

Consumption in Early Twentieth Century Kassa

By

Ildikó Csordás

Submitted to

Central European University

History Department

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Supervisor: Professor Victor Karády

Second Reader: Dr. Markian Prokopovych

Budapest, Hungary
2009

I

Statement of Copyright

Copyright in the text of this thesis rests with the Author. Copies by any process, either in full or part, may be made only in accordance with the instructions given by the Author and lodged in the Central European Library. Details may be obtained from the librarian. This page must form a part of any such copies made. Further copies made in accordance with such instructions may not be made without the written permission of the Author.

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to draw a picture about consumption habits in early twentieth century Kassa, mostly with the help of advertisements. Advertisements are byproducts of an emerging new consumption culture of modern times. The thesis argues that modernity in Kassa did not affect all fields of commerce and services to the same extent. New commercial and industrial activities took place in the central area of the town, dominated by middle class traders who offered products of an emerging lifestyle. The new experience of consumption was not shared equally by all members of the society. For the lower classes it became only exceptionally part of their own lives, while for the highest classes the offer of local traders and artisans was too small to cover their demands.

Advertising became more and more a common experience of everyday life in early twentieth century Kassa. This led to the professionalization of the advertising business. The public perceived advertisements, especially posters as useful, practical and decorative objects, which were thought to deliver useful information and positively influence common taste.

Acknowledgements

Many thanks to Prof. Gábor Benedek who helped me to define my field of research, and to Prof. Victor Karády for providing me with useful advice and for supervising my work with much patience. I would like to express my gratitude also to Pavol Salamon for his comments and for his recommendations, and special thanks to Richard Papáč, who gave me valuable materials and who supported my work in many ways.

Table of Contents

Statement of Copyright	II
Abstract	III
Acknowledgements.....	IV
Table of Contents.....	1
Introduction	3
1. Social Theories of Consumption.....	8
1.1. Motives of Consumption	19
2. Consumption and Space in Early Twentieth Century Kassa.....	21
2.1. Concentration of Shopping Units.....	22
2.2. Geography of the Main Street in Kassa.....	23
2.3. Textile Industry	25
2.3.1. Gentlemen's Wear	25
2.3.1. Ladies' Wear	27
2.4. Health and Beauty.....	29
2.5. Technical Innovations.....	32
3. Newspaper Advertisements in Kassa	35
3.1. Major Advertising Industrial and Commercial Branches.....	36
3.2. Not Advertised Products and Services	38
3.3. Differences between Newspapers	40
3.3.1. Kaschauer Zeitung.....	41
3.3.2. Kassai Hírlap.....	42
3.3.3. Kassai Munkás	43
3.4. Marketing Strategies	46
3.4.1. Rational Argumentation	46
3.4.2. Eye-Catching Phrases	47
3.4.3. Regular Advertising	49
4. Advertising Industry and its Perception	52
4.1. Advertising, a new Business	52
4.2. The City Council.....	55
4.3. Public opinion about Advertisements.....	57
5. Conclusion.....	59

Bibliography	61
Appendix	64

Consumption in Early Twentieth Century Kassa

Introduction

It is said that the best method for getting to know somebody is to have a look at the person's shoes. A pair of shoes can tell a lot about someone's lifestyle, values, economic means, and about the society that produced these items. Shoes can be practical, fashionable, shiny, shabby, cheap or convenient. Which pair of shoes one chooses depends upon the individual's needs, taste and budget. It is easy to realize that the simple act of buying a pair of shoes and wearing them, -an act of consumption- is a complicated phenomenon that has a number of social, economic and cultural implications. This is good for historians because they are by nature curious about such implications. But, unfortunately, it is not possible to have a look at early 20th century peoples' shoes, and in addition ask them how many pairs of shoes they possess, why and where they bought them, how much they cost and whether they are happy with them. Today several companies make conscious market research and ask people about their grounds for purchase, expectations and satisfaction. Companies like to know who exactly consumes their products; they are also interested about the grounds and associations connected to their products and they try to target these sentiments in their advertising campaigns. Unfortunately, people of the early twentieth century missed the opportunity to circulate surveys with questions regarding shoes, toothbrushes or mineral waters. So a research on consumption habits of the early twentieth century has to rely on other sources, which are perhaps less direct, but also telling.

People a hundred years ago had different thoughts in their minds when they bought, for example, soap. Gyula Szakál in his study on advertisements in the Hungarian town Győr¹ showed that advertisements in the 1880's tried to sell soaps with the arguments that they grant health and cleanliness, these two values being closely interconnected. In these times soaps were sold in pharmacies and all types were recommended to be used by both males and females. Later, probably due to the fact that soaps became widespread and their usage had become a common part of everyday personal hygiene it was no longer possible to sell soaps with the promise that they would improve health since everybody already used them. As a consequence a new argument in soap advertisements appeared targeting female customers, namely that the promoted soap will make the skin smooth and immaculate. The imagined attributes of the product changed: they did not make someone healthy anymore but they made her beautiful. Buying soap was a different experience hundred years ago. What kind of shop the customer visited, what the arguments he or she had in mind when decision making, how the person was informed about the market may vary in time and space. This makes it reasonable to study consumption habits of earlier societies.

The target of this case study is the town Kassa, today called Košice. In this paper I consequently use the Hungarian name Kassa, because this was its official name during the Dual Monarchy. At that time the town lay in the northeastern part of Hungary, and with around 40,000 inhabitants it can be considered a center of regional importance. Its surrounding was a relatively underdeveloped region, but Kassa itself was a dynamically developing, multiethnic and multicultural town with a long civic tradition, which makes its society worth analyzing in the framework of a study. The study does not aim to give a picture

¹ Gyula Szakál, "Reklám és életforma Győrben a 19. és a 20. század fordulóján" [Advertisement and Lifestyle in Győr at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Century], in *Struktúra és városkép* [Structure and City Sight] (Veszprém: Laczkó Dezső Múzeum), 2002.

about long-term changes of consumption habits but to report about one single historical moment in Kassa. The newspaper advertisements used as main sources of this thesis are mostly from one month, March 1909, the newspaper articles cover a longer period between 1909 and 1912. The date of the counter tickets used for the research varies the most, because of the relatively small number of these sources: between 1900 and 1914. The town is small enough, for example in 1910 there were altogether 6 pharmacies and 3 perfumeries in the town: such small numbers make it possible to learn something about all important members of a certain industry.

The paper consists of four research chapters, from which the first is a theoretical chapter on the theories of consumption. This introduces some major theories about why and when exactly this modern phenomenon emerged and the possible motives of consumer behavior are collected.

The second chapter is about the special aspect of consumption in Kassa. To draw a picture about consumption habits of a town one can first map the possibilities for shopping and consumption in the town. In contemporary address books one can find all the shopkeepers or entrepreneurs of a certain branch with the location of their shops. This makes it possible to draw a “shopping map” of the town. From a single list of shops one can learn a little about what exactly was sold there and what were the differences between them, and one can imply from the location of the shop and from the fact they had a telephone connection how successful the shop may have been. Kassa had a hierarchy of shopping places: the most prominent was the area of the Main Street and its immediate surroundings in the city center. It made a difference whether the shop was located directly on the Main Street or inside the courtyards of the houses alongside the Main Street and the two sides of the street were also not equal: on one side walked the gentlemen, on the other side the ordinary people. And

according to local newspaper advertisements, possibilities for shopping reached far beyond the borders of the town: especially wealthy members of the society were ready to purchase items from other towns of the country or even from abroad.

