement offers insights into living standards; each cultural artefact reflects societal values and ideologies. Advertising posters also show this network expanding globally for the first time around 1900. How could one make sense of the depiction of a Black child waiter in a Munich

Ludwig Hohlwein, Café Odeon und Billiard Academie München, poster, 1908, ID 1420073. In the database, digital images of posters with discriminatory or problematic content are stamped with the word "KONTEXT" as an image spoiler.

Julius Klinger,
Palm Cigarren, poster
c. 1906, ID 926654

billiards café in 1908, for instance, without considering the history of colonialism, enslavement, and the brutal exploitation of certain countries by Europe and the United States? Or without taking into account the consumer history of coffee as an international import?

Against this broadly defined spectrum, a team of museum workers[15] and researchers[16] began the project by reviewing all 3,800 early posters and identifying over 400 which contained colonial content.[17] The works were singled out according to these main criteria:

- references to colonies and items associated with colonies,[18]
- international economic and trade links,
- images of Black individuals and African motifs,
- instances of exoticism and representations of non-European and/or non-Christian cultures.

These posters were then examined more closely, grouped, and reduced to a manageable number;[19] ultimately, 240 posters remained and were uploaded as an online collection of commentated works. This selection was organized by content criteria: 85 posters with especially critical or relevant content within the research focus were individually analysed in depth and provided with an explanatory text. These include all posters with discriminatory or stereotyping imagery, posters with instances of racism, sexism, or the objectification of persons, as well as posters used to advertise colonial propaganda events and publications. They also

comprise satirical takes (*Kladderadatsch*) and abolitionist themes (*Uncle Tom's Cabin*). The remaining posters were examined in categories. Tobacco, coffee, cocoa, tea, fat, and rubber each formed individual groups, as did tourism, costume parties, pianos, and wild animals. About three-quarters of the 240 posters are German and one quarter international (chiefly originating from France and the United States). Accordingly, the focus was on the German Empire's colonial project.[20]

Paul Scheurich, Carl Hagenbeck.
Von Tieren und Menschen,
poster, 1908, ID 925442

10 The project's research team, consisting of Dr Ibou Coulibaly Diop, Dr Kristina Lowis, and Dr Christina Thomson, introduce themselves at the end of this article.

11 The research project and its associated publications were made possible through funding from the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. We would like to thank Prof. Dr Christina Haak, Prof. Dr Moritz Wullen, Dr Maren Eichhorn, Dr Jörg Völlnagel, Dr Carola Thielecke, Dr Sigrid Wollmeiner, Lilly Kempf, Marika Mäder, and Jan Hillebrecht for their support on this project. Thanks also to Andrea-Vicky Amankwaa-Birago, Catalina Heroven, and Lisa Botti, who encouraged us to realize the project.

12 The digitization of the project was made possible by the Deutsche Digitale Bibliothek, as part of the NEUSTART KULTUR programme funded by the Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Kultur und Medien (BKM). More information about the project and links to the online collections can be found here: "Frühe Plakate 1840–1914", Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, accessed September 4, 2023, www.smb.museum/en/museums-institutions/kunstbibliothek/collection-research/research/early-posters/

13 Research conducted jointly with Christina Dembny uncovered statistics of 957 male designers versus 41 female designers. Cf. also "Verklärt, begehrt, vergessen. Frauen in der Frühen Plakatgestaltung", Deutsche Digitale Bibliothek, accessed September 4, 2023, ausstellungen.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/fruehe-plakate/#s0

14 In the acquisition books of the Kunstbibliothek, more than 1,000 entries were found for early posters, including the large collections of Walter von zur Westen (150 posters, acquired 1919), Arthur Wolf (130 posters, acquired 1969), and Marie Rungs (99 posters, acquired 1966). However, the provenance of many posters remains unclear at present.

15 We are grateful to Kathrin Barrera Nicholson, Thomas Gladisch, Laura Hesse-Davies, and Bettina Klein for meticulously recording the posters in the database.

16 Ibou Diop, Kristina Lowis, and Christina Thomson, assisted by Christina Dembny.

17 However, the limits for the selection are inevitably fluid. There was a tendency not to include representations with indirect references to colonial contexts, especially in advertising for products made from processed imported raw materials, such as clothing (cotton), desserts (cane sugar), or cars (steel).

18 We refer not only to the colonies that the German Empire possessed from 1884 to 1914, but to all forms of global colonialism, including themes such as the "Wild West" or "Saigon". This is also reflected in the fact that the posters analysed come from different countries.

19 We only omitted posters whose motifs or content were already represented in the selection.

20 The last count before publication totalled 63 non-German posters from 10 countries: France (19), the United States (15), Great Britain (7), Austria (6), Switzerland (5), the Netherlands (4), Belgium (3), Denmark (2), Italy (1), and Sweden (1). The respective texts take into account the specific contexts of the individual countries.

THREE-PART PUBLICATION

The outcomes of the research project are published solely in digital form. They are divided into three parts, all accessible for free and without registration. The first part is a *Kollektion* (group of objects) in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin collection database, the second is an online exhibition, and the third is this academic essay. Parts 2 and 3 are available in German and English; Part 1 is currently in German only, with plans to offer it in English in the future (in the meantime, please use online translators).

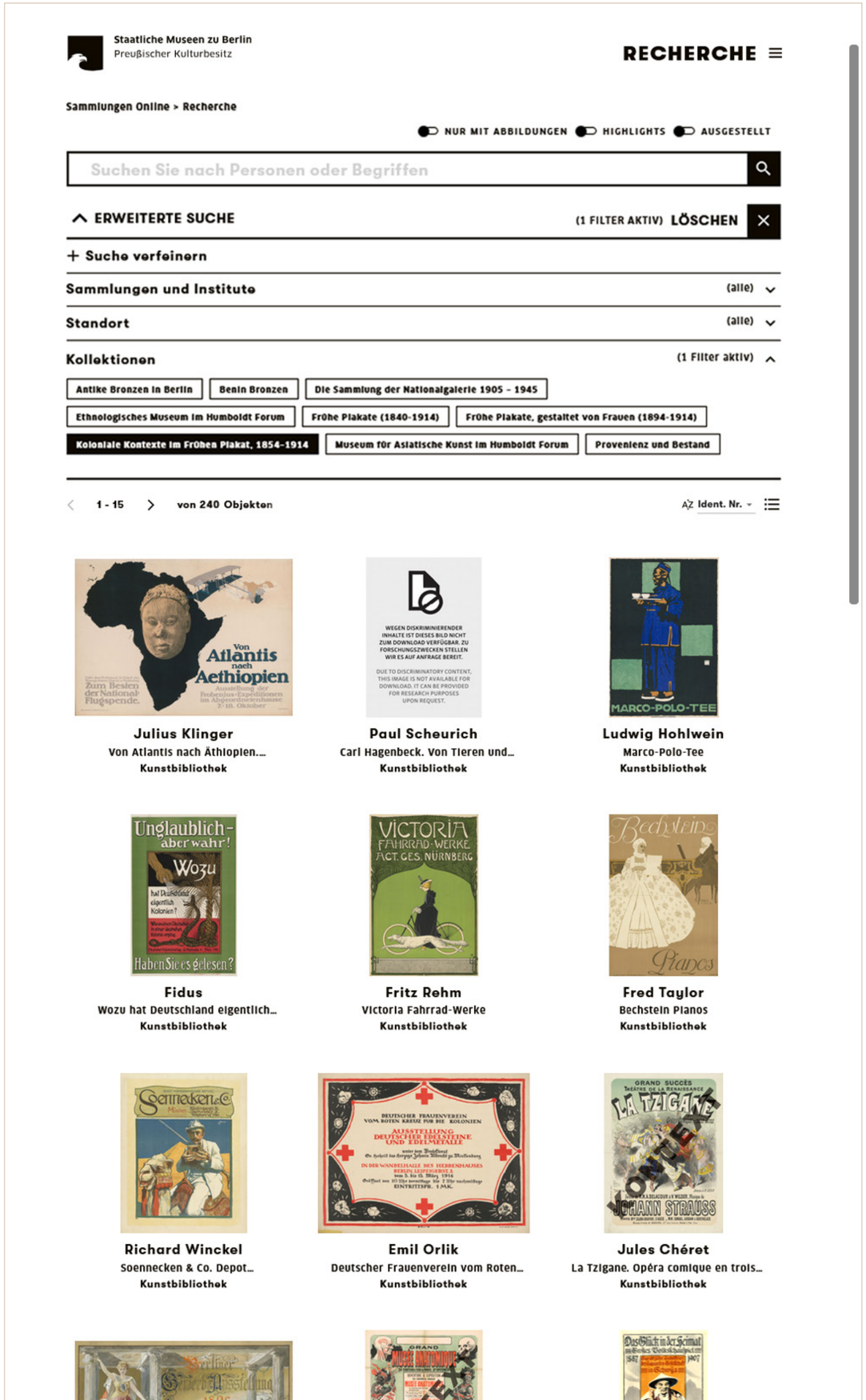
Part 1: Online Collection

The online collection "Colonial Contexts in Early Posters" is available permanently through the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin's object database at

recherche.smb.museum

The collection comprises 240 entries, each with complete details on the individual poster, key words, provenance (when known), an explanatory text (often including a list for further reading), and, if not omitted deliberately or due to copyright restrictions, an illustration. The fact that copyright-free images are generally available for free download on the museums' collection website led to an internal discussion about how to handle discriminatory or otherwise problematic images. A consensus was reached that banning certain images altogether (also known as the "poison cabinet" method) does not lead to an understanding of historic contexts and thus would not advance the project's goals. Instead of blocking access, we sought a solution that would make it impossible to view the image in isolation. Put differently, we wanted problematic images to be accessed only in conjunction with the commentary. Since no special technological solution (such as a trigger warning or a preliminary text window) was possible, we opted for a three-stage approach for the database:

- Three posters that the project team deemed as directly violating human dignity are listed in the database without accompanying images. They are, however, reproduced within the contextualising framework of this PDF, without high-res download option. See Obj.-ID 925442, 1902312, 927431 (Figs. pp. 29, 126).
- Thirty-seven posters with discriminatory or problematic motifs are visible in the database, but stamped prominently with the word "Kontext". This aims to encourage viewers to not simply consume the image passively, but to question it and read the accompanying analysis.
- The remaining posters are freely downloadable, as their images do not insult, stereotype, or ridicule human beings.



The 240 texts analyse the designs within their historic framework, explain and contextualize, and weigh up country-specific aspects against more general ones. They identify recurring motifs and the resulting clichés as visual shorthands that became increasingly taken for granted in viewers' imaginations over the years.

Yet the texts never claim to be exhaustive; they simply highlight aspects the authors regarded as central. In doing so, they aim to stimulate further thought and research. The authors were explicitly allowed a certain degree of subjectivity in their response to the images. At the same time, Diop, Lowis, and Thomson each read and discussed every text written by the others, thus ensuring that different perspectives were represented.

Part 2: Virtual Exhibition

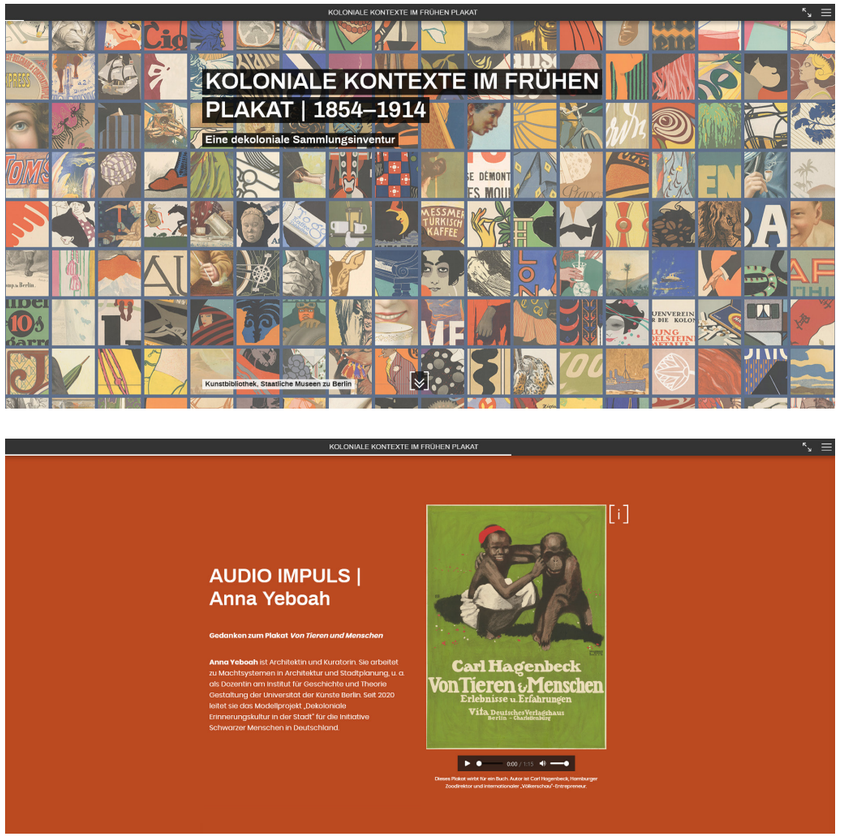
The online exhibition summarizes the project outcomes in a condensed visual essay. Some 55 posters in the holdings that were examined introduce the central themes in six sections. Short introductory texts are complemented by audio recordings of three people whom we asked to react spontaneously and subjectively to individual posters.[21] The exhibition is available in German and English on the German Digital Library's online platform, DDBstudio:

Online Exhibition English

Online-Ausstellung Deutsch

The research team decided unanimously to exhibit the posters examined exclusively online. Physically presenting them in the museum context of art and design, in our opinion, would have overemphasized the traditional view of posters as art objects and inevitably placed the designers on their customary pedestals, making their work harder to engage with critically. In contrast, we felt that a digital exhibition placed the emphasis more clearly on the image content; the critical gaze was less eclipsed by the aura of the original.

21 We are grateful to Anne Yeboah, hn. lyonga, and Tahir Della for their collaboration. Interviews conducted by Ibou Diop.



A virtual exhibition presents the findings of the research project in six chapters of annotated images. Additionally, audio featuring the voices and reflections of Tahir Della, hn. lyonga, and Anna Yeboah enriches the visual and textual material.

Part 3: Essay and Catalogue of Works

The present academic essay describes the approach taken to the project, summarizing and elaborating on the knowledge gained beyond the level of the individual image. Occasionally, comparative images are discussed in order to expand the observations on the Kunstbibliothek's poster collection. An appendix with a catalogue illustrates all 240 posters examined. In the catalogue, they are grouped according to the products advertised, accompanied by texts explaining the relevance in a colonial context.

CRITICAL SCRUTINY

It is easy to underestimate how much advertising around 1900, with its memorable images, simple language, and mass reproduction, contributed to spreading and consolidating a colonialist, Eurocentric worldview that persists to this day. In the 150 years in which visual advertisements have been defining our environment, certain figures, goods, tropes, and clichés have become so etched in our collective pictorial imagination through constant repetition that they have conditioned our perceptual responses. We have come to take them for granted because images encountered since childhood appear to be givens, fixed conventions that we are not so quick to question – despite our knowledge and awareness that advertising images are created to manipulate. Take for instance Julius Klinger's motif for the Palm cigar (Figs. pp. 28, 40, 41), which circulated in millions of advertisements and on packaging starting in 1906: for decades, experts praised its modern design while hardly ever criticizing its racist depiction. And, to name just two of many other possible examples, the original figurative logos of the German chocolate manufacturer Sarotti and US rice brand Uncle Ben's (now rebranded as Ben's Original) were only recently removed from the market, almost a century after they were established. The fact that these old advertisements sometimes seem so familiar is not merely due to the fact that posters and packaging exist in multiple copies, often held in various private and public collections. It is also because advertising has replicated, modified, and perpetuated its visual creations and messages over decades, whether it is a turban-wearing "chocolate magician" or cowboys on horses.

