

Display Windows and Window Displays in German Cities of the Nineteenth Century: Towards the History of a Commercial Breakthrough¹

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Advertising has, in the last twenty years, become an increasingly important topic in international social and economic history.² As a result, we can now better explore topics with public appeal, and at the same time can better study the origins of modern consumer society. Yet the growing number of relevant publications should not conceal the fact that there is a dearth of primary research on advertising, especially in Germany. Advertising can only be understood adequately in the context of consumption, retail trade and the production of consumer goods – and this is exactly where valid studies are very rare.³ We know even less about the newly emerging world of objects of the nineteenth century. What products were advertised and bought, where they were purchased and how they were evaluated – such fundamental questions, especially when asked about Germany, are almost impossible to answer. Nevertheless, we must pose these questions. Only recently has anthropologist Bruno Latour pointed out to us the fundamental relevance of consumer goods to understanding the modern age.⁴

One of the crucial innovations of early consumer society was undoubtedly the shop window. The items for sale were displayed behind it and the window thus created an artificial space for the merchandise. But like so many other things, its impact depended on its being part of a whole. 'Shop windows became urban attractions, forming the main centres of interest of the street; they were like magnets, casting a spell over the crowds of people.' The public's curiosity coupled with the shopkeepers' and manufacturers' pride in their merchandise came together in one and the same place:

Detached from the sphere of immediate consumption, the goods appear as objects in a transparent artificial space; they do not

in: see above, 139-171

provoke interest because of their utility or exchange value, but, it seems, only for their own sake: the object should not be used or bought, but looked at and admired. The shop window, by allowing a better view of the goods, inspires an aesthetic epiphany.⁵

The shop window transformed fast-growing cities into places of signs and significations and thus formed the beginning of a modern lifestyle, which we still share, albeit in somewhat modified form.

Such general characterizations are common, but only rarely does one find the various developments clearly delineated in their proper historical sequence. Rarer still is any attempt to provide empirical evidence for them.⁶ In what follows, I will try to begin that task. Generally speaking, the shop window and its form of advertising in German cities of the nineteenth century developed in four distinct stages. Until 1835 or so, the display window was a means of presentation for only a few shops with luxury goods; between then and the 1870s, it caught on everywhere in the larger cities of the German Empire. Subsequently, the display window and its decoration changed fundamentally. 'Glass palaces' and window display art peaked and reached a turning point at the start of the twentieth century. Finally, advertising extended into the shop and has now become emblematic of how merchandise is generally presented. I will conclude with some observations on the importance of this development for the history of advertising, the economy, and the society of the German Empire.

The display window before 1835

We cannot imagine a shop window without a shop. The shop, however, whose history goes back to the Middle Ages, initially had no windows.⁷ Its forerunner was the *Bude*, a market stall, which protected seller and merchandise from the rigours of the weather. The *Bude* usually consisted of two wooden shutters, one of which was folded up and the other folded down. Two shutters made a shop. The merchants thus had a counter on which some of their goods could be displayed while the upper shutter provided shelter from rain. The simple wooden booth combined free access to the goods during the day with appropriate protection at night.

This principle was maintained even when trade gradually moved indoors. Here the traders could store greater amounts of merchandise and craftsmen could combine production and sales. The buyer always remained outside, and viewed the available goods from the public street. In Germany, unlike in France, Great Britain and Austria, this model survived until the late eighteenth century. The so-called bull's-eye windows,

which existed from the sixteenth century on, served only to provide light, not to draw attention to the merchandise.⁸ They were too small for commercial purposes and allowed only a blurred view of the products displayed behind the glass. The same was true of sliding and removable windows. Even when the Frenchman Lucas de Neheon developed a commercially viable process for the production of rolled cast glass in 1688, it had no effect on German retailing. On the other hand, Coulage glass windows (measuring 2 by 1.2 metres) allowed a clear and unblurred view of the merchandise, in contrast to that permitted by blown glass.

The large time lag between the invention and the general use of this glass for display windows not only resulted from its high price; mirror glass, after all, although expensive, had quickly become a significant characteristic of aristocratic architecture. The up-market shops of the late seventeenth century which could have afforded to install this glass did not yet need to display their merchandise publicly. The nobility demanded custom-made goods, and their demands were met as quickly as possible. The situation changed only with the emergence of a wealthy bourgeois clientele. It created a new political and commercial public. Correspondingly, British and French luxury stores were the first ones to use cast glass. In Germany the first such shops can be traced to Würzburg in 1725 and Augsburg in 1740, but they were truly exceptions.⁹ Even though cast glass became more readily available by the early nineteenth century, it was still a rarity in shop windows.¹⁰

Yet the display of merchandise in German cities in the eighteenth century did develop further. Inside, shop counters, which were placed in the sales room, emerged and the larger stores had folding doors which helped to attract customers. The tables on which expensive goods were displayed now served as the lower shutters the medieval stall once had. They usually stood in the middle of the room, evoking their origins. The art of merchandise display, which was to have great impact in the later shop window, came into being in the sales room. The facade, on the other hand, was now dominated by the store sign, and most shopkeepers relied on its effect to lure customers.¹¹ The merchandise itself attracted people only after they entered the room. Luxury shops were a space where the bourgeoisie were consumers, and where the poor were excluded. Only those who could afford expensive textiles, furniture and other paraphernalia could enter the sales rooms.

The establishment of the display window in German cities (1835-70)

The growing significance of retailing was most important to the development of the shop window. To identify its origins as early as 1830 is

unusual in German historiography; the focus is usually on the changes within the production sector.¹² The frequent overlap between production and sales, the above-average growth in the number of efficient shops, as well as the pressure of having to provide goods for the people working in the production sector, have usually been ignored. In view of laws regulating commerce that were still in effect in many places, scholars have tended to locate the long-lasting retail boom – and with it the growth of modern consumer society – in the 1870s, or even as late as the 1890s.¹³ According to current scholarship, the development of the department store was primarily responsible for setting important standards for advertising and window displays.¹⁴

If one looks, however, at the various earlier changes in retail trade, one finds a new perspective on the history of advertising and of display windows: 'If business history research is able to come to terms with consumer sales then the early history of advertising will have to be reconsidered.'¹⁵ And so it appears that in Germany, the city became a place of merchandise display and of consumer shopping much earlier than scholars have suggested.

In Germany, from the late 1830s on, the sale of consumer goods in small- and medium-sized shops had increased greatly. For example, in Prussia in 1837 there were 21,782 retail merchants who owned shops; by 1858 this number had risen to 48,625. To put these figures into perspective, this is an increase of 76.4 per cent over the growth in population in only twenty-one years, whereas the importance of grocers (most of whom did not own shops) and of peddlers decreased significantly, rising by only 10.1 per cent in absolute terms (from 89,149 to 98,158) during the same period.¹⁶

Shopkeepers usually worked in the larger cities. Despite guild regulations, they succeeded in improving upon the traditional supply system that had so far been influenced primarily by the weekly and yearly markets, as well as by the hawkers, peddlers and craftsmen. And in more and more places shops came to dominate the retail market, and an increasing number of these new shops had display windows. By the time of the founding of the German Empire in 1871, these windows had become the most effective means of advertising in an increasingly competition-oriented retail trade.

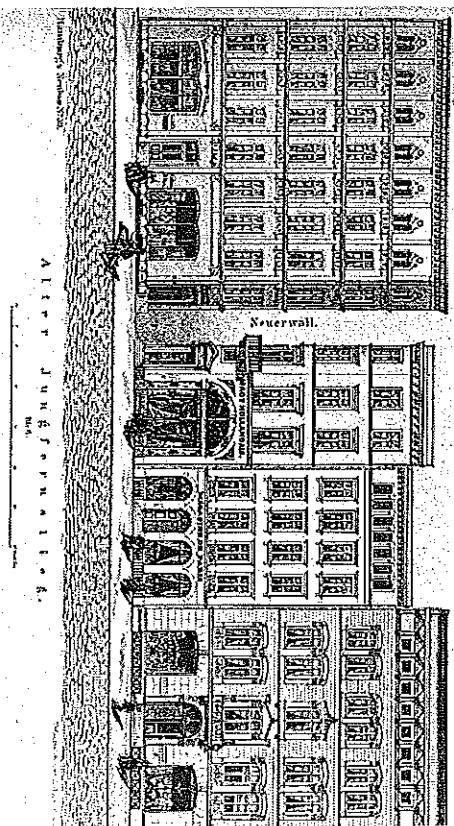
The textile business pioneered not only production techniques, but also retail methods. Berlin is an excellent example. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was common practice in Berlin either to sew clothes at home or to have them tailor-made. Although from the beginning of the eighteenth century there had been tailors and merchants who also sold ready-made clothes, and although they became increasingly important, the used-clothing trade remained more popular

Only at the beginning of the nineteenth century did this change dramatically. The growing number of single (and wealthy) men, rapidly increasing tourism in Berlin, and the growing importance of fashion which required a faster change in individuals' wardrobes combined to trigger the rise of the *Magazin*. This term describes a retail shop which handled merchandise produced by homeworkers or craftsmen, but whose main business was sales. At first, trousers, waistcoats and gowns were the items most frequently offered; from the 1820s on the collection included dressing-gowns, jacks and coats, shirts and collars.