The third chapter examines the social aspects of advertising and consumption with the help of local newspaper advertisements. Local advertisements are good sources for discovering consumption habits; especially because some newspapers targeted a well outlined circle of readers who belonged more or less to the same social class. From the differences in the advertisements put into these newspapers one can draw conclusions about the social peculiarities of consumption habits. It is also telling about consumption how advertisers tried to convince the readers: what kinds of information they stressed and what marketing strategy they chose.

In the fourth chapter it is going to be shown how advertisements become part of everyday life. The city council decided to monopolize the right of placing advertisements and posters at public spaces and at the same time to set a number of advertising columns on the Main Street: a popular action because the posters were colorful and nice. A company decided to place advertising benches on walking areas and the public was happy to have new benches. At the beginning of the twentieth century the citizens of Kassa became conscious about the consumer society they lived in. They recognized the advertisements, fancy shop windows and posters they saw every day and they seemed to love them. Advertisements were seen as useful means to receive information and especially posters were considered as pure aesthetical pleasures which positively influence common taste.

The sources on consumption in early twentieth century Kassa allow a many sided, but not totally precise study, because lot of data has been lost, and the sources only indicate tendencies, and almost nothing can be proven with absolute certainty. We still do not know how many pair of shoes an ordinary citizen of Kassa had and for how much time they were

worn. But from the remaining sources one can reconstruct the space of consumption, learn about details of the practices and advertising habits of certain shops and gain an impression about the common sentiments towards advertising as a new phenomenon of an emerging consumer society.

1. Social Theories of Consumption

The interest in the phenomenon of consumption in social theory and social history seems to be part of a general debate on capitalism. Theories rely on such classic authors as Thorsten Veblen and Max Weber, and they share the common assumption that consumption is at least partially independent from production: they have an influence on each other but they also develop independently. The forms of consumption are closely connected with the economic means of the consumer, but there are other factors which affect them. For this reason studies on consumption emphasize the cultural and the social aspect, which seem to be as important as economics, and try to define the value systems, ideologies and psychological motives which act at the emergence of consumption habits.

According to the classic model of English capitalism, consumption emerged from the intensification of production with the help of new techniques, which resulted in the growth of the supply never experienced before. It was Max Weber, who first offered a different theory in his work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. In this book, which later became both influential and debated, he argues that it was the Protestant ethic, which was for the first time not hostile to wealth if it was reached by hard work in a calling, and this ethic rejected only the ostentatious enjoyment of wealth, not the possession of goods:

Wealth is thus bad ethically only in so far as it is a temptation to idleness and sinful enjoyment of life, and its acquisition is bad only when it is with the purpose of later living merrily and without care. But as a performance of duty in a calling it is not only morally permissible, but actually enjoyed. The parable of the servant who was rejected because he did not increase the talent which was entrusted to him seemed to say so directly. To wish to be poor was, it was often argued, the same as wishing to be unhealthy. [x] Especially begging, on

the part of one able to work, is not only the sin of slothfulness, but the violation of the duty of brotherly love according to the Apostle's own word.²

Weber argued that especially the ascetic forms of Protestantism, among others Calvinism helped the formation of a modern capitalist attitude, since it combined self-discipline with worldliness, an attitude which is a nowadays self-evident part of our lives and does not need the support of faith any more. Unfortunately this theory can hardly explain the growing importance of consumption in the early modern period, since if people would have followed the teachings of the protestant sermons, they would only save and reinvest, but would never actually live up their earned money. This attitude would never lead to a radical change of consumption habits.

This gap in the theory led among others Simon Schama to criticize it in his book about the Dutch society in the Golden Age: *The Embarrassment of the Riches*. He argues that ascetic lifestyle was more theory than practice in 18th century Protestant Dutch society:

But to discover whether religion had the particular effect that Max Weber claimed is to undertake a different and more challenging comparison. It is to establish, whether, compared with other commercial cultures, and, in particular, non-Calvinist ones like Venice or Antwerp or eighteenth century London, the Dutch behaved differently in their pattern of personal consumption. On the notional index of European parsimony which informs most causal accounts, the Dutch seem to figure below the Genevans and above the Venetians. This may be to mistake rhetoric for reality, sermons for social action. For all the pungency of the polemics against worldliness and luxury, there seems no reason to assume that the "core" groups of Dutch society, from the patriciate on the top to skilled artisans and tradesmen at the bottom, showed any special propensity to avoid consumption in favor of savings and investment.³

Schama suggests that ascetic conduct and spending money were both present in the society in a sensible balance and it is not proven that Calvinist societies would have been more likely to save money than non-Calvinist bourgeois societies. Moreover, Protestant pastors did their

² Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London and New York, Routledge), 1992 p. 163.

³ Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of the Riches. An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London,; Fontana), 1991. p. 297-298.

bests to proclaim their disapproval when presuming usurious practice, and for example in 1581 some bankers, together with actors, acrobats, brothel keepers etc. were excluded from the communion⁴. The title of the book refers to a certain inconvenient feeling of the well-to-do classes, who experienced a tension between their lifestyle and the teachings of the church, on one hand spending their money on fashionable luxury goods like tulips, on the other hand facing the unequal distribution of goods when meeting beggars on the street. Ascetism and hedonism seem both to be key momentums in modern bourgeois lifestyle.

Hedonism is a central term in Colin Campbell's book, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, which is a reconsideration and continuation of Max Weber's work: that is the reason for the similar title. Campbell takes over the Weberian concept of disenchantment. In earlier times the decisions of individuals were highly influenced by changes and happenings of the external world which all seemed to have spiritual message and symbolic meaning. But in the Early Modern Period individuals became rational and decisions were more and more governed by inner contemplations instead of divine signs. The novelty in Campbell's argumentation is that disenchantment led not only to rationalism, but also to an intensification of inner emotional life:

This increasing separation of man from the constraining influence of external agencies, this disenchantment of the world, and the consequent introjection of the power of agency and emotion into the being of man, was closely linked to the growth of self-consciousness.⁵

He argues also that Puritanism assisted in the formation of modern consumerism only as far as it was hostile towards any "natural" emotional reactions and thus created a tension between feeling and action, which is a requirement for hedonism.

⁴ *ibid.* p. 330.

⁵ Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*. (WritersPrintShop), 2005. p.73.

