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**Ghostwriters beyond the firm.
German prewar ad men’s influences on the West-German advertising industry and their
relationships to entrepreneurial stakeholders up to the 1960s**

Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper is to examine why the West-German ad consultants and directors, who influenced the German consumer and capital goods industries from the days of National Socialism until the 1960s and beyond, constantly complained about a lack of recognition and their usual condition of being anonymous service providers, even though they made a lot of profit throughout the late 1950s and 1960s. From the perspective of these prewar ad men, the paper investigates the motivations behind their complaints and scrutinises their influences on the West-German advertising industry as well as on the ad men’s relationships to owner-managers, sales managers and consumers from 1945 to the 1960s in West Germany.

Design/methodology/approach – The paper is based on a study of distinct sets of sources from German state and business archives, discourses in trade journals, biographical writings, results of a survey, a few autobiographies and interviews with ad men’s relatives. It pieces together a coherent description and interpretation of what happened.

Originality – As an outline of an ongoing PhD-project, the originality of the paper lies in its detailed contribution to social and mental aspects of a history of the West-German advertisers’ occupation after 1945. It provides a first module to an outstanding comparative history of those service occupations, which influenced the West-German media public decisively as anonymous actors.

Findings – The primary finding is that the prewar ad men’s economic situation was not at all a worse one, but their social standing was generally weak. The ad men had to deal with a complex dilemma outside and inside of business enterprises, which was related to their social status deficiency deriving from the enduring public criticism and their situation as “ghostwriters” (Rainer Gries) without any formal or statistical proof of their expertise and efficiency towards clients. The advertisers’ exaggerated reinterpretation of their anonymity to a necessary and special psychological skill, was a compensational strategy to conceal their lack of a job description and qualifications as a proof of their expertise, to strengthen their weak social position and to gain a recognition for their influential work. Nevertheless, this strategy’s boasts increased the public and entrepreneurial suspicion against the ad men. This confused situation of the advertisers who really tried to improve their social reputation but, then again, counteracted their own efforts with exaggerated boasts, explains their constant complaints of their supposedly “worse situation”, even though their work was often influential and they made a lot of profit.

I. Introduction

“The special occupational difficulty of an advertiser is that he must constantly readjust himself mentally to conform to different circumstances. With every new order he is required to empathise with the needs of his clients, to understand the psychology of targeted customers, and to know the particular nature of various products and their specific market situation. [...] One who is required by his occupation to constantly alter his mentality, needs certain intellectual equipment and personal substance in order to balance working, managing, and creating. [...] Only the ad director and consultant who is a self-contained personality will be able to accomplish this process of constant adaptation and accomodation while managing to remain himself and navigating any conflicts between his own conscience and the interests of the business.”¹ – Hubert Strauf , 1963.

This characterisation of ad men’s work, made by the prominent ad consultant Hubert Strauf in 1963, highlights the difficulty which has been emphasised constantly by the group of German ad consultants and directors who claimed to be the fathers of the West-German advertising industry.² Surprisingly, the usual condition of anonymity of the service occupation played a crucial role from the prewar ad men’s point of view: those German ad consultants and directors who influenced the (West-) German consumer and capital goods industries from the days of National Socialism until the 1960s and beyond, were aware of their considerable influence as “ghostwriters” (Rainer Gries) for their clients. They created numerous long-lasting brands, their work helped to develop consumer confidence or entrepreneurial good will and foreign advertising supported the important German export. For instance, the ad consultant Hubert Strauf alone influenced more than five hundred brands and advertisements in fifty years of work.³ At the same time, advertisers emphasised that the *real* ad man’s complex psychological skills often faced the opposition of consumers as well as entrepreneurial stakeholders at the managerial level in the 1950s and 1960s.⁴ Consumers only saw the advertisers’ productions in everyday life and attributed them to the name of the enterprise or the brand of the product, whereas an ever-existing, widespread ad criticism against advertising as a phenomenon and the entire occupation continued up to the 1960s.⁵

The ad men argued that their job compelled them to remain completely detached from all of their personal preferences in order to empathise as closely as possible with the needs of their clients and the demands of consumers.⁶ There is, of course, a paradoxical arrogance to their claims that they could be at once both influential and detached. The exaggerated self-promotions of ad men had their origin before 1945 and give a clue to the often problematic relationships between the prewar ad men and other entrepreneurial stakeholders in the FRG.⁷ The ad men made a lot of profit by the late 1950s but quarreled constantly with their supposedly “worse situation” of being anonymous

ghostwriters and widely criticised “manipulators” or “hidden seducers” of consumers throughout the 1950s and 1960s.⁸

The purpose of this paper is to examine why these West-German ad consultants and directors constantly complained about a lack of recognition and their usual condition of being anonymous service providers, even though they made a lot of profit during the so-called German economic miracle. How can we identify the motivations behind these complaints and scrutinise their influences on the West-German advertising industry as well as on the ad men’s relationships to other entrepreneurial stakeholders from 1945 to the 1960s? Therefore, this paper’s aim is to provide the first comprehensive study to answer these crucial questions by investigating two developments: firstly, it examines the influences the ad men had in shaping the West-German advertising industry after 1945 with regard to their shared experiences under National Socialism and their collective mentality. In contrast to the different definitions of mentality as either a “mental and emotional attitude“ (Theodor Geiger), a “*Weltbild*“ (Max Weber) or a “collective notion of reality“ (Hagen Schulze) and the use of that concept as applied by members of the French *Annales* school, the concept of mentality will be used here in the sense of a basic collective conviction within a single occupational group. This is not to say that an analytical construction of a “collective identity“ shall be made. On the contrary, the concept of mentality serves as a marker for the shared occupational convictions of the prewar ad men, and allows for the study of their common goals after 1945, without denying the individuality of its various members.⁹ Secondly, this basic analysis frames my evaluation of the relationships of the ad men to owner-managers, sales managers and consumers up to the 1960s.

The central questions are: how did the ad men deal with their trade’s negative past in National Socialism and with so-called American influences after 1945? Was the advertising industry’s structure really a break with the past and which influence had the ad men’s mentality on its shape? How were the ad men’s perspectives on their relationships to consumers, owner-managers and sales managers linked to the general situation of their occupation and to their mentality? Taking the perspective of the prewar ad men, the paper argues that the advertising industry and the ad men’s employer-employee relationships were shaped by three major influences which correlated with the advertisers’ mentality: the ad men’s anonymous function as ghostwriters for their clients, their inability to prove reliably their expertise or advertising effects on sales with stats and the enduring public criticism against the entire occupation.

The paper is based on a study of distinct sets of sources from German state and business archives, discourses in trade journals, biographical writings, results of a survey, a few autobiographies and interviews with ad men’s relatives. It pieces together a coherent description and interpretation of what happened. A separate data base summarises biographical informations of

about 420 advertisers.¹⁰ Considering the immense influence wielded by the prewar ad men, who often switched from the job of an ad consultant to the one of ad director and back, it is surprising just how little historical research has been done on these early advertising executives. The current research is limited to broader histories dealing with the advertising or marketing phenomena more generally, or to singular biographies of individual ad men – notably the Hanseatic ad consultant Hans Domizlaff. That is why further analysis of Domizlaff in this paper will be limited to previously unnoticed aspects of his work and influence.¹¹ Only Hartmut Berghoff and Rainer Gries hitherto attempted to investigate the motives of some prewar ad men, and their work remains, at least temporarily, limited.¹²

As an outline of my PhD-project, the originality of this paper lies in a detailed contribution to social and mental aspects of a history of the West-German advertisers' occupation after the Second World War. Furthermore, it provides a first module to an outstanding comparative history of those service occupations, which influenced the West-German media public decisively as anonymous actors.

The experiences of these ad men were shaped by the decades before the Second World War along with ongoing American influences. Yet, the few German subsidiaries of the American and British full-service agencies existing in the late 1920s in Berlin, which were responsible for the administration of the whole particular ad budget as well as for the entire consulting, conception, design and realisation of entrepreneurial brand management or ad campaigns, were restricted or ousted by the state during the "Third Reich".¹³ Nevertheless, German ad men continued travelling to the United States even during the prewar National Socialist period and reported about their experiences personally and in ad magazines, demonstrating that American influences never disappeared completely. For instance, the ad director of the oil company Rhenania-Ossag AG (later called the German Shell AG), Georg Dülfer, reported in 1937 in the ad magazine *Werben und Verkaufen* openly about his participation in a trip of thirty-eight German ad men to the United States with the expressed aim of studying superior foreign advertising techniques. Dülfer bemoaned that the reputation of his American colleagues was excellent in their home country, compared to the poor situation of German ad men. On the other hand, opportunists like Carl Hundhausen – the ad director of the Dr. Hillers AG in Solingen (producer of peppermint candies) – or convinced National Socialists like M. C. Schreiber (since 1929 the chief editor of the ad magazine *Seidels Reklame*) railed against their American counterparts as "Jews".¹⁴ There was therefore both anti-Americanism as well as a belief in the Americans as role models among German ad men. Some, like the ad consultant Hanns Walter Brose, had worked for the German subsidiaries of American agencies at the end of the 1920s and appreciated their skillfulness. Others, like the ad consultant Otto Gengenbach, even became members of American ad associations by the late 1920s.¹⁵ Against

the background of the denazification after 1945, even the most convinced deniers of American influence during National Socialism suddenly became open-minded supporters of American principles. The new consensus on American influence was the result of the German prewar ad men's desire to improve their occupation's reputation and increase their entrepreneurial influence in Germany. This common agenda was deeply related to their mentality.

With reference to the elaborated approach, the next section allows for some perspectives on the causes behind the ad men's influences on the West-German ad industry since 1945. It scrutinises their distinct mentality and the prerequisites of the ad men's work. Against this background, the third section illustrates some examples of the ad men's work for enterprises: it highlights their positions towards owner-managers, sales managers as well as consumers and exemplifies frequent conflicts and exceptional cases of harmony between these entrepreneurial stakeholders. Afterwards, the results will be supplemented with statements in trade journals and reports of congresses.

II. Beyond the ghostwriters: Prewar ad men's influences on the West-German advertising industry

Two influences, which were intensively interrelated with the shared experiences of the prewar ad men before 1945, played a major role for their motivations after 1945: firstly, the mental positioning of the ad men to their trade's dual negative past was a crucial cause behind their influences on the shape of the West-German ad industry. Criticism of advertising came from all directions: by consumers, entrepreneurs, the churches and various other groups since the 1920s and remained a constant path dependency for the ad trade.¹⁶ Additionally many prewar ad men – like other occupations as well – had to deal with the part they had played in the “Third Reich”.

Secondly, the endeavor of the advertisers to shape a new German advertising industry after 1945 was a reaction to their long-term goal to institutionalise a standardised national system of training as well as a uniform job outline for the occupation. Refuting the presumptions of the majority of the few German, British and Northern American studies¹⁷ on the German advertising industry, it is important to note that there has never been such a standardised national system of training for German ad men. Nor has there ever been a uniform job outline with standardised schedules and accredited certifications.¹⁸ Analysis of the biographies recorded in my database shows, that the prewar ad men shared the experience of career changers which illustrates probably a character trait of the international advertising industry: some came from printing works, publishing houses or had backgrounds in journalism. Others engaged in psychological, sociological, mercantile, economic, or business administrative studies before joining the ad industry. Some even began their work as salesmen, advertising representatives, or sometimes in completely different job

positions.¹⁹ For this reason alone, the group lacked any formal training or evidence of any kind of their expertise. They could only achieve a certain reputation with their entrepreneurial clients by convincing them of their creativity, their charisma and their competitive attitude. At the same time, these advertisers cooperated intensely to fight the advertising industry's lack of recognition, which has continued to be a problem since the late 19th century. As other scholars have argued, especially the National Socialists *intentionally* promised improvements to the advertisers but besides some basic legal amendments, advertising increasingly became a political propaganda tool after 1936. This situation did not improve the advertisers' social reputation in the end.

Having returned to West Germany, many after having spent time in captivity as POW's, the ad men tried to reorganise the advertising trade immediately, as early as 1945, by founding ad associations and first ad schools in the West-German occupation zones, even though, advertising hardly played any role in the economy of scarcity until the currency reform of 1948. While Germany laid in ruins, ad consultants refounded small agencies, participated in barter transactions or rendered primitive services for the occupying powers.