The "Colonial Contexts in Early Posters" research project seeks to disrupt such old habits of seeing defined by a *white* perspective and to encourage engaging with the collection with a critical eye for discrimination instead of glossing over exploitative tropes. The selection of images and the texts guide the gaze to motifs and design conventions that merit re-examination today. Breaking free of one's visual habits is an important step in decolonializing art historical thinking – as well as our perception of the present. Moreover, any critical analysis of image strategies gains in relevance when it enters into dialogue with forms of seeing outside the *white* perspective. This becomes particularly clear when listening to the recorded voices in the online exhibition.

Excursus: Sarotti

With its serving gesture and exaggerated physiognomy, the Sarotti mascot exemplifies the longevity of racist stereotypes in brand communication. It is noteworthy that the image was introduced in 1918, on the occasion of the chocolate manufacturer's 50th anniversary – a step made possible by the pictorial worlds conjured by mass media before the First World War. Their visual omnipresence had fostered a new acceptance for such depictions in the viewing habits of the general public.

Julius Gipkens, S-i Sarotti, poster, c. 1912, ID 925510. This early advertisement for Sarotti's "S-i" chocolates was designed before the introduction of the well-known brand mascot.

Julius Gipkens, Sarotti S-i Packung, poster, c. 1920. This advertisement features the Sarotti trademark introduced in 1918. It initially depicted three Black figures, shown as cheerful servants in turbans who come running with a tray.

Sarotti Schokoladen, poster, 1930s–1950s. After the Second World War, the Sarotti brand character continued to be heavily marketed.

Reklame Nostalgie (Advertising Nostalgia), paint-by-numbers colouring set, 2008. Even in the 21st century, Sarotti advertising is still presented as a "classic" – without being critically questioned.

Sarotti logo, 2024. In 2004, following a redesign, the golden-skinned "Sarotti magician" was introduced as a new trademark.

AN INNOCUOUS COLLECTION?

The aforementioned numbers make it easy to roughly calculate the project's findings. Some 400 of the 3,800 early posters in the Kunstbibliothek – in other words, just over 10% – directly reflect their colonial context in their imagery. Thirty-seven posters (that is, just over 1%) were regarded as so racist or discriminatory that releasing them without a content warning was deemed unacceptable. Yet analysing these statistics is much more difficult than calculating them. Is this percentage "relatively low", and are even the problematic works themselves "relatively harmless", as could be concluded? In order to understand one's holdings, it is necessary to contextualize them on different levels. On the one hand, the big picture of the mass media production landscape around 1900 needs to be considered, for posters are only one element in the advertising industry. This industry in turn is just one of many factors forming the (controlled) collective imagination, an aspect that is explored in more detail in the next section. On the other hand, it is important to analyse the role of the museum itself as a collecting institution that both selects and preserves. What exactly was acquired and what was not? What kind of history do the selected objects tell, and what narratives have the omissions silenced? What selection processes does this institution follow, and how do they compare to those of other museums?

Two examples help to interrogate this oft-posited "innocuousness". The collection includes an advertising poster for Indische Blumenseife (Indian Floral Soap), produced by F. Wolff & Sohn (Fig. p. 37). Framed with flowers, the scene shows a light-skinned young boy in a suit pointing a finger and professing the benefits of the soap to a dark-skinned boy of similar age, clad in a feather skirt. This seemingly naïve depiction is in keeping with a convention of racist soap ads, established in the nineteenth century and perpetuated for decades, that staged the "washing clean" of dark skin. In their most aggressive form, these ads used dehumanizing stereotypes and demeaning messages (Fig. p. 37, below).[22] While the early posters in the Kunstbibliothek's collection do not include such extreme motifs, the Wolff soap poster should nevertheless be considered in relation to them in order to reveal the mechanisms of their reception by viewers at the time and the critique-worthy ideology behind the cutesy, flowery façade.

Similarly, the depth of Hamburg native Carl Hagenbeck's imperialist worldview becomes clearer when considering the range of printed materials that his company produced internationally. The Kunstbibliothek holds two posters associated with Hagenbeck. One advertises his book *Von Tieren und Menschen* (Of Animals and Humans, Fig. p. 29) with the figure of a Black child cheerfully kneeling on a green meadow with a small chimpanzee. The other depicts a friendly, bearded face with a large turban floating against a black background beside the logotype "Hagenbecks Indien" (Fig. p. 38). These sugar-coated images – unlike the more drastic motifs from other collections (Fig. p. 38 below)[23] – fail to reveal the ugly realities of the Hagenbeck enterprise: the famous circus and zoo director imported not only animals but also human beings from colonized countries,

Indische Blumenseife. F. Wolff & Sohn, poster, c. 1900, ID 2645455

forcing them to appear in "Völkerschauen" ("ethnological shows" or "human zoos"). Nevertheless, Ludwig Hohlwein's discriminatory equating of a (Black) human and an animal, portrayed from an elevated perspective, precisely captures this denigrating habitus of the *white* entrepreneur.

So was the Kunstbibliothek's collecting approach simply more "sensitive" than that of other institutions, or did other factors play a role? A brief excursus into the museum's history is necessary to answer this. Museums began collecting examples of artistic advertising design in the nineteenth century. Across Europe, newly founded museums of applied art promoted good design as an antithesis to industrialized mass production and created model collections for producers. The Kunstbibliothek, part of the design school attached to Berlin's Kunstgewerbemuseum, founded in 1867, also followed such aims of education and high

Le Savon Dirtoff, poster, 1899

Martin Lehmann-Steglitz,
Hagenbeck's Indien, poster, 1912,
ID 1420078

Wilhelm Eigener,
Kanaken. Die letzten Kannibalen der
Südsee. Carl Hagenbecks Tierpark,
poster, 1931

culture. Similar collections were established in Krefeld, Hamburg, and Munich. In the field of commercial art, the focus was on works "of artistic merit", while "unartistic and ugly"[24] serial products, including advertising for popular entertainment such as circuses and travelling shows, were devalued. This approach continued to influence the acquisitions decisions of private collections in the late twentieth century[25] and still persists, to some extent, to this day. In this system of thinking of art in hierarchical terms, anything deemed profane or vulgar in design was rejected. However, if the graphic design was considered "praiseworthy" – as in the case of Julius Klinger or Ludwig Hohlwein – avoiding discriminatory depictions evidently became less of a priority than presenting the fullest possible

range of a designer's work. Certain brands, such as Banania or Sarotti (Figs. pp. 35, 64), later became popular objects for private collectors because their advertising characters appealed to colonial nostalgia on multiple levels; as a result of their "iconic" design, they also found their way into model collections of commercial graphic works. Positioning themselves as distinct from these collections, (cultural) history museums used other criteria to determine their collecting strategies. Here, the documentary value of the artefacts was more important than their creators, so the profane was not shunned. The Museum Europäischer Kulturen (Museum of European Cultures) of the Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, for example, collected some works in similar areas as the Kunstbibliothek (Fig. right, pp. 43, 45). However, it saw advertising graphics, pictorial broadsheets, and advertising brands less as artistic categories than as a phenomenology of everyday culture. In this way, designed advertising posters serve both categories: the aspect of art cannot be separated from cultural history.

Ludwig Hohlwein,
Palmona Margarine,
advertising stamp, 1913

Ivo Puhonny,
Palmin zum Kochen, Braten, Backen.
Palmona als Brotaufstrich,
poster, 1911, ID 2785461

22 Cf. Stefanie Wolter, *Die Vermarktung des Fremden: Exotismus und die Anfänge des Massenkonsums* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2005), 55–61.

23 For example, the Historisches Museum in Frankfurt am Main holds 61 posters related to various "human zoos" in its collection. Cf. Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff et al., *Plakate 1880–1914* (Frankfurt: 1986).

24 Singer, Hans. "Plakatkunst". In *Pan*, 1895, 336.

25 See footnote 23.

MASS MEDIA'S VISUAL LANDSCAPE

Understanding artefacts of everyday culture as historic image sources is the basis of interdisciplinary and multiperspectival research such as this project. In the nineteenth century, the everyday communications landscape transformed into a media frenzy: outdoor advertising experienced a first heyday, and the output of printed material, object design, and film and stage productions reached new peaks. Through endless repetition, images came to have an enormous cultural impact. The new mass-mediality brought profound societal changes and was fertile ground for information, education, and entertainment, as well as consumption and manipulation. For most people, mass media was the only source of images depicting cultures unfamiliar to them, and through this channel they consumed more colonial propaganda – along with racist, sexist, and patriarchal imagery – than ever before.

The worlds of advertising motifs simultaneously neutralized and exaggerated. They reduced complex affairs to simple formulas, exploited desires and biases, concealed harsh production realities behind pretty facades – and, through all these means, were a visual expression of the prevailing worldview. Increasingly, advertising in all its variations inevitably influenced other areas of life. Once France, England, and the United States had revolutionized the world of advertising with large-format colour prints in the 1880s, picture posters also took over public space in the German Empire in the late 1890s. Specially created billboards, along with advertising columns known as *Litfaßsäulen* provided a public platform for colourful advertising messages. Shops and their display windows amplified the advertising. The marketing strategy of the cigar manufacturer Palm,

Packaging and promotional items for Palm cigars: tin can, cigar box, advertising stamp, c. 1906

Branch of the tobacconist Eduard Palm at 97 Georgenstraße, corner of Friedrichstraße, Berlin, photographed in 1915. Next to it is the shopfront of Aschinger's catering business.

Julius Klinger, Palm Silber. Die 10-Pfennig-Cigarre, poster, c. 1908, ID 933794

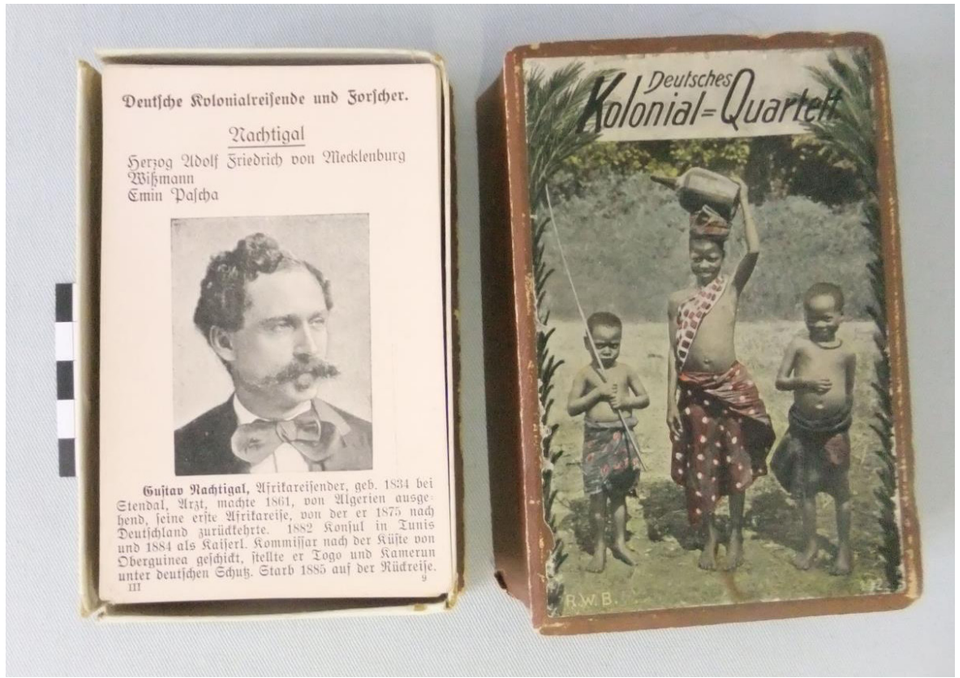
Julius Klinger, façade of a Palm cigar shop in Fulda, 2018

Album with German advertising stamps from the 1910s, including the sets “Around the World” and “Countries” released by Brandt Coffee.

for example, focused heavily on being present in as many German shopping streets as possible (Fig. p. 41). In 1906, Palm posters boasted of “twenty branches” (Fig. p. 28), while shortly thereafter it was already “thirty-two shops” (Fig. p. 41). Additionally, people took home thousands of miniature versions of poster motifs – whether for Palm’s cigars (Fig. p. 40), Liebig’s meat extract (Fig. p. 45), or Brandt’s coffee (Fig. above) – in the form of cards, small collector’s pictures, and advertising stamps, the latter usually with perforated edges and adhesive backs. They would then stick these items into collector’s albums that served to echo the claims broadcast on the street.

These and other media with broad reach collectively spread ideological messages, perpetuating in particular a hegemonic discourse. These items included pictorial broadsheets and toys (Figs. right, p. 44), schoolbooks and newspapers, photographs and films, fashion and furniture, souvenirs and consumer goods, novels and theatre plays, calendars and postcards (Figs. pp. 22, 45), as well

As affordable visual media for both education and entertainment, picture sheets were very popular from the 1880s to the 1900s. The sheet above depicts battles during the invasion of colonial troops in “Deutsch-Afrika” (published by Adolph Herrmann, c. 1895), while a board game sheet shows Schulze and Müller, characters from a satirical magazine, embarking on a race to Africa (c. 1900).



Deutsches Kolonial-Quartett,
before 1918

as exhibitions, circuses, and festivals. Only by comprehensively infiltrating all aspects of everyday life – from education and home life to shopping and entertainment – was it possible to mould a pro-colonial society. Millions of individual images spread the fantasy of *white* superiority in all minds and enthusiasm for subjugating the world in all hearts.

The following four sections examine the forms in which colonial propaganda became visible in everyday culture and what role these images played in whitewashing, legitimizing, and perpetuating an unjust situation.

Advertising stamps for Liebig Company: "The Meat Extract in Africa", 1891. For details on the subject of Liebig's see poster
ID 2638435

Schönen Gruß aus
Kiao-Tschau,
postcard, 1898

Eugène Samuel Grasset, A la Place Clichy, poster, 1891, ID 2747404

ORIENTALISM AND THE GENERIC "OTHER"

Oases, mosques, belly dancers, snake charmers, desert animals, turbans, and head scarfs: pictorial traditions cultivated in advertising since the nineteenth century have conditioned us to read motifs of this kind quite naturally as visual symbols for products such as cigarettes, coffee, tea, chocolate, and rugs (Fig. left). Even into the twenty-first century, costume parties with people dressed as sheiks or "jungle kings", geishas, and harem courtesans remain common. However, it is telling that around 1900 even advertising for "prizewinning raingear" (Fig. below) and beer made in Munich (Fig. p. 104) used motifs such as camels and darker-skinned men wearing turbans. This indicates the deep-seated European fascination with everything that was perceived as "exotic" and "foreign" and associated with the "Orient" and "Far East". This vogue presented itself as "oriental" – that is, it used a variety of pictorial cues divorced from their original cultural context and recombined them at random in wildly exoticizing blends. There was no awareness that appropriation, generalization, and indifference to accurate attribution – whether due to a lack of knowledge or wilful ignorance – fails to respect the cultures referenced. Nor was the apparent parallel to colonialist world politics discussed.

Advertising design, particularly when it ventures into artistic realms, is always part of a visual world that draws on a diversity of parallel influences. It assimilates paradigms from art and other areas of so-called high culture, as well as visual ideas from all kinds of popular media. In the nineteenth century, the emergence of travel as a mass phenomenon created a great longing for "faraway places". Orientalism as a theme and style was in vogue in all areas of culture, from literature and music to architecture and painting. Europeans collected Orientalia such as Chinese vases and Japanese prints, and enthusiastically read adventure stories set in Africa, Asia, and America. They decorated their bourgeois interiors with "exotic" accessories from abroad and found their reading-matter increasingly illustrated with photographs of people and landscapes from other non-European countries. Research associations and lobbyist groups presented slide presentations on topics from all around the world, more and more politicians supported the German colonial project, and showmen staged "the foreigner(s)" as a commercial spectacle. Finally, the German Colonial Society screened propaganda films.