The growing supply and variety led to an increased degree of specialisation. Separate gentlemen's shops emerged from clothes and linen shops. Data from city directories show the radical change. In 1830 there were only 54 linen and clothing shops in Berlin, but by 1838 there were already 116, and by 1847, 158. In 1838 20 men's clothing shops were listed for the first time; their numbers rose to 66 by 1847.¹⁷ And Berlin was not an exception: in Hamburg the number of clothes shops went from 10 to 39 between 1800 and 1822, the fashion shops from 19 to 31 and the shops with manufactured goods from 10 to 91.¹⁸ In these large cities the shops turned the display window into a common phenomenon; as early as 1830 the Hamburg police believed it was their responsibility to take action against those retailers who protected their window displays from the sun with low-hanging awnings.¹⁹

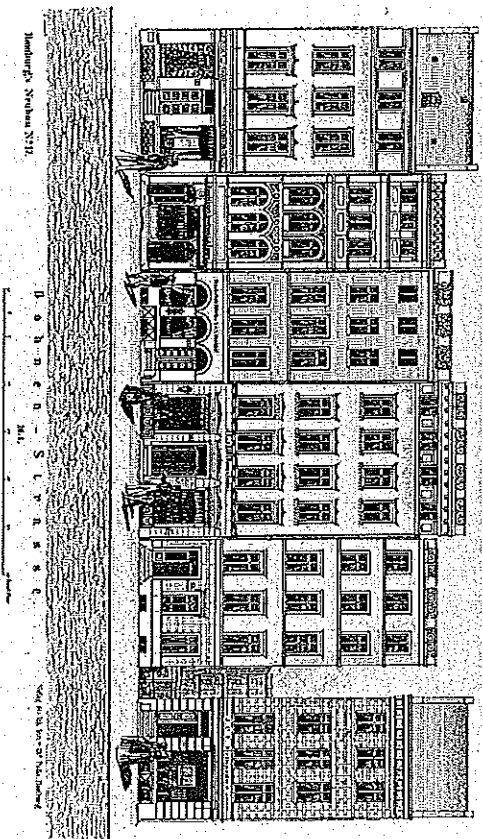
The *Magazin* not only represented a new type of business within the retail trade but stood out above all because it introduced a new type of advertising. Here Hamburg is the best example: the city centre was almost completely destroyed by a fire in 1842, and the newly rebuilt streets were captured in an extensive series of lithographs. Figure 7.1 shows the façade of two *Magazine*. Both have display windows and skilfully present their merchandise. It is remarkable that a *Magazin* in a street was not an unusual sight. They were framed by the display windows of other specialty shops, all selling ready-made goods. We will now leave this main street and focus on a side street of the city centre.

Here as well we find, to our surprise, that all the shops have display windows, although many differences catch our attention. Almost all of the shop windows are smaller than those on the main street and they mostly consist of less expensive lattice windows. The oriel windows, the so-called *Ausbauer* which were mostly used before 1842, are missing, since after the fire of Hamburg their use was prohibited.²⁰ Figure 7.2 also shows that not only textile shops displayed their merchandise prominently. Even before the middle of the century, shoes, leather goods, and even meat products were presented through glass. It is noteworthy that even small entrepreneurs like cobblers and glove-makers found it necessary to have stores with shop windows. Even during the early



7.1 Shop windows in Hamburg (Alter Jungfernstieg), 1846/47

Source: *Hamburgs Neubau. Sammlung sämtlicher Facaden der Gebäude an den neubebauten Strassen*, Hamburg: Charles Fuchs (reprint 1985); Th. Schäfer: Hannover, folio 39



7.2 Display window in Hamburg (Bohrenstrasse) 1846/47

Source: *Hamburgs Neubau*, folio 17

period of industrialization, the production of goods was not an end in itself, but gained its real meaning only through sales. The Hamburg lithograph series contains views of a total of 218 shops in the centre of the city. There are shop windows almost everywhere, and a few shops even display their merchandise in front of four large plate-glass windows. In some cases there is even rudimentary lighting equipment. So in Hamburg, before the middle of the century, flickering light invited people to do their window shopping in the evening.²¹

We now return to the developments in the Prussian capital of Berlin. In the late 1830s more *Magazine* emerged there than in Hamburg, along with the first larger retail stores, even if their shop windows did not stand out. Hermann Gerson's *Modenwarenlager* (Fashion Depot), founded in 1836, employed a large number of people (eight supervisors and between 120 and 140 workers in two separate branches, 150 masters with about 1,500 journeymen as delivery men, and about 100 people in the two-storey store), but the *Magazin* that was lit by 120 gas flames attracted its customers with two five-foot wide plate-glass windows. This very clearly showed the loyalty of a wealthy clientele to the luxury shops.²² Rudolph Herzog, a store founded in 1839 that sold manufactured goods and which later became the largest German department store and one of Europe's leading mail-order houses, had only average-sized displays, concentrating instead on strategically planned print advertising.

Other *Magazine*, however, took advantage of the display window as an advertising medium. Evidence of this is provided by Louis Landsberger's clothes shop. Not two, not four, but ten large plate-glass windows decorated the shop's two sales floors. Display windows filled with merchandise surrounded the shop, their large number attesting to the size and range of the inventory.

As shops grew larger, window displays became more common, larger and more elaborate. The lighting which drew attention to the *Magazin* at night also attracted customers. Landsberger's shop was only the tip of the iceberg.²³ Consider the following quotation from a city guide in 1861:

Our well-fed forefathers, who only enjoyed true pleasures, did not know the shimmer of plate-glass windows and of bronze, nor the blaze of colour, the magic of luxury and the appeal of the arts. We, on the other hand, appreciate those modern inventions. The difference between past and present becomes most obvious in the shops ...

If we now look at those shops ... where the merchandise, arranged by artful hands, fascinates the eye! My ladies, over there you see sparkling windows, which have been decorated with Jakona and Organdis, with long shawls, with which you sell your smile,

with Venetian lace, which you trade in for your love! And look here, you dandies from the provinces, the most elaborate pique vests. Descend to that subterranean place where Bärenschinken is served and the Cliquot is on ice. Here are shining hats at your disposal, delicate Anere watches, velvet blankets, gigantic mirrors in golden frames; over there artistic bronze goods, valuable oil paintings, buffers with marble plates, magnificent dinner services; flower bouquets more beautiful in colour than the presents of the Flora Cyprus; here you see the beautiful scholarly anthologies in deluxe bindings, Zahn's ornaments from Pompeii, the most wonderful photographs of the reliquary of Bruges.

What richness of splendour, pleasure and glamour for that special mortal who is endowed with a zest for life and equipped with the wherewithal to enjoy it.²⁴

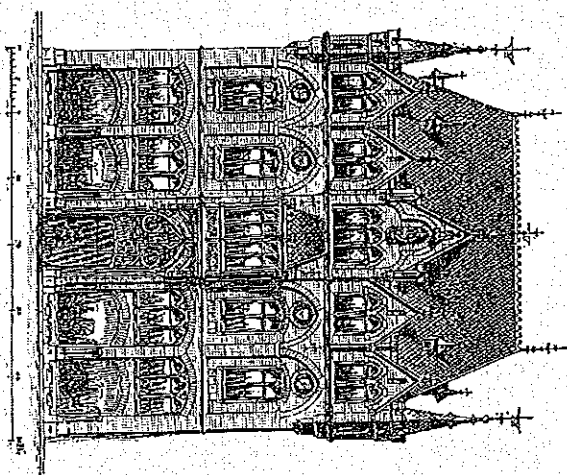
In Berlin, window-shopping was possible well before 1871. The travel guide concentrates on expensive, exclusive products, which remained beyond the means of the majority of inhabitants of the capital. A few shops, however, started to concentrate on a simpler range of merchandise in the 1860s, and many grocers also changed their shopfronts or installed new ones. During this process, many shopkeepers complained:

Very often ordinary windows are used for the display and the only difference is the introduction of larger window panes. It is very obvious that such construction fulfils only the simplest requirements; the display is very much restricted, and the high position of the windows disrupts it even more. A single window does not permit a vast display of merchandise, of course, and for this reason such a window is only useful to show what kind of shop it is.²⁵

The shop windows of these small and medium-sized shops can hardly be compared to those of the larger stores. But we should note that even established shops tried to expand or, failing that, to change the configuration of their display windows. It also became very common in the 1860s to include shop windows in the building design at the time of construction. Essays in the architectural press of the time consider the display window an integral part of the shop:

The windows for the display of the goods must be as wide as possible; and generally one uses iron columns and supports to carry the upper floors instead of stone columns and arches, because this increases the usable space. In many cases one designs different axes in the upper floors without any concern that they do not match those of the ground floor, since the axis division of the lower floor is almost invisible and practically disappears due to the small dimension of the iron, and only a glass surface is visible.²⁶

This increasing use of steel and glass created completely new possibilities for the design of the façade, so that by the early 1870s two-storey



7.3 Façade of the Karls Hof in Aachen, 1869

Source: 'Fassade des Karlsruhes in Aachen', *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 3 (1869), 496. Many further examples can be found in *Köln und seine Bauten*, edited by Architekten- und Ingenieur Verein für Niederrhein und Westfalen (Cologne: self-published, 1888)

window displays were being built in Berlin.²⁷ Shops with display windows, which were rented by the majority of small and medium-sized shop owners, started to be part of the usual design of newer, larger buildings. Unfortunately, there are no reliable data, and so we cannot verify whether there really were '3,000 impressive display windows' in Berlin in 1880, as one contemporary claims.²⁸ Yet there is no doubt that in Berlin, in the business sector that dealt with luxury items and with non-durable goods, the display window was common before the *Reichsgründung* in 1871. The small grocery store definitely lagged behind, but the delicatessen and finer groceries shops often had glass fronts.²⁹

The display window had already established itself in the provinces as well. Figure 7.3 shows a 'characteristic example of the façade construction of private buildings' in the Rhineland. Again, there are four large display windows, which show that the emergence of display windows

pre-dates the 1890s and therefore is not connected to the establishment of department stores. On the contrary, after the shop window had developed in Germany, there was a strong differentiation of the windows according to size, number and decoration. These variables not only reflected prevailing taste and design, but also created an important distinctive element in a competitive society, one which was shaped by production as well as distribution. German cities had become places of bourgeois consumption long before the turn of the century, and the display windows promised a world of wealth and progress.