Contextualising the general economic situation, it very gradually transferred from a controlled seller's market under National Socialism to a more liberal buyer's market after the currency reform, which enhanced the availability of consumer goods step-by-step. An increased demand for capital goods followed the Korean War of 1950, which stimulated the German industrial export. Generally, the economic recovery happened between 1952 and 1966 with the transition to mass production and the increasing diversity of available – and more important widely affordable – commodities. The real wages (which reached the level of 1913 as well as of 1928 in 1950 and doubled by the beginning of the 1960s) increased and the (real) private per-capita consumption reached the level of 1936 in 1951 again. The per-capita calories of foodstuffs reached the standard of 1935/1938 not before 1953 to 1954. Hence, the main share in consumption was due to foodstuffs, furniture and clothing at the beginning of the 1950s. The purchasing power of very different classes of population increased and the mass demand for diversified consumer durables (at first domestic appliances, cars and soft drinks) and capital goods in most business sectors extended. The interspersions of self-service stores by the mid-1950s made former sales advisory services obsolete, accompanied by industrial packaging which connected buying motives to aesthetic elements and to advertising media. The transition to mass consumerism happened during the second half of the 1950s. The European Economic Community generated a European Single Market in 1957, full employment was realised by 1958 and the climax of the consumption of consumer durables was reached between 1958 and 1960. By the 1960s, the main consequences of the consumer society were motorization, mass tourism and the well-developed influences of the mass media.²⁰ Considering the gradual economic recovery with sensitivity to divergences in different business sectors, the prewar ad men's

economic importance becomes evident in the constant increase of the total investments in advertising (i.e. fees and salaries, media costs, expenses of advertising) – converted from DM into Euro – from € 0,22 billions in 1949 up to € 5,01 billions twenty years later. This increase followed the development of the GDP per capita. Though, we need to bear in mind two important details: the relevance of advertising was rather low at the beginning of the 1950s, because of the huge consumerist backlog demand. Though, the annual reports of the advertising industry's umbrella organisation reveal that cultural pessimistic critics (especially the churches) even condemned this logical backlog demand after the Second World War as a "profligate consumption" and blamed the ad industry for its existence. Furthermore, a closer look at the stats would reveal that the advertising expenditures of retailers outnumbered the trans-regional ad investments of the consumer and capital goods industry by far.²¹

Nevertheless, this economic background was opportune for the ad men. Besides some harbingers before 1948, most prewar ad consultants transformed their small ad agencies step-by-step to the first German marketing agencies by the 1950s. These so-called full-service agencies were responsible for the administration of the whole particular ad budget of a client as well as for the entire consulting, market research, conception, design and realisation of entrepreneurial brand management or ad campaigns. The centre of the ad industry was no longer limited to one large city – the German "madison avenue" had been Berlin before 1945 – but was now concentrated in a few large cities, including Duesseldorf, Munich, Hamburg or Frankfurt. The gradual interspersion of the full-service agency by the late 1950s was a result of the specialization, rationalization and increased division of labour in the modern West-German social market economy. It is important to note that there has never existed a uniform definition of the size or the characteristics of a full-service agency. The only common marker was their complete service from the basic market research and the development of marketing strategies (e.g. advertising measures, sales promotion, pricing, the decoration of displays for the point of sale) to the realisation of these strategies through advertising media. Because of this vagueness, Erwin R. Weger – a former graduate student of the famous market researcher Georg Bergler – could only estimate the total number of full-service agencies in West Germany between 55 and 65 in 1965.²²

The new agencies were hampered at times by the tension between the autocratic style of some German managers and the more democratic American teamwork principle that influenced some of their employees. This autocratic style prevailed because the German full-service agencies were mainly founded by former self-employed ad consultants who had to be assertive personalities. Recently, Corey Ross has shown that concerning the German ad men's ambivalent relationships to the former American subsidiaries in the late 1920s, German organisation of full-service agencies once again demonstrated the continuous selectivity in regard to the German adaptation of American

influences.²³ It is also true that the subsidiaries of the American ad agencies H. K. McCann Company mbH and J. Walter Thompson had the largest staffs (McCann about 650 employees; JWT about 492 employees in 1964) and the biggest annual turnovers (McCann about DM 148 millions; JWT about DM 108 millions in 1964) up to the late 1960s. Nevertheless, the largest German full-service agencies led by prewar ad men like the troost KG, the Werbeagentur Dr. Hegemann GmbH and the Heumann Werbegesellschaft mbH & Co. in Duesseldorf as well as the Carl Gabler Werbegesellschaft mbH in Munich or Hubert Strauf's Die Werbe GmbH & Co. KG in Essen employed more than two hundred staff members while obtaining annual turnovers above the margin of DM 40 millions at the same time.²⁴

Though the advance of the American principle of the full-service agency in the 1950s is evident, Harm G. Schröter has shown that controversy amongst ad men and market researchers in the late 1950s about the novelty of the so-called American scientific marketing thought compared to the older German distributive trade (*Absatzwirtschaft*). Hence, it seems impossible to measure the real level of influence of American marketing principles in the work of the German ad industry of the 1960s. Generalising and with sensitivity to the selectivity and the ever-existing anti-Americanism of individual German prewar ad men, it is ascertainable that the German prewar ad men accepted the American ad industry as a role model.

Besides the selective adaptation of American principles (full-service agency and marketing thought) in the 1950s or 1960s, the prewar ad men still did appreciate most of the National Socialist regulations of the well-studied regulatory body called the Ad Council for the German Economy (*Werberat der deutschen Wirtschaft*) which aimed to cease the chaotic situation of malpractices in advertising since 1933.²⁵ Additionally, the prewar advertisers appreciated the symbolism of the understudied single mandatory professional organisation, the National Socialist Association of German Ad Experts (*Nationalsozialistische Reichsfachschaft Deutscher Werbefachleute*), which tried to raise the ad men's reputation, provided contacts inside its local groups and especially the founding of its Higher Imperial Promotion School (*Höhere Reichswerbeschule*) as the very first state-controlled "superior" ad school in Berlin.²⁶ Referring to this second path dependency, a first part of the ad men's mental structure becomes obvious: they worried about the possibility of a return to the chaotic times of the Weimar Republic and were uncertain how to gain their long desired acceptance as experts in the new Bonn Republic. These fears were not unfounded: when the Ad Council was dissolved by the Allied Control Law No. 191 in 1945, old advertising malpractices immediately reappeared and that was the reason why advertisers had supported the legislation provided by the Ad Council.

Against the background of these shared experiences, the ad men saw the opportunity to build their own reputation as an honest, established profession. To achieve this long desired goal, the

prewar advertisers argued that it would be necessary to follow a new “third way” in West Germany which reflected on the first part of their mental structure: on the one hand, they wanted to fight the reappearing malpractices which proliferated during the Weimar years with laws and measures similar to those of the former Ad Council. On the other hand, they did not want to rely on state control anymore, nor be associated with National Socialism. Astonishingly, even decades after 1945, many ad men made an artificial difference between the “bad political crimes” and the “good occupational decisions” during the “Third Reich”. They aimed to selectively transfer “good” elements of the Ad Council and the other organisations of the ad industry during the National Socialist years as well as superior American expertise to the Bonn Republic and communicated this aim in ad magazines as well as at regional and nationwide congresses.²⁷

The most concrete expression of such a “third way” was the Central Committee of the German Ad Industry (*Zentralausschuss der deutschen Werbewirtschaft*; ZAW). This self-organised and nationwide umbrella organisation was founded in Wiesbaden on January 19 in 1949 by twelve regional ad associations (besides other media companies) which subsequently had been founded since 1946. The direct connection between the situation under National Socialism with the foundation of the ZAW was even openly emphasised by Wilhelm Tigges (president of the ZAW from 1953 up to 1971) at the ad congress in Frankfurt/M. in 1954. Examining the ZAW on a managerial level, we find many prewar ad men: Ansgar von Nell (German member of the American H. K. McCann Company mbH in Hamburg), Ewald Borgmann (since 1932 the head of the ad agency O. F. Tischbein-Werbung KG in Hanover) and Hubert Strauf. Furthermore, the ad directors Carl Hundhausen (since October 1944 the business manager of Krupp-WIDIA and since 1954 the advertising and PR-director of the Friedrich Krupp AG), Harry Damrow (until May 1954 the deputy ad director of the cigarette manufacturer Reemtsma in Hamburg and since then ad director of the chemical company Farbwerke Hoechst AG in Frankfurt/M.) or Horst Josef Hosmann (since 1928 ad director of different plants of the Siemens Schuckertwerke AG).²⁸

The managerial levels of every regional ad association consisted of prewar ad men who eagerly craved for acceptance of their expertise and quarreled with their anonymity like they had done before the Second World War.²⁹ In order to promote the advertisers’ capacity for expertise, they often overrated their capabilities. This was the second part of their mental structure. For instance, the Ad Association of Wuerttemberg-Baden (*Werbefachverband Württemberg-Baden*) aimed to work out nationwide standards of pay for the work of ad consultants and ad directors in coordination with the other regional ad associations in 1947. The actual commission consisted of Hermann Bruder (from 1936 up to 1939 the ad director of the Robert Bosch AG who opened up a full-service agency called Werbetechnik GmbH in Stuttgart in 1946) and Hermann M. Lorz (the former head of the Higher Imperial Promotion School who led his ad agency Werbeagentur Lorz

OHG in his hometown Munich). Bruder and Lorz examined whether it would be possible to transfer some standards of pay which had already been introduced by the Ad Council in January, 1936. In the correspondence with the responsible ministry of economics, the ad association argued against the determination of maximum prices for ad men. It claimed that maximum prices would hinder the stimulus for the “supreme creative performances”. The arrogance of the ad association becomes even more obvious in light of the assertion made by the ad association’s own pricing commission against the ministry of economics which emphasised that the state would be totally unqualified to determine prices for the ad industry, as it lacked any artistic understanding.³⁰

This arrogant argumentation indicates a third mental structure of prewar ad men as well, because it illustrates their belief in the existence of their own, but not widely appreciated, elitism. Leaving the organisational level, one finds individual advertisers continuously trying to compensate for the still lacking appreciation of their anonymous work with ever more dramatic self-advertisements throughout the 1950s and 1960s: in an interview with the ad man Herbert Liebenau, the ad consultant Hans Domizlaff continued with the boasts he has been making since the Weimar Republic about the ad consultant as the “real genius” behind the owner-manager. The ad man, he said, would be a “born opportunist by instinct” with the “natural capability to empathise in brands, products, owner-manages, and the mass of consumers like playing a song in major or minor tunes”.³¹

Such boasts were also communicated to the wider – but vocationally limited – public: with echoes of Domizlaff’s arrogance, the sophisticated ad consultant Egon Juda from Berlin gave a speech at the advertising congress in Hamburg in front of about 1.600 attendees in 1951. He challenged the audience to name another occupation where men would ever so selflessly disappear behind their own work for the benefit of their employers.³² Significantly, the ad congress as a whole operated under the slogan “Advertising bridges frontiers” (*Werbung überbrückt Ländergrenzen*), which is another clue to the shared notion of expertise and the economic importance of their work. At the same event, the ad consultant John Schlepchow from Hamburg, in agreement with Juda, proclaimed that the successful advertising consultant required an incredible amount of compassion and ability to empathise with the public.³³

Schlepchow and three other prominent colleagues founded the Ad School in Hamburg (*Werbefachschule Hamburg*) in 1946 to establish the basis for the younger advertisers’ education.³⁴ Concrete continuities between the new institution and National Socialism became apparent in 1963 when the member of the school’s board of trustees, Günter Wolff, contacted Hermann M. Lorz to inquire after the “ideal plans” of the Higher Imperial Promotion School. Wolff wanted to use them for the Ad School in Hamburg and received the plans from Lorz immediately.³⁵ Like in many cases, Lorz’ personal friendships with other prewar ad men like John Schlepchow, Egon Juda, Hubert

Strauf and with the first ad director of Reemtsma, Julius Dirk Domizlaff (the cousin of Hans Domizlaff), dated to the 1930s or even as far back as the late 1920s.³⁶ Among them, certain attitudes developed that influenced their actions in the young FRG.

For instance, Hubert Strauf took a major part in the refoundation of Egon Juda's Alliance of German Ad Consultants and Ad Directors (*Bund Deutscher Werbeberater und Werbeleiter*; BDW) after 1945.³⁷ It is conspicuous that the BDW accepted the old certificates of the NSRDW and of the Higher Imperial Promotion School as well.³⁸ All of the BDW-executives (including Egon Juda as a honorary member) were members of a male clique which had known each other for a long time and worked together under the leadership of the BDW's first chairman Rudolf Brandes – the ad director of the Coca Cola Company in Germany since 1937. Like his colleagues, Brandes always emphasised that the ad men would know, intuitively, how to advertise enterprises, commodities, brands, or services. At the BDW-congress in Cologne in 1960, he argued that ad men were essential for increasing corporate reputation and brand cache, while winning consumer confidence. Similarly, he concluded that the ad consultants as well as ad directors failed to advertise their own expertise and reliability as experts in the same way because of their *necessary* anonymity. The annual report of the ZAW in 1963 confirmed this evaluation.³⁹ The ad men's expertise could only be expressed publicly through the results of their work while it would be the ad man's fate to stay anonymous. Following along the lines of Hubert Strauf and Egon Juda, Brandes argued that an ad man would have to forget himself as a person with his own feelings and preferences, in order to empathise as closely as possible with his client's enterprise or brand in order to succeed. Recognising the danger inherent in this "system" of ghostwriting, he argued that it would be easy for any sales office to place the blame for failures directly on the ad men, who were unable to prove their efficiency with reliable stats.⁴⁰ As the ad men of the BDW discussed the missing job outline and the lack of a standardised course of education in May 1963 at a general meeting in Berlin, Rudolf Brandes once again dwelt on efforts in this respect.⁴¹

For the same purpose, the BDW had already founded a board of examiners (BDW-*Prüfungskollegium*) led by Hubert Strauf. It tried to introduce standards which would allow BDW-membership to be recognised as a certificate of expertise, at least from other entrepreneurial stakeholders. Besides Hubert Strauf, this board consisted of the ad consultants Hermann Bruder and Kurt Bussmann – an ad consultant and a solicitor with special interest in advertising law. Every member would henceforth have to prove his "expertise" by taking an examination in front of this board. Illustrating the reputation of Hubert Strauf inside the ad industry, the successful examinees counted as "examined by Strauf" (*Strauf-geprüft*). The only problem with this examination was, that this "expertise" was guaranteed by ad men who lacked any officially recognised training of

their own. Even so, other regional ad associations had their own certification systems as well, as still no nationwide standard existed.