Ludwig Hohlwein, F. Hirschberg & Co. Preisgekrönte Regendichte Gebirgs-, Sport- & Reise-Kleidung, poster, 1907, ID 2711442

Jules Pascin, Kannibalen-Fest, poster, 1914, ID 929580

Otto Leroi, Nach West-Indien ab New York. Norddeutscher Lloyd Bremen poster, c. 1914, ID 2718452

In all this, the "Orient"[26] was a central "canvas" for people's projections. Through writing, images, and sound, male artists tested out ideas about polygamy, uninhibited sexuality, clear gender roles, and the foreign way of life as a whole. In theatres, circuses, and folk festivals, an idea of "otherness" was staged in diametric opposition to the German Empire's strict societal rules. As the antithesis to the official prudishness of Wilhelminian visual culture, an "Oriental" mise-en-scène was perceived to grant the freedom to show unclothed women. Many European stage productions (Figs. pp. 91–94) of the so-called "long nineteenth century" (until 1914) involve intrigues with sultans, daggers, servants, carpet sellers, beautiful enslaved women, irrational despots, and good helpers (good because they have turned to Christianity and capitalism). Meanwhile, artist festivals, carnival parties, and press balls allowed prudish Europeans to slip briefly into a foreign skin and disguise themselves as the "other", be it Turkish woman or cannibal (Fig. above, p. 49).

This entire spectrum of characteristics can be seen in the advertising posters of the time. Not infrequently, the advertisements blatantly quote Orientalist motifs from art, theatre, and publications. For instance, a sensual female semi-nude on Forster's rug (Fig. p. 103) referenced paintings by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres. A cup of Sumurûn tea (Fig. p. 114) or Meinl coffee (Fig. p. 108) invited the viewer to enter a fantasy desert-tent world, apparently taken straight from the set of Mozart's popular opera *The Abduction from the Seraglio* or a stage performance of Persian dance. And the figure adorned with feathers and a peace pipe used to advertise steamship passages to the Caribbean (or "West Indies") by the northern German firm Lloyd Bremen (Fig. left) looks more like the stereotypical image of an "Apache chief" on the cover of a novel than the inhabitants of the countries to which the steamships travelled.

What is striking is the cultural jumble of the Americas, Caribbean, and Asia reflected in the murky term "Indian". The growing tourism industry's use of such "exotic" invented imagery contributed to the conflation of cultures into a mass "other". Advertisers had little interest in differentiating between what was of Arab, African, or Asian origin in the "Orient" they were marketing. Instead, they followed a principle of visual generalizations: characteristics were universalized, countries summarized associatively, cultures simplified, generic markers assigned, and people represented not as individuals but as stereotypes. Thus Africa could be portrayed as a homogeneous black plane (Fig. pp. 16/17) and the entire world population represented by four "stereotypical heads" in red, white, black, and yellow (Fig. p. 123). Visually robbing people of their individuality created distance and objectified them, thereby – put simply – reducing men from other cultures to servants, and women to erotic objects. Edward Said, who wrote the first comprehensive book on Orientalism, described it as a construction of distinction with which Westerners sought to define both themselves and the "other". It contains a bias that ascribes feminine, weak, irrational, and backwards attributes to the "Orient", and masculine, strong, rational, and progressive ones to the West.[27] Such stereotypes also informed the development of advertising formulas.

Jules Chéret, Les Turcs. Théatre des folies dramatiques, poster, 1869, ID 2662403

26 The term "Orient" does not capture a geographical or cultural reality, but is a construct that has developed in contrast to the Eurocentric understanding of the world. In order to express the authors' distancing from the term, it has been put in quotation marks. The same applies to terms such as "others", "foreigners", "savages", "Indians", and other expressions that today can only be used with a critical perspective.

27 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Random House, 1978).

COLONIAL PROPAGANDA VIA CULTURAL CONSUMPTION

A “Wild West” novel and an African explorer’s travelogue as reading material on the bedside table, a South Sea costume party on Friday, and a visit to the Colonial Museum (Fig.) with the children on Sunday – this could have been a week in a Berliner’s cultural diary circa 1900. Many other cities in Europe and the United States offered similarly extensive cultural programmes that disseminated colonialist ideologies in the guise of entertainment. Those who did not live near theatres, dance halls, and museums were able to attend travelling circuses and film screenings, or learn about the larger world through books, magazines, and cheap prints. For instance, in Paris, the Black clown Rafael Padilla became a circus star known as “Chocolat” (Fig. p. 10) and was eternalized in one of the first films produced by the Lumière brothers. Thanks to his countless performances, he became known across all social classes in France. Due to his purported “stupidity”, Chocolat’s *white* show-partner was constantly “forced” to humiliate him and inflict corporeal punishment. In this way, the theatre show reproduced colonial relationships and inculcated millions of viewers with the racist clichés of the clumsy, constantly smiling Black man, whom one could laugh at freely and heartily. These clichés were also taken up in magazines and books, and even in “well-intentioned” depictions such as Harriet Beecher Stowe’s novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (Fig.). This stage-adapted worldwide bestseller promulgated the fiction that *white* people’s paternalistic treatment of “naïve” enslaved persons was justified under “charitable” (and thus “civilizing”) auspices.

The publishing culture of the era unabashedly combined educational and entertaining media with contemporary political issues. Throughout Europe and the United States, the literary landscape – from penny dreadfuls to highbrow literature – was replete with stereotypical motifs and stories stemming from the “Orient” and the “Far East”, from the “Wild West” and the “South Seas” – whether relating to the past or current events. Along with such fictional texts came a wave of new nonfiction books that shaped the view of colonized societies with photos and pseudo-scientific explanations. Advertising posters for publications including *Von Tieren und Menschen* (Of Animals and Humans, Fig. p. 29), *Ins innerste Afrika* (Into the Heart of Africa, Fig. opposite), *Wozu hat Deutschland eigentlich Kolonien?* (Why Does Germany Have Colonies?, Fig. p. 15), and *Die werdende Macht* (The Nascent Power, Fig. p. 82) show that colonial propaganda was sometimes front and centre.

The book *Ins innerste Afrika*, for instance, was advertised as the “most wonderful Christmas gift for young and old”. The photographs included were sourced from African expeditions funded by the Reich Colonial Office of Duke Adolf Friedrich zu Mecklenburg, later the governor of Togo. They were mostly taken

Karl Schnebel,
Kolonialausstellung im Deutschen Kolonial-Museum, poster, 1900
ID 932430

Uncle Tom’s Cabin. Let Eliza Go,
poster, c. 1910, ID 1792710

Ins innerste Afrika.
Das schönste Geschenkbuch,
poster, 1910
ID 2638396

Adolph Friedländer,
Berliner Gewerbeausstellung 1896, Specialausstellung Kairo, poster, 1896

in German East Africa (today Tanzania, Burundi, and Rwanda), where, at the time, Carl Peters and his colonial troops ruled with exceptional brutality. Of course, this side of history is not shown in the "splendidly illustrated" gift book: the violence perpetrated by the colonizers is ignored while the supposed threat of the "savage" colonized individuals is dramatized. Accordingly, the graphic designer of the poster chose to depict a nearly naked man swinging a club aggressively.

The staging of foreign cultures as "wild" and "threatening" was also shamelessly exploited in commercial performances. Circuses often showed scenes of scalping, death at the stake, cannibalism, and the burning of widows. The "Völkerschauen" ("ethnological shows" or "human zoos"), which had toured all of Europe since the 1870s, appealed to the audience's voyeuristic bent with spear dances and profuse nudity. The human beings were shown at a distance, behind bars, like dangerous animals in a zoo. Such events turned racial anthropological claims into mass spectacles. Even those who did not attend them often absorbed their visual messages, especially through advertising posters that extended into the cityscape. Announcements of exhibitions were prominent, including for the permanent collection of the German Colonial Museum in Berlin, which opened in 1899 (Fig. p. 51), and the new shows – very popular throughout Europe – displayed appropriated objects from expeditions (Fig. p. 16/17) and racist "research results" (Fig. p. 74).

The largest and most extensively marketed public show in the German Empire during its years as a colonial power was the Berlin *Gewerbeausstellung* (Industrial Exposition of Berlin) in 1896. Its megalomaniacal presentation in Treptower Park resembled a world's fair without guest countries: while alpine panoramas and naval dramas provided the basic nationalist ambience, global imperialism found its perfected expression in the special "Cairo" exhibition (Fig.) and the colonial exhibition in section XXIII (Fig. p. 22). Both displayed human beings as exhibits. The privately run Cairo section, officially a part of the amusement park, had hired roughly 500 actors who were

Bust of Johann Albrecht von Mecklenburg with objects from German colonies at the Gewerbeausstellung Berlin, the Industrial Exposition of Berlin, 1896. Photograph: Franz Kullrich

meant to portray "others" – including "Arabs", "Nubians", "Algerians", "Egyptians", and "Palestinians" – through signifiers vaguely associated with these cultures in Europe. Next door, the *Erste Deutsche Kolonialausstellung* (First German Colonial Exhibition) attempted to trump the Cairo show's exoticized, French-influenced image of colonialism with an "exhibition of achievements" from the German-occupied countries. For this purpose, 106 men, women, and children were brought to Berlin from Africa and Papua New Guinea to represent the colonized regions of Togo, Cameroon, East Africa, and New Guinea through mock villages. Inhumane working conditions led to widespread illness, and three individuals died. The performers were not only gawked at on a daily basis, but were also abused for "racial studies" by German scientists. In the exhibition halls themselves, goods and artefacts were displayed alongside a wide array of equipment used to exploit the colonies, from railway items to ice machines. One room was practically an altar to Johann Albrecht von

Ludwig Sütterlin, Berliner Gewerbe-Ausstellung, poster, 1896, ID 2831393

Mecklenburg-Schwerin, president of the German Colonial Society. His bust was displayed amid palm trees, tusks, shields, and weapons (Fig. p. 53). Dramatically draped curtains rounded off the staging with a clumsy metaphor: this was an exhibition that presented Germans on the world stage. Two million visitors attended the *Kolonialausstellung*.

However, significantly more people saw the poster for the much-advertised *Gewerbeausstellung* (Fig. p. 54). The dramatic *white* fist thrusting out of the soil bearing a hammer became iconic even at the time. A caricature (Fig. below) published in *Kladderadatsch* shortly before the exhibition opened glossed the motif as a critique of colonialist reign by sheer force and hypocrisy: the hammer becomes a gallows on which colonized individuals are hanged with brutal capriciousness by a *white* hand; Carl Peters is shown dancing beneath it, with African dancers on one side and European dancers on the other. The women dancing the can-can are references to the so-called Chérettes,[28] commonly seen in the advertisements of the 1890s. This visually sums up the quintessence of the present essay: colonial propaganda and advertising imagery go hand in hand in the round dance of mass media. Colonial policy manipulatively exploited the fact that advertising messages are particularly memorable when linked to entertainment and cultural experiences.

Colonial-Peters exhibition 1896. Caricature of the Industrial Exposition of Berlin and colonial exhibition, from: *Kladderadatsch*, vol. 49, no. 12, 22 March 1896. The caricature criticises German colonial policy while drawing on racist visual clichés.

28 Named after Jules Chéret, a French commercial artist who was the first to use depictions of women to advertise a wide variety of products.

FANTASIES OF SUPERIORITY: ON HEROES AND TEACHERS

The cult of *white* male heroes that pervaded colonial stories told in books and on stages also appeared in various guises on advertising posters. Circus Sarrasani director Hans Stosch is presented as a solitary and heroic "Wild West" shooter (Fig. p. 57), gold diggers in the Klondike as wild-eyed adventurers (Fig. p. 81), and the creator of an anatomical show as a brilliant top scientist (Fig. p. 74). Yet the construction of any hero – whether conqueror or helper – requires a counterpart: there is no fighter without an adversary, no conqueror without a terrain, no altruist without a subject. In the imaginary societal pyramid of values, "good" and "strong" individuals dominate and preside over the "evil" or "weak" masses.

In such a construction, the myth of the hero and helper provides a psychological alibi for paternalism and oppression. While racial anthropologists offered a pseudoscientific basis for *white* people's allegedly higher level of development, print media consolidated these ideas into images suitable for easy digestion by the masses. The advertising world thus created both heroes to identify with and their counterparts. Colonized people (or those to be colonized), the "others", and subalterns were presented as simple-minded, uncivilized, or instinct-driven figures, frequently de-individualized and objectified (Fig. p. 68/69). They were not permitted to speak, but instead served as a prop for fantasies of dominance.

Bruno Grimmer-Kriwub, Esst Pfunds Yoghurt, poster, 1910, ID 2787412

A particularly striking aspect of this was the use of child figures on both sides of the narrative. Advertisements around 1900 were teeming with babies, toddlers, schoolchildren, and teenagers. In many posters, the *white* children are dressed in fetching sailor suits or dresses and raising an admonitory finger, while the "others" are dressed only scantily (Fig. p. 37). In other designs, small and cutesy figures are deliberately shown with few distinguishing features beyond their "exoticized" appearance in order to blur the boundaries between child and adult or even between human and animal. Are the Black servants offering trays with coffee or cognac to blond men and women (Figs. pp. 27, 58) children or miniature adults? Why do the childlike figures in the Palm logo (Fig. p. 28) or in advertisements for Pfund's yogurt (Fig. left) have such large heads, mouths, and ears, making them resemble apes? Are babies allowed to drink coffee if they come from Africa (Fig. p. 111) or smoke cigarettes if they are from China (Fig. p. 59)? Can a chocolate sweet be "good enough to gobble up" if the product itself is equated with the small head of a Black individual?

Carl Moos, Zirkus Sarrasani. Direktor Hans Stosch-Sarrasani als Wildwestschütze, poster, 1908, ID 2721385

Hans Neumann, Prunier Cognac, poster, 1911, ID 1420080

It would be too simple to explain this as the usual infantilization or cuteification often employed as a marketing tactic. Rather, the aim here is to demonstrate a position of superiority. Children are physically smaller individuals whom adults quite literally look down upon. They are in need of care and their intellectual development is still underway, which is why adults generally expect them to be obedient. In the Wilhelmine era, child-rearing methods such as public shaming and corporeal punishment were socially acceptable. Children in advertisements often spark such associations unconsciously in a matter of seconds, combined with a sense of benevolent superiority. When such diminutive figures are paired with colonialist motifs, they invite the viewer to look down on the "little people". Distorted proportions, a bird's eye view, and other graphic design methods exacerbate this effect. This becomes especially evident in Hohlwein's poster for Hagenbeck's book *Von Tieren und Menschen* (Fig. p. 29) in which the squatting young boy makes the viewer appear elevated, while the colouring and positioning cause him to merge with the chimpanzee in such a manner that observers perceive human and animal to be at the same developmental level. Yet when a *white* child encounters a Black individual – regardless of the latter's age – he or she is presented as culturally superior. The figure of the lecturing child was often used in soap advertisements (Fig. p. 37). In contrast, depicting Black persons as servants acquired a veneer of "naturalness" when the ostensibly inferior individual assumed the guise of a child in the presence of the *white* individual.

A similar mind-set is at work in depictions of the Asian woman. Stylized to resemble a doll with a childlike face, European men tended to regard her as a toy. The story of Madame Chrysanthème, presented in countless variations in theatre and film as Madame Butterfly, Miss Saigon, and Mimosa San (Figs. pp. 91–93) portrays a naïve woman freely subjugating herself to Europeans as though this were her natural role, while simultaneously allowing herself to be scorned for her simple-minded subservience and reverential love – a colonial metaphor born of wishful thinking.

Infantilization both disempowered the subject and created the illusion of benevolence: looking down on others forces them to look up. The rhetoric of the colonialist as a saviour, coupled with the myth of the "naturally" superior hero, was a central tenet in the ideological defence of colonialism. The entire nation, from the engineer working in the colony to the housewife volunteering for the local Red Cross organization (Fig. p. 79), was meant to see itself as part of a civilizing mission that aimed to bring hygiene, prosperity, education, and the Christian faith to the wider world – essentially a whole country of self-empowered educators. In keeping with the pedagogical beliefs of the time, harshness and violence were regarded as respectable educational methods. It is no coincidence that the posters examined here also include advertisements for dressage shows with predators (Fig. p. 99). Domestication is an expression of a fascination with the wild from distant lands, combined with an obsession with taming even the most threatening of creatures.