But it is necessary to define hedonism, a new concept introduced in consumption theory. Hedonism is pleasure seeking and Campbell makes an effort to circumscribe, in what sense modern and traditional pleasure seeking are different. One can search for the answer in the distinction between what is need and what is luxus:

Central to this contrast is the difference in meaning between the concepts of need and satisfaction on the one hand, and those of desire and pleasure on the other. The former relates to a state of being and its disturbance, followed by action to restore the original equilibrium. Hence a state of need is a state of deprivation, in which one lacks something necessary to maintain a given condition of existence, and realization of this leads to exploratory activity in the environment in order to find whatever is capable of remedying this lack. [...] By contrast, pleasure is not a state of being so much as a quality of experience.⁶

There are many activities in which satisfaction and pleasure are both present, for example eating is a mean to dissolve the painful feeling of hunger, but also to gain “luxury” pleasure through the enjoyment of different tastes. They are also imaginable separately from each other: a person can be fed with sugar solution through infusion, which provides satisfaction but no pleasure, or one can enjoy the good smell of foods which is a pleasure but would not satisfy a hungry person. And, relief from discomfort brings pleasure itself, so Campbell claims that in times when deprivation was part of everyday life people gained pleasure in the rare occasions when they were freed from their pains and discomfort, and “it is crucial to recognize that were an individual to experience a state of permanent and perfect satisfaction then he would also be deprived of pleasure⁷”. According to Campbell’s theory traditional hedonism was a privilege of a few, who gained pleasure by spending more and more time enjoying some activities, which seem to be universal archaic ‘pleasures’ (in plural) of humankind: eating, drinking, having sex, dancing, playing etc.

In a modern hedonist conduct however, the person mobilizes his imagination and emotions, because traditional stimuli are not powerful and intensive enough to help the person out of the lack of stimuli; a state which can simply be called boredom. But the

⁶ *ibid.* p. 60.

⁷ *ibid.* p. 65.

individual's emotional and imaginary world, where the person experiences most of his pleasures, is only loosely bound to real objects of the world:

Modern Hedonism presents all individuals with the possibility of being their own despot, exercising total control over the stimuli they experience, and hence the pleasure they receive. Unlike traditional hedonism, however, this is not gained solely, or even primary, through the manipulation of objects or events in the world, but through a degree of control over their meaning. In addition, the modern hedonist possesses the very special power to conjure up stimuli in the absence of any externally generated sensations.⁸

It is the imaginary world of the day-dreamer, which produces new and new wishes to be fulfilled, in order to make the dreams come true. Campbell states that imagination and longing is a pleasure itself, and it is also true in the case of window shopping, when the flaneur does not only enjoy the beauty of an item like he would appreciate a painting or a landscape aesthetically, but the pleasure derives from the fact that he mentally 'tries on' each cloth and imagines himself as an owner of the objects.

Campbell's theory gives a good explanation for why modern consumers seek for novelty and can never be satisfied:

The modern consumer will desire a novel rather than a familiar product because this enables him to believe that this acquisition and use can supply experiences which he has not so far encountered in reality. It is therefore possible to project onto this product some of the idealized pleasure which he has already experienced in day-dreams, and which he cannot associate with those familiar products currently being consumed.⁹

The consumer is now bound to a cycle of optimistic belief and desire followed by disappointment since there is no product which can be as perfect as a dream. Advertisings make use of people's day-dreams and feed them, but modern day-dreaming does not require the support of advertising to ensure its existence, so Campbell. This is a good description of the complex relationship between advertising and wishes, since it is true that advertisings manipulate people's wishes but they cannot evoke emotions from nothing: they always build upon existing emotions.

⁸ *ibid.* p. 76.

⁹ Campbell, 2005, p. 89.

Emotional drives are often of universal nature: people wish to be healthy, young and attractive, but there are others which are more culturally bound and can vary according to groups: cleanliness is not an equally general desire of all human beings, in European culture it is mostly women's wish to have long hair and Jewish people would not want a gravestone that forms a cross. For this reason not all products are equally attractive to everyone.

Products are not equally attractive, consequently the consumer has to make a selection, and he makes this along learned principles and patterns. It is probable that certain principles of decision making are bound to groups and are cohesive forces of group identities. Identities can have different basis: gender, age, nation, occupation, religion etc. Interestingly in social science it was the class or the social status that was claimed to have a decisive role in consumption habits. Not only because different classes have different possibilities to mobilize financial means, but also because consumption can be a sign through which the consumer can express his belonging to a particular class.

It was first Thorsten Veblen, a Norwegian-American Sociologist, who in his book *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, (first published in 1899) emphasized the class aspect of consumption, stating that consumption is a privilege of the prominent members of the society and it has above all a representative function. He introduced the term *conspicuous consumption* which he describes as a waste of time or waste of money. It is a privilege of the wealthy members of the society to spend their time and money on leisure activities, with the primary function to show the other members of the community that the lucky few do not have to work. This is according to Veblen not a modern phenomenon, since even pre-historic societies knew different kinds of social division of labor, and at this point he introduces a

theory about the emergence of class differences in the history of humankind. Those people doing productive work had less prestige while others who had non-productive activities or were involved in warfare had higher status. Veblen claims that a distinction was made between the so called leisure-class and the working-class, a consequence of ownership, and ownership meant in its first form domination of men over women:

The ownership of women begins in the lower barbarian stages of culture, apparently with the seizure of female captives. The original reason for the seizure and appropriation of women seems to have been their usefulness as trophies. The practice of seizing women from the enemy as captives, gave rise to the form of ownership-marriage, resulting in a household with a male head. [...] From the ownership of women the concept of ownership extends itself to include the products of their industry, and so there arises the ownership of things as well as of persons.¹⁰

According to Veblen's theory there are two distinct classes; the working class and the leisure class, the border between the two having essentially gender differences in early societies. And even later, the clear cut between the two classes remained, although the differentiation was not, or not entirely based upon gender. This simple structure is said to be the basis of all societies throughout the whole history of humankind: a theory which seems to be elegant but too simple at the same time.

Consumption is in the Veblenian sense not a rational, not even a pleasure seeking activity, but an irrational action driven by the will to show and strengthen social positions. Consumption is said to be primarily a privilege of the leisure class because they have the economical means to act as consumers: to waste time and money. Consumption habits are based on emulation: the less prominent members of the leisure class emulate the prominent ones in their consumption, because they try to appear as similar to them, and if the working class had some economic means to consume than it would follow the patterns given by the leisure class to raise their prestige in the community. Consumption is understood here in a broad sense and includes such activities as philosophy or fine arts: they have no practical

¹⁰ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Mineola, NY: Courier Dover), 1994. p. 16.

benefits for the ‘consumer’ but they raise his prestige, since they give him and his environment the illusion that he is a well-educated intelligent man. The drive for consumption in Veblen’s theory is representation: the consumers only act to show others their place in the social hierarchy, and ‘taste’ does not differ in the clusters of society, because people all want nothing else than to emulate those, who are above them. Their consumption habits may differ only because they do not own the same economic means. One would not really like to live in a society that Veblen depicts: people in their habits do not act reasonably and do not follow their pleasure seeking desires either, but they act only for the recognition of others. But Veblen’s theory is useful as far as it calls the attention to representation and emulation as possible drives of consumption and examines consumption habits in different social classes.

According to the Veblenian argumentation consumption habits are class bound, because the two major classes, the working and the leisure class did not own the same economic means. Pierre Bourdieu, the contemporary French sociologist, also states that social classes have different consumption habits, but not only because of the differences in their financial possibilities. Bourdieu does not accept that lower classes would emulate the consumption habits of the higher classes totally, because he argues that each class has its own cultural capital besides the economic capital which both mark the differences between classes. The acquisition of cultural capital happens in the form of “*total, early, imperceptible learning, performed within the family from the earliest days of life*”¹¹ Bourdieu suggests that aesthetic dispositions are learned in the early childhood and they also influence choices in consumption, and make food, clothing or furniture indicators of class. The aesthetic dispositions and preferences which influence everyday choices of consumption can be called

¹¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press), 1984. p. 66.