Despite these endeavors of prewar ad men to implement recognisable evidence of their expertise, criticism against the entire ad industry from different sides prevailed. The ad men dealt with this problem at a nationwide congress of the ZAW in 1951 entitled “Advertising in the Light of Criticism” (*Werbung im Lichte der Kritik*) in Hamburg. The ad criticism even increased until the end of the 1950s (probably because advertising increased as well) with reference to the results of a systematical survey of the ZAW in 1958 and the discussions in ad magazines. In the late 1950s, the traditional ad criticism was intensified by the wrong German translation (“The Hidden Seducers”) of the well-known American book by the journalist Vance Packard (“The Hidden Persuaders”) in 1957, which enforced the suspicion toward ad men’s “ghostwriting”. By the end of the 1960s, the widespread cultural criticism of left-wing intellectuals against the “manipulation of the consumer” complicated the ad men’s standing.⁴² We can summarise the ongoing ad criticism against the entire occupation in the press, at congresses and especially by broadcasting under three points, which illustrate its continuity since the 1920s: firstly, advertising betrayed the consumer by promising more than the product could always deliver. Secondly, advertisements were used to seduce consumers into buying wasteful or ethically unjustifiable products. Finally, the long standing criticism of advertising blamed it for unnaturally increasing prices above their proper market value. Advertising remained a very controversial factor inside any business enterprise despite its crucial mediating function between production, distribution and consumption.⁴³

The same issue of how to deal with the ongoing scepticism or rejection of advertising efforts becomes evident in the aims of several private ad schools established after the war. As early as the fall of 1945, a group of ad experts came together in Munich under the leadership of Ferdinand Frauenknecht (before 1933 chairman of the German Ad Associations’ local group in Nuremberg) to think about opportunities for training young advertisers.⁴⁴ Therefore, these prewar ad men founded the Bavarian Ad Association (*Werbefachverband Bayern e.V.*). In 1949 this ad association established the Ad School in Munich (*Werbefachliches Institut—Werbewissenschaftliches Institut e.V.*) which opened on September 30, 1949. Its staff of honorary lecturers united some idealistic prewar ad men like Hanns Lechner (the former executive of the German Ad Associations’ local group in Munich as well as the leader of the Bavarian section of the NSRDW), Ferdinand Frauenknecht and Heinrich Frieling (head of the Institute for the Psychology of Colors (*Institut für Farbenpsychologie*) in Munich).⁴⁵

The 80 students enrolled that first term listened to talks from successful prewar ad men like Hanns Ferdinand J. Kropff, Ludwig Freiherr von Holzschuher (since 1949 owner of the full-service agency von Holzschuher & Bauer KG in Duesseldorf) and Hans H. Meyer-Mark. The latter had

been a leading member of the German Ad Club at the beginning of the 1930s who had tried to improve the reputation of the ad men in cooperation with Alfred Willy Blau (he led a “scientific department” of the German Ad Association together with the ad pioneer Johannes Weidenmüller in the 1920s), Günter Wolff and John Schlepckow since then. Along with the elderly ad consultant Karl Theodor Senger (born in 1877), these ad experts gave honorary lectures in Munich until 1954.⁴⁶ In addition to the ad schools in Munich and Hamburg, other ad schools were also influenced by prewar ad men in Hanover, Berlin, Bonn, Stuttgart and in Cologne. Hence, their collective aim to improve the reputation of their entire occupation becomes obvious in these concrete efforts.⁴⁷

For this purpose, these prominent ad men tried to distance themselves from those younger ad consultants and directors who had the chance to take advertising courses at the ad schools after 1945 even though the courses differed regionally, because there existed no nationwide standards. Distinct from these younger advertisers – who became gradually marketers by the late 1960s – older ad consultants like Johannes Pipping and Paul Kettel emphasised the fact that their group of prewar ad men lacked role models.⁴⁸ Instead, the prewar ad men emphasised the idea of themselves as role models – as teachers and authors of textbooks who legitimised each others expertise – but similarly had to face the increasing significance of other marketing strategies that challenged the relevance of advertising.⁴⁹

To underpin their supposed legitimization as teachers, role models and experienced experts, some ad associations, ad schools and individual ad men institutionalised a system of honors symbolised by titles, badges, medals, needles or rings. Many advertisers happily accepted these superficial honors as symbols of their expertise even though these symbols were hardly ever recognised outside the advertising industry.⁵⁰ All of these honors seemed to be compensational measures for the ad men’s anonymity and their inability to prove their expertise at least towards some clients beyond demonstrations of their daily work. That the prewar ad men dealt with these occupational issues even in old-age becomes evident in self-organised meetings. Their purpose was to discuss with delegates of consumer associations and some of the most successful ad men questions regarding the often underestimated merits of advertising and the enduring ad criticism. The ad men in attendance called themselves the “Porcupines of Advertising” (*Stachelschweine der Werbung*) – an absurd term meant to convey their sense of isolation from the business community.⁵¹ Furthermore, the advertiser Heinz Hartwig founded a “Circle of Friends of Senior Advertisers” (*Freundeskreis Senioren der Werbung*) at the beginning of the 1980s – a network of about fifty distinguished ad men which dealt with the same issues until the early 1990s.

These endeavors to prove their expertise, the pagentry, and the feeling of being in charge towards the younger advertisers, did not prevent conflicts between the prewar ad men and the younger ad men. For instance, the ad consultant Günter Wolff reported on one of his visits to the

clubroom of the Ad Association Hamburg/Schleswig-Holstein where he met young men and a few women reading newspapers and smoking cigarettes. Wolff described the young advertisers as dressed to the nines with suits, jewelry and “haircuts like Napoléon”. He found himself explaining to them how he and his older colleagues had all looked quite different in the hard times after the Second World War and before the “German economic miracle”. On the other hand, young ad men criticised the prewar ad men as being too often autocratic and arrogant.⁵² At the same time, it is also possible to find references made by the younger advertisers that identified the prewar ad men as the “founding generation” of the West-German ad industry or as “role models”. For instance, some of the first graduates of the Ad School in Hamburg in the 1940s, including the ad director of the Beiersdorf AG Joachim Weiland as well as the managing directors of their own full-service agencies Günther Gahren, Peter Zernisch, Hermann Seelmann and Burkard Strauf (the eldest son of Hubert Strauf) acknowledged the pioneering work of these prewar ad men.⁵³

Regarding the exaggerated efforts of the prewar ad men to improve the prestige of their occupation, it is worth noting that even the market researcher Georg Bergler, one of the few convinced supporters of the advertisers, criticised the widespread arrogance of the prewar ad men in 1966. He warned that their exaggerated self-promotion efforts could likely hinder any chances of acceptance rather than foster it.⁵⁴ In hindsight, Bergler was indeed right: the ad men did not gain any prestige from their blustry attempts of self-promotion – a struggle which some of them had engaged in since the 1920s. This continued failure, combined with collective memories of a brief but fleeting period of a few occupational improvements under National Socialism, often resulted in arrogant over-compensation for the status they felt they had been denied. The prewar ad men dropped out of the business by the 1960s, at a time when other parts of the so-called marketing mix were in the process of superceding advertising measures. Hence, the classic prewar ad man, who overrated his vocation as a naturally talented trustee of his clients and consumers, faded in importance, while the new marketers, who could gradually turn to more scientifically approved methods gained importance.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, many prewar ad men continued participating in ad associations and in the public discussions even into old-age. These shared occupational and mental experiences had a crucial influence on the prewar ad men’s relationships to other entrepreneurial stakeholders which will be demonstrated in the next section.

III. Beyond the firm: Prewar ad men's relationships to other entrepreneurial stakeholders

Against the occupational and mental background of the prewar ad men, problems with the commissioning owner-managers or sales managers were preprogrammed despite any advertiser's position as a mere service provider who could easily lose his job. There existed three possible relationships of a counselling ad man (that means mediating advertisement representatives are excluded) to a business enterprise: firstly, small or medium-sized companies that could not afford their own vital ad direction or the work of full-service agencies thus employed ad consultants as freelancers with a small staff for limited tasks like single advertisements, slogans and advertising campaigns. Secondly, larger companies (especially in the traditionally more advertising friendly branded goods industry sector) externalized whole advertising campaigns to full-service agencies and sometimes employed singular ad men simultaneously. The most successful agencies of prewar ad men during the 1950s and 1960s were the ones of Carl Gabler (Carl Gabler Werbegesellschaft mbH; Munich), Hanns Wündrich-Meißen (Werbeagentur Wündrich-Meißen; Gerlingen next to Stuttgart), Hanns Walter Brose (Brose und Partner; Frankfurt/M.), Emil Hegemann, Herbert E. T. Clar (Clar-Werbung, Clar GmbH & Co. KG; Duesseldorf/Munich), Hermann Bruder (Werbeagentur Hermann Bruder KG; Stuttgart), Hubert Strauf (Die Werbe GmbH & Co. KG; Essen) and Hubert Troost (troost KG; Duesseldorf).

These full-service agencies organised themselves in the Society of Advertising Agencies (*Gesellschaft Werbeagenturen*; GWA) which was founded in April 1952. This association was the most important network of West-German ad agencies besides the older Association of German Advertising Representatives and Advertising Agencies (*Verband Deutscher Werbemittler und Werbeagenturen e.V.*; ADW) which was founded in July 1947 consisting of smaller agencies and the latter Joint Venture of Advertising Agencies and Marketing Consulting (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft Werbeagenturen und Marketingberatung*; AWM) of 1957. The GWA-foundation derived from a partnership between five German, American and British-Dutch ad agencies. These full-service agencies followed the American principles determined by the "Agency Service Standards" of the American Association of Advertising Agencies (AAAA) by the 1920s: "truth in advertising" (this principle was copied from the National Socialists), the "trusteeship of an agency for its client", the "independence of the agencies from the advertising media" as well as the "competitive exclusion" which meant that one agency was not allowed to work for more than one client in the same business sector simultaneously.⁵⁶ GWA-members were not allowed to own advertising media or to do casual work – like the self-employed ad consultants did. Apart from the leading ad consultant, their staff consisted of contact persons, graphic artists, copywriters, layout artists, psychologists, specialists in typography, photography, film, radio and television. The first elected chairmen of the GWA were

the prewar ad men Douwe Hiemstra, Max Pauli and Horst Slesina. Hubert Strauf also became a member of the board of directors for two years and served as the executive chairman of the association from 1960 up to 1963.⁵⁷

Thirdly, the existence, the size and the importance of ad departments inside of a firm depended on its size and the area of business. Nevertheless, the existence of an ad direction did not exclude the cooperation with external self-employed ad consultants or full-service agencies. Rather, multiple and temporally limited interrelations between ad consultants, full-service agencies and ad directions were the standard. Therefore, it is easy to imagine the problems that arose, because of the overlapping interests of ad directors, external ad consultants or full-service agencies, owner-managers or sales managers. The different peculiarities of the ad men's interrelations depended not only on their work as ad directors or external service providers, but on their collective mentality, their individual experiences and on their personal relationships to their clients as well.

At first, some perspectives on the complexity of ad men's individual relationships to owner-managers and sales managers will be exemplified with four short examples of prewar ad men. Afterwards, these limited perspectives shall be broadened with the results of a nationwide scientific survey at the end of the 1960s as well as with different statements from prewar ad men about their occupation's relationships to these entrepreneurial stakeholders in ad magazines and at ad congresses in the 1950s and 1960s. The four examples consist of two autonomous ad consultants (Egon Juda and Hans Domizlaff), an owner of a full-service agency who also made experiences as an owner-manager and as an employee of an ad direction (Hanns Walter Brose) and an ad director (Harry Damrow). These prewar ad men worked for companies in different business sectors like the branded goods industry (chocolate, cigarettes, brandy), the automobile industry and the chemicals industry. Though, some of these ad men worked for the same business enterprise – a leading cigarette manufacturer – temporarily.

The ad consultant Egon Juda serves as a first example of the relationship between a self-employed ad consultant and an owner-manager. He worked with a small staff in Berlin-Wilmersdorf consisting of an ad assistant, one graphic artist and a stenotypist throughout the 1930s for companies of the branded goods industry sector until the destruction of his office following an allied air raid in November 1943. Then, he found a place to work at the house of his old friend M. C. Schreiber in Berlin-Tempelhof and continued with his small agency after 1945.⁵⁸ In contrast to the majority of prewar ad consultants, Juda was a graphic designer rather than a copywriter because he had studied graphic arts in his hometown Stettin from 1911 to 1914. After the First World War, he became a staff member of the famous Wilhelm Deffke – the creator of the logotype of the cigarette manufacturer Reemtsma.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, Juda outsourced the work on graphics and ad slogans to specialists as early as the 1930s in order to concentrate personally on the advertising

planning. As a crucial protagonist of the idea of the ad consultant as the company's trustee, Juda always emphasised the importance of systematic advertising. He never wanted to develop advertising media solely, but was eager to influence the entire sales process of the particular client.⁶⁰

One of Egon Juda's long-term clients up to the 1950s had been the owner of a chocolate factory in Hanover – Bernhard Sprengel. Sprengel employed the ad consultant since the Second World War, because he agreed with him that it would be strictly necessary to conserve the good will of the company for the time after the war.⁶¹ In the 1950s, Juda's main task was the strategic branding of different slogans like "SPRENGEL – fully refined" (SPRENGEL – *vollkonchiert*) for chocolate bars, filled chocolates and different other chocolate products.⁶² The slogan "fully refined" emphasized the chocolate's excellence. To promote this product, Juda had to do the advertising planning for a limited ad campaign, which was typical for such a freelancer with a small staff. He distributed smaller and larger advertisements in magazines (like *Hör zu*, *Revue* and *Quick*) at specific times, launched measures of direct advertising (leaflets, brochures, posters) for wholesalers and retailers and created diapositives, instruction leaflets for the product as well as displays for the point of sale. The idea behind the campaign "SPRENGEL – fully refined" reflected Juda's endeavors to enforce a "true" advertising, because the chocolate had indeed been through a refining process. Juda believed that the return on sales was influenced intensively by the consumer's persuasion of the product's high quality. Therefore, advertising measures should not try to seduce the consumer and, hence, the ad consultant would have to stay anonymous in order to arrest the consumer's attention only for the quality of the product, its brand name and the name of the producing company.⁶³

On the other hand, the personal anonymity of an ad man could yield dubious advantages for the client as well: Egon Juda undertook some kind of undercover market research for Bernhard Sprengel. In 1950, he was given the task of finding out how the chocolate retail trade in Hamburg and Bremen reacted to some packages of Sprengel, because sales representatives had reported that their packages were being turned back. Therefore, Juda visited every chocolate retailer in Hamburg and Bremen personally: firstly, he impersonated himself as a sales representative of a Bavarian candy company who would have to make a decision between the offers of the competing chocolate manufacturers Sarotti and Sprengel. Pretending to be traveling through Bremen and Hamburg, Juda requested information about these businesses from the retailers. Secondly, the ad consultant pretended to be a chocolate retailer from Wiesbaden who tried to gain some information from a colleague about Sprengel and its rival firms. Thirdly, he also pretended to be a consumer who was interested in Sprengel products and asked retailers about their quality.⁶⁴