Universalization and differentiation of the display window in a competitive market society (c.1870-1900)

The founding of the German Empire in 1871 was not only a moment of political change; it also led to a general liberalization of laws regulating commerce. Liberalism and a free market had already existed in a number of the German states, but now these principles triumphed throughout. Cities continued to grow and now began to resemble modern urban spaces. The large numbers of people with purchasing power in these expanding cities made it possible for small trade to grow more quickly. The social division of labour became more rigid, and it became obvious as early as the 1873 depression that the growing production of merchandise was dependent not only on the availability of liquid capital, but also and particularly on secure and stable sales. The turnover of goods could only be guaranteed through an efficient retail system, in which shop owners competed for customers, and sold them both established and new merchandise. The problems created by the beginning of competition demanded new approaches to sales from the small shops; they now had not only to supply but also to sell an increasing number of newly emerging brand names. Small shopkeepers thus had to modernize their sales techniques, their window displays, and even the shops themselves. It was necessary to show the customer the efficiency of the shop in some tangible way.³⁰

Retailers competed not only for the best selection of merchandise, but also for the limited attention of a volatile public. In view of the rapidly growing importance of pleasing the customers in the cities, the display window was critical for success, particularly in shops which sold non-essential items. At the same time the display window was the appropriate advertising medium of a society in which the quality of the presentation of the merchandise was more important than that of the merchandise itself. It would be useful to distinguish a number of distinct but related factors that went into the general development of the display window.

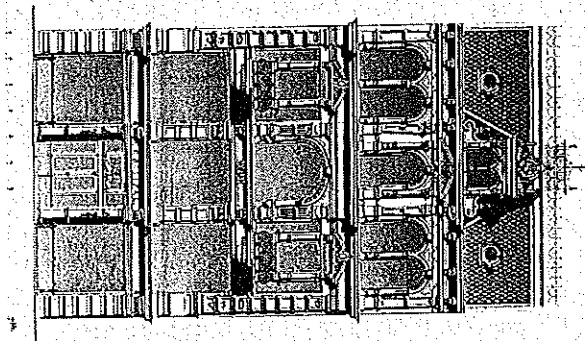
The variety of shop window advertising increased everywhere. Alongside the sophisticated advertising of the majority of shops, which focused on the goods themselves, came some bright and loud advertising posters which were mounted on the façades. This phenomenon can be illustrated with the example of a new type of establishment, the 'bazaar', which developed from the *Magazine* in the late 1860s. Initially, the bazaars also sported spectacular decorations, but unlike the *Magazine*, they usually did not produce their own goods. During the Depression a number of so-called 'junk bazaars' developed which, with the aid of a huge advertising effort, sold cheap products at low prices. The term 'bazaar' thus acquired a negative connotation; this was reinforced by those bazaars that sold a variety of merchandise all at the same price (*Einheitsbazaar*), and which emerged in the 1870s and expanded enormously in the 1880s. These fairly small shops used not only display windows but the whole façade for their shrill advertisements. The itinerant stores (*Wandertlager*) (that started to develop in the 1860s) as well as those bazaars that offered credit (from the late 1870s) relied on such shrill advertisement and thus quickly provoked comments about the degradation of the inner cities.³¹

While the small bazaars of the class-based German Empire met the needs of customers from the lower-middle and upper-lower classes, a parallel development occurred in the form of the *Kaufhäuser*, which also grew out of the *Magazine* and catered to the middle and upper classes of society. Most of these, too, were not involved in the production of merchandise, but instead concentrated on the sale of goods. But due to their size they usually had considerable power to stimulate demand, which reinforced their direct influence. Their shop window displays were generally more sophisticated, modest and neutral than those of the bazaars.

Kaufhäuser at the same time pioneered the general enlargement of shop window surfaces. To achieve this, improvements in glass casting technique were necessary. Plate glass became smoother and more transparent, and the individual glass pieces became larger. More importantly, however, the *Kaufhäuser* started to use new building materials like iron and steel for more impressive shop window fronts in the 1870s and 1880s – at a time where there were not yet any department stores in Germany.³² It was at this time that purely functional business buildings emerged that were used for apartments only very occasionally. The development of display windows and that of cities as a whole were closely interrelated.

Figure 7.4 shows the façade of the *Kaufhaus* Rosigal in Munich after it was rebuilt in 1884. Within the shop manufactured goods, fashion

Illustration des Hauses Rosipal, Rosenengasse 3 in München.



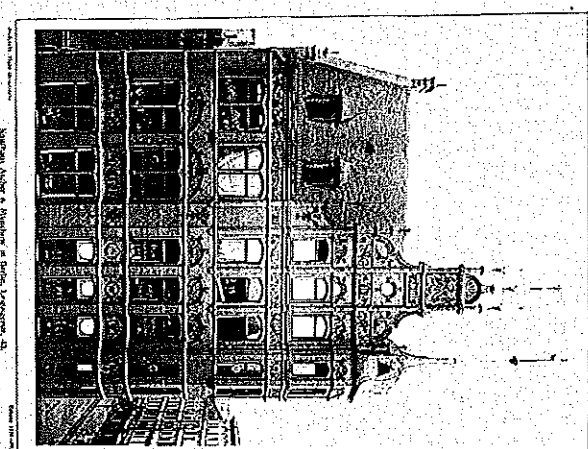
7.4 Facade of the Rosipal department store in Munich, 1884

Source: 'Waren- und Kaufhaus des Herrn C. Rosipal Rosenengasse 3 in München', *Zeitschrift für Baukunde* 7 (1884), 147–8

items and cloth were sold on three floors around a lighted inner courtyard, while the administrative office was located on the fourth floor. The shop windows on the first two floors were decorated, and the large windows on the third and fourth floors were also used for advertising purposes. Ascher & Münchow, in Berlin, used a similar technique, as we can see in Figure 7.5.

Ascher & Münchow, completed in 1887, had eleven large and well-decorated display windows on the two lower floors. This was clearly not sufficient, however, since even on the third floor twelve smaller windows were used for the presentation of modern home furnishings. These advertisements in the windows on the third and fourth floors were designed to attract the attention of the customers in the Leipziger Straße from a distance. The glass surfaces of the *Kaufhäuser* grew until they reached the top of the building in the 1880s; they were also trying to imitate the grandeur of the shopping arcades and luxury store boulevards. In the late 1890s the principle of glass façades reached its climax in the newly emerging large-scale department stores.³³ They

Blätter für Architektur und Kunsthandwerk.

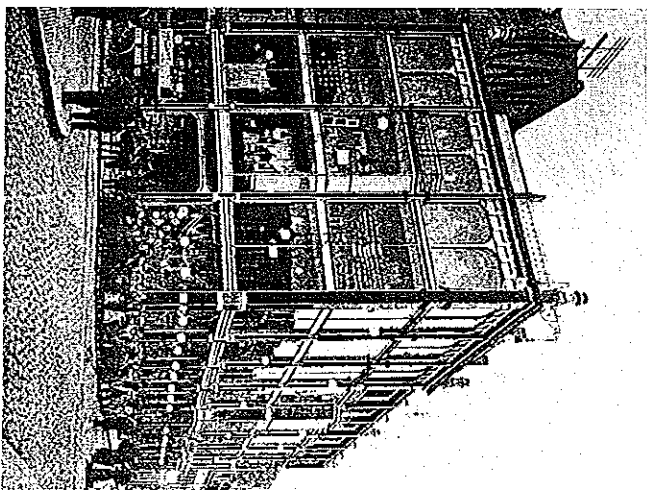


7.5 Upper floors of the department store Ascher & Münchow in Berlin (1886/87)

Source: 'Kaufhaus Ascher & Münchow in Berlin, Leipzigerstr. 43', *Blätter für Architektur und Kunsthandwerk* 4 (1891), 14, illustration 27

distinguished themselves through their display of a broad range of all kinds of merchandise, due to the consistent use of inner courts and other new interior concepts as well as a façade design that was strongly oriented towards vertical pillar constructions. Their architecture was original and innovative, but as far as the arrangement of goods in the shop window was concerned, they followed the tradition of the German *Kaufhäuser* as well as that of the much more luxurious French *grands magasins*.³⁴ The Wertheim emporium built by Messel in 1897 and the Hermann Tietz emporium built in 1899–1900 on Leipziger Straße (which had two huge shop windows, each 460 square metres) are the most famous examples of this type of construction. The Kander emporium, however, built in 1900 in Mannheim, was even more impressive (Figure 7.6).

More adamantly than their Berlin counterparts, the architects refused to consider any notion of a decorative façade or even some sort of topping-off of the roof construction in the case of this 'glass palace'. Iron and glass architecture here reached a unique climax: the emporium



7.6 The department store Kander in Mannheim in 1900

Source: Barbara Kilian, 'Die Mannheimer Warenhäuser Kander, Schmoller und Wronker: Ein Stück Mannheimer Wirtschaftsgeschichte und Architekturgeschichte', *Mannheimer Geschichtsblätter* 1 (1994), 336

seemed entirely transparent and completely open to the curious glances of the customers. However, aesthetic, architectural and fire safety considerations led to the end of the road for this form of monumental display window.³⁵

Before we continue with the great department stores, we need to ask ourselves if the shop window also became common in ordinary shops. As we have already seen, in the 1860s, small- and medium-sized businesses also redecorated their display windows or rented sales rooms, which usually had glass fronts. This is also evident in the consumer trade, in particular with groceries and delicatessens; however, it is impossible to quantify this development. Liberal politician Eugen Richter, who was a member of the cooperative movement, emphasized as early as 1867 that consumer cooperatives should have high-quality furnishings similar to those of competing grocery shops, but also wrote, in apparent contradiction to this: 'All consumer cooperatives, according to the English model, should refrain from a display of goods in the shop windows solely to attract customers.'³⁶ In photographs from the nine-

teenth century one can find continuous shop window fronts from the 1860s onwards; established, settled groceries also adopted these continuous shop window fronts no later than the 1880s.³⁷ Only the consumer cooperatives defied this trend until the turn of the century, confident of the loyalty of their membership.³⁸

At the same time one cannot neglect to mention their counterparts in private commerce. Retail chains emerged in the semi-luxury food and food sectors' in particular in the 1870s. Their success not only depended on centralized purchasing and administration but also on the fact that the individual stores had a uniform look, whose main attraction was usually one or more large shop windows. Even though the boom of this new type of business can be traced to the 1890s, the big chains usually began to develop earlier out of small retail shops – for example, *Kaisers Kaffeegeschäft* had 667 individual branches by 1900.³⁹ It therefore seems plausible that knowledge of the advertising power of an attractive display window was firmly established and very common in the grocery business even before the turn of the century.