Lao-p'ai p'in-hai hsiang-yen. Original Pin Head Cigarettes poster, c. 1900, ID 2746388

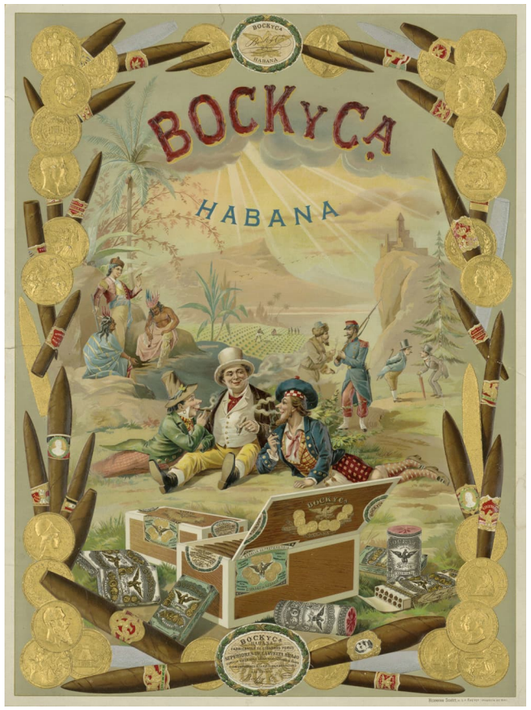
COLONIAL WARES AS AN ECONOMIC FACTOR

In 1898, the Einkaufsgemeinschaft deutscher Kolonialwaren (abbreviated E. d. K., or Edeka; German Colonial Goods Purchasing Association) was founded in Berlin to improve trading opportunities for goods from German colonies and elsewhere. The flood of new luxury comestibles, previously available only to the wealthy as luxury imports, had already reached a broad swathe of households. By 1900, coffee, tea, tobacco, and chocolate were widely available throughout Europe and the United States. The term "colonial goods" is indicative: it highlights how expanding the food trade to a global market was made possible solely through the exploitation of occupied territories around the world. Of the many economic interests that drove colonial trade, some are directly evident in the imagery of advertising.

One of these driving factors is, quite simply, the desire for individual enrichment. An advertising poster for a cigar company based in Havana shows Bock, a chubby-cheeked businessman (Fig. below), dressed in a white top hat and white waistcoat, smoking one of his products with great self-satisfaction. Behind him stretches the idyllic panorama of a tobacco plantation, with scenes of jovial interaction between the people involved. The peculiar picture frame composed of gold coins and cigars dancing in formation strikes a distinct capitalist note and reveals that the tobacco business is a lucrative one. Such fantasy images give no indication of the harsh working conditions on the plantations and in infrastructure development projects, nor of the brutality with which most colonial entrepreneurs ruled their production empires. On the contrary: they suggest that colonized and enslaved individuals had consented to, and were content with, the conditions imposed on them.

The corpulent man slurping an oyster, seen on a poster for the *Erste Delikatessen-Kolonialwaren-Ausstellung* (First Delicatessen and Colonial Wares Exhibition, Fig. p. 61), is evidently also living life to the fullest. The promise of expanding access to an increasingly

Bock y Ca. Habana
poster, c. 1900
ID 2686381



wide range of products from overseas, once exclusive to the elite, is intertwined here with the dream of prosperity "for all". Diversifying food was a major aim of the pro-colonial lobby in the German Empire. At colonial exhibitions and in schools, through advertising stamps and documentary films, the entire nation was educated about food, sparking appetite and avarice, and thus effectively shaped into a consumer society that never questioned its food's origins or means of production. Non-comestible overseas goods were also becoming more accessible for low earners. Rubber from the colonies was used for the new air-filled bicycle tyres (Figs. pp. 129, 130), and imported cotton increased textile production (Fig. p. 104). Greater purchasing power due to affordable offers lifted poorer classes up a level within a (fictive) social hierarchy that was now extended to the whole world – a good prerequisite for social satisfaction. Acknowledging the fact that this new affordability relied on predatory exploitation in colonized countries was implicitly taboo.

Advertisements for colonial products bolstered the fiction of the world in a shopping basket. In contrast to Great Britain, for example, with its crown colony of India, the German Empire's colonies, which were established later, were not an economic success. The import business fell demonstrably short of expectations. As a result, the actual origin of colonial wares was often kept deliberately blurry; when needed, chocolate and coffee from Ecuador and Sumatra were marketed as German colonial products, as was tobacco from Eastern Europe and North Africa. In 1896, an advertising expert advised shops to adorn their display

Karl Schulpig, EDEKA. Erste Delikatessen-Kolonialwaren-Ausstellung Berlin, poster, 1913
ID 2734395

Ernst Deutsch,
Togo Kaffeetabletten,
poster, 1914
ID 932650

windows with a map of Africa that pinpointed the German colonies with Imperial flags, and suggested that they spread all manner of colonial wares from Africa and elsewhere across it – regardless of whether the products actually came from territories colonized by the German Reich or not.[29] What mattered was giving the impression that all these products were tied to Germany as a colonial power. The imagery used in posters, packaging, and branding, such as the motif of the ship (Figs. pp. 125, 130), strengthened the perception of Germany as a global trading power. Overseas imports accompanied by an expansion of tourism further ensured that the rearmament of the German Navy did not encounter any significant opposition from the population, but rather received generous financial support.

29 Robert Exner, *Moderne Schaufenster-Reklame* (Berlin: R. Exner, 1896), 80; quoted in David Ciarlo, *Advertising Empire: Race and Visual Culture in Imperial Germany* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 173.

SUMMARY

Instances of "colonial contexts in early posters" are manifold. Advertising posters from the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century can serve as projection screens for exoticisms, as documents of culture instrumentalized for propaganda, as a visualization of *white* fantasies of superiority, or as a cog in a colonial economic marketing machine. The selected analyses above show that the first flowering of the advertising poster in Europe and the United States is causally linked to the era of high imperialism. The more detailed studies in Part 1 of this publication support this thesis with additional facts.

The European and US worldview of the colonial period oscillated between escapism and opportunism, a thirst for civilization and a flight from society. Common to all was the exoticizing, Orientalist lens that distorted the perception of other human beings as equals and individuals. These aspects were heightened and promulgated in advertising posters: behind their playful and colourful surface lurked an ideological "branding iron" that seared enduring images and messages into people's minds. Such ads often convey stereotyped roles defined by hierarchies, racism, and sexism: luxurious foods, healthy dogs, attractive children, naïve subjects, and nubile women are presented as the desirable ideals of a consumerist society bent on pleasure. They flatter even the "lowest" *white* man in Europe and North America by bestowing upon him superiority and purchasing power. Léopold Sédar Senghor's 1940 poem honouring the Senegalese veterans of the French army protested the power of discriminatory clichés in advertising by exhorting listeners to rip down all the posters of laughing Black persons: "Je déchirerai les rires Banania sur tous les murs de France."[30] For decades, advertisements for Banania, a chocolate drink, used the image of a Senegalese man in a fez laughing "inanely" along with the slogan "Y'a bon" ("It good"), implying that the man lacked language skills (Fig. p. 64). Almost all countries industrialized prior to 1900 had similar enduring racist portraits, whether the childlike Sarotti chocolate mascot in Germany (Fig. p. 35) or the "faithful servants" Aunt Jemima and Uncle Ben in the US, used to advertise pancake mix and rice products respectively.

One of the most exciting findings in the research on the colonial context of posters circa 1900 is the fact that one can witness here the genesis of pictorial conventions which were subsequently cemented during the First World War and remained in place for more than a century. Indeed, Banania, Sarotti, Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben's, and many other such brands only established their logos or promotional figures *after* 1914, though they continued to be used into the twenty-first century. These logos are symbols derived from the flood of advertising imagery in the period between 1880 and 1914 and distilled to a visual shorthand. The path to societal acceptance was paved by their precursors. What is fascinating in this context is the fact that, rather than declining in the aftermath of Germany's loss of its colonies in 1914, colonial propaganda and the use of exoticizing and racist motifs in mass media actually increased exponentially during the 1920s and '30s.

Wanderlust and the desire to regain global political influence pervaded the entire period of the Weimar Republic. Activists propagated colonialist idylls and demanded the return of former colonies; colonial associations and exhibitions received more support than ever. The once-elitist colonial movement became a mass movement that attracted roughly two million members when its activities were consolidated in the National Socialist Reichskolonialbund (Reich Colonial League).[31] Evidently, colonial revisionism and racist beliefs, which served as an ideological motor for the masses under the Nazi regime, were already widespread in society long before 1933. The extent to which these continuities or intensifications can be deciphered in the visual language of post-1918 advertising posters and brand communication preserved in museum collections remains a research goal for the coming years. A symposium at Kulturforum Berlin will take the first step in November 2025 by examining colonial narratives in pictorial advertising up to the present day.

What is clear is that the media-fuelled superiority to which the colonizers around 1900 felt entitled created a distance and absence of dialogue that is difficult to dispel even today. Throughout the twentieth century and even today, the advertising industry relies on exoticizations, using discriminatory clichés of the "other" and portraying locals as a disposable mass in tourist destinations (Figs. left and p. 65). This trend also extends to stages, films, and publications. The striking topicality of certain poster motifs shows that they are playing with dreams and wishful thinking – and not just those of the social elite. Even people with more modest backgrounds can participate in the global consumerist project and thus experience the feeling of superiority over the "others".

Just how central a role posters could play for average French citizens can be seen in Marguerite Duras's novel *Un barrage contre le Pacifique* (*The Sea Wall*). It tells the story of a family who emigrated to Indochina but found no success, narrated from the perspective of the daughter, who

Giacomo De Andreis,
Banania, poster, 1915

Keller, Kalter Kuß Eiskrem,
poster, c. 1920–1925

David, Ameropa-Reisen mit der
Deutschen Bundesbahn, poster, 1958

Echte Medizinmänner gesucht (Wanted: Real Medicine Men), advertisement for the Eichsfeld hospital in Göttingen, billboard, 2021

Philipp und Keuntje (advertising agency), Astra. Exotischer wird's nicht (Astra. It doesn't get more exotic than this), oversize poster, 2011

describes how longingly her mother looked at colonial propaganda posters in 1899. They showed a young couple dressed in white in rocking chairs surrounded by servile natives, promising a better future in the colonies.[32] Posters were effective at spreading the message of the advantages gained from imperialist domination over other countries, complete with the exploitation of people and resources. That their influence was greater than that of the pseudoscientific discourses in magazines and lecture halls was due not only to their visual omnipresence but also to their soft focus: blocking out all the realities of production, they concentrated solely on the "feel-good" factor.

30 Léopold Sédar Senghor, introduction to *Hosties Noires* (Paris: Du Seuil, 1948). No French poet had paid tribute to the bravery of these soldiers because their skin colour did not correspond to the purported image of the classic hero. The Banania motif was used from 1915 to 1977.

31 Andreas Eckert et al., *Die vergessene Ausbeutung. Kolonialismus und der Südwesten* (Ubstadt-Weiher: Verlag Regionalkultur, 2021), 82.

32 Marguerite Duras, *The Sea Wall* (London: Faber, 1986) [first published in French in 1950]. In the French original, the text passage reads as follows: "On était alors en 1899. Certains dimanches à la mairie, elle rêvait devant les affiches de propagande coloniale: 'Jeunes, allez aux colonies, la fortune vous y attend.' A l'ombre d'un bananier croulant sous les fruits, le couple colonial, tout de blanc vêtu, se balançait dans les rocking-chairs tandis que les indigènes s'affairaient en souriant autour d'eux. Elle se marie avec un instituteur qui, comme elle, se mourait d'impatience dans un village du Nord, victime comme elle des ténébreuses lectures de Pierre Loti."

INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH TEAM SUMMARIES

The “Colonial Contexts in Early Posters, 1880–1914” research project was led by a team of three scholars, each of whom examined the objects in question from a different perspective. In addition to the jointly developed project summary that rounds off the text above, each researcher also reached their own conclusions. It is clear that work on the topic significantly amplifies our understanding of it, regardless of the perspective from which it is viewed. The aim of digitally publishing the project outcomes is to disseminate these insights into decolonialization among as many readers as possible.

Ibou Diop

“I found the poster project particularly valuable because it so clearly demonstrated how closely societal aspects are interwoven. Propagated at a time when science was methodically studying people and inventing ‘races’, poster advertisements perpetuated this narrative. Today, if we wish to understand how the dehumanizing process of colonization became a part of public life, we need to look at advertising. Decolonization is impossible without critically examining the imagery of previous centuries. Once a ‘science’ had been created that placed people in a hierarchy, images were created to anchor this pseudo-knowledge in people’s minds. Such images are still promulgated today. As a result, decolonization is not possible without taking a close look at poster advertising.”

Dr Ibou Coulibaly Diop is a literary scholar and curator. He is currently developing a “remembrance concept” for colonialism for the Berlin Senate and also works with Stiftung Berliner Stadtmuseum on the topic of decolonization. His dissertation examined global(ized) aspects in the work of Michel Houellebecq and late twentieth-century literature, concluding that these works introduce globalization and universalization as new topics despite the fact that Senegal’s first president, Léopold Sédar Senghor, was already discussing these themes as early as the 1960s. Diop’s work explores the question of how we can come together despite our differences.

Kristina Lowis

“Commercial imagery and its underlying ideologies were the focus of this project. Only while reading the publications and plays advertised on such posters, as well as examining the actual power and production relationships behind the products, did it become clear that there is still ambivalence surrounding this theme today. Colonial history is scarcely taught and, at the same time, capitalism – supported by the military – is presented as a natural phenomenon. Are present-day photographs of cheerful workers on plantations for fair trade coffee and cocoa truly any different from a 1910 Messmer poster depicting an Indian man enjoying a tea break? None of the stereotypes inherited from the colonial era – whether the nubile woman, the enigmatic ‘Oriental’ man, or the solitary white male hero and bringer of civilization – have become passé. This is as true of these fictional images as of the discrimination encountered in real life.”

Dr Kristina Lowis is an independent art and photography historian specializing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. She writes, translates, curates, and develops collection projects for cultural institutions. In researching early posters, she drew on previous research and publications on the display of human beings in the past and today. Her knowledge of photography and the discourses circa 1900 informed her understanding of the manipulative visual strategies employed in posters.

Christina Thomson

“During the project, I often caught myself suddenly seeing something ‘new’ in an image, something essential for its interpretation, that I had previously overlooked – despite having handled some of the posters in the collection dozens of times. I was a little shocked to realize that an explicitly decolonizing perspective had been necessary for me to understand the connections in their full historical breadth. Advertising images are not simply graphic designs, but also messages: immensely powerful visual communicators of context. This was as true in 1900 as it is today. I consider it an important responsibility of museums to constantly re-examine and publicize their collections from fresh viewpoints. It’s a lot of work, and often somewhat uncomfortable. Instead of hiding the uncomfortable items in our care, we should make an effort to understand and share them. And we should welcome the discussions they may provoke rather than fearing them, as they are part of a rewarding process.”

Art historian Dr Christina Thomson has worked as a museum curator, researcher, and author for over twenty years. Since becoming head of the Graphic Design Collection at the Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, she has expanded her focus on twentieth-century art and architecture to include aspects of everyday life and visual communication. In 2022, Thomson initiated and led the research project “Colonial Contexts in Early Posters”.