Juda overrated himself as the creative strategist behind his client Bernhard Sprengel.⁶⁵ Sprengel respected Juda as an experienced and skillful ad consultant and seemed to see in the ad consultant more than the mere service provider he was. The owner-manager even maintained the long-term business connection to Juda despite some serious mistakes: for instance, Sprengel complained in May 1951 about Juda's inappropriate fee for an ad poster, which Sprengel wanted to substitute with a lower remuneration offer.⁶⁶ Indeed, Juda was not the infallible expert he – as well as his colleagues – always pretended to be: when he presented five reproductions of photographs for an advertisement of the draft “SPRENGEL – fully refined: chocolate bar”, Sprengel criticised a defect of these reproductions because Juda had damaged the accurate rendering of the reproductions. This mistake of the ad consultant cost the company DM 61.400.⁶⁷ Furthermore, Juda created a package insert for the advertising of Sprengel's brandy beans which included untrue statements and additionally impinged against the property rights of the German brandy producer Asbach. In a similar way, Juda had caused some trouble with the property rights of the cigarette manufacturer Reemtsma which contradicted his previous pleas for truth in advertising.⁶⁸

Despite these costly failures, Sprengel continued to work with Juda because of his occupational sophistication. Unfortunately, Juda's relationships to the sales office are rather inscrutable, because there is nearly no correspondence left between them. Only in March 1956, the sales office remembered that Egon Juda wanted to invite the well-known American motivational researcher, Ernest Dichter, to a talk. Therefore, the sales manager asked for Juda's record of this talk, while emphasising his interest in the questions discussed there.⁶⁹ Juda continued working for Sprengel until his death in 1957.⁷⁰

An insight into a more complex relationship between an ad consultant, an owner-manager, the ad direction and sales departments is possible when investigating the cooperation between Hans Domizlaff and Philipp F. Reemtsma – the producer of several cigarette brands in Hamburg. This relationship, rooted in 1921, ended in December 1957 after a serious dispute between Domizlaff (who had created or influenced multiple brands) and the owner-manager about the ad man's fees. As the probably most extreme spokesman of the prewar ad men, the ad consultant always argued that his expertise would solely rest upon his genius and his natural intuitive powers. The extensive correspondence between Domizlaff and Philipp F. Reemtsma – which can be found in the Institute for Social Research in Hamburg – is filled with the ad man's arrogance, an overrating of his skillfulness and expressions of his impertinence. One is wondering why Philipp F. Reemtsma did not cancel the work contract earlier but the relationship between the ad man and his client was a much more complex one: on the one hand, Domizlaff overrated his capabilities and felt himself sublime compared to his client. On the other hand and surprisingly, he deeply depended on Philipp F. Reemtsma's personal advice.⁷¹ Tino Jacobs described this strange relationship – which exceeded

the rather normal employer-employee relationship between Egon Juda and Bernhard Sprengel – felicitously as a “marriage-of-convenience” in which Domizlaff had great authorities in certain cases.⁷²

Like the majority of the prewar ad men, the ad consultant never wanted to cooperate with the client’s sales office or ad department. Astonishingly and in contrast to the situation of most of his colleagues, Philipp F. Reemtsma even allowed him to ignore these important stakeholders nearly completely. The later ad director of the Farbwerke Hoechst AG, Harry Damrow, who had been the proxy of Reemtsma’s ad director Franz Jäger (he succeeded Julius Dirk Domizlaff after his sudden death in 1946) since January 1953, reported in retrospect that Hans Domizlaff had never visited the ad department, which seems absurd because of the need for coordination. Domizlaff preferred direct communication with Philipp F. Reemtsma. Damrow emphasised that Domizlaff and Franz Jäger disliked each other, because the ad consultant was allowed to make considerable decisions regarding the advertising of multiple cigarette brands of the firm but constantly ignored the ad director and the sales managers.⁷³ The degree of this aversion between Hans Domizlaff and the ad director becomes even more evident in a statement of Philipp F. Reemtsma in the unpublished corporate history, that emphasised the capability of the former ad director, Julius Dirk Domizlaff, to reconcile the ongoing disputes between Hans Domizlaff and the ad department. Regarding this statement, it is astonishing that Reemtsma seemed to criticise Franz Jäger between the lines and not the troublemaker Hans Domizlaff.⁷⁴

Simultaneously, Domizlaff saw no reason to cooperate with the sales office, which was not an exception of this eccentric ad man but a common practice of his colleagues as well. In economic terms, this behaviour was almost absurd because of the advertising’s mediating function between production, distribution and consumption. Nevertheless, Domizlaff even identified the sales managers (along with the wholesalers and retailers) as the “ideological enemies” of the advertiser, because they would be nothing but amateurs who annoyed the ad men with their inexpert criticism. Again, the shared overrating of the ad men’s capabilities in reference to their collective longing for acceptance seems to explain Domizlaffs attitude. Franz Jäger emphasised the ad consultant’s aversion to the sales managers, which was rooted in disputes between Domizlaff and the former sales manager Karl Ahsendorf in the 1920s. The ad director Jäger condemned Domizlaff’s continuously “manic agitations” against the so-called rowdyism and ballyhoo of the sales department as nothing but nonsense. From the ad director’s perspective, it was just impossible to convince wholesalers and retailers to increase their demand of cigarettes significantly without the existence of a sound sales department.⁷⁵

At the same time and despite his exceptional position, Domizlaff had a very negative image from owner-managers as well. Until the conflict in 1957, he saw Philipp F. Reemtsma as the rare

exception – the incarnated ideal-typical “royal businessman”. In his view, the majority of owner-managers would be just too ignorant and blind to the ad men’s needs to nourish their creativity.⁷⁶ The linkage with the ad men’s very special collective dealing with their anonymity as service providers becomes evident in a metaphor of Domizlaff, which derived from his private passion for sailing: he understood the “royal businessman” as a captain on a ship, while the ad man would be his pilot.⁷⁷ Notwithstanding, Domizlaff constantly criticised the majority of owner-managers for their “pathological craving for recognition” which would oust the ad men, while simultaneously covering his obvious enviousness with the assertion of the pilot’s need to escape from the daily routine of the captain in order to emphasise with his and his crew’s needs. With this exaggerated reinterpretation of the “ghostwriting” as a unique psychological skill inherent in the metaphor, Domizlaff fit well into the collective strategy of the ad men to strengthen their position towards other entrepreneurial stakeholders. Therefore, he asserted that the ad men’s anonymity would be a necessary, though personally sad, presupposition for his success.⁷⁸

Distinct from Domizlaff’s extreme and ambivalent perspectives on owner-managers, his dislike of wholesalers, retailers and sales managers as well as his refusal to cooperate with ad departments, the ad consultant Hanns Walter Brose had a different relationship to these stakeholders. That is not to say that Brose was easy to handle. A statement by Franz Jäger characterised him as an excellent ad consultant for the Waldorf-Astoria cigarette brand Astor, though admitted he was a difficult personality as well.⁷⁹ However, Brose had a more positive basic opinion of *the* owner-manager, because his father had been an owner of a factory. Brose himself inherited a little factory for portable tiled stoves and tried to increase the sale for a short period of time, before he could not avert bankruptcy during the hyperinflation of 1923.

Because of these personal experiences, Brose claimed that he had a special sensibility for entrepreneurial ways of thinking. Nevertheless, he had serious negative experiences with the prevailing owner-managers’ and the sales managers’ stands to advertising, when he worked in the ad direction of the car manufacturer Horch-Werke in Berlin in 1928. Brose remembered in his autobiography that the chief financial officer just called him “the firm’s poet”.⁸⁰ After only two months in Berlin, Brose fled and became the ad director of the Lingner-Werke AG (producer of the brand mouthwash and toothpaste Odol and of several skin care products) in Dresden. There, he experienced some different relationships to other entrepreneurial stakeholders and even became a friend of the sales manager Fritz Rauch. Unusually, Brose valued the relationship of an ad director to a sales manager. From 1936 to 1945, Brose worked as a respected ad consultant for the brandy manufacturer Weinbrennerei Asbach & Co. under the guidance of Rudolf Asbach – who would be called a “royal businessman” by Hans Domizlaff – and Brose created the famous ad slogan “The spirit of wine is in Asbach” (1936) which is well-known in Germany even today.⁸¹

This is not the place to reconstruct Brose's entire life, but it is important to notice that, against this background, Brose was an example of the differences between the situation after 1948 and the prewar time, when owner-managers were much more eager to consider advertising measures as a *quantité négligeable* and, therefore, disregarded ad men.⁸² Regarding the period after the currency reform of 1948, he discovered reapproachements between owner-managers and ad men.⁸³

In 1951, Brose accepted the order of Philipp F. Reemtsma to launch the new cigarette brand Astor and illustrated the advertising with the history of the American immigrant Johann Jakob Astor. Astonishingly, Brose was not only responsible for the design of the cigarette packet, but Philipp F. Reemtsma even authorised him to influence the mixture of the brand's tobacco, the size of the cigarettes (kingsize) and the shape of the tip. Regarding the tip, he chose natural kork which was a novelty at this time. Obviously, Philipp F. Reemtsma was a very open minded entrepreneur concerning the work of ad consultants. In reverse, the emphasise of the uniqueness of Philipp F. Reemtsma by Brose and Domizlaff gives a clue to the more common scepticism of the majority of other owner-managers towards ad men. Brose tried to link the possible development of the creativity of an ad man with the open mindedness of his client who should protect and encourage the ad men's skillfulness by guaranteeing confidentiality.⁸⁴

To improve his reputation towards entrepreneurs, Brose's full-service agency undertook the advertising of the "Society for the Support of the Social Equalisation" (*Gemeinschaft zur Förderung des Sozialen Ausgleichs*) – also called "The Scales" (*Die Waage*) – from the beginning of the 1950s to the 1960s, which was an association of several leading business entrepreneurs in Cologne. Its major aim was the strengthening and protection of the social market economy. At the beginning, the association's most important action was the support of the Federal Minister of Economics, Ludwig Erhard (member of the Christian Democratic Union), with concentrated advertisements and public relations with respect to the parliamentary elections for the *Bundestag* in 1953. Brose and the early supporter of advertising, Ludwig Erhard, knew each other personally from their work for the "Society for Consumer Research" (*Gesellschaft für Konsumforschung*) in Nuremberg in the 1930s. Nevertheless, Brose did not gain more respect from business entrepreneurs due to his work for this association.⁸⁵

That the relationships to business entrepreneurs depended not only on the individual personality of the owner-manager but especially on the particular business sector, becomes obvious when investigating the retrospections of an ad director who worked mainly for the capital goods industry: since May 1951, Harry Damrow was a staff member of the ad direction of the chemical factory Chemische Werke Hüls in Recklinghausen with a monthly income of DM 895. The small ad direction consisted of Damrow, a graphic artist and a secretary in one single room. It was

subordinated to the sales department of a man named Roehder. Obviously, the company understood advertising as an auxiliary tool of the sales department.

In January 1953, Damrow dropped out and started as the proxy of Reemtsma's ad director Franz Jäger in Hamburg, because his entire family lived there and he earned DM 1.800 per month. At Reemtsma, Damrow had to cooperate with every ad consultant and full-service agency employed for a cigarette brand – with the exception of the unapproachable Hans Domizlaff. Because of the importance of Reemtsma as a lucrative client, Damrow met the prewar ad consultants who travelled to Hamburg personally even though they were the heads of the leading German full-service agencies: Hanns Walter Brose (brand: Astor), William Heumann (brand: Juno), Norbert Handwerk (brand: Salem), Erich Wohlfahrt (brand: Zuban), Fritz Feinhals (brand: Atikah) and Max Pauli (brand: Eckstein). When a new advertising campaign was planned, all of the heads of the full-service agencies came to Hamburg to give presentations in front of the Reemtsma brothers, the chief sales managers – Beckmann concerning campaigns for the brands Astor and Eckstein and Prast concerning the advertising of the brand Juno –, the ad director Franz Jäger and his proxy Harry Damrow. The ad men explained their strategies and showed posters, advertisements and slogans to the other entrepreneurial stakeholders.⁸⁶

In May 1954, Damrow shifted to the Farbwerke Hoechst AG as its ad director with 35 employees and a monthly income of DM 2.700 plus the payment of his auto loan. The size of the ad direction, the salary and the number of staff members was due to the company's size and did not imply significant influence inside of the company. In point of fact, Damrow had to deal with the ideas of four sales departments for chemicals, colours and textiles, fertilizers and pesticides as well as pharmaceutical products. Therefore, as at the Chemische Werke Hüls, the guideline was a clear one in this company: the advertising had to serve sales.⁸⁷ In the following years, Damrow drew the conclusion that the position of the ad director in German industry was a very weak one in general – with the exception of the branded goods industry sector with the cigarette industry as its spearhead. In the context of this paper, it is striking how Damrow explained this weak position in retrospect: he emphasised that a performance measurement of the ad director's work would have been impossible, whereas the director of the production could prove his rationalization efforts in detail and the sales managers demonstrated their efficiency with sales data. To evaluate the positions and reputations of other ad directors in business enterprises of the capital goods industry in an equivalent size, Damrow conceptualized a survey and sent a questionnaire to three hundred colleagues at the end of the 1950s. He received 138 responses with the result that the position of the ad directors remained a weak one.⁸⁸

An approach to broaden these singular perspectives on some relationships between prewar ad men and other entrepreneurial stakeholders is a scientific survey which was realised by the well-

known Institute for Public Opinion Research Allensbach in 1967. This survey questioned the problems of the cooperation between full-service agencies, companies of the consumer and capital goods industries, magazine-publishing houses, newspaper publishing companies as well as radio and television corporations in West Germany from the perspective of the agencies' clients. The principal of this survey was the Society of Advertising Agencies. In 1966, one of its leading members, Hubert Strauf, had translated a very famous American survey by the Association of National Advertisers (ANA) about "Management & Advertising Problems in the Advertiser-Agency Relationship" into German.⁸⁹ Therefore, the Society of Advertising Agencies placed an order with the Institute in Allensbach which conducted a representative survey amongst 157 West-German business enterprises of the consumer and capital goods industries with an annual minimum advertising expenditure of about DM 400.000 and additionally asked 118 magazine-publishing houses, newspaper publishing companies, radio and television corporations in West Germany.⁹⁰

The researchers used the method of oral interviews with the help of a standardised questionnaire. In the context of this paper, the survey part which dealt with the company managers' relationships to the ad agencies is of major interest: the emphasis of the respondents in the companies interviewed rested upon the ad directors (71 per cent), the marketing-managers (16 per cent), the owner-managers/directors/the board of directors (12 per cent) and the sales managers (4 per cent) – notably some respondents had multiple functions. These larger companies emphasised that they needed the autonomous creativity of the full-service agencies with their specialised departments. The clients also authorised external ad agencies to do the whole advertising planning, the selection of advertising media and of the means of advertising.⁹¹

Regarding the survey's expressiveness, two restrictions have to be made: it concentrates not only on the German prewar ad men in the consumer and capital goods industry, but on other business sectors and foreign agencies as well. Anyways, the vast majority (88 per cent) of the entrepreneurial respondents saw the main problem to be the coordination of strategy between the important ad agencies and their own ad departments, because they wanted their ad directions to take a constant part in the process of advertising planning and in the realisation of the advertising design at the same time. Likewise, the ad directors often bucked against the agencies' influences on the company's advertising guidelines. Furthermore and surprisingly, the companies attached only little importance to the coordination of their advertising with sales policy. This could lead to serious and complex conflicts between the ad directions, the ad agencies and the sales departments.⁹²

Even from the perspective of the entrepreneurial respondents, the main problem of the ad agencies was the impossibility to evaluate reliably their impact on sales. The same was true for the companies' own ad directions. Until the 1960s, German universities did very little scientific research to improve the measurement of advertising effectiveness whereas the German ad men were

impressed by the acceptance of advertising research in Austria where Karl Skowronnek (also a member of the German ZAW) occupied the Chair of Advertising Research at the Academy for International Trade in Vienna since December 1956.⁹³ In the FRG, calculations dealing with the development of the market share, the sales in relation to the advertising expense or surveys questioning the level of a product's or a brand's awareness were seen as less-than-ideal solutions. Hence, the ad agencies (as well as the ad directions) were unable to prove their expertise and efficiency. The companies chose their ad agencies on the basis of rather abstract or banal criteria like the agency's "creative ideas", "the personality of its particular head", a reputation for "good consulting", the "teamwork inside of the ad agency" and its "good copywriters and graphic designers".⁹⁴ It seems likely that the reason for the clients' mentioning of the vague selection criteria was due to the inexistence of other criteria.