This universalization of the display window as a crucial means of advertising among the small, independent retail shops was combined with different ways of presenting merchandise. As we have seen in Figures 7.1 and 7.2, the usual method was to pile up as much merchandise as possible in the window display. According to general opinion, this was the best way to present the efficiency of the shop. But mass availability held only limited attraction for customers. For this reason, the practice of arranging unusual or spectacular displays of fanciful design had begun by the early 1870s.⁴⁰

The criticism of these overly decorated shop windows – most of the displays had little connection with the goods being sold – appeared very soon, focused especially on manufactured and baked goods or meat products. The display of fresh meat (Figure 7.7) caused particular offence, even though it had been common practice until the turn of the century.⁴¹

The criticism that was already prevalent in the 1870s is hardly identical to the picture of display window advertising that has been drawn by scholars so far.⁴² The transition from the fantastic window display to the standard of stacked merchandise is always linked to the discourse of the turn of the century's élites. But long before programmatic slogans like 'The new shop window wants to be functional'⁴³ appeared, the majority of the shop windows had already been decorated 'functionally' anyway. Urban shop window fronts became the normative place for the presentation of modern merchandise. The increasing specialization of the retail shops turned display windows into both the epitome and message-bearer of a merchandise-centred supply: 'More eloquently than



Garz (vor dem Meinhof): „Du, Hanna, das ist aber
lieblich, daß der Gärtner bei seinen Blumenkäufen mit Eschen-
topfen und Sanduhnen versorgt!“

7.7 Window display of a south German butcher's shop in 1877

Source: 'Mißdeuterer Schönheitsinn', *Fliegende Blätter* 66 (1877), 207; see also the caricature 'Ein Zartes Herz', *Fliegende Blätter* 76 (1882), 46

newspaper advertisements it invites people to buy, since it shows off the merchandise itself and thus often reminds the interested customer of needs which he would not have thought of without the display window as a reminder.⁴⁴

Urban store windows presented the achievements of technological progress in a simple and unpretentious way:

Through huge mirror glass windows the viewer sees the most colourful splendour and variety, and a stroll through the main shopping streets of Berlin is like a walk through a small-scale international exhibition. There every merchant portrays the most characteristic picture of his field with a lot of effort and decorates it to the point of overkill with a sea of bright lights.⁴⁵

Very early on, window display was regarded as a commercial form of art, which served as entertainment to a growing number of consumers:

The view of a shop through the window lit in the evening is one of the most wonderful spectacles offered by large cities. And if the marble warehouse, where sculptures are displayed, attracts the

appreciation of art even more than the sales halls, which are dedicated to the products of manufacturers, then the majority of these works are brought closer to the art sphere through the spirit. This spirit can nowadays also be found in the manufacturer's craft. Looking at manufactured goods is therefore a pleasure which can truly be described without exaggeration as art appreciation.⁴⁶

In this respect it seems inappropriate, not only because of the small amount of detailed research, to accuse the retail trade of immoderation and lack of artistic sense before the turn of the century. Similarly, for many small stores, symmetrically proportioned stacks of goods were commonplace, as was placing the merchandise in the centre of the windows – it was definitely not the exception.

As the complexity and artistic quality of window displays grew, so did the number of goods whose prices were plainly displayed in those windows. The window displays in the *Magazine* had earlier provided much informational value through this practice.⁴⁷ This definite statement of price was not only a sign of an honest business practice. In the 1870s one-price bazaars and itinerant stores started to advertise their low prices as a means of competition. This created a price pressure amongst competitors which was further reinforced by the large department stores in the 1890s. Consumer obsession with prices was in many cases fed by price displays in smaller and medium-sized shops:

If we walk through the streets of Berlin and see an enormous crowd of people in front of a store window, I would bet that in this window display the merchandise carries price tags. The price display attracts the attention of a lot of people, even those who are not in the process of doing their shopping. The attention the salesman draws to his products does not cost him anything, but it is advantageous for him, since people will say when they get home: 'I saw a certain product at a certain price!' which is the first step towards developing a new customer base. There is no way to placate suspicious and hesitant customers, except by presenting them with price labels in the window. That reassures even the uninformed and inexperienced customer and gives him the certainty that he does not have to pay more than the savvy customer.⁴⁸

The fundamental changes in window display were also reflected in both the development of a new profession, the decorator (who was sometimes only a semi-professional),⁴⁹ and the increasingly important supply of decorative products. Frames, racks, *étagères*, tailor's dummies, shelves, mirrors, posters and many more products were made especially for window displays. An 1895 textbook lists a total of 103 German companies that specialized in these products.⁵⁰ In the early 1890s mechanical figures were invented, which, however, like the vending machine business, made very little headway.⁵¹ Mechanical buttons, which were

attached to the shop façade, were another invention which did not develop much further. More important were rolling racks and tailor's dummies that allowed a true-to-life presentation of clothes. Wax mannequins only emerged after the turn of the century and were an instant success with the larger shops.⁵² All these devices helped to make the windows altogether more attractive. High costs, however, were responsible for the obvious differences in the attractiveness of various store displays.

Even though the window display in German cities and towns was very common before the turn of the century, it should not be forgotten that the technique of presenting the merchandise was not yet very refined. It required a great deal of effort for the retailers to make window shopping enjoyable for customers. After all, the glittering world of merchandise had to be seen from the street. Therefore, one had to take precautions in order to make the shop window attractive in all weather conditions. The most obvious means for this was the awning.⁵³ It was usually made out of canvas and had blinds on the side. The marquee protected shoppers and merchandise from bright sunlight and light rain and, in the summer, against heat outside and to some degree inside as well. The awning also forced people to get closer to the shop, since it obstructed the view from a distance.⁵⁴ Rolling blinds obstructed the view of the merchandise on Sundays and holidays. But these common wooden, and later steel, grates were mostly a trade mark of small- and medium-sized shops. Larger shops, on the other hand, left their shop windows unobstructed, since their high-quality window glass also protected against burglaries. Only the art dealers and jewellers installed additional removable iron bars, so that the merchandise was protected and yet could still be seen.⁵⁵ However, we must remember that in most cities the shop window had to be covered or closed during the main church services. In some places such laws remained on the books until the end of the German Empire.⁵⁶

Extreme heat and cold were also problems. The display usually consisted of heavy wooden cases that were difficult to ventilate; the small holes for air circulation did not make much of a difference. Condensation was produced, which turned to steam in the summer and frost in the winter if no preventive measures were taken (see Figure 7.8). Each decade more and more new means to solve this problem were invented, but none was entirely effective. Since open gas flames in the window case were extremely dangerous, window glass was regularly coated with glycerin or other strong chemicals to reduce the risk of fire. As a result the customer's view of the merchandise was frequently blurred.⁵⁷

Darkness posed an especially difficult problem. Window displays had to be lit in order to be attractive in the evening too. There were very few



Das Meistente im Frühjahrs-Gasträumen etc.
 © Freiberger (aus dem Schriftenge): „Schlag“ einmal die Schlagschiff
 meg, damit die Gerichte der Frühjahrs- und Tag jeder können.“

7.8 A frosted-over shop window

Source: *Fliegende Blätter*, 88 (1888), no. 2230, Suppl., 5

laws governing business hours until the 1890s, and so many shops remained open in the evening. Therefore, many shop windows were initially lit with candles and petroleum lights, later with gas burners. There was always the danger of fire, and open flames steamed up the glass. Especially affluent shops relied on the exterior lighting of the shop windows at an early stage, but street lights were not always sufficient for the shop window and often blinded the customer. Gas and oil light were both yellow in tone, so that the look of the goods on display was often drastically altered. From the late 1880s on, electric arc lamps appeared; gas glow lamps were introduced in the late 1890s. Both produced white light but lent the merchandise a chalky character. For this reason strong colours were necessary and the colour design of the window displays sometimes seemed unnatural.⁵⁹ Even though window display innovations were important, there were aspects of the shopping experience of the time that have to be taken into consideration in order not to project our present ideas onto the past. Back then commercial dream worlds also had their limitations due to natural conditions.

These limitations remind us not to posit the existence of a fully developed urban consumer society. The glass shop windows definitely attracted more and more people but, despite increasing real income, the barriers of class and income were less permeable than the shop windows were transparent.

Display window and store as commercial ensemble after 1900

The development of display windows had reached its quantitative limits around the turn of the century. New innovations, which had followed one another in rapid succession before 1871, now failed to appear. However, we can posit that in the 1890s at the latest, shop windows emerged not only in average-sized towns, but frequently in smaller towns as well.⁶⁰ Shopkeepers on the urban outskirts also believed that glass fronts were absolutely indispensable. Still, the development of the display window continued unceasingly, for the domestication of the shop window in German cities around the turn of the century caused a qualitative improvement in sales techniques and the stores themselves: the principles of window design were also applied in the salesroom; the 'display window quality of things'⁶¹ was prevalent in the whole shop, shaping both design and staff.