Garantiert reines weisses
Maisfutter „Siou"

·HOLLERBAUM & SCHMIDT·BERLIN·N·65·

POSTERS

“Colonial Contexts” Collection

Christina Thomson und Kristina Lowis
with a contribution by Lee Chichester

240 EARLY POSTERS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE BERLIN KUNSTBIBLIOTHEK

The following pages provide an illustrated overview of the 240 posters analysed as part of the research project “Colonial Contexts in Early Posters, 1854–1914”. These posters, examples of European and US-American advertising grouped by the products they promote, display a range of goods and motifs that reflect the colonial expansion and imperialist attitudes prevalent in these countries around 1900. This is most acutely evident in overtly racist depictions or content, yet orientalising, exoticizing, and even seemingly neutral motifs are also often imbued with stereotypes of the “foreigner”, fantasies of *white* superiority, and patriarchal claims to power. Most of the posters advertise so-called colonial goods – such as coffee, cocoa, tobacco, and palm oil – and they show how profoundly the economic policies of colonizing nations changed everyday life “at home”.

In viewing the collection, it is important to remember that it is not a representative cross-section of all advertising posters of the era, but rather a selection from a collection that was assembled with the intention of showcasing “good design”. The posters in the Kunstbibliothek were acquired for their graphic qualities or the significance of their designers. As a result, there are not as many examples of certain types of popular advertising – such as circus posters, election posters, and other political advertising – and fewer sensational motifs tended to be acquired. Conversely, if we consider the broader output of advertising graphics around 1900 as a whole, it is evident – sadly – that this corpus includes a higher proportion of offensive and openly racist depictions than the works featured here.

Jules Chéret
Grand Musée Anatomique, 1881
● ID 1791705

Berliner Gewerbe-Ausstellung
(unrealised design), 1896
● ID 2789413

Credit: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek / Dietmar Katz Public Domain Mark 1.0

Grand Musée Anatomique
Plakat
1881

Kunstbibliothek
Sammlung Grafikdesign
Ident. Nr.: 1982,6

→ Kontakt und Feedback

Teilen:

	Jules Chéret (1836 - 1932), Entwerfer*in Imprimerie Chaix (1845 - 1965), Drucker*in
Datierung	1881
Material / Technik	Lithografie
Abmessungen	Höhe x Breite: 171,6 x 124,8 cm
Geografische Bezüge	Druckort: Paris
Erwerbung	1982 Ankauf bei Galerie Gerda Bassenge, Berlin (Auktion)
Permalink	https://id.smb.museum/object/1791705

Objektbeschreibung

Jules Chérets 1881 entworfenes Werbeplakat für „Dr. Spitzners Großes Anatomiemuseum" in Paris versprach Aufregendes – sowohl grafisch als auch inhaltlich. Der Text kündigte an: „Anthropologie und Naturgeschichte des Menschen mit einer ethnologischen Galerie aus 80 Subjekten: Azteken (Mann und Frau), drei embryologische Sammlungen, die Naturgeschichte der Pflanzen und Früchte, eine ägyptische Mumie, Trichinen, einen vollständigen Mann von 1,80 Meter Größe, einen echten, durch Wachsinjektion konservierten Menschen, Anleitung zum Selbststudium, eine in 40 Teile zerlegbare anatomische Venus, an der die Organe des menschlichen Körpers anschaulich werden, 60 Abformungen von Hautkrankheiten nach der Natur, gegerbte Menschenhaut, die schlafende Venus, die echte Hottentotten-Venus sowie, in der nur beschränkt zugänglichen Galerie der Krankheitsbilder, weitere 6800 Objekte und Themen. Geöffnet täglich für Personen ab 21 Jahren, Eintritt 50 Cent, für rangniedere Soldaten nur die Hälfte" [Ü. d. A.].

[…]

Der Geschäftsmann Spitzner setzte gezielt auf die Allmachtsfantasien des weißen Besuchers, denen er auf seinem Plakat mehr als eine Venus versprach – eine Chiffre für unbekleidete, verfügbare Frauen. Während die weißen Modelle in der Sammlung den gängigen Schönheitsvorstellungen entsprachen, wurde dem schwarzen Modell Monstrosität zugeschrieben. Spitzners Wachsfigur zeigte vermutlich nicht „die echte Hottentotten-Venus" (gemeint ist wohl Baartman), sondern eine andere in Europa vorgeführte und entmenschlichte Khoikhoi-Frau (Carol, Hermitte 2021).
Plakate und Ausstellungen wie das „Grand Musée Anatomique", welche zum Teil als Wanderausstellung bis in die USA und durch ganz Europa tourten und noch von 1934 bis Anfang der 1960er-Jahre in Brüssel ansässig waren, trugen dazu bei, dass weibliche Körper – insbesondere die Schwarzer Frauen – als Objekte gesehen und behandelt wurden.

Recherche und Text: Kristina Lowis

Zitierte Literatur
_Anne Carol, Béatrice Hermitte: „Sciences, Arts et Progrès! Une visite au musée Spitzner en 1895", in: Arts et Savoirs, 16, 2021 (https://doi.org/10.4000/aes.4305)

Schlagwörter

Werbung Rassismus Sexismus Diskriminierung Schwarze Frau Schwarze Afrika Ethnologische Ausstellung Weibliche Weiße Aktdarstellung Nacktheit Schädel Bildung

Iconclass

Dauerausstellung, Museum | 48A821
Sammlung, Ausstellung, Vorführung, Vorstellung | 43B8
Anatomie (nicht-medizinisch) | 31A2
Teilaspekte der Anatomie | 49G62
gelehrte Gesellschaft, wissenschaftliche Akademie | 49C33

HOW TO USE THE CATALOGUE

The 240 posters illustrated in the following catalogue are identical to those published online as part of the poster collection and are linked to the corresponding entries in the museum database. Each poster can be called up individually by clicking on the object ID. The entries provide comprehensive information about each work, including details about all individuals involved in its production (e.g., printers, publishers, clients). Each entry also includes keywords and a contextualizing text with references for further reading.

Images
In the online database, images that require contextual explanation are obscured with the word "KONTEXT" as a spoiler to prevent unfiltered downloads, and certain offensive images have been omitted altogether. In contrast, in this PDF, all posters are reproduced in their original form. The rationale behind this is that integrating the images into the text not only provides sufficient context for their content but also technically mitigates their uncritical consumption.

Designs / Proofs
The 240 works also include a few poster designs (unique drawings) and proofs (with a colour scale at the edge).

Sections/Order
The posters are organized into sixteen groups based on the products they advertise. Within each group, they are listed chronologically by date.

Designers
The name of the poster designer is listed first. If no name is provided, the designer is currently unknown.

ID Number / Provenance
All works in the museum database are assigned a unique identification number (object ID), which links them to the online database. In addition to the ID, an inventory number is provided for works listed in the acquisition book, along with provenance information (if available). However, not all posters acquired for the collection have been assigned an inventory number.

Poster Titles
Poster titles are derived from the advertising text. As a result, all titles are reproduced in the original language of the poster and are not translated. Old spellings are generally preserved (e.g. "Cacao", "Circus", "Photo").

Literature
Cited and additional literature on the topic of the image is listed at the end of each entry under "Objektbeschreibung". This should not be confused with the "Literatur" drop-down menu, which lists references related to the artwork itself.

Texts
In the online database, each of the 240 posters is explained in a dedicated text (in German), placed in its historical context, and, where appropriate, critically assessed from a contemporary perspective. About 80 posters are analysed individually, while 160 others are grouped into sixteen thematic texts. Each text is labelled with one of the following symbols:
- ● individual text
- □ group text

Authors
The names of the authors responsible for the research and text are listed at the end of each entry. Regardless of the author, all texts have been proofread by Ibou Diop, Kristina Lowis, and Christina Thomson.

EXHIBITIONS

In the nineteenth century, a wave of fascination with other cultures and continents swept across Europe. Under the guise of art and science, exhibitions – on Japan, "Moorish Andalusia", or "Mohammedan art", for example – catered to curiosity about everything deemed "oriental" and "exotic". The fact that this virtual marvelling at the world coincided not only temporally but also physically with its actual appropriation by imperialist nations becomes evident in numerous titles. For example, when "Dutch-Indian art", a "Central African expedition", or the "German Colonial Museum" were advertised, these exhibitions featured objects from colonised territories. Many European museums still active today are based on collections of cultural-historical artefacts that were removed from their original contexts at the time, with unquestioned claims of ownership. World, trade, and colonial exhibitions also served as showcases of national-imperialist achievement.

Around 1900, there were still only a few public museums in Europe, so exhibitions were usually temporary and presented in multifunctional venues. They were often organised by private individuals or small companies who bore the full financial risk. As a result, advertising played a crucial role. To maximise profits, many shows were designed as travelling exhibitions and appealed to the voyeuristic interests of the masses. This sort of profiteering was especially insidious when people were put on display against their will. Carl Hagenbeck's human shows, which toured successfully for many years, are a well-known example of this. Another case is Pierre Spitzner's pseudo-scientific (yet fundamentally racist), itinerant "Anatomy Museum", which remained active until the 1950s. *CT*

Jules Chéret,
Grand Musée Anatomique, 1881
● ID 1791705

Jules Chéret,
Blanc et Noir, 4e exposition, 1890
● ID 1791450

Ludwig Sütterlin,
Berliner Gewerbe-Ausstellung 1896
1896
● ID 2831393

Berliner Gewerbe-Ausstellung,
[unrealised design], 1896
● ID 2789413

Etienne Dinet,
Exposition de 1900. L'Andalousie au temps des Maures, 1899
□ ID 2745380

Alexandre Lunois,
Exposition 1900. L'Andalousie au temps des Maures, 1899
□ ID 2748445

Karl Schnebel,
Kolonialausstellung im Deutschen Kolonial-Museum, 1900
● ID 932430

Valdemar Andersen,
Dansk Koloniudstilling samt Udstilling fra Island og Færøerne Tivoli, 1905
● ID 2825394

Jan Thorn-Prikker,
Niederländisch-Indische Kunstausstellung, 1906
□ ID 1879906

Hans Rudi Erdt,
Central-Afrika-Expedition, 1909
● ID 1420072

Oskar Graf,
Japan und Ostasien in der Kunst, 1909
□ ID 2710418

Julius Diez,
Meisterwerke muhammedanischer Kunst, 1910
□ ID 2773400

Max Pechstein,
Neue Secession. Dritte Ausstellung, 1911
● ID 933751

Julius Klinger,
Von Atlantis nach Äthiopien. Ausstellung der Frobenius-Expeditionen, 1912
● ID 933065

Martin Lehmann-Steglitz,
Hagenbeck's Indien, 1912
● ID 1420078

Emil Orlik,
Grafik Reisestudien von Orlik. Amsler und Ruthardt, 1913
● ID 1879621

Julius Klinger,
Japan in Borkum, 1913
□ ID 928501

Karl Schulpig,
EDEKA. Erste Delikatessen-Kolonialwaren-Ausstellung Berlin, 1913
● ID 2734395

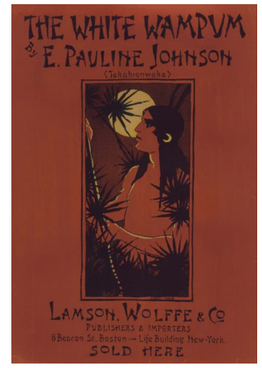
Emil Orlik,
Deutscher Frauenverein vom Roten Kreuz für die Kolonien. Ausstellung Deutscher Edelsteine und Edelmetalle, 1914
● ID 1879637

BOOKS AND MAGAZINES

Print media were produced in large, colour print runs for the first time in the industrialised nineteenth century. Posters and other forms of advertising were printed en masse, while illustrated magazines and books, serialised novels, and other commercial literature also became immensely popular. The new literary mass market in Europe and the United States inspired broad sections of the population to read and expand their knowledge. At the same time, however, it also facilitated the spread of content imbued with an ideological bias through both texts and images. The boundaries between reporting and fiction, fact and opinion, often became blurred. Books illustrated with photographs and drawings, such as *Ins innerste Afrika* (Into the Heart of Africa) or *Von Tieren und Menschen* (Of Humans and Animals), which sold thousands of copies in Germany, reflect the perspective of the adventurous *white* European explaining foreign cultures through subjective observation and a sense of superiority. Colonial narratives play a significant role in this. For instance, a propaganda pamphlet published by Deutscher Kolonial-Verlag in 1911, with an inflammatory cover illustration by Fidus, argues with repugnant eugenic conviction that Germany needs colonies. Similarly, Otto von Gottberg glorifies the German military empire as a "nascent power". The figure of the heroic adventurer in distant lands is also prominent in narratives from the United States, which reinforce the fiction that the *white* man is entitled – even destined – to conquer the world, invade foreign lands, and dominate other peoples. In contrast, only the Canadian poetry collection *The White Wampum* by E. Pauline Johnson presents an Indigenous and female perspective. *CT*

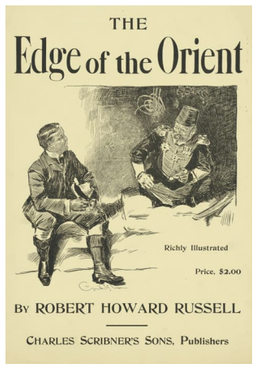
Jules Chéret (?),
Jean Casse-Tête par Louis Noir, 1890
▫ ID 2638610

Geo. H. Walter & Co.,
Garrison Tales from Tonquin
by James O'Neill, c. 1895
▫ ID 1866632

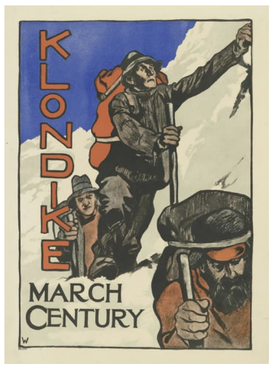


Ethel Reed,
The White Wampum by E. Pauline
Johnson, c. 1895
● ID 2638569

Edward Penfield,
Three Gringos in Central America
and Venezuela, c. 1896
▫ ID 1869081



Charles Dana Gibson,
The Edge of the Orient by Robert
Howard Russel, c. 1896
▫ ID 2651393



Klondike. March Century, 1898
● ID 2658392

Harald Slott-Møller,
Østen, 1902
● ID 2825390

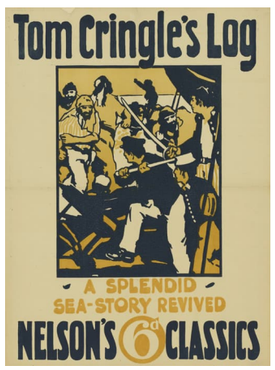
Paul Scheurich,
Carl Hagenbeck. Von Tieren und
Menschen, 1908
● ID 925442

Paul Scheurich,
Die Gartenlaube, 1909
● ID 2833386

Ins innerste Afrika. Das schönste
Geschenkbuch, 1910
● ID 2638396

Fidus (Hugo Höppener),
Wozu hat Deutschland eigentlich
Kolonien?, 1911
● ID 1420087

Julius Klinger,
Die werdende Macht. Otto von
Gottberg's Marineroman, 1914
● ID 922189



Tom Cringle's Log. A Splendid
Sea-Story Revived, c. 1910
□ ID 2661378

Fidus (Hugo Höppener),
Wozu hat Deutschland
eigentlich Kolonien?
poster (detail), 1911
ID 1420087

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN

The centuries-old history of slavery is deeply embedded in a complex global network of warfare, land seizures, and exploitative economic interests. From 1680 to 1860, the number of enslaved people in the southern United States rose steadily to nearly four million. In the fight to abolish slavery, nineteenth-century activists denounced the inhumane living conditions of the enslaved. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is one of the best-known abolitionist stories of the time. Published in 1852, Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel became an instant bestseller and was adapted numerous times for the stage. Yet, despite its humanitarian message, the book was and remains controversial, relying as it does on racist stereotypes. This tension is also reflected in the motifs of the advertising posters for the theatrical version: the young protagonist Topsy is portrayed with deficient English and a wild appearance, while old "Uncle Tom" is typified by devoted reserve. *CT*

John Hassall,
Don't Stop Me! I'se Gwine To See!
c. 1890
ID 2783462

Uncle Tom's Cabin, Marks,
c. 1903
ID 2662380

Uncle Tom's Cabin. Let Eliza Go,
c. 1910
ID 1792710

Uncle Tom's Cabin, Topsy, c. 1910
ID 2661399

Uncle Tom's Cabin, c. 1910
ID 2662379

Uncle Tom's Cabin. Ascension
of Eva, c. 1910
ID 2746385

Uncle Tom's Cabin. Eliza's Escape
from the Tavern, c. 1910
ID 2746383

SATIRE AND POLITICS

The explosion of the European publishing landscape in the mid-nineteenth century also saw the rise of satirical magazines. Between 1800 and 1900, around forty satirical magazines were launched, most of them in Germany, Austria, and France. One of the largest German satirical magazines was *Kladderadatsch*, founded in 1848, which was also known for its vigorous advertising activity. As the declared mission of a satirical magazine is to mockingly observe world events and denounce socio-political grievances in a caricatured manner, it depicts not only people and events but also prevailing social opinions, political sentiments, and general worldviews. The German Empire's view of "foreigners" – whether in foreign policy, on the stage, or at the pub – appeared just as often in magazines and calendars as in the motifs of its advertising posters, all of which served to amplify the stereotypes that inform the caricatures.