More important, the clients wanted to maintain long-term cooperations with the ad agencies. Regarding the potential for such lucrative income, the importance of the ad agencies' capability to boast of their experience and skillfulness to compensate for the lack of formal proof of their expertise becomes obvious. This strategy regarding acquisitions was even more necessary when bringing to mind that scientific marketing principles were still in their infancy in the 1950s and early 1960s. Furthermore, the respondents negotiated with more than two ad agencies on average before they made a decision with which agency they wanted to work. Every ad agency – notably its head – had to give a presentation in front of the particular board of directors, the ad director and the sales managers to win the order. The majority of the respondents were not even paid for these labour-intensive proposals whereas the agencies' competitiveness increased significantly since the mid-1960s, when such bidding became uncommon.⁹⁵

These findings demonstrate that enterprises of the branded goods industry sector – and especially the cigarette industry – were much more open to the work of ad men than companies of the car industry or the chemicals industry. This result is backed by a scientific survey which puts some aspects of these relationships into a broader context and provides further evidence that relationships like the one's between Hans Domizlaff and Philipp F. Reemtsma were exceptional cases.

Taking a further look at the level of discussions in trade journals, all of the prewar ad men's spokesmen emphasised their longing for an acceptance of their importance as entrepreneurial stakeholders and tended to overratings in the 1950s and 1960s. That is the reason why multiple complaints about the weak positions of ad consultants, ad agencies and ad directors compared to the standings of other entrepreneurial stakeholders inside of the business enterprises are detectable. The causes for this situation were seen in the inability of the ad men to prove their expertise and in the

unstandardised and not accredited training as well as in the missing job outline of these ad men, which often led to conflicts with other entrepreneurial stakeholders.⁹⁶

Once again, the fact that the relationships between most of the ad men, owner-managers and sales managers were troubled by consistent difficulties becomes evident in a local congress of the Central Committee of the German Ad Industry (ZAW) in Essen in 1958 and in a nationwide ad congress in Munich in 1963 with about 2.500 international attendees. The latter congress was organised by the ZAW as well and had the aim to convince the business enterprises of the need to increase their advertising expenditures for the purpose of staying competitive in the European Economic Community. Both congresses provided spaces for discussions between ad men, owner-managers and sales managers to relieve the often persisting entrepreneurial ad scepticism and to improve the relationships between these entrepreneurial stakeholders.⁹⁷

Up to the 1960s, ad men quarreled with their standing and their anonymity: even in 1964, Harry Damrow asked why the public would know Marika Kilius (a German figure skater) or Queen Soraya's (Queen of Persia) companions but not the strenuous ad men.⁹⁸ As another spokesman, Erich Wohlfahrt said that the owner-manager would follow the advices of his technicians, chemists or tax consultants without any discussion, but never believed his ad men right from the start: in a feeling of insecurity, the owner-manager would rather listen to the advertising criticism of his wife, his secretary or his charwoman than believing in the advertisers' expertise. In the same way, Carl Hundhausen and Ludwig Freiherr von Holzschuher bemoaned the widespread entrepreneurial disrespect towards the ad men. They emphasised that owner-managers mostly had a persisting simplistic notion about advertising as a necessary, though incidental announcement. Furthermore, other entrepreneurial stakeholders like sales managers or sales representatives would think that they could make the right decisions regarding advertising as well.

What weakened the ad directors position inside of the business enterprises was their prevailing lack of a commercial power of attorney. Hence, another spokesman of the prewar ad men, Hans Wündrich-Meiß, criticised the ad men's often lack of authority inside of the company. Especially, the sales managers would demand the ad men's submission to the orders of the sales department. When Wündrich-Meiß vociferated against the sales managers' still too production-oriented focus, he used the narrative of the ad men's special compassion to underpin the importance of their demand-oriented focus.⁹⁹ Furthermore, Ludwig Freiherr von Holzschuher emphasised that open-minded owner-managers who appreciated the skillfulness of their ad men would have been rare exceptions.¹⁰⁰ In this case, it seems surprising that ad consultants never made their own entrepreneurship as heads of small agencies or even full-service agencies a subject of discussion in order to prove their affinity with the owner-managers of business enterprises. Hence, most of the ad consultants and directors had not only to deal with their public anonymity as service providers and

the rather bad reputation of their entire occupation inside and outside of business enterprises (with exceptions in the branded goods industry sector), but with their inability to prove their efficiency in detail towards their clients as well.

IV. Conclusion

Summarising, the ad men's economic situation was not at all a worse one, but their *social* standing was generally weak. They had to deal with a complex dilemma outside and inside of business enterprises, which was related to their social status deficiency deriving from the enduring public criticism and their situation as ghostwriters without any formal or statistical proof of their expertise and efficiency towards clients. The prewar ad men's long-term goal was to improve their social standing. This aim was expressed in the advertisers' mentality consisting of uncertainty, overratings and arrogance as well as in the shaping of the West-German advertising industry as a "third way" to improve the occupation's social reputation by selective adaptations of superior American and "good" National Socialist influences. The advertisers' exaggerated reinterpretation of their anonymity to a necessary and special psychological skill, was a compensational strategy to conceal their lack of a job description and qualifications as a proof of their expertise, to strengthen their weak social position and to gain a social recognition for their influential work. Nevertheless, this strategy's boasts too often increased the public and entrepreneurial suspicion against the ad men. This confused situation of the ad men who really tried to improve their social reputation but, then again, counteracted their own efforts with exaggerated boasts, explains their constant complaints about their supposedly "worse situation", even though their work was often influential and they made a lot of profit. What still needs to be explored is how the label of marketing and the arising occupation of German marketers influenced a better social image of advertising by the 1970s.

¹ Hubert Strauf, "Der Wirtschaftswerber als Beruf in Gegenwart und Zukunft," in *Werbung im Europamarkt: Kongressbericht zum Kongress der Werbung in München 1963*, ed. Zentrallausschuss der deutschen Werbewirtschaft e.V. (München: Privately Printed, 1963), 178-92 esp. 191.

² Hans Domizlaff, *Nachdenkliche Wanderschaft: Autobiographische Fragmente*, II vols. (Hamburg: Dulk, 1950), I: 224; Hubert Strauf, "Wesen und Formen der Werbung: Bemerkungen zu dem Buch von Carl Hundhausen," *Der Markenartikel* 16.5 (Mai 1954): 208-11 esp. 208; Kurt Gathmann, "Zur Psychologie der Werber," *Werberundschau* 15.17 (1956): 26-30 esp. 28; Hans Domizlaff, *Ethik im Werbefach: Festvortrag zum zehnjährigen Bestehen der Werbefachschule Hamburg 14. September 1956* (Hamburg: Werbefachverband Hamburg/Schleswig-Holstein e.V., 1956), 11; Hans Wündrich-Meiß, "Unternehmer und Werber als produktive Partner," *Werberundschau* 16.19 (Januar/Februar 1957): 16-19 esp. 18-19; Paul Michligk, *Elementare Werbekunde* (Essen: Girardet, 1958), 8; Herbert Liebenau, "Wie verwendet man werbepsychologische Erkenntnisse in der täglichen Werbepaxis? Ein Interview mit Ludwig Freiherr von Holzschuher," in *Gespräche mit der Werbeprominenz*, ed. Hans Wündrich-Meiß (München: Verlag moderne industrie, 1966), 73-86 esp. 84; Hans Wündrich-Meiß, *Werbers Anekdotenbuch* (Fellbach bei Stuttgart: Conradi, 1966), 6; Hubert Strauf, "Anfänge des Werbewesens: Vortrag an der Ruhr-Universität Bochum am

4. Dezember 1984," in *Pioniere der Nachkriegs-Publizistik: Berichte von Initiatoren des Kommunikationssystems nach 1945*, ed. Heinz-Dietrich Fischer (Köln: Deutscher Ärzte-Verlag, 1986), 115-39.

³ Helmut Wehrmann, "Auflistung der betreuten Werbungtreibenden (wichtige Kunden, wichtige Produkte, merkwürdige Slogans zur HdW-Story) an Burkard Strauf," (FBNLHB, 1. Januar 1966), 1-5; Hubert Strauf, "Aus 50 Jahren Werbepraxis erinnert von Hubert Strauf (Faltblatt)," (FBNLHB, 7. April 1984) [no pagination].

⁴ This paper concentrates only on owner-managers, sales managers, ad directors, ad consultants and consumers as entrepreneurial stakeholders. Additionally assumable stakeholders would be: workers, trade unions, consumer associations, environmentalists, townships or the trade control (Hartmut Berghoff, *Moderne Unternehmensgeschichte: Eine themen- und theorieorientierte Einführung* (Paderborn et. al.: Schöningh, 2004), 56).

⁵ N. N., "Lästiges Übermaß an Reklame? NWDR Köln läßt Hörer sprechen," *Der Markenartikel* 14 (1952): 56-57; Hermann Schreiber, "Die hohe Schule der Verführung. Eine Tagung in der Evangelischen Akademie Bad Boll über "Werbung und Ethik", in: *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, Donnerstag, 1. März 1956 " (HstaSt/EA 6/101, Nr. 115, 1. März 1956), 3; Hans Wüdrich-Meißel, "Die Behauptung "Werbung will überzeugen" löste Gelächter aus..." *Werberundschau* 15.16 (Juli/August 1956): 5-16 esp. 15; Ferdinand Frauenknecht, "Ist Werbung Verführung? Ein Beitrag zum Thema "Religion und Werbung", " *Werberundschau* 15.16 (Juli/August 1956): 22-27; Hans Wüdrich-Meißel and Helmut Biegel, "Eine unglaubliche Diffamierung," *Werberundschau* 15.18 (November/Dezember 1956): 45-46; Zenon, "Werber als Medizinmänner?," *Werberundschau* 16.23 (September/Oktober 1957): 92-95 esp. 95; Zentralausschuss der Werbewirtschaft e.V., ed., *Jahresbericht 1958* (Bad Godesberg: Privately Printed, 1958), 28-29; Zentralausschuss der Werbewirtschaft e.V., ed., *Jahresbericht 1959* (Bad Godesberg: Privately Printed, 1959), 9-12; Zentralausschuss der Werbewirtschaft e.V., ed., *Jahresbericht 1960* (Bad Godesberg: Privately Printed, 1960), 11; Zentralausschuss der Werbewirtschaft e.V., ed., *Jahresbericht 1961* (Bad Godesberg: Privately Printed, 1961), 9-10; Rudolf Stählin, "Wahrheit und Werbung," in *Werbung freiheit und verantwortung: Aus dem Themenkreis der Herbst-Arbeitstagung des Bundes Deutscher Werbeberater und Werbeleiter eV in Bad Wildungen*, ed. Bund Deutscher Werbeberater und Werbeleiter e.V. (Essen: Fördergemeinschaft für Absatz- und Werbeforschung e.V., 1964), 9-37 esp. 7; Georg Bergler, *Werbung und Gesellschaft* (Essen: 1966), 7; Carl Hundhausen, "Vortrag zum Thema "Der Beruf des Werbefachmanns" auf der 130. Plenarsitzung der Stuttgarter Privatgesellschaft im Verlagshaus Ernst Klett in Stuttgart," (HstaSt/Q 3/23/Archiv Max Rehm, Nr. 64, 1. Dezember 1973) [no pagination].

⁶ Rainer Gries, "Zum Selbstbild westdeutscher Werbeunternehmer der Nachkriegszeit: Eine ideologiegeschichtliche Bestandsaufnahme," in *Geschäft mit Wort und Meinung: Medienunternehmer seit dem 18 Jahrhundert*, ed. Günther Schulz (München: Boldt im Oldenbourg-Verlag, 1999), 251-74 esp. 252; Rainer Gries, *Produkte als Medien: Kulturgeschichte der Produktkommunikation in der Bundesrepublik und der DDR* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2003), 415.

⁷ W. Hahn, "Müssen Verkaufs- und Werbeabteilung Gegner sein?," *Seidels Reklame* 19.1 (Januar 1935): 1-3; Hans Wüdrich-Meißel, "Ist Werbung nur für den Unternehmer da?," *Seidels Reklame* 19.3 (März 1935): 82; Erich Schäfer, "Werbung und Absatzführung: Ein Wort an die Betriebsführer und an ihre Verkaufs- und Werbeleiter " *Werben und Verkaufen* 21.4 (April 1937): 107-08; Hans Wüdrich-Meißel, "Kerner wird Werber: Ein Roman vom Werdegang der deutschen Werbung - 2. Fortsetzung," *Werberundschau* 19 (1956): 49-72 esp. 56-57.