The background to this change was a general and qualitative growth of the German small retail business, effected by the beginning of the 1890s. Intensive competition led to smaller trade margins, but at the same time increased the general costs of running the enterprise. The display window was primarily responsible for these changes:

The modern shop window requires enormous sums of money. You cannot imagine how many different items, from the huge plate glass to the practically invisible merchandise racks, are required and how many people and how much work are necessary for the set-up and maintenance of an acceptable window display. Just the decoration of such a shop window alone costs on average 150 to 200 marks for smaller sizes and 1,000 marks or more for the larger ones. On top of that we have to add the salary for the *arrangeurs*, i.e. people who decorate it.⁶¹

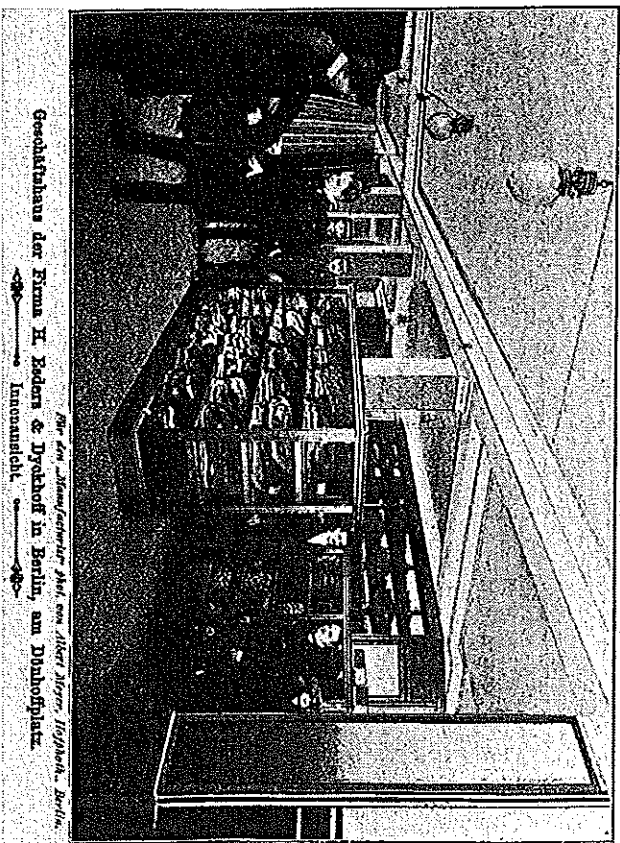
As early as the beginning of the 1890s window displays were changed, on average, every two weeks,⁶² even in medium-sized shops, so overhead generally increased. The rapid change became financially necessary to lower the burden of fixed costs. At the same time the standards of window design were rising. Fashions replaced seasons and the decoration materials industry continually offered new and ever more expensive products. Larger businesses could employ their own staff to decorate

their windows, the decorators thus replacing the decorating shop owner or his assistant. Textbooks and retail trade journals offered a steadily growing knowledge and information base for the decoration of display windows which would be attractive and would meet the current criteria for good taste.⁶³ These tasks, however, could not be easily delimited. The customer was not simply supposed to be attracted to the shop to look at the pretty display. He/she was expected to enter the shop to make a purchase. Therefore, he/she had to be presented with an ambience inside the shop commensurate with the progress of decoration technique, an ambience which must at least keep pace with the shop window. The exterior of the shop became the model for the refurbishing of the interior.

New architectural techniques were required for this development. Very early on the *Kaufhäuser* had huge sales counters: Herzog boasted 3,710 square metres in 1878 and the Berlin *Kaufhaus* Heinrich Jordan reached 8,000 square metres by 1893.⁶⁴ Only the use of reinforced concrete made it possible to build even larger sales rooms, as partition walls were no longer necessary and the number of supporting pillars could be greatly reduced. Up to this point the furnishings of the larger shops consisted of counters, racks and shelves; now there were big sales and display tables placed in the middle of the rooms. At the same time central heating replaced the hearths in the stores, and larger staircases, galleries and balconies were built. Thus customers could see not only the merchandise from a distance, but the other customers' purchases as well.⁶⁵ Store owners faced new problems when it came to decorating the interior of their stores and the display of merchandise, which they solved by reverting back to tried and well-established window decoration practice. In the largest department stores, it is easy to see this trend,⁶⁶ but it was more prevalent in medium-sized and larger *Kaufhäuser*, which raised window display advertising to a new, more inclusive level.

The sales rooms of the Berlin firm Esders & Dyckhoff were not only significantly larger and better lit than those in stores of an earlier era (Figure 7.9). They also contained totally new furnishings, including display cases (often with glass fronts), which stood in the middle of the floor. Shelves were inappropriate for large salesrooms and display tables did not offer enough space for the merchandise. Therefore, the shop was refurbished and decorated with mirrors and the merchandise was permanently visible to the consumer. Self-service as a concept did not yet exist. Just as in the display windows, items were to be looked at, but not touched, unless a shop assistant were present.

The continually growing range of industrially produced items favoured the presentation of merchandise within the shop. The display of new hats and blouses in the salesrooms of the Berlin firm Kersten &



Geschäftsraum der Firma H. Esders & Dyckhoff in Berlin, am Dönhofsplatz.
 Für den „Manufacturist“ Nr. 24, vom 11. März 1901, S. 110.

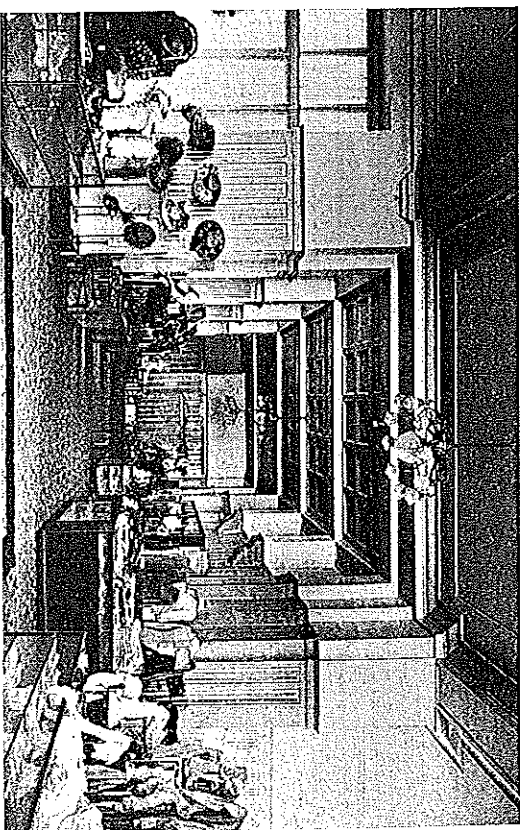
7.9 Salesrooms of the Berlin firm H. Esders & Dyckhoff, 1901

Source: *Der Manufacturist* 24, no. 23 (1901), 9

Tuteur was not done with the kinds of mannequins and other props used in window displays (Figure 7.10). Display tables and glass cabiners made another kind of window-shopping possible inside the shop itself.

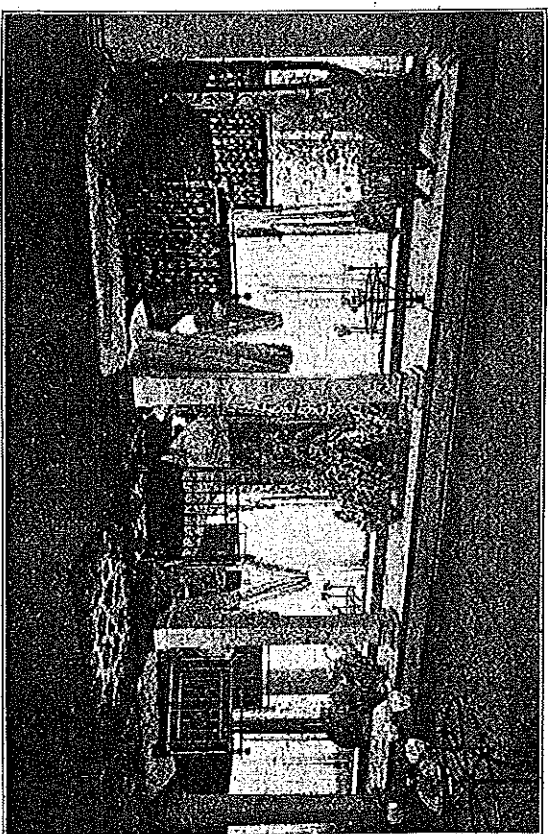
The presentation of beds in the department store Weddy-Pönicke shows broader possibilities for interior design (Figure 7.11). The decorated merchandise could not only be looked at, but regained its quality as something displayed in a room, became more approachable and could be experienced. Dream worlds could now be built away from the narrow construction of the display window, and their ‘natural’ appeal increased.

This development of interior decoration was furthered dramatically by the improvements in lighting techniques. No longer were oil or simple gas lights used; bright electric arc lamps, and in particular the new gas glow light, replaced them. Thus the shop could be completely lit and the merchandise and decoration could show their splendour. At the same time, the big hearths disappeared from the shops and were replaced by central heating. This was another way of gaining display room and the ambience was made more pleasant. Structurally necessary pillars were still an irritation; but in new buildings the brick support



7.10 Salesrooms of the Berlin firm Kersten & Tuteur in 1914

Source: *Berliner Architekturwelt* 16 (1914), 148



Geschäftsraum der Firma H. C. Weddy-Pönicke in Halle a. S.
 Für den „Manufacturist“ Nr. 25, vom 11. März 1901, S. 110.

7.11 Salesrooms of the firm of H.C. Weddy-Pönicke in Halle in 1901

Source: *Der Manufacturist* 24, no. 25 (1901), 13

pillars were increasingly replaced by smaller cast-iron columns or iron supports, which gave medium-sized shops more usable space.⁶⁷

Tasteful interior design was enhanced by the use of colour. Some store owners coordinated the colours of ceilings, walls and window panes. Art nouveau was especially successful in selling up-market consumer goods.⁶⁸ After the turn of the century the shop developed, at least as far as the consumer business was concerned, into a functionally designed art environment – functional for the purpose of sales. Even if the majority of the smaller shops could not quite keep up with the exemplary large department stores, one also had to recognize their efforts and their changes – which influenced the smaller stores on a smaller scale. Like the window display, the shop itself became an increasingly reflexive and calculated sales technique and changed its decoration accordingly.