The stylistic device of caricature is also employed in three posters published by conservative interest groups in Great Britain. Starting in 1870, for the first time, the "Great Empire" faced serious competition from the colonial expansion of other European nations, all of which were vying for their own "place in the sun". The fear of losing its supremacy as an imperial world power is expressed here through grudging persiflage. *CT*

Gustav Bartsch,
Kladderadatsch Kalender für 1854, 1853
ID 2666383

Gustav Bartsch,
Volkskalender des Kladderadatsch für 1855, 1854
ID 2666384

Hermann Scherenberg,
Humoristisch-satirischer Volkskalender des Kladderadatsch für das Jahr 1868, 1867
ID 2677425

Hermann Scherenberg,
Schultze und Müller in Amerika, 1868
ID 2677428

Hermann Scherenberg,
Kladderadatsch Kalender für 1871, 1870
ID 2677439

Schultze und Müller auf dem Kriegsschauplatz, 1870
ID 2685378

Ludwig Stutz,
Kladderadatsch Neues Abonnement
before 1903
▫ ID 2679409

Trade and the Empire, c. 1903
● ID 2746389

G. A. Stevens,
Trade and the Empire. A Result
of Free Imports, 1904
● ID 2742412

E. Huskinson,
The Real Slavery. Is This What You
Are Going to Vote For?, c. 1910
● ID 2742410

Hermann Scherenberg,
Kladderadatsch Kalender
für 1871,
poster (detail), 1870
ID 2677439

THEATRE, FILM, FESTIVITIES

The Kunstbibliothek holds a significant number of artistic posters advertising costume parties and stage plays. This reflects both the collection's focus on the liberal, performing, and applied arts, as well as the Zeitgeist of the era: immersing oneself in "foreign worlds", whether by dressing up or going to the theatre, was very much en vogue in Europe at the turn of the century. In addition to traditional carnival celebrations, various associations also organised masquerade balls and themed parties designed to transport people to "exotic" settings such as the "Wild West", an oasis, Turkey, or a colonial outpost. The "Kannibalenfest" ("Cannibal Festival") plays blatantly, perhaps ironically, with the clichés of foreignness and the boundaries of human dignity in an exaggerated manner. Drama, music theatre, and dance also drew on a broad repertoire of references to non-European countries and cultures for their settings, costumes, and set designs, often mixing stereotypes in wildly associative ways. Productions such as *Sumurun*, *Madame Chrysanthème*, and other tales of harem women and geishas were particularly popular, with countless stage and film adaptations firmly embedding in people's minds the fiction of the sexual availability of "oriental" women. *CT*

Jules Chéret,
Les Turcs. Théatre des folies dramatiques, 1869
▫ ID 2662403

Jules Chéret,
La Tzigane. Opéra comique en trois actes, 1877
● ID 2662404

Henri Boutet,
Madame Chrysanthème. Comédie lyrique en quatres actes, 1893
● ID 2663406

Chocolat et son fils au Cirque de Paris, 1894
● ID 1871183

Alfredo Muller,
Sada Yacco, 1899
▫ ID 922970

Erwin Puchinger,
Ferdinand Pamberger,
Reclame-Redoute des österreichischen Bühnenvereins, 1901
● ID 2770486

Edmund Edel,
Die Juden. Russisches Zeitbild von Eugen Tschirikow, 1905
▫ ID 2698415

Richard Leisching,
Presse-Ball Wild-West, 1906
● ID 2787416

Melchior Annen,
Das Glück in der Heimat. Volksschauspiel, 1907
▫ ID 2784446

Carl Moos,
Circus Sarrasani. Direktor Hans Stosch-Sarrasani als Wildwestschütze, 1908
● ID 2721385

Gus Bofa,
Cinématographes Théophile Pathé, 1908
● ID 2737381

Adolf Hengeler,
Der Zauberspiegel. Faschingsfest im Künstlerhaus-Verein, 1909
▫ ID 2641450

Julius Klinger,
Türkisches Fest, 1909
▫ ID 923305

Hans Baluschek,
Eine Harems-Nacht, c. 1909
● ID 2688398

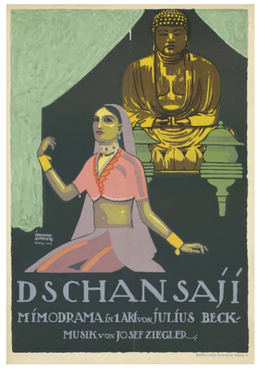
Julius Klinger,
Sumurûn, 1910
▫ ID 926567

Ernst Stern,
Sumurûn. Tanz-Pantomime inscenirt von Max Reinhardt, 1910
▫ ID 2733461

Kurt Hassenkamp,
Tadsch-Mahal. Kolonialfest der Berliner Abteilung der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft, 1911
● ID 2712401

Madame Sato mit ihrer Truppe, 1911
▫ ID 2741392

Hans Rudi Erndt,
Europäisches Sklavenleben, 1912
● ID 2829448



Johann Baptist Maier,
Dschansají. Mimodrama von Julius Beck, 1912
▫ ID 2721388

Paul Scheurich,
Kismet, 1912
● ID 2731410

Georg Tappert,
Kehraus, 1912
▫ ID 926634

Johanna M.,
Sent-M'Ahesa. Tänze, 1913
▫ ID 2736406

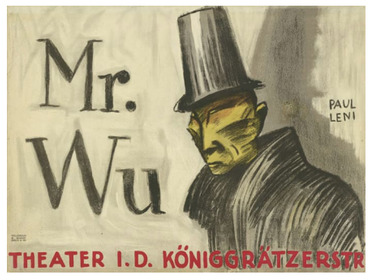
A. v. Weyk,
Perzische Feesten. Van het Delftsch Studentencorps, 1913
▫ ID 2758812

A. Winter,
Faschingsfest. Die Oase im zoologischen Garten, 1913
● ID 2680395

Mimosa San. Messter Film, 1913
● ID 2739467

Julius Klinger,
Internationales Tanz-Match, 1914
▫ ID 931136

Julius Klinger,
Münchener Faschings-Redoute, 1914
▫ ID 933748



Paul Leni,
Mr. Wu. Theater in der Königgrätzerstraße, 1914
▫ ID 2718455

Jules Pascin,
Kannibalen-Fest, 1914
● ID 929580

Krone. Die schöne Ukrainerin in ihrem wilden verwegenen Reit-Akt, c. 1905–1918
● ID 2685381

Gus Bofa,
Cinématographes Théophile Pathé, poster (detail), 1908
ID 2737381

TOURISM

The nineteenth century brought major changes in mobility within the industrialized Global North: steamships, railways, and automobiles greatly expanded the reach of long-distance passenger transport. Travel, once the preserve of a few wealthy and educated men, became accessible to an increasingly broad section of society, which indulged in the emerging concept of the "holiday" and was willing to travel significant distances in search of the "exotic". Yet, the bourgeois and adventure-seeking superstructure of tourism often obscured its connections to colonialism. Not only was the tourist infrastructure built along colonialist trade routes, but the mindset of *white* travellers was also shaped by prevailing imperialist worldviews. In their efforts to "conquer" new lands, long-distance travellers often unconsciously adopted exploitative practices. With a real sense of entitlement, they appropriated territories whose cultures they – fascination and curiosity notwithstanding – ultimately looked down on.

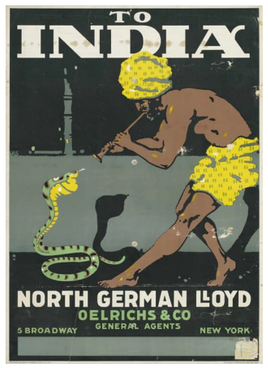
Three poster motifs featuring mounted figures exemplify Western tourists' attitude of superiority. In the advertisement for Soennecken's cameras, a red-bearded European in a white suit sits atop a camel. From his elevated position, he looks down on his subject, who, without permission, is objectified as the focal point of the photograph the man is taking. Another poster, also featuring a camel rider: a woman in a white outfit, shown in profile, advertises travel attire. Proudly, she gazes towards her destination in the distance. In stark contrast, a poster used by the North German company Llyod to promote Mediterranean cruises depicts a local man riding a disproportionately small donkey. The rider's low position is emphasized by the lofty camel caravan in the background. The donkey, walking towards the viewer, has its head bowed, while the Black rider, dressed in red, has his head turned to the side. *CT*

Richard Winckel,
Soennecken & Co. Depot photographischer Artikel, c. 1897
▫ ID 2680400

Orient-Express, 1889
▫ ID 1830253

Ludwig Hohlwein,
F. Hirschberg & Co. Preisgekrönte Regendichte Gebirgs-, Sport- & Reise-Kleidung, 1907
● ID 2711442

Dudley Hardy,
Orient Line to Egypt, Colombo and Australia, 1910
▫ ID 2659405



To India. North German Lloyd, 1913
▫ ID 2662399

Ludwig Hohlwein,
Mittelmeer-Fahrten Norddeutscher Lloyd Bremen, c. 1913
▫ ID 1818987

Ludwig Hohlwein,
Norddeutscher Lloyd Bremen, c. 1912
▫ ID 2641454

Otto Leroi,
Nach West-Indien ab New York. Norddeutscher Lloyd Bremen, c. 1914
▫ ID 2718452

WILD ANIMALS

While domestic farm animals increasingly disappeared from cities in Europe and the United States during industrialization, imported "wild" animals were introduced on a large scale. Newly established natural history museums showcased stuffed and taxidermied animals, most of which had been killed on safaris by *white* explorers and hunters, such as Theodore Roosevelt, who brought the specimens back to their homelands. For the live animals, public zoological gardens were created everywhere to educate and entertain the public. On some Sundays, up to 100,000 visitors from all walks of life flocked to the Berlin Zoo, which opened in 1844. "Exotic" animal acts in circuses and travelling dressage shows featuring predators such as lions, tigers, and elephants were also extremely popular. The tamers' power over the "wild" creatures mirrored the *white* colonisers' desire for domination – because the animals in these zoos and entertainment programmes primarily came from European colonies in Africa, America, Asia, Australia, and the South Seas. There, they were captured with the help of local hunters and, often accompanied by local keepers, transported to Europe and North America via arduous land and sea routes. Zoo keepers frequently extolled the animals on display as trophies, acquired through colonial wars or as gifts from renowned colonial officers. Zoological gardens were designed to allow the public to experience a "miniature world tour", providing a firsthand experience of European domination. Zoos also regularly hosted ethnological exhibits that presented individuals from other countries, thus degradingly equating non-European peoples with animals. *LC*

Paul Hadol,
Les pilules du diable. Pezon et ses six lions, c. 1875
● ID 2663446

MH [monogramme],
Havemanns Tiger, Löwen, Leoparden, c. 1903
● ID 2735390

Franz Christophe,
Berliner Raubtierschule, 1903
● ID 2696388

Paul Neumann,
Zoologischer Garten. Heute großes Militär-Konzert, 1909
● ID 2674476

Ludwig Hohlwein,
Besuchet den Tiergarten, 1912
● ID 932519

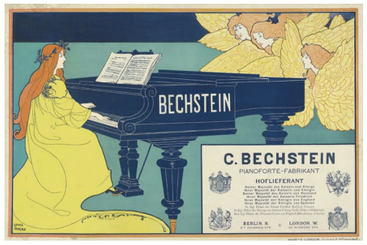
Ludwig Hohlwein,
Zoologischer Garten München, 1912
● ID 2713407

Julius Klinger,
Theodore Roosevelt. Afrikanische Wanderungen, 1910
● ID 2835433

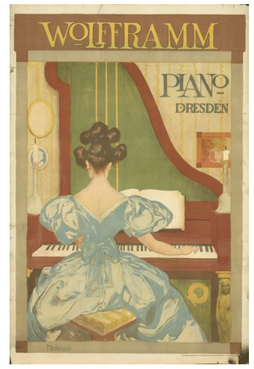
IVORY

The early posters in the Kunstbibliothek feature a surprising amount of advertising for pianos, grand pianos, organs, and harmoniums. This reflects the European piano boom at the end of the nineteenth century: Steinway, Bechstein, Feurich, Manthey, and other manufacturers produced high-quality keyboard instruments. In 1886, 73,000 pianos were made in Germany alone. The United States later became the market leader, exporting around 370,000 pianos worldwide in 1910. The sharp rise in piano production is linked to the growth of the educated middle class during this era, as well as to an economic factor closely tied to colonial contexts: ivory. Piano keys, handles, billiard balls, combs – all of these items were predominantly made from ivory in the nineteenth century. With the colonial occupation of African and Asian countries, elephant tusks were shipped to Europe in large quantities for the first time. In the 1890s, for example, Germany's colonies in Africa exported up to 208,000 kilograms of ivory per year – an amount that corresponds to the killing of approximately 10,000 elephants. *CT*

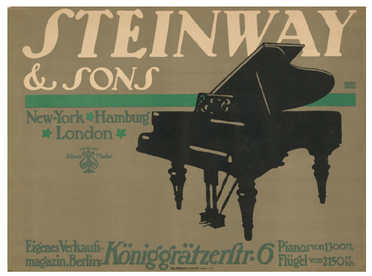
Fred Taylor,
Bechstein Pianos, c. 1895
ID 2743519



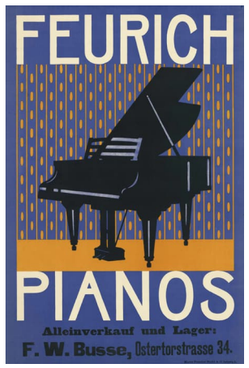
John Louis Rhead,
C. Bechstein Pianoforte-Fabrikant
Hoflieferant, 1897
ID 2660471



Ernst Heilemann,
Wolffframm Piano Dresden,
before 1903
ID 2787389



Lucian Bernhard,
Steinway and Sons, 1910
ID 928192



Feurich Pianos, c. 1912
ID 2685456

MISCELLANEOUS GOODS

The majority of early posters with colonial references in the Kunstbibliothek advertise goods. The following sections explore products commonly referred to as “colonial goods” – such as coffee, cocoa, and tobacco – along with other product groups that have colonial associations, including rubber, ivory, and fats. The posters presented in this section each exemplify an additional (hidden) product group with colonial-historical connotations – such as sugar, silver, or ostrich feathers – or an advertising pattern that warrants critical evaluation. For example, when the U.S. producer Wonalancet Company uses a peaceful Peruvian landscape to advertise its cotton, the motif conceals the brutal production conditions on the plantations, where cotton was initially cultivated by African slaves and later by cheap Chinese labourers. In addition, the Indigenous population was enslaved and dispossessed, and their stolen land in Uruguay used for grazing cattle, which were then processed into *Liebigs Fleischextrakt* (Liebig’s meat extract), a global export hit around 1900. The Indigenous “Sioux Nations” (perfidiously caricatured in the poster as a sack fleeing on red legs) were also displaced, their prairies used to grow maize to feed European livestock. Another problematic type of advertisement features racist or degrading depictions of people with no substantive connection to the product. For example, what does a Texan boxer have to do with a German gas mantle? How can a bottle of cognac be larger than the person serving it? Why does the figure of a Turkish child in a yoghurt advertisement have ears like a monkey? These are all examples of whitewashing, mocking, and stereotyping – visual strategies that continue to be used in advertising today. *CT*