⁸ Cf. endnote No. 5.

⁹ Theodor Geiger, *Die soziale Schichtung des deutschen Volkes: Soziographischer Versuch auf statistischer Grundlage* (Stuttgart: Enke, 1932), 77-81; Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1956), I: 267; Hagen Schulze, "Mentalitätsgeschichte. Chancen und Grenzen eines Paradigmas der französischen Geschichtswissenschaft," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 26.4 (1985): 247-70 esp. 255; Volker Sellin, "Mentalitäten in der Sozialgeschichte," in *Sozialgeschichte in Deutschland: Entwicklungen und Perspektiven in internationalen Zusammenhängen*, eds. Wolfgang Schieder and Volker Sellin (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986/1987), 101-21 esp. 103; Lutz Niethammer, *Kollektive Identität: Heimliche Quellen einer unheimlichen Konjunktur* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt-Taschenbuch-Verlag, 2000), 55.

¹⁰ Documents were consulted in the following archives and places: Asbach Archiv in Ruedesheim am Rhein, Bayerisches Wirtschaftsarchiv (BWA); Bundesarchiv Berlin (BAB); Familie Burkard Strauf – Nachlass Hubert Strauf (FBNLHB); Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung (HIS), Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover (HstaH); Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart (HstaSt) and Landeshauptarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen – Abteilung Rheinland (LANWAR).

¹¹ Rainer Gries et al., "Stilgedanken zur Macht: "Lerne wirken ohne zu handeln!" Hans Domizlaff, eines Werbeberaters Geschichte," in *Ins Gehirn der Masse kriechen: Werbung und Mentalitätsgeschichte*, ed. Ead. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995), 45-73; Dirk Schindelbeck, "'Asbach Uralt" und "Soziale Marktwirtschaft": Zur Kulturgeschichte der Werbeagentur in Deutschland am Beispiel von Hanns W. Brose (1899-1971)," *Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte* 40.4 (1995): 235-52; Tino Jacobs, "Zwischen Intuition und Experiment: Hans Domizlaff und der Aufstieg Reemtsmas, 1921 bis 1932," in *Marketinggeschichte: Die Genese einer modernen Sozialtechnik*, ed. Hartmut Berghoff (Frankfurt/M./New York: Campus-Verlag, 2007), 148-76; Dirk Schindelbeck, "Ernest Dichter und seine deutschen Kollegen: Dargestellt am Beispiel seines Verhältnisses zu Hans Wüdrich-Meißel," in *Ernest Dichter: Doyen der Verführer*, eds. Rainer Gries and Stefan Schwarzkopf (Wien: Mucha-Verlag, 2007), 234-55.

¹² Hartmut Berghoff, "Von der Reklame zur Verbrauchslenkung: Werbung im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland," in *Konsumpolitik: Die Regulierung des privaten Verbrauchs im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Id. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 77-112; Gries, "Zum Selbstbild westdeutscher Werbeunternehmer der Nachkriegszeit: Eine ideologiegeschichtliche Bestandsaufnahme".

¹³ Dirk Reinhardt, *Von der Reklame zum Marketing: Geschichte der Wirtschaftswerbung in Deutschland* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1993), 128; Stefan Hansen, ed., *Moments of Consistency: Eine Geschichte der Werbung* (Berlin: Transcript-Verlag, 2004), 32; Alexander Schug, "Vom Newspaper space salesman zur integrierten Kommunikationsagentur. Die 120-jährige Entwicklungsgeschichte der Werbeagentur Dorland," *Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte* 49.1 (2004): 5-25.

¹⁴ Georg Dülfer, "Im Lande der Werbung: Amerika," *Werben und Verkaufen* 21.2 (Februar 1937): 64-65; M. C. Schreiber, "Zum 20. April 1933," *Werben und Verkaufen* 23.4 (April 1939): 164-65; Carl Hundhausen, "Absatzwerbung und Betriebswerbung: Ein Beitrag zu dem Problem "Public Relations", "Innerbetriebliche Werbung" und Werbung im Kriege," *Der Markenartikel* 7.4 (April 1940): 69-74; M. C. Schreiber, "Zwischen zwei Heften," *Werben und Verkaufen* 26.2 (Februar 1942): 45; Military Government of Germany - Essen, "Entnazifizierungsakte von Carl Hundhausen," (LANWAR/NW 1005 G 6795, 10. August 1948), 4.

¹⁵ Brose worked for Erwin, Wasey & Co. as a copydirector in Berlin since February 1, 1928 (Hanns Walter Brose, *Der Strukturwandel im deutschen Werbeschaffen, 1929 bis 1954* (Frankfurt/M.: Gesellschaft für Gemeinschaftswerbung, 1954), 3-9); N. N., "Otto Gengenbach," *Werberundschau* 14.10 (Juli 1955): 81.

¹⁶ Cf. endnote No. 6.

¹⁷ Stefan Haas, "Psychologen, Künstler, Ökonomen. Das Selbstverständnis der Werbetreibenden zwischen Fin de siècle und Nachkriegszeit," in *Bilderwelt des Alltags: Werbung in der Konsumgesellschaft des 19 und 20 Jahrhunderts*, eds. Peter Borscheid and Clemens Wischermann (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995), 78-89 esp. 79; Harm G. Schröter, "Die Amerikanisierung der Werbung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1 (1997): 93-115; Christiane Lamberty, *Reklame in Deutschland 1890-1914: Wahrnehmung, Professionalisierung und Kritik der Wirtschaftswerbung* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2000), 145; Roy Church and Andrew Godley, "The Emergence of Modern Marketing: International Dimensions," *Business History* 45.1 (2003): 1-15 esp. 4; Matthias Kusche, "Zum Kommunikationsverständnis in Victor Matajas *Die Reklame*," in *Zeitung, Werbung, Öffentlichkeit: Biographisch-systematische Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Kommunikationsforschung*, eds. Stefanie Averbeck and Arnulf Kutsch (Köln: Halem, 2005), 145-74; Victoria de Grazia, "Foreword," in *Selling Modernity: Advertising in Twentieth-Century Germany*, eds. Pamela E. Swett et al. (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2007), xiii-xviii esp. xviii; Waltraud Sennebogen, *Zwischen Kommerz und Ideologie: Berührungspunkte von Wirtschaftswerbung und Propaganda im Nationalsozialismus* (München: Meidenbauer, 2008), 50.

¹⁸ Kurt Gayer, "Wo stehen wir heute in der werbefachlichen Ausbildung? Interview mit Dr. Günter Wolff, Direktor der werbefachlichen Akademie Hamburg, über den gegenwärtigen Stand der werbefachlichen Ausbildung," *Werberundschau* 24. Frühlingsheft 67 (1965): 5-16 esp. 5-6; Hubert Strauf, *Stoltenberg's Werbelehre* (Essen: Wirtschaft und Werbung Verlagsgesellschaft, 1965), 19.

¹⁹ This becomes evident in the life courses of the sample of 420 ad experts. For an additional external perception see: Georg Bergler, *Die Entwicklung der Verbrauchsforschung in Deutschland und die Gesellschaft für Konsumforschung bis zum Jahre 1945* (Kallmünz/Oberpfalz: Laßleben, 1960), 16.

²⁰ Werner Abelshäuser, *Die langen fünfziger Jahre: Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1949 - 1966* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1987), 56-60; Arne Andersen, *Der Traum vom guten Leben: Alltags- und Konsumgeschichte vom Wirtschaftswunder bis heute* (Frankfurt/M./New York: Campus Verlag, 1997), 14-20, 56-57; Wolfgang König, *Geschichte der Konsumgesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000), 121; Werner Abelshäuser, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte seit 1945* (München: Beck, 2004), 336-39.

²¹ ZAW, ed., *Jahresbericht 1958*, 28-29; Michael Wildt, "Konsum und Modernisierung in den 1950er Jahren," in *Zivilisation und Barbarei: Die widersprüchlichen Potentiale der Moderne - Detlev Peukert zum Gedenken*, eds. Werner Johe and Uwe Lohalm (Hamburg: Christians, 1991), 323-46 esp. 324; Joachim Kellner et al., "Auferstanden aus Ruinen: Werbung in der Stunde Null," in *1945 bis 1995: 50 Jahre Werbung in Deutschland*, ed. Ead. (Ingelheim: Westermann-Kommunikation, 1995), 33-38; Statistisches Bundesamt, "Investitionen in Werbung 1949 - 2007: Honorare/Gehälter, Werbemittelproduktion, Medienkosten," (Zentralverband der deutschen Werbewirtschaft, 2007) [no pagination]; Statistisches Bundesamt, ed., *Statistisches Jahrbuch für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Wiesbaden: Druck-Buch-Verlag, 2009), 642.

²² Hanns Walter Brose, "Die moderne Werbeagentur," *Deutsche Werbewirtschaft Beilage zu "Der Volkswirt"* 11.25 (22. Juni 1957): 42; Erwin R. Weger, *Die Werbeagentur in Deutschland: Entwicklung, Wesen, Funktionen, Organisation* (Nürnberg: Marktwirtschaft und Verbrauch - Schriftenreihe der GfK-Gesellschaft für Konsum-, Markt- und Absatzforschung e.V., 1966), 60.

²³ Corey Ross, "Visions of Prosperity: The Americanization of Advertising in Interwar Germany," in *Selling Modernity: Advertising in Twentieth-Century Germany*, eds. Pamela E. Swett et al. (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2007), 52-77.

²⁴ See for detailed data: Weger, *Die Werbeagentur in Deutschland: Entwicklung, Wesen, Funktionen, Organisation*, 196-99.

²⁵ Hubert Troost, *Berufe in einer Werbeagentur* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1961), 79; Harm G. Schröter, "Die Amerikanisierung der Werbung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1 (1997): 93-115 esp. 103-107; Matthias Rücker, *Wirtschaftswerbung unter dem Nationalsozialismus: Rechtliche Ausgestaltung der Werbung und Tätigkeit des Werberats der deutschen Wirtschaft* (Frankfurt/M.: Lang, 2000); Pamela E. Swett, "Preparing for Victory: Heinrich Hunke, the Nazi Werberat, and West German Prosperity," *Central European History* 42 (2009): 675-707.

²⁶ Strauf, "Anfänge des Werbewesens: Vortrag an der Ruhr-Universität Bochum am 4. Dezember 1984," esp. 129-30; Wüdrich-Meißel, *Werbers Anekdotenbuch*, 109; Harry Damrow, *Ich war kein geheimer Verführer: Aus dem Leben eines Werbeleiters* (Rheinzabern: Gitzel, 1981), 46-47.

²⁷ Egon Juda, "Die deutsche Werbung - Rückblick und Ausblick," in *Werbung überbrückt Ländergrenzen: Reklame-Kongress Hamburg 1951 - Kongressbericht*, ed. Werbefachverband Hamburg/Schleswig-Holstein e.V. (Hamburg: Privately Printed, 1951), 108-12 esp. 110; Hans Lutz, "Was leistet der ZAW?," in *Werbung überbrückt Ländergrenzen: Reklame-Kongress Hamburg 1951- Kongressbericht*, ed. Werbefachverband Hamburg/Schleswig-Holstein e.V. (Hamburg: Privately Printed, 1951), 11-13; Hans Lutz, "ZAW zieht Bilanz," *Die Anzeige* 28.3 (März 1952): 118-23 esp. 118-19; Herbert Schütte, "Vortrag von Herbert Schütte, Direktor, Vorsitzender des Markenverbandes, auf einer Arbeitstagung des ZAW am 13. Mai 1958 in Essen zum Thema "Werbung - eine Unternehmernaufgabe," in *Vortragsreihe des Deutschen Industrieministeriums*, ed. Unknown (Essen: HstaSt/Q 3/23/ Archiv Max Rehm, Nr. 64, 13. Mai 1958), 4; Damrow, *Ich war kein geheimer Verführer: Aus dem Leben eines Werbeleiters*, 47; Heinz Hartwig, *Gelebt - Gelacht - Gelästert: Ein Zeitgenosse genöß seine Zeit* (Stuttgart: Bleicher, 1981), 82; Strauf, "Anfänge des Werbewesens: Vortrag an der Ruhr-Universität Bochum am 4. Dezember 1984," esp. 129-30.

²⁸ Horst J. Hosmann, "Handschriftlicher Lebenslauf von Horst J. Hosmann," (BAB/BDC-Akte Horst J. Hosmann, Nr. RK I0248, 12. November 1937) [no pagination]; Wilhelm Tigges, "Werbung als Dienst am Verbraucher: Auszug aus der Eröffnungsansprache des Präsidenten des ZAW auf dem "Kongress der Werbung" in Frankfurt/M.," *Der Markenartikel* 16.5 (Mai 1954): 376-77 esp. 376; Hans Kurt Rose, "ADW-Jahrestagung: "100 Jahre Annoncen-Expeditionen",," *Die Anzeige* 31.6 (Juni 1955): 496-97 esp. 497; Ewald Borgmann, "Autobiographischer Lebenslauf," in *Almanach des "Freundeskreises Senioren der Werbung"*, ed. Freundeskreis Senioren der Werbung (Essen: FBNLHB, 1983) [no pagination]; Harry Damrow, "Autobiographischer Lebenslauf," in *Almanach des "Freundeskreises Senioren der Werbung"*, ed. Freundeskreis Senioren der Werbung (Essen: FBNLHB, 1983) [no pagination]; Wilhelm Tigges, "Autobiographischer Lebenslauf," in *Almanach des "Freundeskreises Senioren der Werbung"*, ed. Freundeskreis Senioren der Werbung (FBNLHB, 1983) [no pagination]; Peer Heinelt, "PR-Päpste". *Die kontinuierlichen Karrieren von Carl Hundhausen, Albert Oeckl und Franz Ronneberger* (Berlin: Dietz, 2003), 64-69.