Only when these developments had occurred did window-shopping become a true shopping experience for the majority of consumers. Class barriers were consciously transgressed in order to attract customers who could not normally afford the displayed goods. Thus new commercial 'sensual horizons' were created, as evidenced by the sudden increase in shoplifting incidents.⁶⁹ The term 'democratization of consumption' had only limited validity, since despite increasing real wages, high-quality consumer and utility goods were only partially available to the majority of people. In the upper middle class, however, there emerged a new urban consumer culture in which the display windows were still attractive, but in which the salesroom, designed according to the model set by the windows, was the main focus.

What downside does an otherwise dreary and unbearable winter day have in the face of the lit shopping streets in the large city with their enticing displays of many beautiful and precious items? A hail storm, wet feet? One walks into the first best shop, pleasant warmth, bright unobtrusive light, positive impressions everywhere! One imagines oneself to be the owner of soft carpets, glamorous mirrors, pretty and comfortable furniture, one knows that the tasteful arrangement of merchandise is solely directed at the customer. All other pleasures are at his unlimited disposal. Why not buy something small? Maybe one does not need anything. On the other hand, what is there to do at home on such a day where it is not half as pretty or as modern, where there is not anything new and exciting; what does one do on the street in such nasty weather?⁷¹

The expansion of the window display into the interior of the shop made it possible for the front of the store to be considered more in terms of quality. Thus a process of mutual coordination began, encouraging uniform advertising by individual shops.

First, the time of the glass palaces ended quickly; they were replaced by shops with smaller display window fronts. Several department store

fires showed the limited heat resistance of pure steel and iron constructions, so that the vertical pillars were now almost always covered with stone facing. The number of two- and especially three-storey display window constructions decreased, since windows so high up were hardly noticed.⁷¹ After the turn of the century new possibilities arose, and one of the reasons was curved plate glass. Thus the way from the street into the shop could be framed by display windows and up-market speciality shops took advantage of these new developments.⁷² At the same time the windows were adapted more to the displayed goods:

The type of goods will determine whether a large shop window is appropriate or if a small section of the window is sufficient. Window design requires different considerations for the fashion shop as far as the merchandise display is concerned, as opposed to the jeweller's shop, where the value of the piece lies in its uniqueness. And by pursuing the theory of the pictorial unity of the goods, the idea of concentration and isolation, of framing of the 'still life' in the shop window was introduced. The framing of the window simultaneously became the framing of the merchandise.⁷³

A second example of the growing importance of strong qualitative interest is the use of light. The shining façades of the big houses provoked increasing criticism of a 'craze for light'. This criticism started to be met with a weaker, but more strategically applied kind of lighting.⁷⁴ An indirect interior lighting took the place of the exterior lighting. Set behind refracting glass, these electric lamps hardly produced any condensation, but created a 'mystical magic' for the merchandise.⁷⁵

Finally, the position of the merchandise within the display changed. The exceptional role played by individual products, which was supposed to make huge piles of merchandise look even more impressive, disappeared in favour of a sales ambience, which was generally supposed to encourage customers to purchase items and which formed the frame for the purchase of a single product. As a considerable percentage of the lower classes suffered from malnutrition and the standard of living of the majority of customers was repeatedly reduced due to rising food prices, the abstract power of the advertisement started increasingly to dominate the displays of the big shops: 'Today's shop window display has become an advertisement to such an extent that many shops have stopped showing the products for sale.'⁷⁶ In this context the shop window had only an appellative character and had become a non-specific undifferentiated part of a larger advertising system. In retrospect, there is no longer a single item for whose attraction the shop window provided a visual frame. At the end there is a commercial cult about the merchandise itself. The big stores became cathedrals of consumption, the decorators priests of the new cult, and the displays were their altars:

The merchant who wants to sell his goods cannot be satisfied with a mass of people passing by fascinated only by the atmosphere of glamour and light. He wants to grip and impress them, mesmerize them; the merchandise is supposed to become important for them, to dominate everything and make one forget the whole enthralling glamour and become one with every man. It has to create a solitude in which the magic suggestion spins its threads and which the spellbound cannot get rid of the thought: I have to own you! But this sacred process of the unification of buyer and merchandise requires a lot of concentration. A lot of effort is necessary to isolate the merchandise. Most importantly the window needs a frame. Endell, the most famous magician amongst the window dressers in Berlin, understood this necessity. Whenever he had the chance to design the façades of stores, he put thick pillars between the windows and ornamented the windows with expensive frames, so that we experience something like a miracle when we get closer to the windows. It was also Endell who found the best solution for the lighting. Long before him the outer arc lamps, which blind the customer instead of illuminating the merchandise, had been removed. The hidden lighting, which conceals the light source from the viewer, in order to emphasize the goods even more, had been introduced to the window displays by the theatrical stage. Endell's contribution now was a light with its mystic magic. With sparkling surfaces of coloured glass it sealed the lighting cases against the street, the light playing down from above onto the merchandise. Name brands, almost like magic symbols, shine brightly inside. The scene is filled with the atmosphere which every child experiences in front of the curtain which is to open up a dream world for the first time. Whatever is offered in this magic shrine is something precious, even if it is only a pair of black leather boots.⁷⁷

What I have described above allows for various conclusions, for the display window is only representative of some more general questions about advertising and the consumer. If we were only to consider this phenomenon from the perspective of the cultural critical theorists, we would lose sight of the positive aspects of advertising which are so strongly expressed in the above quotation: the modern consumer standing empowered and ennobled before the powerful show of goods that were apparently produced only for him. The merchandise became god-like, creating a new sacred space of omnipresent and transcendental power, first within the framework of the display windows, and then later within the store itself. The rationality of a modern presentation of merchandise created the irrationally rational aspect of modern consumption. The loss of mystery about this world paradoxically found its counterpart in the widespread enchantment of the display windows, shops and merchandise. But the notion that advertising and consumption might be the substitute religion of a capitalist society does not do justice to the attractive aspects of purchase and purchasing, of looking and discovering.

In the development of the window display we find not just alienation, but also the attempts by many people to domesticate the power of nature and to create, by human art alone, a world in a small glass room. Consumption, especially mass consumption in the nineteenth century, was often perceived as an expression of man's ability to progress. The acts of purchasing, acquiring and possessing confirmed his status as the master of the world and, when gazing into the shop window, even a person with little income believed that the world was at his feet. The self-consciousness that makes this notion possible is now lost, but it was definitely part of the fascination that surrounded the display window in the nineteenth century. As we draw our conclusions, maybe we should also think about the achievements of the retailers, who are so often neglected in historical research. After all, it was their efforts and love of detail which created commercial dream worlds and thus they who shaped important elements of the modern city. With the help of a simple, transparent window pane they separated buyer and merchandise, thus creating uncertainty, and bestowing upon the products an element of mystery.

We could assume other roles, for example that of the historian, who would probably be surprised about the new periodization that has been presented in this work. If it is valid, and much seems to support this assumption, the bulk of existing research has had the wrong focus. In the middle, rather than at the end, of the nineteenth century, important changes within window advertising and consumption took place. This hypothesis would question the widely accepted picture of a consumer society that developed only in the 1890s, since in German cities a bourgeois style of consumption emerged much earlier. Furthermore, the prevailing idea that a new visual culture emerged only at the turn of the century would, at the very least, be dated incorrectly. One should ask about the causes of these changes – independent of whether these causes were manufacturers, shop owners or consumers, or, on the other hand, shops, display windows or products. People and things belong together despite their individuality. Maybe the picture of industrialization, which has been so completely dominated by manufacturing, would develop another focus to do justice to the cities as business and consumer centres. And as for the rise of the German Empire as a European economic power, we would probably also be confronted with some surprising perspectives. There are many possible conclusions to be drawn, which you can develop further, and to which you can definitely add a few more. You should try it. It will be worth the effort.

Notes

1. The author would like to thank Regine Wieder for translating this essay from German.
2. Compare Peter N. Stearns, 'Stages of Consumerism: Recent Work on the Issues of Periodization', *Journal of Modern History* 69 (1997), 102-17; Karin Hausen, 'Werbung, Vorbemerkung', *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1997) 1, 9-10; Jürgen Bolten, 'Wertewandel - Wertewandel. Werbegeschichte als Kommunikationsgeschichte', *Universitas* 51 (1996), 127-42; Peter Borscheid and Clemens Wischermann (eds), *Bildwelt des Alltags. Werbung in der Konsumgesellschaft des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, Studien zur Geschichte des Alltags, vol. 3 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995).
3. Compare Klaus Tenfelde, 'Klassenspezifische Konsummuster im Deutschen Reich', in *Europäische Konsumgeschichte. Zur Gesellschafts- und Kulturgeschichte des Konsums (18.-20. Jahrhundert)*, edited by Hannes Siegrist, Hartmut Kaelble and Jürgen Kocka (Frankfurt and New York: Campus, 1997), 245-66; Uwe Spiekermann, *Basis der Konsumgesellschaft. Entstehung und Entwicklung des modernen Kleinhandels in Deutschland 1850-1914* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1999); the current authority is Dirk Reinhardt, *Von der Reklame zum Marketing: Geschichte der Wirtschaftswerbung in Deutschland* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993). Reinhardt's study, unfortunately, looks at advertising only from the inside.
4. Bruno Latour, *Wir sind nie modern gewesen. Versuch einer symmetrischen Anthropologie* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995); see also Detlef Stender, 'Vom Leben der toten Dinge: Schränke zum Kühlen als historische Quelle', in *Alltagskultur, Subjektivität und Geschichte: Zur Theorie und Praxis von Alltagsgeschichte*, edited by the Berliner Geschichtswerkstatt (Münster: Verlag Westfälisches Dampfboot, 1994), 157-73.
5. This and the preceding quotation are from Hans-Walter Schmidt, 'Schaufenster des Ostens: Anmerkungen zur Konsumkultur der DDR', *Deutschland-Archiv* 27 (1994), 364-72.
6. Negative examples are Württembergischer Kunstverein (ed.), *Schaufenster: Die Kulturgeschichte eines Massenmediums* (Stuttgart: Dr. Cantzsche Druckerei, 1974); Heidrun Großjohann, 'Die Karriere des stummen Spektakels: Zur Geschichte des Schaufensters', in *Der neuen Welt ein neuer Rock: Studien zur Kleidung, Körper und Mode an Beispielen aus Baden-Württemberg*, Forschungen und Berichte zur Volkskunde in Baden-Württemberg, edited by C. Köhle-Hezinger and G. Menges, vol. 9 (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 1993), 252-6.
7. Compare Johann Georg Krünitz, 'Kauf-Laden', in *Oekonomisch-technologische Encyclopädie*, edited by J. G. Krünitz, vol. 36 (Berlin: Joachim Pauli, 1786), 482-6; Margot Aschenbrenner, *Buden und Läden* (Biberach and Riss: n.p., 1992); Gerhard Kaufmann, 'Alle Läden' in *Vom Charme der alten Warenwelt*, edited by M. Galli (Dortmund: Harenberg, 1992), 115-53.
8. Compare Heinrich Sasse, 'Das bremische Krameramt', *Bremisches Jahrbuch* 33 (1931), 108-52, n. 1. Also see H. W. Bahn, 'Studienbeitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Schaufensters in Deutschland', (Ing. diss., Braunschweig, 1923).
9. Compare Bahn, 'Studienbeitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte'; Hermann