Eugène Samuel Grasset,
A La Place Clichy, 1891
● ID 2747404

Otto Hupp,
Freiherrlich von Tuchersche
Brauerei Nürnberg, c. 1875–1895
● ID 2716458

Otto Hupp,
Tucher-Bräu Nürnberg, 1897
● ID 2642379

Liebig Company’s Fleisch-Extract,
c. 1900
● ID 2638435

Bruno Grimmer-Kriwub,
Esst Pfunds Yoghurt, 1910
● ID 2787412

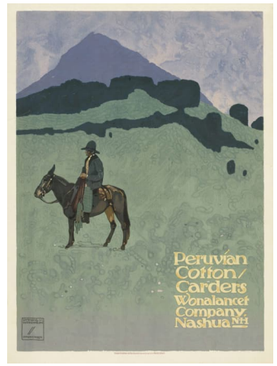
Julius Klinger,
Johnson gegen Bruno. Weltmeister
gegen Glühstrumpf, 1910
● ID 925219

Karl Schulpig,
Silberwaren-Fabrik Wiskemann
Zürich, c. 1910
● ID 2774408

Burkhard Mangold,
Teppichhaus Forster, 1911
● ID 2825416

Hans Neumann,
Prunier Cognac, 1911
● ID 1420080

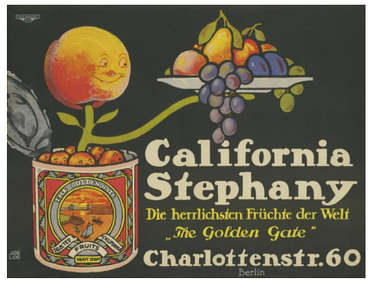
Hans Schwartz,
Yoghurt Milch, 1911
● ID 2679379



Ludwig Hohlwein,
Peruvian Cotton. Carders
Wonalancet Company, 1912
● ID 2671383

Otto Obermeier,
Drei König-Bier. Mathäserbräu
München, 1912
● ID 2822515

Paul Telemann,
Zucker gibt Kraft, 1912
● ID 2828384



Joe Loe (Loewenstein),
California Stephany.
Die herrlichsten Früchte der Welt,
c. 1912
● ID 2721504

Fritz Rumpf,
Süd-Afrikanische Straußfeder-
Manufaktur, c. 1912
● ID 2730437

Julius Klinger,
Maisfutter Siou, 1913
● ID 922295

Hans Neumann,
Prunier Cognac,
poster (detail), 1911
ID 1420080

COFFEE

It is virtually impossible to imagine life in Germany today without coffee, the Kaffeetafel (the tradition of afternoon coffee and cake), and coffee advertisements. The hot cup in your hand represents indulgence and conviviality, as well as vitality and productivity. However, an examination of the history of this exquisite bean reveals that coffee also symbolizes the rise of global capitalism, underpinned by colonialism. From the seventeenth century onwards, European elites enjoyed coffee, which originally came from Ethiopia and was brewed in the Arab and Ottoman worlds. After the Dutch East India Company transported coffee seeds from Mocha (al Mukha) in Yemen to Batavia (Jakarta), many countries in the global South began cultivating coffee. Colonialist land seizures and a system of forced labour continuously intensified production, making the bean cheaper and allowing ever-larger segments of the European population to enjoy coffee. Advertising media reflect how widespread the product was; coffee additives, substitutes, and decaffeinated variants were also very popular around 1900. Soberly designed posters often featured close-up views of coffee cups and packaging to market their products, such as the Togo brand coffee trays, which proudly displayed their colonial origins in the name. Companies like Rajah or Messmer favoured advertising motifs depicting idyllic, relaxed scenes of people from Africa or the Middle East enjoying a cup of the steaming brew – misleading images that portrayed the supposed contentment of the oppressed with the conditions imposed upon them. *KL*

Henri Meunier,
Rajah, 1897
▫ ID 1898629

Johann Vincenz Cissarz,
J. F. Germundsons Patentrostade
Kaffe, 1899
▫ ID 2696384

Adolf Karpellus,
Julius Meinl's Sultan-
Feigenkaffee, 1899
▫ ID 2769557

Hansa-Kaffee. Anerkannt bester
Kaffee-Zusatz, c. 1900
● ID 2685406

Karl Hofer,
Kaffee-Messmer, 1900
▫ ID 928300

Privat Livemont,
Rajah, 1900
▫ ID 922741

Lucian Bernhard,
Kaffee Hag, 1909
▫ ID 922633

Senioren-Kaffee. Hille & Dettmer,
c. 1910
▫ ID 2685441

Louis Oppenheim,
Kaffee Hag. Erstens: ganz vorzüglich, zweitens: koffeinfrei, 1913
▫ ID 2676423

Alfred Runge,
Kaffee Hag. Coffeinfreier
Kaffee, 1913
▫ ID 2730470

Ernst Deutsch,
Togo Kaffeetabletten, 1914
● ID 932650

Meinl Kaffee, c. 1914
▫ ID 2771571

Ernst Deutsch,
Togo Kaffeetabletten,
poster (detail), 1914
ID 932650

COFFEE HOUSES

As coffee became a part of everyday life in Europe, its public consumption also grew: cafés sprouted up everywhere, often attached to patisseries or roasting houses. Numerous posters in the collection depict elegant ladies and gentlemen in French, Belgian, or German coffee houses enjoying the bitter, hot brew. The first coffee houses that opened in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were accessible only to the elite. However, by the nineteenth century, this world opened up to the broader middle class, and it became fashionable to meet in a café for a chat or a meeting, retreat with a book, or idly observe other guests while waiters served you at your table – in other words, to briefly experience life like the leisured, ruling class. Turn-of-the-century advertising posters for coffee houses often play with this aspect of social hierarchy, showing hurrying, solicitous waiters and elegantly dressed guests, or highlighting aristocratic names such as "Imperator". In his poster for Munich's Café Odeon, Ludwig Hohlwein takes this idea to its racist extreme: a tall blonde billiard player smiles patronisingly down at a diminutively depicted Black servant, who holds out a tray of coffee to him. *CT*

Fernand Toussaint,
Café Jacqmotte Brüssel, before 1896
▫ ID 2758466

Ludwig Hohlwein,
Café Odeon und Billard Akademie
München, 1908
● ID 1420073

Gutzeit,
Café Imperator, c. 1900
▫ ID 2712391

J. Rolf Voltmer,
A. Schmidt's Kaffee-Rösterei
Hamburg, c. 1910
▫ ID 2644379

Frieda Weinberg-Röhl,
Café Plendl, c. 1910
● ID 2773445

TEA

Early advertising posters for tea highlight how Europeans increasingly took tea consumption for granted. The Asian origins of the product were often glorified or appropriated – or entirely overlooked, in favour of associations with the British colonial empire. The British East India Company had already begun importing tea to Europe around 1600, and by the nineteenth century, tea grown in the Empire's Indian colonies became one of the most successful colonial products in the Western market. Before long, more of the tea consumed in Europe came from India and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) than from China. In the visual language of tea advertising around 1900, Chinese and Indian motifs coexisted and intermingled – what mattered above all was the product's appeal, rooted in its Far Eastern "exoticism". Furthermore, ship motifs and names like Marco Polo evoked the "wide world" overseas. In contrast, advertising posters deliberately ignored the reality of the harsh, exploitative labour on the tea plantations in the colonies. *KL*

Robert L. Leonard,
Rex Tee, c. 1900
ID 2642407

Franz Christophe,
Königsberger Thee-Compagnie
c. 1900
ID 2667394

Adolf Karpellus,
Julius Meinls Thee, 1900
ID 2769517

Paul Scheurich,
Saman Tee, 1909
ID 2643394

Ivo Puhonny,
Messmer Tee, c. 1910
ID 2723479

Ludwig Hohlwein,
Marco-Polo-Tee, 1910
ID 924529

Julius Gipkens,
Sumurûn-Mischung, before 1911
ID 2640426

Carl Kunst,
Marco Polo Tee. Neue Packung, 1911
ID 929808

Ludwig Hohlwein,
Marco Polo-Tee, c. 1914
ID 2789400

Meinl's Thee Neuer Ernte, c. 1914
ID 2771565

Adolf Karpellus,
Julius Meinls Thee,
poster (detail),
1900, ID 2769517

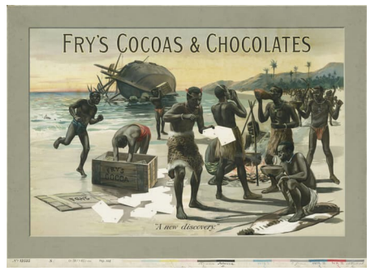
COCOA

Cocoa – long an unattainable luxury good from distant lands – only became affordable and accessible to Europeans from all walks of life as a result of colonial expansion and global economic exploitation in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Children and adults alike eagerly began to consume chocolate – cocoa powder industrially mixed with sugar and milk – in large quantities, both in liquid and solid form. Hot cocoa became the fashionable drink of the era, and after the Stollwerck company introduced the first chocolate vending machines in 1887, Germany's annual chocolate consumption soon soared to 20 million kilos. Advertising strategies centred on the family aspect: adverts for cocoa and chocolate teemed with motifs of groups of children, cute pets, mothers with daughters, and women and girls. The underlying message was pro-colonialist, conveying a sense of participation – promoting the idea that society as a whole benefits from the country's imperialist policies through the everyday luxury of consumer goods. *CT/KL*

Eugène Samuel Grasset,
Chocolat Mexicain. Masson
Paris, 1892
● ID 2749390

Adolphe Willette,
Prenez du Cacao Van Houten, 1893
□ ID 2749424

Adolphe Willette,
Le Cacao Van Houten, before 1894
□ ID 2740502



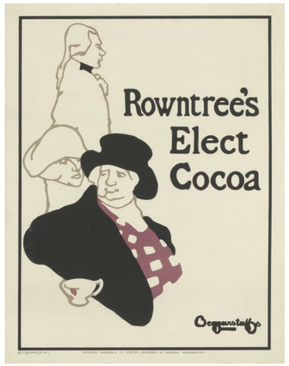
Fry's Cocoas & Chocolates, c. 1895
● ID 2660473

Chocolat Sprüngli, c. 1895
□ ID 2646400

Hans Unger,
Stollwerck's Schokolade, c. 1895
□ ID 2679427

Cacao Van Houten, c. 1895
▫ ID 2665416

Cacao Van Houten, c. 1895
▫ ID 2638644



James Ferrier Pryde,
Rowntree's Elect Cocoa, 1895
▫ ID 2638564

Aulhorn's Nähr-Kakao, 1896
▫ ID 2824418

Wassily Kandinsky,
Abrikosow Schokolade, 1897
▫ ID 924960

Privat Livemont,
Cacao A. Driessen, before 1900
▫ ID 2665381

Korffs Cacao, c. 1900
▫ ID 2638643

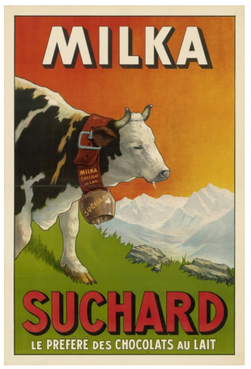
Talmone Cacao Chocolates,
c. 1900
▫ ID 2686406

Cacao Bensdorp, c. 1900
▫ ID 1792706

Otto Rüger Schokolade und Kakao,
c. 1900
▫ ID 2737455

Hans Lindenstaedt,
Fram. Cacao Schokolade, 1900
▫ ID 922631

Victor Schmidt & Söhne.
Wien Budapest, 1905
▫ ID 2645456



Milka Suchard. Le préféré des
chocolats au lait, c. 1906
▫ ID 2736416

Berger's Milch- & Sahne-
Schokoladen, c. 1908
▫ ID 2741398

Adolf Karpellus,
Sano-Kakao. Julius Meinl, c. 1910
▫ ID 2768731

Julius Gipkens, S-i Sarotti.
Kauft Konfekt nur in S-i Packung
Plakat, c. 1912
▫ ID 925510

Milch-Schokolade Berger
Poessneck, c. 1914
▫ ID 2638391

Hans Rudi Erdt,
Sprengel Schokolade, 1914
▫ ID 2701394

TOBACCO

The Kunstbibliothek's collection includes over a thousand advertising posters for tobacco products and smoking utensils, spanning from the 1890s to the years just before the 2007 EU-wide ban on outdoor tobacco advertising. As a result, the subject is also strongly represented among the early posters with colonial connotations. Tobacco was one of the luxury products for which the term "colonial goods" became widely used in the nineteenth century – even though it rarely came from European colonies, but was sourced instead from the Balkans, Turkey, or Greece. Processed in major manufacturing centres such as Dresden or Cairo, this once-luxury product was now mass distributed, whether as ready-made cigarettes or as tobacco for rolling, snuffing, chewing, or smoking in a pipe. Through advertising, new brands sought to differentiate themselves from the competition. Ship motifs and various references to the "Orient" emphasized the origins of the imported products: people in jellabiyas and camels at oases represented brands like Ramses and other "Cairo-style" cigarettes, the brand Moslem featured a man in an Arab fez, a mosque appeared in adverts for Kardash, and a garland of smoking Chinese babies advertised Pinhead, the first U.S. cigarette brand in China. Orientalist and racist stereotypes were frequently employed, and motifs of nobility and elegance were equally prevalent: white gloves, tailcoats, and sophisticated hats associated brands such as Dandy, Esquire, Doyen, and Cardinal with the privileged world that tobacco had left behind when it began to be produced industrially. Elegance here signals social superiority, as seen in a poster for La Romanie, where a smoking gentleman oversees the (undoubtedly poorly paid) female factory worker rolling cigarettes. Other posters reflected the ubiquity of smoking across all classes, professions, and countries, among both men and women. Finally, object posters, which focus entirely on the product, its packaging, and typographic elements, represent another category of motifs. *CT*

Friedrich Rehm,
La Roumanie. Zigarettenfabrik
München, c. 1893
▫ ID 2830396

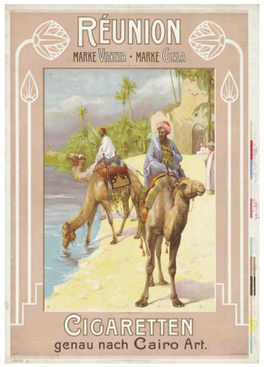
Josef Goller,
Türkische Tabak- und Cigaretten-
Fabrik AG Masaltzi, 1893
▫ ID 2712397

Manufacture de Jos. Heintz
van Landewyck, 1895
▫ ID 2638611

Friedrich Rehm,
Cigaretten Laferme. Dresden, 1896
▫ ID 2835412

Carel Adolph Lion Cachet,
Sigaren W. G. Boele, Senior Hof-
leverancier Kampen, 1897
▫ ID 2665418

Alfons Mucha,
Job, 1897
▫ ID 2748387



Réunion Cigaretten.
Genau nach Cairo Art, c. 1900
▫ ID 2737447

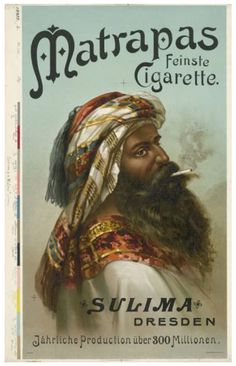
Réunion Cigaretten, c. 1900
▫ ID 2737452

Smoke Sulima Cigarettes, c. 1900
▫ ID 2739378

Türkische Tabak- & Cigaretten-Fabrik. Compagnie Macedonia
Dresden, c. 1900
▫ ID 2737456