‘taste’. The author argues that the “*strongest and most indelible mark of infant learning*”¹², would be in the tastes of food, and indeed, cooking and the presentation of foods is an extremely rich cultural field and it is often used for self-representation and for indicating a certain lifestyle. Like Campbell he also makes a distinction between necessity and luxury when he argues that in the lower classes one can observe the ‘taste of necessity’, for example the preference of heavy, fatty foods, while the ‘taste of luxury’ is a characteristic of the higher classes, who would prefer original and exotic foods.

One can see through the example above that economic capital and cultural capital are in a close relationship: taste is a cultural, while necessity and luxury are economic phenomena. Economic capital influences cultural capital, but only to some extent. For example playing an instrument presupposes free time and money to buy an instrument and perhaps to pay a teacher, but even someone who was born in a well-to-do family and received the proper education can remain totally neutral towards classical music: despite all efforts classes sometimes fail to implant their ‘tastes’ into the new generations, which is perhaps an argument against the theory. But it can very well explain the topos in belletristic that cultural differences make it extremely hard to cross borders of social classes, even if there are no economic differences. The classical case is the self-made man who would like to live an aristocratic lifestyle, but his manners, habits and aesthetic preferences seem to be strange and are not welcomed in aristocratic circles. Such a person would make efforts to let himself and his family be educated according to the proper manners by outsiders: the competences of the family alone would not be enough for the accumulation of the desired cultural capital.

One can see that Bourdieu argues against the Marxist theory when he claims that social differences are not entirely of economic origin. But he remains within the framework of the

¹² *ibid.* p. 79.

class system and he claims that social classes have their own ‘tastes’, a cultural phenomenon that influences consumption, for this reason consumption habits make class differences visible. I would argue that there are cultural structures which are not bound to social classes but still influence consumption: for example language and religion, only to mention two cultural phenomena, which are to some extent independent from social class. But everyone would immediately realize that they influence consumption habits: no one would buy a book which he or she cannot read because of its foreign language, and a Jew would not buy pork in the local butcher’s.

Finally one has to mention the theories which emphasize the role of production in the formation of consumption. This return to the supply instead of demand as a main drive of economic change resulted from the new phenomenon of mass consumption and was especially developed in the Frankfurt School of sociology. This work does not aim to give a complete picture about all these theories, I would like to mention only one, that of Herbert Marcuse. He suggested in his book *One-Dimensional Man*¹³, (published first in 1964) that production and mass media create false, unnecessary, and uniform needs in the society. He writes about a mass production that creates mass consumption which is a sophisticated mean of control: it unifies thought and behavior; it forces consumers to work more than it would be necessary and makes working classes less revolutionary. This is a critique of both capitalism and communism, and I suppose that anti-consumerism is fashionable today- because in a postmodern world even anti-fashion can be fashion- which results in a common negative judgment on mass media, advertisements and consumption, which are, besides, claimed to have harmful psychological and environmental effects.

¹³ Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (London and New York: Routledge), 2002.

One can distinguish three groups within the theories above introduced.

Weber, Schama and Campbell are convinced that modern consumption is a new phenomenon which is different from consumption in a feudal society, and they try to explain the emergence of this “symptom” of modernity and find its birthplace. Weber saw its emergence in the economic agency and rationality of Calvinism, Schama in Protestantism and in Humanism, and Campbell in romantic hedonism.

Veblen and Bourdieu form the second group, who do not seem to recognize modern consumerism as a new phenomenon. They concentrate on how consumption habits are transmitted and they both argue that they are closely bound to social classes. In Veblen’s argumentation consumption habits of classes only differ in their quantity because they are dependent on economic factors. But Bourdieu recognizes even a qualitative difference and argues that social classes have their own accumulated cultural capitals which influence their choices and finally their consumption habits.

In the third group are the theoreticians, among others Marcuse, who experienced a second turn in the history of consumption. With the birth of modern consumerism around the 18th century the process was not yet complete but a new period begun in the late 20th century, the age of mass consumption. Mass consumption is described as an irrational derivate of production and mass media. The uniform character of consumption habits is emphasized: mass consumption seems to eliminate cultural differences to an unprecedented extent.

1.1. Motives of Consumption

I would like to pick out some possible motives of consumption which are diversely present in the above introduced theories.

1. **Physical needs**, struggle for survival: a motive that demands little explanation: see Campbell's satisfaction or Bourdieu's 'taste of necessity'.
2. **Hedonism**: the desire to fulfill one's dreams of health, beauty, convenience, pleasure; see Schama and Campbell.
3. **Representation**: the desire to show one's social status and wealth, to imitate the prominent members of the society with the hope to become similar to them; see Veblen.
4. **Cultural obligations**: to fulfill roles which were culturally inherited. Cultural obligations are very often bound to social classes as Bourdieu argues, but there are also cultural phenomena which are independent from class.
5. **Production**: supply creates demand, people buy what is available on the market and their wishes are manipulated by advertisements and mass media; see Marcuse and the Frankfurt School.

It has to be mentioned that consumers themselves identify the purpose of their consumption with one or more of the motives listed above, and motives are not the same in all societies and historical periods. One can even find them in advertisements because they want to give a reason for consumption. For example in wartime advertisements one can find the first argument of physical necessity more often than in peacetime: when an advertisement tries to sell underwear the main argument used is that the product is warm, not that it is

fashionable or sexy. The sole exception is the fifth possible motive, which we do not find in advertisements because it is hostile to them, and with which people don't want to identify themselves. And even in social discourse it is a relatively new idea. It is going to be showed in the chapter about the newspaper debate on advertisements that at the beginning of the 20th century the negative attitude towards consumption was not yet present: people did not feel brainwashed by advertisements, were happy to be informed about novelties and liked to see themselves as rational beings who buy useful and practical things. They identified the purpose of their consumption mostly with the motives 2 or 4: hedonism or cultural obligation.

2. Consumption and Space in Early Twentieth Century Kassa

Space is an important element in all cities, because space can have symbolic functions, and the organization of space is also a practical issue: in a well structured space the distances are shorter, the related functions are closer to each other and the life of individuals is easier. With the 19th century urbanization process in many towns and cities an urgent need was felt to organize space consciously, to plan the city according to its functions. But spatial organization took place even unconsciously, by the not harmonized actions of many individuals, who decided to move closer to the place of work, who decided to open cafes near the theater, who erected a fence because they considered their neighborhood unsafe. Such individual considerations work together in the construction of space in all cities. It is going to be argued in this paper that consumption habits also have their spatial projections since all cities have their own shopping maps, with complicated hierarchical relations between shopping spaces, where important factors are visibility, accessibility and attractive environment. Advertisements also have a spatial character. This is especially true for early 20th century advertisements, because most of them did not try to sell a particular product available everywhere, but they wanted to convince the customer to visit one particular place, one shop. Such advertisements are very much spatial: they are like small arrows that are directed towards one special place on the customers' mental map.