10. Weidemann, 'Skizze zur Geschichte des Glases', *Prometheus* 24 (1913), 340-42, 358-61, 378-81, 394-5.
11. Compare Josef Kirchner, 'Münchener Kaufläden von einst und jetzt', *Münchener Rundschau* 4 (1907), 1-5; *Die Malerische Topographie des Königreiches Bayern* (Munich: Hermann & Barth, 1830) which contains several sketches of shops in Munich with display windows.
12. Compare Boris Röhl, 'Ladenbeschriftungen des 19. Jahrhunderts: Versuch einer Systematisierung', *Volkskunst* 13, no. 3 (1990), 39-43.
13. Spiekermann, *Basis der Konsumgesellschaft*, presents evidence for a new perspective on these changes.
14. For a different view, see Ulrich Lange, 'Krämer, Höker und Hausierer. Die Anfänge des Massenkonsums in Schleswig-Holstein', in *Mare Balticum. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Ostseerums im Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, edited by W. Paravicin, Kieler Historische Studien, vol. 36 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke 1992), 315-27; as well as Heidrun Homburg, 'Werbung - "Eine Kunst, die gelernt sein will." Aufbrüche in eine neue Warenwelt 1750-1850', *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1997), 1, 11-52.
15. In *Von der Reklame zum Marketing*, Reinhardt emphasizes that 'until the 1890s large and modern shop windows remained very rare in German cities' (271). In contrast, he asserts in his 1995 essay, 'Vom Intelligenzblatt zum Satellitenfernsehen: Stufen der Werbung als Stufen der Gesellschaft', that 'As early as the 1870s the *Gründervzeit* had changed the looks of the streets with its refurbishing of shop fronts' (Peter Borscheid and Clemens Wischermann (eds), *Bildwelt des Alltags: Werbung in der Konsumgesellschaft des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995), 144-63). It is necessary to consider that this periodization only makes sense if the department store is narrowly defined as a capitalist retail trade company which deals with goods of different kinds in uniform sales-rooms' (Uwe Spiekermann, *Warenhaussteuer in Deutschland: Mittelstandsbewegung, Kapitalismus und Rechtsstaat im späten Kaiserreich* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1994), 29). A broader definition would place the beginning of the history of German department stores during the early phase of industrialization.
16. Wilfried Reininghaus, review of *Bildwelt des Alltags: Werbung in der Konsumgesellschaft des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Peter Borscheid and Clemens Wischermann, *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 83 (1996): 239-40.
17. Figures taken from F. C. W. Dieterici, *Statistische Uebersicht der wichtigsten Gegenstände des Verkehrs und Verbrauchs im Preussischen Staate und im deutschen Zollvertrage in dem Zeitraum von 1837 bis 1839* (Berlin, Posen and Bromberg: Ernest Siegfried Mittler, 1842), 399-400. Ernst Siegfried Mittler, *Tabellen und amtliche Nachrichten über den Preussischen Staat für das Jahr 1858*, edited by the Statistisches Bureau zu Berlin (Berlin: R. Decker, 1860) 322-3.
18. Figures taken from H[ans] Grandke, 'Die Entstehung der Berliner Wäsche-Industrie im 19. Jahrhundert', *Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reich* 20 (1896), 587-602. The window of a linen shop was portrayed by Johann Erdmann Hummel in the late 1820s (*Westermanns Monatshefte* 147 (1929/30): s.p.).
19. My own evaluation of the *Hamburgisches Adress-Buch auf das Jahr 1800*

- (Hamburg: J. H. Hermann); *Hamburgisches Adressbuch für das Jahr 1822* (Hamburg: Hermann's Erben).
19. 'Polizey-Bekanntmachung, die bequemere Passage der Strassen betreffend v. 15.05.1830', in J. M. Lappenberg, *Sammlung der Verordnungen der freyen Hanse-Stadt Hamburg seit 1814* vol. 4 (Hamburg, 1832), 170-71.
20. W. Melhop, *Alt-Hamburgische Bauweise: Kurze geschichtliche Entwicklung der Baustile in Hamburg*, 2nd edn (Hamburg: 1925), 326 (reprint of an earlier publication by Kurt Heymann (Hamburg, n.d.)). It contains several exhibits as well as photographs from the 1870s.
21. It needs to be pointed out that a simple and fairly plain design of the shop windows was common in Hamburg. See Robert Geisler, *Hamburg: Ein Führer durch die Stadt und ihre Umgebungen* (Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1861), esp. 53.
22. 'Das Gerson'sche Modewaaren-Lager zu Berlin, Werderscher Markt No. 5', *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* 1 (1851), col. 131-7; Gustav Schmoller, *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kleingewerbe im 19. Jahrhundert: Statistische und nationalökonomische Untersuchungen* (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1870), 646.
23. See also Elisabeth von Stephani-Hahn, *Schaufenster-Kunst: Lehrsätze und Erläuterungen*, 3rd rev. edn (Berlin: Schottländer & Co., 1926), 9-10; according to von Stephani-Hahn, the first specialized shop window decorators were employed as early as the middle of the nineteenth century.
24. Springer, *Ein Führer durch die Stadt und ihre Umgebungen*, 330, 332-3.
25. Stock, 'Ueber Schaufenster-Anlagen', *Zeitschrift für Praktische Bankkunst* 24 (1864), col. 9-20.
26. 'Ueber Kaufäden', *Zeitschrift für Bauhandwerker* 7 (1863), 132-6, sheet 17.
27. Weidemann, 'Skizze zur Geschichte des Glases', 341. London, by contrast, counted only 2,000 similar shop windows, Paris 1,500 and Vienna 1,000.
28. Compare 'Geschäftshaus in Berlin', *Unter den Linden*, no. 13, für den Kaufmann Kohn, *Zeitschrift für praktische Bankkunde* 31 (1871), col. 151-2, illustrations 17-20.
29. This is evidenced by various caricatures; for example, illustrations zu schönen Worten', *Fliegende Blätter* 37 (1862), 40.
30. Compare Bischoff et al., *Das Manufakturwarengeschäft: Fabrikation und Vertrieb*, 2nd edn (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1869), 479.
31. Compare Uwe Spiekermann, 'Elitenkampf um die Werbung: Staat, Heimatschutz und Reklameindustrie im frühen 20. Jahrhundert', in *Bildnswelt des Alltags: Werbung in der Konsumgesellschaft des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Peter Borscheid and Clemens Wischermann (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995), 126-149, esp.
32. For information on the technical issues see J. Schuh, 'Der moderne Ladenbau', *Süddeutsche Bauzeitung* 2 (1892), 222-4, 234-5, esp. 222.
33. Even the first department store, the Kaiser-Bazaar, founded in 1891, had 130 shop windows ('Vom Kaiser-Bazar in Berlin', *Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung* 8 (1891), 323-4.
34. Similarly, A. L. Plehn, 'Zur Entwicklung der Warenhausfassade', *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 8 (1917), 113-14, 127-7, 129. For a French example see Christine Schramm, *Deutsche Warenhäuserbauten: Ursprung, Typologie und Entwicklungstendenzen* (Aachen: Shaker, 1995), 28-41; Siegfried Gerlach and Dieter Sawatzki, *Grands magasins oder Die Geburt des*