Herms Oldenkott & Söhne
Amsterdam, c. 1900
▫ ID 2685414

Jubilé, c. 1900
▫ ID 2646386



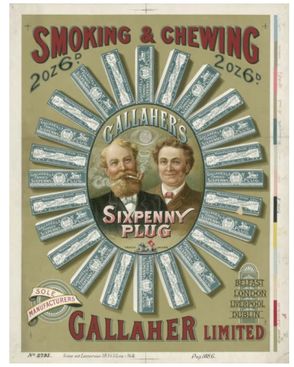
Matrapas. Feinste Cigarette. Sulima,
c. 1900
▫ ID 2685416

Bock y Ca. Habana, c. 1900
● ID 2686381

Lao-p'ai p'in-hai hsiang-yen. Original
Pin Head Cigarettes, c. 1900
▫ ID 2746388

Eugène Ogé,
Nous ne fumons que le papier
Abadie, c. 1904
● ID 2748384

Smoke Gallaher's Navy Cut,
c. 1905
▫ ID 2649379



Smoking and Chewing. Gallaher's
Sixpenny Plug, c. 1905
▫ ID 2638619

Oldenkott's Portorico en
Varinas Tabak, c. 1905
▫ ID 2638645

M. Wilckens Nachfolger.
Tabakfabriken Bremen und
Burgdamm, c. 1905
▫ ID 2686384

Otto Ludwig Naegele,
Zechbauer Zigarren und Zigaretten,
before 1906
▫ ID 2725389

Walther Scholtz,
Graf Schuwalow-Cigarette,
before 1906
▫ ID 2786399

Julius Klinger,
Palm Cigarren, c. 1906
● ID 926654

Tabakfabriken Rapp & Sohn,
c. 1907
▫ ID 2686382

Burkhard Mangold,
Die beliebten Virginia Cigarren,
c. 1907
▫ ID 2783460

Ramses Zigarette, c. 1908
▫ ID 2741419

Julius Klinger,
Palm Silber. Die 10 Pfennig Cigarre,
c. 1908
● ID 933794

Julius Klinger,
Phänomen Gold. Feinste Cigarette,
c. 1909
▫ ID 922931

Ludwig Hohlwein,
Max Zechbauer München,
1909
▫ ID 2714412

Glauco Cambon,
Le Papier à Cigarettes Pique,
c. 1910
● ID 930176

Hans Rudi Erdt,
Manoli Limit, c. 1910
▫ ID 1902299

Fritz Rumpf,
Salem Gold. Etwas für Sie!, c. 1910
▫ ID 2676436

Problem National, c. 1910
▫ ID 2740521

Willy Stöwer,
Eckstein Cigaretten, 1910
▫ ID 2679421

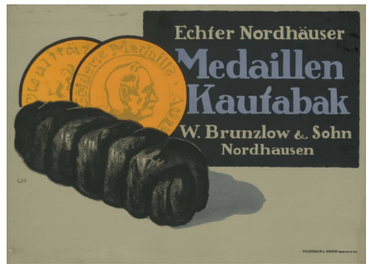
Julius Diez,
Max Zechbauer München.
Verkaufsmonopol auf der
Muhammedanischen Ausstellung
1910, 1910 ● ID 2640383

Hans Rudi Erdt,
Mignon Magos BCD. Beste Cigarette
Deutschlands, 1911
▫ ID 1880364

Ludwig Hohlwein,
Haus Neuerburg Trier.
Zigaretten, 1911
▫ ID 2713397

Ernst Lübbert,
Cardinal. Cigarettenfabrik
Franz Foveaux, 1911
▫ ID 2721484

Lucian Bernhard,
Vox Populi Cigarren, 1911
▫ ID 2666430



LOY,
Echter Nordhäuser Medaillen
Kautabak, c. 1912
▫ ID 2645549

Salem Gold. Goldmundstück
Cigarette, c. 1912
▫ ID 2740523

Lucian Bernhard,
Manoli Kardash Cigaretten, 1912
● ID 2638716

Hans Rudi Erdt,
Moslem Cigarettes. Problem, 1912
▫ ID 922470

Hans Rudi Erdt,
Mazeppa Engelhardt, 1912
● ID 1902312

Louis Oppenheim,
Muratti's, 1913
▫ ID 931306

Albert Hoppler,
Astor Cigarettes, 1913
● ID 927431

Walter Lehmann-Steglitz,
Josetti Juno, 1913
▫ ID 2718469

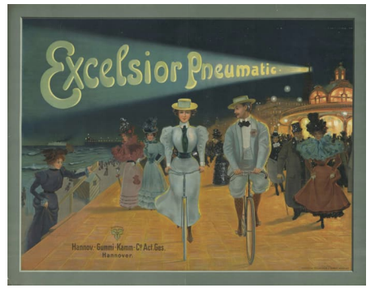
Hans Lindenstaedt,
Esquire. Problem. 5 Pfennig
Cigarette, 1913
▫ ID 2722386

Erich Lüdke,
Josetti Cigaretten, 1913
▫ ID 2721473

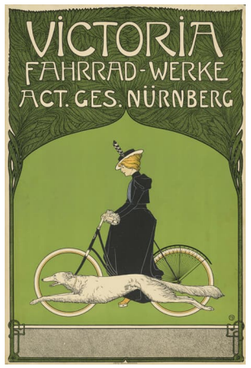
Bock y Ca. Habana,
poster (detail), c. 1900
ID 2686381

RUBBER

Dunlop’s invention of the air-filled bicycle tyre in 1888 sparked a global boom in bicycle production. Similarly, the success of the automobile would have been inconceivable without fast, comfortable tyres. Bicycle inner tubes, car tyres, machine parts, tennis balls, anti-slip soles – these successful early industrial-age innovations were all made possible by rubber. Yet people rarely recognize how deeply intertwined this material was with colonial contexts around 1900. Before synthetic rubber production began in the 1930s, rubber could only be sourced from nature. Natural rubber, derived from the milky sap of tropical plants, was harvested in South America, Africa, and Southeast Asia. Most of the raw material made its way to Europe via colonized territories, where it was produced for export by Indigenous communities under inhumane conditions of forced labour. In the Belgian-occupied Congo, for example, colonial troops became infamous for their brutality. They forced people living in the rainforest to work on rubber plantations, subjecting them to horrific punishments – such as food deprivation, hanging, or the mutilation of hands or feet – if they refused to work or failed to meet quotas. Millions of Congolese people died as a result of this abuse and exploitation. Today, the term “rubber colonialism” is used to describe this particularly brutal form of colonial rule. *CT*



Max Schlichting,
Excelsior Pneumatic, 1898
ID 2733385



Friedrich Rehm,
Victoria Fahrrad-Werke, 1899
ID 1720070

Paul Jean Louis Gervais,
Gladiator, c. 1900
ID 1870453

Ferdinand Mifliez,
Vélodrome d’hiver. Pneus Dunlop,
c. 1900
ID 2320471

Excelsior Fahrradwerke.
Gebr. Conrad, c. 1900
ID 2320653

Robert Engels,
Patria, 1902
ID 2344038

Corona, c. 1905
▫ ID 2344024

Lucian Bernhard,
E. H. Schütze Lawntennis.
Standard-Bälle, 1905
▫ ID 2689392

CR [monogramme],
Gummisohlen-Stiefel
Monachia, 1910
▫ ID 929022

Hans Rudi Erdt,
Excelsior Gummi-Absätze werden
überall getragen, 1911
▫ ID 1880604

Otto Amtsberg,
Hansa Automobil-Gesellschaft mbH,
before 1912
▫ ID 2688403

M. Mink,
Rolandur. Bremer Gummiwerke
Roland AG, c. 1912
▫ ID 2721400

Lucian Bernhard,
Excelsior Gummi-Absätze, 1912
▫ ID 2645470

Otto Kuhler (?),
Hansa-Lloyd Werke AG Bremen,
c. 1913
▫ ID 2673400

Otto Amtsberg,
Hansa Automobil-
Gesellschaft mbH,
poster (detail), before 1912
ID 2688403

SOAPS AND FATS

It is no coincidence that the production of cleaning soaps and food fats also skyrocketed in the imperialist industrial age. To make soap, you need fat – preferably hardening oil. Palm oil, which was particularly popular for this purpose, was sourced from plantations in Africa and later Asia, usually cultivated under appalling conditions in European colonies. Overexploitation and the use of local (often forced) labour made cheap palm oil imports possible, thereby providing affordable soap to populations in Europe and the United States. The same applied to margarines, cooking fats, and baking fats made with palm oil, which appeared on the market under various new brands such as Palmin, Palmona, and Palmefka. These brands often featured racist imagery in their advertising.

Soap, too, became inextricably linked to colonialism on an ideological level during this period – indeed, few products were as frequently (mis)used in visual communication as a projection surface for colonial racist ideas. While body soap had been produced in many countries around the world since ancient times, the nineteenth century claimed it as a civilizational achievement of *white* Europeans – a symbol of their self-perceived superiority. In countless posters, advertisements, packaging, and caricatures, light skin was touted as a symbol of purity, while dark skin was mocked as "dirty". Dark-skinned children in particular – such as those depicted in the poster for Wolff's Indische Lilienseife (Indian Lily Soap) – were often portrayed as needing to be re-educated in "cleanliness", admonished by a raised finger, just as adult Black individuals were shown being treated like children. This reflects the missionary aspect of a misguided racial-hygienic world-view, which held that it was the duty of *white* men and women to "civilize" and shape those they deemed inferior. *CT*

Lohse's Lilienmilch Seife, 1895
ID 2638657

Patent Myrrholin Seife, before 1897
ID 2741406

Indische Blumenseife.
F. Wolff & Sohn, c. 1900
ID 2645455

Verschure's Iris Margarine, c. 1900
ID 2739379

Ant. Jurgens, Prinzen & Co.
Holländische Margarine Werke,
c. 1900
ID 2685421

Solo Margarine. Feinster Butter-
Ersatz, c. 1907
ID 2686407

Wir kochen, braten, backen mit Palmin, c. 1908
▫ ID 2736402

Ivo Puhonny,
Palmin zum Kochen, Braten, Backen. Palmona als Brotaufstrich, 1911
▫ ID 2785461

Ludwig Hohlwein,
Palmefka. Feinste Pflanzenbutter-Margarine, c. 1913
▫ ID 2715390

Valentin Zietara,
Palmefka. Bester Buttererſatz, 1914
● ID 1420084

Valentin Zietara,
Palmefka. Bester Buttererſatz,
poster (detail), 1914
ID 1420084

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Publications without an author specified have been placed at the top of the list; all other sources are organized in alphabetical order by the first-named author. This list contains a selection of general literature on the topic. You will find more object-specific literature references for individual posters at the end of the respective work texts in the online collection.

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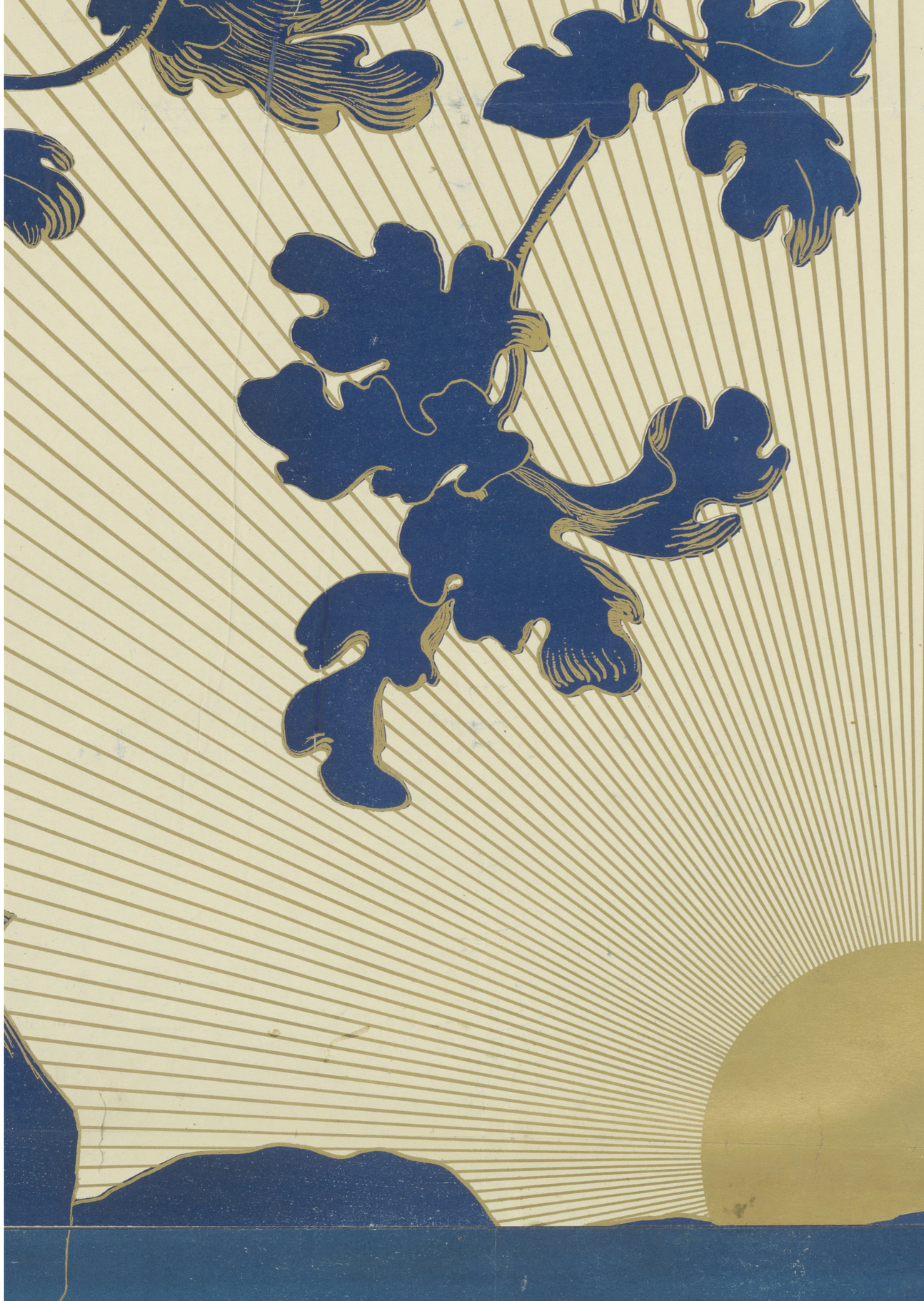

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Imprint

This publication presents the results of the research project *"Colonial Contexts in Early Posters 1854–1914"*, conducted at the Kunstbibliothek der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin between 2022 and 2024. It is accompanied by an online database of works (SMB Collections Online) and a virtual exhibition (DDBstudio).

Project sponsor	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz
Museum collection	Graphic Design Collection, Kunstbibliothek
Research team	Ibou Coulibaly Diop, Kristina Lowis, Christina Thomson
Project manager and editor	Christina Thomson
Project assistants	Christina Dembny, Thomas Gladisch, Kathrin Barrera Nicholson
Online poster texts	Ibou Coulibaly Diop, Kristina Lowis, and Christina Thomson, as well as guest authors Lee Chichester, Priska Gisler, Isabel Groll, Marko Stamenkovic
Project texts and online exhibition	Kristina Lowis and Christina Thomson, in collaboration with Ibou Coulibaly Diop
Audio input	Tahir Della, hn. lyonga, Anna Yeboah
Interviews	Ibou Coulibaly Diop, Anna Russ
Audio production	Emmanuel Teillet for Berlin Art Link
Hosting of the online exhibition	DDBstudio
German editing (poster texts)	Silke Körber, Christina Thomson
German proofreading	Neila Kemmer
English proofreading	Sophie Schlöndorff
English translations	Sylee Gore, Sophie Schlöndorff
Publication management	Lilly Kempf, Marika Mäder, Sigrid Wollmeiner
Image editor	Christina Dembny
Graphic designer	Anneke Gerloff-Mazas
Reproduction photographer	Dietmar Katz

This publication and the accompanying virtual exhibition are also available in German:

Essay | arthistoricum (German version)
Exhibition | DDBstudio (German version)

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