2.1. Concentration of Shopping Units

Cities have different functions such as living, working, administration, government, entertainment etc. Among these is consumption, a city function that seems not to be present equally in all parts of the city, but tends to be concentrated in special places where the consumers can easily choose from a number of possibilities. This concentration of shops can lead to the formation of special shopping units, such as façades or department stores¹⁴. These are places where the consumption function of the city dominates and this affects the organization of place: the consumer, who just easily passes by the shops, without entering them still can gain an impression through shop windows and advertisements. The advantage of this structure is that the consumer can easily check the goods of many retailers and make the purchase after the comparison. If the shopping area is located in an attractive place with entertainment possibilities, then the consumer can combine shopping with other leisure time activities. The concentration of shopping units and their combination with possibilities of entertainment is not a novelty. One only have to think of the medieval markets where the visitor could chose from a great variety of goods and could enjoy different amusements, observe performances, take part in competitions etc. But unlike medieval markets and fairs the spatial structures of consumption became stabile in modern cities: the shopping street is always accessible and changes are relatively rare, while markets and fairs are periodic, seasonal and altering.

¹⁴ Jeanne Catherine Lawrence, "Geographical Space, Social Space and the Realm of the Department Store" in: *Urban History*, 19, part 1 (April 1992). p 72.

In Kassa (Today Kosice in Slovakia) the concentration of shopping units took place in the early 20th century mostly in the center of the town, mainly on the Main Street. (Image 1.¹⁵) Other cultural and governmental facilities were also placed into this area. For this reason it is useful to consult the geography of this particular place, because it can give us some information about consumption habits and about the hierarchical relation between relations.

2.2. Geography of the Main Street in Kassa

Kassa had rich historical civic tradition, and it was also a dynamically developing industrial city during the 19th and early 20th century. This paper consults mainly the early 20th century until the First World War, when the citizens of the town already had developed consumption habits, and the town offered a great variety of shopping and leisure time activities. The town with around 40,000 citizens kept a spatial organization that can be observed in other towns of the region as well: in the middle of the town runs a broad street that broadens up even more in the middle part of the street, where it gives space for some important public buildings like the church or the city hall, gaining the main street the form of a spindle. (Image 15.) Along with Kosice other towns also kept this spindle form in the center of the town until today: Bardejov (Bárca), Presov (Eperjes), and Michalovce (Nagymihály), only to mention a few. In Kassa an effort was made to keep the front of the houses on the Main Street as homogenous as possible: the buildings were built near each other without gaps, only narrow alleys could flow into the Main Street and many of the alleys were partly hidden by archs connecting the houses below them. The structure of this area remained basically the same even today. The plots near the Main Streets are oblong: their front side is narrow but the other side can be extremely long: the buildings alongside the Main Street

¹⁵ See all images in the appendix.

usually have longish courtyards and narrow, decorated frontages facing the street. Because of this structure the Main Street was significantly extended on both sides, since behind the representative fronts a great number of inner courtyards were connected to it. Due to the shops and offices situated in them they were not only open for the dwellers of the particular building but became part of the public space. They also functioned as connections between the Main Street and its parallel streets, since perpendicular alleys were not necessarily much broader than these courtyard lines. So one can argue that in Kassa the Main Street as a public space consisted not only of the street itself, but it included the labyrinth of numerous longish courtyards alongside it as well.

The Main Street gave home to many important city functions besides commerce. As the address book of the city from 1911¹⁶ reveals, from the 127 buildings alongside the street 23 were owned by church, city, county, state or society. There were governmental or cultural institutions in most of them: churches, schools, barracks, the theater, the town hall, the casino etc. It does not mean though that these buildings were all reserved from business activities: for example the Catholic parish under Main Street 32-34 gave home to a press that printed besides other things the Catholic daily; what is more, the building of the parish housed a textile shop facing the street. But still, it was true for most of them that they did not have open courtyards: the same can be said about some representative palaces owned by wealthy families, inhabited exclusively by the owners.

To answer the question whether there were organized shopping units in the remaining buildings, such as arcades, facades or shopping malls, the answer is no. The courtyards formed a natural spatial unit of the shops located inside but until now no evidence could have

¹⁶ *Kassa szab. kir. város teljes cimtára 1911. évre : hivatalos adatok alapján összeállítva* [Kassa Free Royal Town's Complete Address Book for the Year 1911: Compiled by Right of Official Data] (Kassa: Felsőmagyarország, 1911).

been found that the shop owners of one particular courtyard would have organized themselves, given name to the place or advertised together during the first decade of the 20th century.

The prominent entrepreneurs with enough capital had their shops directly on the front, making their activities visible and easily accessible to every passerby. But the majority of entrepreneurs resided inside the courtyards, either because they could not afford a shop on the shop or because they did not necessarily need a shop window to advertise their activities: barbers, lawyers, technical agencies and others. But even if on the courtyard, being on the Main Street was a luckier situation than anywhere else.

In the following three indicators of capital are going to be compared in different industries: number of telephone owners, number of advertisements in March 1909¹⁷ and finally the number of shops situated on the Main Streets, to see whether there is a correlation between capital and location of the shop. Three branches of industry are going to be examined: textile industry, healthcare and beauty, and technical novelties. It is going to be argued that in most of the cases the data on placement, telephone and advertisement correlate, but there are some differences according to industries.

2.3. Textile Industry

2.3.1. *Gentlemen's Wear*

The following table represents the suppliers dealing with gentlemen's wear, the number of those among them who had telephone and who gave up an advertisement in a local newspaper in the examined period.

¹⁷ Advertisements were studied, which were published in local newspapers in Kassa in March 1909. The newspapers were the following: *Kassai Hírlap*, *Kassai Munkás*, *Napló*, *Felvidéki Újság*, *Kaschauer Zeitung*.

Gentlemen's wear	Number of entrepreneurs	Telephone owners	shop on the Main Street	Number of Advertisements	Telephone %	Main Street %
Tailors	110	1	20	1	1%	18%
uniform tailors	5	1	2	1	20%	40%
gentlemen's' cloth trader	7	2	6	3	29%	86%
gentlemen's' millinery trader	7	4	7	4	57%	100%

Table 1. Gentlemen's wear producers and small retailers: telephone ownership, location of the shop and advertising.

One can see in this table that the majority of suppliers in the industry of gentlemen's wear were actually tailors. Most men wore clothes made by tailors but it can be observed that it was not a really good business any more: they did not invest in a telephone and only 20 of them had their workshop on the Main Street, which implies that they had little capital to invest in innovation and representation. While traders, who sold readymade clothes or millinery for gentlemen, such as hats, ties, shoes, gloves, suitcases etc. were fewer in numbers, but almost all of them had the shop on the Main Street, many had telephones and they could invest in advertisements in local newspapers. The activities of 5 uniform tailors is explainable by the presence of military units comprising of some 4500¹⁸ soldiers situated in the city. Though the numbers in this table are not representative, a trend emerges: presence on the Main Street went together with capital at least in this industry.