- Warenhauses im Paris des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Dortmund: Harenberg, 1989), 5-38.
35. Compare Hugo Koch's 1842 criticism, 'Schaufenster und Ladenverschlüsse', in *Handbuch der Architektural* 3 no. 1 (Darmstadt: Arnold Bergsträsser, 1896), 357-8. Hans Schliepmann, 'Das moderne Geschäftshaus', *Berliner Architektural* 3 (1901), 423-5. A positive note is struck by Leo Nacht, 'Moderne Schaufensterauslagen', *Berliner Architektural* 6 (1904), 337.
36. Eugen Richter, *Die Consumvereine: Ein Noth- und Hilfsbuch für deren Gründung und Einrichtung* (Berlin: Franz Duncker, 1867), 95.
37. There is some good evidence for Munich, for instance. See Richard Bauer, *Das alte München: Photographien 1855-1912*, collected by Karl Valentin (Munich: Schirmer Mosel, 1982).
38. Compare Uwe Spiekermann, 'Medium der Solidarität: Die Werbung der Konsumgenossenschaften 1903-1933', in *Bildnswelt des Alltags: Konsumgesellschaft des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Peter Borscheid and Clemens Wischermann (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995), 150-89; Michael Prinz, *Brot und Dindende: Konsumvereine in Deutschland und England vor 1914*, Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, vol. 112 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 263-4.
39. Julius Hirsch provides the best overview in *Die Filialbetriebe im Detailhandel* (Bonn: A. Marcus and E. Webers, 1913).
40. Uli Huber, 'Die Geschichte des Schaufensters', in *Werbende Fenster*, edited by Eugen Johannes Maacker, vol. 1 (Berlin: Kulturbuchverlag), 15.
41. Hermann Kind, *Die Fleischeri in Leipzig* Untersuchungen über die Lage des Handwerks in Deutschland, Schriften des Vereins für Socialpolitik, vol. 67 (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1897), 55-6. See also the 'artistic' decoration of pig halves in Stephani-Hahn, *Schaufenster-Kunst*, 28 and the exhibit in S. Thron, 'Der Weihnachtsmann in der Großstadt', *Die Woche* 6 (1908), 2237-42.
42. Christiane Lamberty, 'Die Kunst im Leben des Buttergeschäfts: Geschmacksbildung und Reklame in Deutschland vor 1914', *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1997) 1, 53-78.
43. Karl Ernst Osthaus, 'Das Schaufenster', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Werkbundes* (1913), 59-69.
44. Bischoff et al., *Das Manufakturwarengeschäft*, 472.
45. 'Schaufenster-Decorationen einst und jetzt', *Der Manufakturist* 16, no. 16 (1893), 7.
46. Bischoff et al., *Das Manufakturwarengeschäft*, 476-7.
47. Geisler, *Hamburg*, 53.
48. 'Soll man an den Waaren die Preise deutlich mit Ziffern bezeichnen, so daß Jedermann sofort weiss, was das betreffende Stück kostet?', *Der Manufakturist* 16, no. 10 (1893), 5.
49. Respectable training institutes emerged even before the turn of the century. See 'Decorationschule für Frauen', *Der Manufakturist* 16, no. 4 (1893), 9.
50. J. Ehnart, *Der Schaufenster-Dekorator: Lehrbuch zur zweckmäßigen Dekoration der Schaufenster für sämtliche Modebranchen mit über 300 Illustrationen* (Frankfurt: A. Blazek, Jr, 1895), 215-20.
51. See the advice in 'Wie mache ich Reklame?', *Der Materialist* 21, no. 40 (1900), 12.

52. See 'Die Anziehungskraft des Schaufensters' 36, no. 5 (1913), 40; von Stephan-Hahn, *Schaufenster-Kunst*, 149-192, esp. 21.
53. R. Goldschmidt, 'Kauf-, Waren- und Geschäftshäuser', in *Baukunde des Architekten (Deutsches Bauhandbuch)*, vol. 2 p. 5, 2nd edn (Berlin: Verlag Deutsche Bauzeitung, 1902), 71.
54. See exhibits of the 'Friedrich- und Leipzigerstraße' in *Berliner Architekturwelt* 16 (1914), 193-4.
55. See Koch, 'Schaufenster und Ladenverschlüsse', 364, 370-76; 'Neue Schaufenster-Roulaux', *Der Materialist* 20, no. 40 (1899), 2; Goldschmidt *Kauf-, Waren- und Geschäftshäuser*, 69-71; Franz Woas, 'Praktische Neuerungen im Ladenbau', *Bauzeitung für Württemberg, Baden, Hessen und Elsaß-Lothringen* 11 (1914), 170.
56. Dirk Reinhardt, 'Beten oder Bummeln? Der Kampf um die Schaufensterfreiheit', in *Bilderrwelt des Alltags: Konsumgesellschaft des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Peter Borscheid and Clemens Wischemann (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995), 116-25. The essay, however, overestimates the influence of the churches and does not address the background of the conflicts at the turn of the century.
57. Of the enormous quantities of relevant literature, I recommend the following titles: 'Gefrieren der Schaufenster', *Der Mannfacturist* 16, no. 3 (1893), 9; 'Gefrorene Schaufenster', *Der Mannfacturist* 16, no. 44 (1893), 8; Goldschmidt, *Kauf-, Waren- und Geschäftshäuser*, 362; 'Das Beschlagen der Schaufenster', *Der Materialist* 21, no. 1 (1900), 2; 'Das Beschlagen und Gefrieren der Schaufenster', *Der Mannfacturist* 24, no. 46 (1901), 12.
58. See on this theme in the history of everyday life: 'Ueber Schaufenster-Beleuchtung', *Der Mannfacturist* 16, no. 17 (1893), 3; 'Schaufenster-Beleuchtung', *Der Materialist* 21, no. 16 (1900), 2nd page after 12; Carl Zaar and August Leo Zaar, 'Geschäfts-, Kauf- und Warenhäuser', *Handbuch der Architektur*, T. 4, half volume 2, vol. 2, Stuttgart: Arnold Bergsträsser, Verlagsbuchhandlung, A. Kröner, 1902), 20-24.
59. See on this topic Max Schröder, *Das Geschäftshaus der Kleinstadt* (Strelitz: M. Hirtenkoter, 1911).
60. Georg Simmel, 'Berliner Gewerbe-Ausstellung', *Ästhetik und Kommunikation* 18, 67-8 (1987-89), 105. Originally published in 1896.
61. Dora Feigenbaum, 'Die Reklame: Ihre Entwicklung und Bedeutung', *Deutschland* 7 (1905-6): 427-36, 589-602.
62. Felix Steinel, 'Die Reklame des kleinstädtischen Manufakturwarenhändlers', in *Moderne Reklame*, edited by Robert Exner (Zittrau: Verlag der Expedition der Fachzeitschrift 'Die Reklame', 1892), 7-10.
63. Good examples from the grocery trade are Fritz Grossmann, 'Schmücke Dein Schaufenster: Handbuch der Schaufenster-Reklame', in 'Wort & Bild' (Magdeburg: Hermann Teubner, 1901), and Gustav Teller, *Die Schaufenster-Dekoration für Kolonialwaren-Handlungen und verwandte Geschäftszweige* (Leipzig: Jüstel & Götzel, 1909).
64. For details on new and renovated rooms, see 'Heinrich Jordan, Markgrafenstrasse 105-107', *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 27 (1893), 317-21. Paul Lindenberg, 'Berlin und das Haus Rudolph Hertzog seit 1839', in *Agenda Rudolph Hertzog 1914* (Berlin: self-published, 1913), 13-96.
65. See Erwin Paneth, *Entwicklung der Reklame vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart: Erfolgreiche Mittel der Geschäfts-, Personen und Ideenreklame*

- aus allen Zeiten und Ländern* (Munich, Leipzig: R. Oldenbourg, 1926), 161.
66. Compare Alfred Wiener, *Das Warenhaus: Kauf-, Geschäfts-, Büro-Haus* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1912).
67. Karl Ross, 'Neubau und Umbau von Geschäftshäusern und Kaufläden', *Der Mannfacturist* 24, no. 27, 5-6, no. 29, 5-6, no. 32, 5-6, no. 35, 5-6, no. 40 (1901), 5-6, here no. 29 (1901), 5.
68. See Rogg, 'Neubau und Umbau' no. 40 (1901), 5. On ceiling decoration, see August Endell, 'Ladeneinrichtungen', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Werkbundes* (1913): 58.
69. For more detail see Uwe Spiekermann, 'Theft and Thieves in German Department Stores, 1895-1930: A Discourse on Morality, Crime, and Gender', in *Cathedrals of Consumption: The European Department Store, 1850-1939*, edited by Geoffrey Crossick and Serge Jauman (Aldershot: Ashgate 1999).
70. 'Die innere Ausstattung: Vom Werke der Raumkunst für das offene Ladengeschäft', *Der Mannfacturist* 36, no. 8 (1913), 36.
71. B. Haas, 'Das Schaufenster in ästhetischer und betriebstechnischer Beziehung (Schluss.)', *Deutsche Bauhütte* 10 (1906), 221-3. Compare Hans Schliepmann's critique of this architectural change, 'Das moderne Geschäftshaus (Schluss.)', *Berliner Architekturwelt* 4 (1902), 135-59.
72. Compare 'Ein schmales Bremer Geschäftshaus', *Deutsche Bauhütte* 5 (1901), 266-7; Goldschmidt, 'Kauf-, Waren-, und Geschäftshäuser', 60; *Berliner Architekturwelt* 16: 68 (the new wing of Hermann Gerzon); Woas, *Praktische Neuerungen im Ladenbau*.
73. Kurt Pallmann, 'Künstlerische Ladengestaltung als Aufgabe des Architekten', *Deutsche Bauhütte* 18 (1914), 108, 110, 113, 122-3.
74. 'Neue Wege', *Der Mannfacturist* 36, no. 5 (1913), 15, 17.
75. Pallmann, 'Künstlerische Ladengestaltung als Aufgabe des Architekten', 108.
76. Osthaus, 'Das Schaufenster', 60. See also Stephan-Hahn, *Schaufenster-Kunst*, 10-11.
77. Osthaus, 'Das Schaufenster', 62-3.

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Published by
Ashgate Publishing Ltd
Gower House
Croft Road
Aldershot
Hants GU11 3HR
England

Ashgate Publishing Company
131 Main Street
Burlington
Vermont 05401-5600
USA

ISBN 1-84014-237-5

Ashgate website: <http://www.ashgate.com>

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Wischermann, Clemens
Advertising and the European City. – (Historical urban studies)
1. Advertising – Europe – History
I. Title II. Shore, Elliott, 1951–
659.1'094

Library of Congress Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Advertising and the European City/[edited by] Clemens Wischermann, Elliott Shore.
P. cm. – (Historical urban studies)
Includes bibliographical references
1. Advertising – Europe. I. Wischermann, Clemens. II. Shore, Elliott, 1951– III. Series.

HF5813.E79 A364 2000
659.1'094-dc21

00-020651

Typeset in Sabon by Manton Typesetters, Louth, Lincolnshire, UK and printed in Great Britain by TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall.

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