²⁹ Ferdinand Frauenknecht, "5 Jahre Werbefachliches Institut München - Werbewissenschaftliches Institut e.V.," (München: BWA/05 Sammlungen/S004, Nr. 223, 1954); Werbefachverband Franken e.V., "40 Jahre Werbe-Verbände in Franken. Professor Dr. Georg Bergler Ehrenmitglied des WFF - "Alte Hasen" des Werbefachverbandes Franken e.V.," (Nürnberg: BWA/05 Sammlungen/S004, Nr. 315, 1967), 26-29, 32.

³⁰ Werbefachverband Württemberg-Baden e.V., "Schreiben des Werbefachverbandes Württemberg-Baden e.V. and das Wirtschaftsministerium von Württemberg-Baden - Abteilung Preisüberwachung - betr. Preisüberwachung," (HstaSt/EA 6/401 Akten des Württembergischen Wirtschaftsministeriums, Preisaufsichtsstelle, Wirtschaftswerbung, Nr. 1781, 13. Dezember 1947), 4-7; N. N., "Personalie Hermann Bruder," *Werberundschau* 15.14 (März/April 1956): 69; Hermann Bruder, "Autobiographischer Lebenslauf," in *Almanach des "Freundeskreises Senioren der Werbung"*, ed. Freundeskreis Senioren der Werbung (Essen: FBNLHB, 1983) [no pagination].

³¹ Hans Domizlaff, *Propagandamittel der Staatsidee* (Althona-Othmarschen: Poeschel & Trepte, 1932), 104; Herbert Liebenau, "Eine Marke soll dem Verbraucher eine klare und lebendige Vorstellung geben - warum Vertrieb und Werbung so oft verschiedener Meinung sind: Ein Interview mit Hans Domizlaff," in *Gespräche mit der Werbeprominenz*, ed. Hans Wüdrich-Meißel (München: verlag moderne industrie, 1966), 31-53 esp. 46-47.

³² Juda, "Die deutsche Werbung - Rückblick und Ausblick," 108; Zentralkomitee der deutschen Gewerkschaften, "20 Jahre ZAW 1949-1969: Almanach zum Kongreß der Werbung in München (10. bis 14. Juni 1969)," ed. Id. (BWA/05 Sammlungen/S004, Nr. 134, 1969), 35.

³³ John Schleprow, "Werbung im Stadtbild," in *Hamburger Wirtschaftswerbung: Handbuch für Werbungtreibende*, ed. Werbefachverband Hamburg/Schleswig-Holstein e.V. (Hamburg: Privately Printed, 1951), 55-57 esp. 56.

³⁴ Günter Wolff, *Die WAH - Eine Dokumentation: Von der Werbefachschule Hamburg (1946) über die Werbefachliche Akademie Hamburg WAH (1963) bis zur WAH Akademie für angewandte Kommunikation (1981)* (Hamburg: Privately Printed, 1981), 11.

³⁵ Günter Wolff and Hermann M. Lorz, "Schriftwechsel zwischen Günter Wolff und Hermann M. Lorz betr. Anatomie der Höheren Reichswerbeschule vom 21. und 23. Januar 1963," in *Die WAH - Eine Dokumentation: Von der Werbefachschule Hamburg (1946) über die Werbefachliche Akademie Hamburg WAH (1963) bis zur WAH Akademie für angewandte Kommunikation (1981)*, ed. Günter Wolff (Hamburg: Privately Printed, 1981), 105; Günter Wolff, "Autobiographischer Lebenslauf," in *Almanach des "Freundeskreises Senioren der Werbung"*, ed. Freundeskreis Senioren der Werbung (Essen: FBNLHB, 1983) [no pagination].

³⁶ Julius Dirk Domizlaff (*1902-1946) was the ad director of Reemtsma in Hamburg for twenty-two years until his sudden death after a surgery (Philipp F. Reemtsma, "Die Firmenentwicklung 1910 bis 1952: Als Sonderdruck aus den Beiträgen zu einer Firmengeschichte für den Hausgebrauch hergestellt " (Hamburg: HIS/PFR/115,51, 1953), 52; Elfriede Domizlaff and Christine Domizlaff, "Todesanzeige von Julius Dirk Domizlaff," (Hamburg: HIS/PFR/150, Nr. 21, 14. Januar 1946) [no pagination].

³⁷ Bund Deutscher Werbeberater und Werbeleiter e.V., "Organe des BDW," in *Strukturwandlungen in Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft: Vorträge der Bundestagung BDW Travemünde 1957*, ed. Id. (Karlsruhe: Privately Printed, 1963), 92-93; Hubert Strauf, "Autobiographischer Lebenslauf," in *Almanach des "Freundeskreises Senioren der Werbung"*, ed. Freundeskreis Senioren der Werbung (Essen: FBNLHB, 1983) [no pagination].

³⁸ Paul Kettel, "Ergebnisse der Verbandssitzungen," in *Werbung überbrückt Ländergrenzen: Reklame-Kongress Hamburg 1951 - Kongressbericht*, ed. Werbefachverband Hamburg/Schleswig-Holstein e.V. (Hamburg: Privately Printed, 1951), 207-15 esp. 207-209, 212.

³⁹ Zentralaussschuss der Werbewirtschaft e.V., ed., *Jahresbericht 1963* (Bad Godesberg: Privately Printed, 1963), 19.

⁴⁰ Rudolf Brandes, "Was ist der BDW, was will der BDW?," in *Verbraucher und Werber - heute und morgen: Die Vorträge der Bundestagung BDW Köln 1960*, ed. Bund Deutscher Werbeberater und Werbeleiter e.V. (Essen: Privately Printed, 1960), 5-106.

⁴¹ N. N., "Treffpunkt Berlin," *Die Anzeige* 12.11 (1963): 1.

⁴² Vance Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders* (New York: McKay, 1957); Vance Packard, *Die geheimen Verführer: Der Griff nach dem Unbewussten in jedermann* (Frankfurt/M. et. al.: Ullstein, 1957); ZAW, ed., *Jahresbericht 1960*, 11; Nepomuk Gasteiger, "Vom manipulierten zum postmodernen Konsumenten: Das Bild des Verbrauchers in der westdeutschen Werbung und Werbekritik, 1950-1990," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 90.1 (2008): 129-57 esp. 139-41.

⁴³ A. Cramer, "Zwischen den Fronten," *Blick in die Werbung* Zweites Septemberheft (1957): 1; Egon Koßmann, "Das Unbehagen wächst," *Blick in die Werbung* Zweites Augustheft (1958): 1; Egon Koßmann, "Kritische Kritik," *Blick in die Werbung* Zweites Januarheft (1959): 1; Gesellschaft Werbeagenturen, "H. K. McCann Company mbh Werbeagentur GWA," in *Werbeagenturen GWA*, ed. Id. (Moisburg: Privately Printed, 1961) [no pagination]; Wolff, *Die WAH - Eine Dokumentation: Von der Werbefachschule Hamburg (1946) über die Werbefachliche Akademie Hamburg WAH (1963) bis zur WAH Akademie für angewandte Kommunikation (1981)*, 48.

⁴⁴ N. N., "Generalversammlung der Ortsgruppe Nürnberg," *Mitteilungen der Landesgruppe Bayern im Deutschen Reklame-Verband* 2 (April 1931): 4.

⁴⁵ N. N., "Vorstand der Ortsgruppe München im Deutschen Reklame-Verband e.V.," *Mitteilungen der Ortsgruppe München im Deutschen Reklame-Verband eV* 1 (Juli 1930): 1.

⁴⁶ Dr. Kunstmann, "Alfred Willy Blau," *Werberundschau* 14.10 (Juli 1955): 73-74; Erich Wohlfahrt, "Karl Theodor Senger - 80 Jahre alt," *Werberundschau* 16.20 (März/April 1957): 93-94; Schriftleitung der Werberundschau, "Werden lange Anzeigentexte gelesen? Ein Interview mit Erich Wohlfahrt," *Werberundschau* 18.35 (1959): 5-13 esp. 9.

⁴⁷ N. N., "Vorstand und Geschäftsstellen des "Verbandes Deutscher Reklamefachleute e.V.," in *VDR-Handbuch der Reklame 1924*, ed. Verband Deutscher Reklamefachleute e.V. (Berlin/Leipzig: Francken & Lang, 1924), 93-94; Hans Buchholz, "Autobiographischer Lebenslauf," in *Almanach des "Freundeskreises Senioren der Werbung"*, ed. Freundeskreis Senioren der Werbung (Essen: FBNLHB, 1983) [no pagination].

⁴⁸ Johannes Schmiedchen, "Eine nicht gehaltene Ansprache," in *Festschrift für Johannes Pipping: 40 Jahre Werbeberater*, ed. N. N. (Kleinholzhausen: BWA/05 Sammlungen/S003, Nr. 104, 2. April 1954) [no pagination].

⁴⁹ As the prewar ad man Eugen Johannes Maecker published the first volume of his textbook "Planvolle Werbung" in 1953, his colleagues Walter Ernst Schmidt, Egon Juda and Fritz Berndt acknowledged its value as the coming standard work in ad schools; Eugen Johannes Maecker, *Planvolle Werbung*, II vols. (Essen: Girardet, 1953), I: wrapper; Johannes Pipping, "Anzeige von Johannes Pipping - Rosenheim/Kleinholzhausen - Werbeberater BDW," in *Festschrift für Johannes Pipping: 40 Jahre Werbeberater* ed. N. N. (Kleinholzhausen: BWA/05 Sammlungen/ S003, Nr. 104, 2. April 1954) [no pagination]; Paul Kettel, "Zum zehnjährigen Bestehen der Werbefachschule Hamburg im Jahre 1954," in *Die WAH - Eine Dokumentation: Von der Werbefachschule Hamburg (1946) über die Werbefachliche Akademie Hamburg WAH (1963) bis zur WAH Akademie für angewandte Kommunikation (1981)*, ed. Günter Wolff (Hamburg: Privately Printed, 1981), 9.

⁵⁰ N. N., "Johannes-Weidenmüller-Plakette," *ADW-Umschau* 1 (Januar 1960): 33-34; N. N., "BDW-Nachwuchsförderung durch Egon-Juda-Preis," *Die Anzeige* 2.11 (Januar 1963): 2; N. N., "Personalie Georg Dülfer," *Hamburger Abendblatt* 37 (13. Dezember 1964): 17; G. F. H., "Dr. Tigges 70 Jahre," *Die Anzeige* 14.11 (Juli 1964): 6; N. N., "Nichts ist so praktisch wie eine gute Theorie: Zur Verleihung des Dr.-Hegemann-Preises 1964 und zweier Hegemann-Förderpreise 1963," *Die Anzeige* 20.11 (Oktober 1964): 12; Strauf, "Autobiographischer Lebenslauf," [no pagination]; Heinz Hartwig, "Autobiographischer Lebenslauf," in *Freundeskreises "Senioren der Werbung"*, ed. Freundeskreis Senioren der Werbung (FBNLHB, 1983) [no pagination].

⁵¹ Members: Hans Egon Adolf, Erich R. Alisch, Ferdinand Frauenknecht, Hans Hirschhorn, Kurt Piepenstock, Johannes Pipping, Artur Reder, Paul Friedrich Scharke, Hanns Sellmayer, and Johann Weindl (Alfred Drews, ""Stachelschweine der Werbung" auf Herrenchiemsee: 6. Kleinholzhausener Werbefachgespräche," *Die Anzeige* 31.5 (Mai 1955): 404-05).