This fact does not mean though that readymade clothes and millinery were sold only for well-to-do classes. Even in the *Kassai Munkás*, the local newspaper of the Social democrat party we find advertisements of these shops. In fact very little was advertised in this newspaper besides readymade men's clothes, shoes and boots, barbers, some jewelries and pharmacies. This implies that readymade clothes and millinery were accessible even for those

¹⁸ Thirring Gusztáv, ed. *Magyar Városok Statisztikai Évkönyve* [Statistic Annual of Hungarian Cities] (Budapest), 1912.

having little money. It is possible that the *Kassai Munkás* was read mainly by the male population because we do not find advertisements targeting female readers: women's clothing, perfumery etc.

One can observe that gentlemen could buy basically everything they needed for their clothing by three kinds of suppliers: by tailors, readymade cloth traders and millinery traders.

2.3.1. Ladies' Wear

The situation was much more complex in the case of ladies, who had a greater variety of shop types to choose from and who were more ready to buy readymade clothes instead of letting them sewed.

	Number of entrepreneurs	Telephone owners	Shop on the Main Street	Number of Advertisements	Telephone %	Main Street %
Costumiers	30		7		0%	23%
Needlewomen	65		9		0%	14%
Ladies' millinery and haberdashery	19	5	16	4	26%	84%
trousseau shop	8	6	7	4	75%	88%
overcoat shop	3		1	1	0%	33%
hat shop	10		5		0%	50%
stocking maker	3	1			33%	0%
corset maker	2				0%	0%

Table 2. Ladies' wear producers and small retailers: telephone ownership, location of the shop and advertising.

It is striking how much smaller the number of costumiers was than gentlemen's tailors: 30 costumiers compared to 110 gentlemen's tailors. Even if we assume that needlewomen contributed heavily in the making of women's dresses, it remains clear that women were much more likely to buy their dresses readymade in shops. Nevertheless, the table above is misleading, because not all of the suppliers and shops dealt only with women's clothing. Especially trousseau, millinery and haberdashery shops offered a great variety of goods including dry goods and any possible textiles which could be needed in a household. There was no clear cut between these industries in commerce. For example a millinery trader, Ede

Markovics in an advertisement in the address book of 1910 called his shop “Ladies’ Fashion-Fabric, Carpet and Lingerie Shop” a combination that sounds very strange today. But the idea behind it was that in these shops the ladies could buy every textile they needed both for their household and for their personal clothing. Parents purchased items by the gross before a young lady of the family got married or moved to a boarding school. That’s why it is hard to guess how many shopkeepers actually lived from women’s clothing, since lingerie was sold together with carpets, buttons and table-covers.

The word “fashion” very often used in advertisements and on shop fronts did not necessarily mean readymade clothes in the first connotation, but it could include it. The word is often used in the meaning of “fashion-tricot”, referring more to new materials instead of new designs. The shop of the Széman Brothers in Kassa was called “Fashion Emporium”¹⁹ and fortunately a series of their counter tickets remained. On tickets the customers’ purchases were listed and the tickets were given to the customer. (Images 10, 11.) The tickets usually had a decorative heading, containing a drawing or photo of the shop and some information about the activities of the shop, in short: advertisements. It is written on the headings of the tickets of the Széman Brothers “Fashion Emporium” that they sold gentlemen’s and ladies’ fashion-tricot, curtains, carpets, coach, -horse, - and bed blankets, meaning textiles and not readymade clothes or lingerie. But according to the tickets they actually sold among others a shirt, stockings, a scarf and even gunpowder.²⁰ It seems that even in a shop for gentlemen’s wear a female customer could find some articles for herself: in Izsó Weiner’s Gentlemen’s Fashion Shop a lady bought a pair of women’s shoes.²¹ In this system branches of textile industry were not spatially separated: storekeepers tried to offer as

¹⁹ “Divat Áruház” in Hungarian

²⁰ Vychodoslovensky Museum Kosice, R 17887/1, R 17887/2a, R 17887/2b, R 17887/4, counter tickets of the textile shop of the Széman Brothers

²¹ Vychodoslovensky Muzeum Kosice R 17902, counter tickets of the millinery trader Izsó Weiner

many different kinds of items as possible, without regard to their function: from hats to shoes, for ladies and gentlemen alike, readymade clothes or drapery, for personal wear or for the household; shop owners wanted to have everything in one shop. However mixed their offer was, these textile shops were popular and were almost all situated on the Main Street. It is not proven for all of them, but probably most of them faced the Main Street directly and had a shop window.²² This new type of mixed textile shop was the most attractive and fashionable among the suppliers in the textile industry.

2.4. Health and Beauty

The branch of health and beauty was represented by pharmacies and perfumeries. Medicine and chemistry were rapidly developing sciences around the turn of the 19th and 20th century, and many of the novelties became available for middle class consumers. It is noted by Szakál²³ that it was a process until the clear cut between medicaments, personal hygiene and cosmetics was made and some products, for example soaps moved between these fields before they found their definite place in one of the branches. And even if a product was regarded as cosmetics, it could have been kept in a pharmacy. To some extent the case is similar even today, since pharmacies are allowed to sell any cosmetics which show at least some curative power, for example regenerate skin. For this reason it is useful to examine pharmacies and perfumeries together because their offer was partly overlapping in the first years of the 20th century, as well as today.

²² This is not indicated in the address book, but sometimes in advertisements it is written, whether the customer has to go into the courtyard, or the advertiser calls the attention to the shopwindow. In some photographs about the Main Street the shields of the shops are readable.

²³ Gyula Szakál, "Reklám és életforma Győrben a 19. és a 20. század fordulóján" [Advertisement and Lifestyle in Győr at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Century], in *Struktúra és városkép* [Structure and City Sight] (Veszprém: Laczkó Dezső Múzeum), 2002.

Kassa in 1910 had 6 pharmacies and 3 perfumeries according to the address book, of which only one pharmacy and one perfumery were not situated on the Main Street but in its very close surrounding.²⁴ This alone gives an idea about the capital in this branch. 7 from these 9 retailers had telephone connection and the number of advertisements in this industry was higher than in the textile industry. Here one has to note that advertisements have a spatial character because they advise the consumer to visit one particular place. The spatial character of advertisements can be categorized as follows:

1. “Arrow”: the advertisement calls the attention to a shop and not to a particular product. The message is than the following: “Visit this place and you will find good products”. These advertisements have strong spatial character. In the examined period such messages were frequent in textile industry but rare in health and beauty. And still, there are some “arrow” advertisements even in this branch, especially when the advertisements targeted a less sophisticated group of consumers, like readers of the social democrat daily. For example one pharmacist asked for the attention and benevolence of the readers in a short and simple advertisement in the *Kassai Munkás*.²⁵ Shields on streets or above shop windows have also usually only this simple arrow function, they advise the viewer, where to go.
2. “Exposition”: these were the most common, product oriented advertisements in health and beauty industry, where the advertiser tried to convince the reader about the beneficial impacts of one particular product. The message of the advertisement is then: “It is proven that this product will solve your problem. Visit one of these places to buy it.” The argumentation for the product could be really lengthy and it was often

²⁴ Polányi’s pharmacy was on Pesti Street 1, which is a direct continuation of the Main Street to the south; Holloy’s perfumery was in Kossuth Street 4, a perpendicular street to the Main Street.

²⁵ *Kassai Munkás*, 6. March, 1909.

semi-scientific. At the end of the argumentation the reader could find the list of the places where the product could have been purchased, so these advertisements had a weak spatial character, since the arrows pointed to more than one direction.

3. “Mixed”: Spatiality could take a third form which was a combination of the previous two: in these the pharmacist introduced 3-4 or more products to the reader, or one product that could solve many problems, available exclusively in his pharmacy. In this case the argumentation is as follows: “It is proven that these products can solve 5 different problems. Visit this place and you will find them.” The disadvantage of this form is that it is too long so it does not really fit into an advertisement in a local newspaper. It is more appropriate for a catalogue or for an own advertising flyer. Such a flyer of the pharmacy of Miklós Puky²⁶ (Image 12.) was kept in the Eastern Slovakian Museum in Kosice. The paper is bilingual, Hungarian on one side and German on the other side. On it Dr. Puky introduced a product family of skin care and explained how to use them, then a crème developed by himself, then a lotion against boldness and finally a product that gave back the original color of grey hair. All the argumentation was more about beauty than about health, and it was strongly emphasized that the products could be purchased exclusively in that particular pharmacy. So this and the similar mixed advertisements have an explanatory and a spatial, arrow function as well.

One gains the impression from advertisements on health and beauty that space is of secondary importance. Most of the advertisements on this topic could be found in the local German language newspaper, *Kaschauer Zeitung*, and most of them fall into the 2.,

²⁶ R 5135, counter ticket of the pharmacy of Miklós Puky

expository category: they explained the solution for one problem by introducing a product and at the end they listed the possible places of purchase. In the *Kaschauer Zeitung* we find a number of foreign advertisers, which assume that the readers will be ready to order a medicament from a distant city if they are convinced about its benefits, or they will buy the product personally when they are on a visit in Vienna or Budapest. There are even advertisements of medical institutes that offer healing of asthma or other illnesses. The advertisers hoped that the readers of this newspaper, probably upper middle class German speaking citizens, would have been ready to order a medicament from a great distance or they would travel, and pay the costs of a healing course for the sake of their recovery. These advertisements show a mobile and flexible lifestyle, where the world of consumption did not end at the Main Street of Kassa. But those, who could not afford Viennese medicaments or healing courses in Dresden, could go to the local pharmacy or perfumery on the Main Street, where they could purchase a great variety of products or visit one of the local bathes. One can see that healthcare and beauty was an industry with great capital and people showed readiness to consume these items. The arrows of this industry point exclusively to the Main Street of Kassa or to distant, but prominent places.

2.5. Technical Innovations

On the field of technical innovations the city showed a mixed map. Some of the enterprises, especially those who needed a saloon were present on the Main Street, like photographers, gramophone and sewing machine retailers. Auxiliaries for photography were exclusively available on the Main Street but in three shops which had otherwise a different

profile: in a perfumery, and in two printing houses, which were also paper and book shops.²⁷

The greatest innovation and business seemed to be during the early 20th century the restoration of houses and the installment of plumbing and drainage systems. (Image 5.) There were some 17 engineer agencies engaged in these works and some of them led strong advertising campaigns in many local newspapers at the same time. And there were also technicians who offered to keep the newly installed works in proper condition, showing that either those did not function properly or the owners were not very familiar with the pipes and taps they had in their new bathroom. These engineer agencies could not be typically found on the Main Street, but they were mostly situated somewhere in the center of the city, and half of them already had telephone.

One can see from the comparison of the three industries, that health and beauty was the one where the most capital was accumulated. The services offered in this industry attracted especially well-to-do citizens, and this lucky situation represented itself in the spatial position of pharmacies and perfumeries within the town: they were almost exclusively situated on the Main Street. Well-to-do citizens were also attracted by health and beauty services offered in distant cities. In the textile industry the situation was different in the case of cloth makers and retailers and it seems that tailors and costumiers were in the worst position. More fashionable were the textile shops which offered a great variety of goods: drapery and readymade clothes alike. The case of suppliers in the field of technical innovations is the most complex. Their activities are hard to analyze only according to their location since most of them did not need a saloon. It seems that the engineer offices involved in the installment of plumbing and

²⁷ *Kassa szab. kir. város teljes cimtára 1911. évre : hivatalos adatok alapján összeállítva [Kassa Free Royal Town's Complete Address Book for the Year 1911: Compiled on the Basis of Official Data].* (Kassa: Felsőmagyarország), 1911.

drainage system could cumulate capital fairly well, some of them invested in advertisements and telephones, but they did not necessarily move their offices into the Main Street.

3. Newspaper Advertisements in Kassa

Kassa had a well developed newspaper culture at the beginning of the twentieth century: there were four dailies, and a number of periodicals which appeared weekly or 2 or 3 times a week. The high number of newspapers mirrored the complexity of society: there were, among others, a German language newspaper, a daily sponsored by the Catholic Church, a newspaper of the socialist movement, and a number of other periodicals which were published by different societies and publishing houses.²⁸ Some of the enterprises were successful while others could not set up a circle of regular readers and operated only for a short period. Advertisements were common parts of the newspapers because the additional income made the paper cheaper which was a crucial factor on the market. Advertisements were published usually at the end of the newspaper and filled at least one page, but sometimes, especially on Sundays, when the readers supposedly spent more time reading the papers the advertisers could occupy the last 3-4 pages. Advertisements were not placed between real news. They always took a marginal place at the end of the newspaper or on the bottom of the pages.

Advertisements are useful sources of consumption culture because they tell about a great scale of industrial and commercial branches and in their argumentation they try to answer to the consumers' expectations. But not all branches used the possibility of advertising in newspapers with the same intensity. There were sectors where advertising was

1. ²⁸ see the bibliography: Csatlós, Istvánné (ed.). *Abauj-Torna, Gömör-Kishont és Zemplén megyei hírlapok és folyóiratok bibliográfiája 1918-ig*. [Newspapers and Journals Bibliography until 1918 in Abauj-Torna, Gömör-Kishont and Zemplén Counties] (Miskolc), 1989.

a frequently used marketing strategy, while others did not advertise in newspapers at all. It is worth analyzing which were the industrial and commercial branches, which introduced this modern marketing strategy for the first time and thus educated their customers to make their choices as modern consumers.

3.1. Major Advertising Industrial and Commercial Branches

In the framework of this study advertisements of five newspapers were analyzed: *Felvidéki Újság*, a Catholic newspaper; two other dailies: *Kassai Hírlap* and *Kassai Napló*, a German language newspaper that appeared three times a week: the *Kaschauer Zeitung* and the paper of the local social democrats: the *Kassai Munkás*. The main sample is from one month, March 1909. From these papers local entrepreneurs' advertisements were collected, and only the number of advertisers was counted, not the number of advertisements. This is because some advertisers followed the strategy to allow an advertisement to be published in each issue, while others only had a single advertisement during the entire month and first the aim is to define the circle of those who decided to advertise in a newspaper, not the intensity of their advertising campaign.