- ⁵² Karl Heinrich, "Opposition und Aufbruch der jungen Werber," *Werberundschau* 15.15 (Mai/Juni 1956): 25-31 esp. 28; Wolff, *Die WAH - Eine Dokumentation: Von der Werbefachschule Hamburg (1946) über die Werbefachliche Akademie Hamburg WAH (1963) bis zur WAH Akademie für angewandte Kommunikation (1981)*, 24.
- ⁵³ Wolff, *Die WAH - Eine Dokumentation: Von der Werbefachschule Hamburg (1946) über die Werbefachliche Akademie Hamburg WAH (1963) bis zur WAH Akademie für angewandte Kommunikation (1981)*, 489-499, 501; Gerulf Hirt, "Interview mit Herrn Burkard Strauf in seiner Werbeagentur "StraufPartner Concept & Design GmbH" in Essen," (Privatbesitz, 5. März 2009), 2, 5, 11.
- ⁵⁴ Bergler, *Werbung und Gesellschaft*, 66.
- ⁵⁵ The definitions of marketing differ as much as the determinations of the time of its origin do. Some accepted basic elements of the "marketing-mix" extending McCarthy's classic 4 P's (product, place, price, promotion) could be: the quality of the product itself (type, quality, utility), the product's endowment (packing, name, design), its price, the ways and the density of distribution (wholesalers, retailers etc.), the auxiliary functions of distribution (transportation, stock-keeping), the sales representatives, the advertising, the sales promotion as well as the entrepreneurial Public Relations; Ewald Borgmann, "Der Treuhänder der Werbung," *Blick in die Werbung* Zweites Aprilheft (1959): 2; Jerome Edmund McCarthy, *Basic Marketing: A Managerial Approach* (Homewood: Irwin, 1961); Hans Wündrich-Meißen, "Der Werber ist tot," *Werberundschau* 28.99 (Mai/Juni 1970): 5-14; Eric Shaw, "The Utility of the Four Utilities Concept," in *Research in Marketing: Explorations in the History of Marketing*, eds. Jagdish N. Sheth and Ronald A. Fullerton (Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1994), 47-66 esp. 48.
- ⁵⁶ Hans Wündrich-Meißen, "Wie arbeitet eine moderne Werbeagentur? Eine Stellungnahme zur Broschüre von Hubert Strauf "Die moderne Werbeagentur in Deutschland"," *Werberundschau* 18.32 (1959): 20-38 esp. 20; Horst Slesina, *Die Werbeagentur als Unternehmung: Vortrag gehalten am 3. Juli 1962 im betriebswirtschaftlichen Institut der Wirtschaftshochschule Mannheim (Professor Dr. C. Sandig)* (Frankfurt/M.: Privately Published, 1964), 9; Ferdinand Heider, *Das Recht der Werbeagentur* (Stuttgart: Fachverlag für Wirtschafts- und Steuerrecht Schäffer, 1964), 11.
- ⁵⁷ Gesellschaft Werbeagenturen, ed., *Werbeagenturen GWA* (Moisburg: Privately Published, 1961), 2-7; Strauf, "Anfänge des Werbewesens: Vortrag an der Ruhr-Universität Bochum am 4. Dezember 1984," 133.
- ⁵⁸ Egon Juda, "Erklärung zur Beitragsfestsetzung der Reichskammer der Bildenden Künste für das Rechnungsjahr 1937," (BAB/BDC-Akte Egon Juda, Nr. RK I0261, 24. April 1937), 178; Egon Juda, "Schreiben an die Landesstelle der Reichskammer der bildenden Künste betr. Bitte um Materialgrundbeschaffung aufgrund eines Totalschadens," (BAB/BDC-Akte Egon Juda, Nr. RK I0261, 3. Dezember 1943) [no pagination]; Egon Juda, "Schreiben an Dr. Bernhard Sprengel," (HstaH/Dep. 105/Acc. 2/80, Nr. 421, 17. Dezember 1943), 186.
- ⁵⁹ Willy Köhler, "Nachruf auf Egon Juda," *Werberundschau* 18.31 (Februar 1959): 33-37 esp. 34.
- ⁶⁰ Leo Laps, "Egon Juda," *Seidels Reklame* 1.1 (Januar 1933): 29.
- ⁶¹ Dr. Bernhard Sprengel, "Schreiben an Egon Juda," (HstaH/Dep. 105/Acc. 2/80, Nr. 42125. September 1940), 225-28; Dr. Bernhard Sprengel, "Schreiben an Egon Juda," (HstaH/Dep. 105/Acc. 2/80, Nr. 421, 13. November 1943), 187-88.
- ⁶² The conching was a procedure for refining chocolate by changing its melting attributes as well as its flavour (Roman Rossfeld, *Schweizer Schokolade: Industrielle Produktion und kulturelle Konstruktion eines nationalen Symbols, 1860-1920* (Baden: Hier + Jetzt, Verlag für Kultur und Geschichte, 2007), 17).
- ⁶³ Egon Juda, "Wirksam wirbt - wer planvoll wirbt," in *Hamburger Wirtschaftswerbung: Handbuch für Werbungtreibende*, ed. Werbefachverband Hamburg/Schleswig-Holstein e.V. (Hamburg: Privately Published, 1951), 15-17 esp. 15; Egon Juda, "Werbeplan für die Sonderaktion "SPRENGEL - vollkonchiert"," (HstaH/Dep. 105/Acc. 2/80, Nr. 421, 1952), 24-35.
- ⁶⁴ Egon Juda, "Untersuchung über die Absatzverhältnisse für die Sprengel-Zellglasbeutel in Hamburg und Bremen," (HstaH/Dep. 105/Acc. 2/80, Nr. 421, Juni/Juli 1950), 62-102.
- ⁶⁵ Egon Juda, "Schreiben an Dr. Bernhard Sprengel," (HstaH/Dep. 105/Acc. 2/80, Nr. 421, 8. Januar 1946); Egon Juda, "Schreiben an Dr. Bernhard Sprengel," (HstaH/Dep. 105/Acc. 2/80, Nr. 421, 13. März 1946), 174.
- ⁶⁶ Dr. Bernhard Sprengel, "Schreiben an Egon Juda," (HstaH/Dep. 105/Acc. 2/80, Nr. 421, 17. Mai 1951), 51.
- ⁶⁷ N. N., "Niederschrift der Besprechung der Fa. Bernhard Sprengel mit Egon Juda," (HstaH/Dep. 105/Acc. 2/80, Nr. 421, 11. Juli 1952), 21.
- ⁶⁸ Dr. Bernhard Sprengel, "Schreiben an Egon Juda," (HstaH/Dep. 105/Acc. 2/80, Nr. 421, 10. Januar 1955), 14-15.
- ⁶⁹ Verkaufsleitung der Fa. Bernhard Sprengel GmbH, "Schreiben an Egon Juda," (HstaH/Dep. 105/Acc. 2/80, Nr. 421, 20. März 1956), 6.
- ⁷⁰ Egon Juda, "Schreiben an Dr. Bernhard Sprengel," (HstaH/Dep. 105/Acc. 2/80, Nr. 421, 7. August 1956), 4; Lilli Juda, "Todesanzeige Egon Judas," (HstaH/Dep. 105/Acc. 2/80, Nr. 421, 28. September 1957) [no pagination].
- ⁷¹ Hans Domizlaff, "Schreiben von Hans Domizlaff an Philipp F. Reemtsma betr. sein Buch "Zukunft unserer Werbeorganisationen"," (HIS/PFR 400,08/Hans Domizlaff, Vertragliche und persönliche Schriftwechsel vom 30. Juni 1939 bis zum 31. Dezember 1951, 30. Januar 1940) [no pagination]; Philipp F. Reemtsma, "Schreiben von Philipp F. Reemtsma an Hans Domizlaff betr. Kritik an Domizlaffs "Lehrbuch der Markentechnik"," (HIS/PFR 400,08/Hans Domizlaff, Vertragliche und persönliche Schriftwechsel vom 30. Juni 1939 bis zum 31. Dezember 1951, 10. März

1941) [no pagination]; Hans Domizlaff, "Schreiben von Hans Domizlaff an Philipp F. Reemtsma betr. Kritik von Philipp F. Reemtsma an Domizlaff's "Lehrbuch der Markentechnik", (HIS/PFR 400,08/Hans Domizlaff, Vertragliche und persönliche Schriftwechsel vom 30. Juni 1939 bis zum 31. Dezember 1951, 12. März 1941) [no pagination]; Hans Domizlaff, "Schreiben von Hans Domizlaff an Philipp F. Reemtsma aus Kampen auf Sylt," (HIS/PFR 400,08/Hans Domizlaff, Vertragliche und persönliche Schriftwechsel vom 30. Juni 1939 bis 31. Dezember 1951, 1. September 1951) [no pagination].

⁷² Tino Jacobs, *Rauch und Macht: Das Unternehmen Reemtsma 1920 bis 1961* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2008), 60.

⁷³ Damrow, *Ich war kein geheimer Verführer: Aus dem Leben eines Werbeleiters*, 86.

⁷⁴ Reemtsma, "Die Firmenentwicklung 1910 bis 1952: Als Sonderdruck aus den Beiträgen zu einer Firmengeschichte für den Hausgebrauch hergestellt," 52.

⁷⁵ Franz Jäger, "Die Gestaltung von Marke und Werbung," in *Von Marken- und Marktpolitik Als Sonderdruck aus den Beiträgen zu einer Firmengeschichte für den Hausgebrauch hergestellt*, ed. Philipp F. Reemtsma et al. (Hamburg: HIS/PFR 115,55, 1953), 213-18; Liebenau, "Eine Marke soll dem Verbraucher eine klare und lebendige Vorstellung geben - warum Vertrieb und Werbung so oft verschiedener Meinung sind: Ein Interview mit Hans Domizlaff," 39.

⁷⁶ Domizlaff, *Nachdenkliche Wanderschaft: Autobiographische Fragmente*, 224.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 224; Hans Domizlaff, *Brevier für Könige* (Hamburg: Dulk, 1950).

⁷⁸ Domizlaff, *Nachdenkliche Wanderschaft: Autobiographische Fragmente*, 224; Hans Domizlaff, *Die Gewinnung des öffentlichen Vertrauens: Ein Lehrbuch der Markentechnik* (Hamburg: Dulk, 1951), 204, 208.

⁷⁹ Jäger, "Die Gestaltung von Marke und Werbung," 250.

⁸⁰ Hanns Walter Brose, *Die Entdeckung des Verbrauchers: Ein Leben für die Werbung* (Düsseldorf: Econ, 1958), 38-39.

⁸¹ Wilhelm Ruder, "Hanns W. Brose, Frankfurt am Main," in *Unveröffentlichter biographischer Abriss von Hanns W Brose durch den Stellvertreter des späteren Asbach-Werbeleiters Karl-Heinz Zappe*, ed. Asbach Archiv Rüdeshheim am Rhein (August 1982), 2-3.

⁸² Brose, *Die Entdeckung des Verbrauchers: Ein Leben für die Werbung* 41, 51-52.

⁸³ Ibid., 12-13, 22.

⁸⁴ Hans W. Messing, "Ein Slogan wurde 50. Im Asbach Uralt liegt der Geist des Weines: Erinnerungen an Hanns W. Brose (1899-1972)," *Jahrbuch der Werbung in Deutschland, Österreich und der Schweiz* (1987): 62-68 esp. 67; Brose, *Der Strukturwandel im deutschen Werbeschaffen, 1929 bis 1954*, 30.

⁸⁵ Schindelbeck, "'Asbach Uralt" und "Soziale Marktwirtschaft": Zur Kulturgeschichte der Werbeagentur in Deutschland am Beispiel von Hanns W. Brose (1899-1971)," 215; Frank Bösch, "Werbefirmen, Meinungsforscher, Professoren: Die Professionalisierung der Politikberatung im Wahlkampf (1949-1972)," in *Experten und Politik Wissenschaftliche Politikberatung in geschichtlicher Perspektive*, eds. Stefan Fisch and Wilfried Rudloff (Berlin: 2004), 309-28 esp. 313-14.

⁸⁶ Damrow, *Ich war kein geheimer Verführer: Aus dem Leben eines Werbeleiters*, 67-68, 82-85, 91-93; Damrow, "Autobiographischer Lebenslauf," [no pagination].

⁸⁷ Damrow, *Ich war kein geheimer Verführer: Aus dem Leben eines Werbeleiters*, 117.

⁸⁸ Harry Damrow, *Die heutige Stellung des Werbeleiters in der Wirtschaft: Die Ergebnisse einer "Handelsblatt"-Untersuchung* (Düsseldorf: Sonderdruck aus "Handelsblatt", Nr. 40 vom 26. und 27. Februar 1960, 1960), 14; Damrow, *Ich war kein geheimer Verführer: Aus dem Leben eines Werbeleiters*, 159-61.

⁸⁹ Hubert Strauf, *Probleme der Werbung in der modernen Unternehmensführung: Die ANA-Studie über die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Werbungtreibenden und Werbeagenturen in den USA / durchgeführt von Booz, Allen & Hamilton Inc.* (Essen: Strauf's Werbepraktikum Wirtschaft + Werbung Verlagsgesellschaft, 1966).

⁹⁰ For the survey design in detail see: Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach, *Umfrage über Werbeagenturen: Probleme der Zusammenarbeit aus der Perspektive der Kunden und Medien* (Allensbach: 1967), 64.

⁹¹ Ibid., 15-16.

⁹² Ibid., 1-9, 15-16.

⁹³ J. J., "Werbewissenschaft in Österreich," *Blick in die Werbung* Zweites Januarheft 1957 (1957): 4; Peter Borscheid, "Agenten des Konsums: Werbung und Marketing," in *Die Konsumgesellschaft in Deutschland 1890-1990: Ein Handbuch*, eds. Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Claudius Torp (Frankfurt/M./New York: Campus Verlag, 2009), 79-96 esp. 92.

⁹⁴ Allensbach, *Umfrage über Werbeagenturen: Probleme der Zusammenarbeit aus der Perspektive der Kunden und Medien*, 26, 35.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 30-32; Gerulf Hirt, "Interview mit Herrn Burkard Strauf in seiner Werbeagentur "Strauf & Partner Concept GmbH" in Essen," (Privatbesitz von Gerulf Hirt, 14. Oktober 2009) [no pagination].

⁹⁶ Herbert Dufeldt-Felden, "Über Nacht zum vollendeten Werbefachmann?," *Die Werbung* 4/5 (1950): 158-59 esp. 159; Willy Heudtlass, "Werbeabteilung und Betriebsverwaltung nicht gegen-, sondern miteinander," *Die Werbung* 4/5 (1950): 175-76 esp. 175; Wilhelm Lorenz, "Stellung und Aufgabe des Werbeleiters," in *Der Werbeleiter im Management*, eds. Reinhold Bergler and Eduard Andersen (Darmstadt: Leske, 1957), 7-18 esp. 7-8, 11; Günter Bläse,

Erfolg aus Idee und Leistung. Eine Dokumentation der Werbeagentur AWM Günter Bläse (Stuttgart: Privately Printed, 1962), 81.

⁹⁷ P. P., "Wirtschaftswerbung - eine ureigene Aufgabe des Unternehmers," *Blick in die Werbung* Zweites Maiheft (1958): 10-12 esp. 10; Wilhelm Tigges, "Vorwort," in *Werbung im Europamarkt: Kongressbericht zum Kongress der Werbung in München 1963*, ed. Zentralausschuss der deutschen Werbewirtschaft e.V. (München: Privately Printed, 1963), 11; Wilhelm Tigges, "Aufgaben des Kongresses der Werbung 1963," in *Werbung im Europamarkt: Kongressbericht zum Kongress der Werbung in München 1963*, ed. Zentralausschuss der deutschen Werbewirtschaft e.V. (München: Privately Printed, 1963), 317-19 esp. 317.

⁹⁸ Hans Buchholz, "Darf man dem Werbestil des Mitbewerbers nahekommen?," *Der Markenartikel* 14 (1952): 23-34 esp. 24; Harry Damrow, "Werbung im Vertrauen," *Mayschosser Gespräche* (1964): 95-105 esp. 99.

⁹⁹ Only a minority of ad directors were authorised with a commercial power of attorney, which can be proved by the sample of 420 ad men; Hans Wüdrich-Meißel, "Dem Werber fehlt es an strategischem Denken," *Werberundschau* 26.90 (1968): 5-14 esp. 7-12.

¹⁰⁰ Ludwig Freiherr von Holzschuher, *Psychologische Grundlagen der Werbung* (Essen: Girardet, 1956), 15, 264, 307, 312; Werberundschau, "Werden lange Anzeigentexte gelesen? Ein Interview mit Erich Wohlfahrt," 9; Carl Hundhausen, "Was wurde in der Werbung bisher versäumt? Was müssen wir nachholen? Werberundschau-Interview mit Prof. Dr. h. c. Carl Hundhausen," *Werberundschau* 25.2. Frühjahrshft 75 (1966): 54-64 esp. 63.