The distribution of advertisements in different industrial and commercial branches is shown in the following table:

Branches	Number of advertisers	percentage
textile and shoe	43	18%
construction	34	14%
food and beverages	28	12%
health	25	11%
small services	24	10%
homecare	21	9%
technic	18	8%
banking	12	5%
paper	10	4%
catering	9	4%

tabacco, toys	7	3%
other artisans	4	2%
law	1	0%
total:	236	100%

Table 3. Distribution of advertising branches in newspaper advertisements

One can see that the most numerous are the advertisers in the textile and shoe industry. They were mostly retailers, but there were also some artisans among them. The category 'construction' covers different services, such as construction of drainage, bathroom, electricity system, stone works, painting etc. Small services represented in advertisements were mostly barbers and laundries. The four 'other artisans' were a locksmith, a lamp maker, a gingerbread and candle maker and a shield painter. One can see from the list that the branches, in which advertising is practiced, are partly traditional fields of consumption: clothing, food and medicine. But one can observe the heavy presence of construction that shows that an active transformation of the living area was going on; and the relatively strong presence of technical novelties indicates that by that time the following products became available for a broader public: bicycles, typewriters, sewing machines, gramophones, clocks and electronic or gas lamps. The advertised constructions supported mostly a reconstruction and modernization of buildings. The process they wanted to help was not primarily the erection of new buildings, but the modernization of old bourgeois homes, where at the beginning of the twentieth century bathroom, gas and electricity were desired. Sándor Márai wrote in his memoir on Kassa that these were symbols of progress but they were not yet very reliable: electric light was uncertain and yellow and the central heating often broke down or gave unlimited wet, steamy heat. Despite these weaknesses the citizens felt an obligation to follow the trend and install these novelties.²⁹

²⁹ Sándor Márai, *Egy polgár vallomásai* [Confessions of a Bourgeois] (Budapest: Helikon), 2005. p.13.

Under the category 'food and beverages' were coffee and false coffee, all sorts of alcohol: mostly beer and wine, and the advertisements of colonial shops, groceries and bakers. Mineral water is listed under health, because although they were sold also in groceries, their primary function was to support digestion. The spread and consumption of these waters allows the conclusion that many of the citizens suffered from dyspepsia. Among the foods we can even find a modern product that made its developer, Nestle famous: infant nutrition, so called "children's flour". (Image 14.)

Perhaps one remark on the category 'paper' which covers all advertisements of press and newspaper: they were very often advertisements of the newspaper's own press, which sold books, paper, postcards and undertook small scale printing and bookbinding. Of course in each newspaper the press had unlimited possibilities for advertising, and that gives an explanation for the heavy presence of this branch. But newspapers from foreign towns also advertised themselves in the local newspapers with the hope that they could convince the reader that a foreign newspaper is very similar to the one they actually read.

3.2. Not Advertised Products and Services

In advertisements we find only a small part of the commercial and industrial activities of the town. Even within a branch not all entrepreneurs advertised, but there were also a great number of branches which never put a single advertisement into any newspaper. The advertisements of intellectual professions are very rare: besides a piano teacher and a credit report office there are no teachers and lawyers, and medical doctors are also totally lacking. This fact is interesting if one considers the great number of advertising engineers. But not only is this professional elite missing. One could put together a long list of traditional artisans, who were present in the city but did not advertise in the local newspapers: smiths,

potters, glassmen, harness makers, coopers, chimney sweeps etc. The commercial activities on the market place were also not advertised. This was the place where people purchased most of the food transported to the city by peasants from the region. The market place was at Elisabeth Square, which was a direct continuation of the Main Street. This location gave an ideal possibility for shopping but it was at the same time a different kind of spatial unit. The market place had its own marketing strategies and the transactions there took place often between people, who did not read newspapers or even could not read at all. And above all the whole institution of the market place (Image 2.) is hostile to advertisements because the market allows a constant change of vendors, goods and prizes, which always surprise the visitor on the spot and which cannot be set up earlier in an advertisement. The same is true for pedlars: there is no sense in advertising because no one knows when they turn up and they will show on the spot what they exactly have.

Consequently from newspaper advertisements one cannot draw conclusions about all commercial and small industrial activities of the city. What is offered in newspapers is a special segment of enterprises: those which represent modern products, services and which offer a modern lifestyle. The lack of advertising doctors, lawyers and private teachers implies that the traditionally elite intellectual professions were hostile to advertising. One possible explanation is that these professions preferred other ways of spreading information through networking and personal fame. Not because they did not have enough capital to make an advertising campaign, but because it was not an appropriate way of behavior for them, it would only make their business dubious. These persons must have been a constant and unchangeable fountain of knowledge, whose expertise was well-known in the town. But the abstract and never changing knowledge of a doctor is in direct contrast to the practical knowledge of the pharmacist: the doctor detects the problem and the pharmacist knows and offers all the newest products of modern medicine like a good shopkeeper.

The analysis reveals that traditional artisans and vendors of the marketplace also did not advertise: it was probably due partly to the lack of capital, partly to the lack of modern advertising culture. So the circle of advertisers covered a special segment of society: not the lowest classes, not the elite intellectual professions, but mostly upper-middle class retailers and suppliers who offered products and services of modern bourgeois lifestyle. About two thirds of them offered products and one third of them services.

3.3. Differences between Newspapers

If one assumes that the various newspapers of the city had a different circle of readers it becomes necessary to compare what kinds of advertisements they published. For this comparison sample issues from three local newspapers were chosen: the last pages of the *Kaschauer Zeitung*, the *Kassai Hírlap* and the *Kassai Munkás*. The *Kaschauer Zeitung* was a German language newspaper, it appeared three times a week, and the readership was German or Jewish citizens. (Image 7.) The *Kaschauer Zeitung* was a common newspaper of German speakers in Kassa and Eperjes (today Prešov) which was printed in Kassa but was probably read also in Eperjes and the surrounding region. 1909 was already the 79th year in the history of the newspaper, which indicates that the newspaper had a stable circle of readers. The *Kassai Hírlap* was a daily that politically opposed the governing coalition in 1906-1910 and which probably had a considerable circle of middle class readers. It was a relatively new paper, having its sixth year in 1909. The *Kassai Munkás* was the paper of the social democrat movement which appeared on the market briefly in 1903 and after this unsuccessful try in 1907 to become a constant part of the newspaper culture in Kassa. It appeared weekly and was read by the working class. The *Kassai Munkás* could not push down the price of the newspaper: an issue cost 6 fillér, while the dailies usually cost 4, although the price was probably an important factor among the readers of the paper and the *Kassai Munkás* was

sometimes even shorter than the dailies. There were too few advertisements because the advertisers could not hope for much profit from the poor readers of the paper.

3.3.1. *Kaschauer Zeitung*

In the *Kaschauer Zeitung* in the examined issue, 25 advertisements were published on the last two pages. Although it was a German language newspaper it was possible to publish advertisements in Hungarian, consequently in the issue of 6th March 1909 one finds 3 Hungarian advertisements. The majority of the advertisers of the *Kaschauer Zeitung* were from the German speaking part of the Monarchy and from foreign lands, not, as we would assume, from Kassa or its surroundings. Among the 25 there were only 4 from Kassa- among them two private ads, and 2 from the surrounding region and 3 from Budapest. That makes altogether 9, the remaining 16 were all from Austria, Switzerland and, Vienna having a heavy presence among them with 7 advertisements. This shows clearly that the readers of the newspaper were ready to order products from abroad, travel to Germany to a sanatorium, invest in business in Zürich or even use the services of a marriage broker in Berlin. Most of the advertised products and services, 10 altogether, fall into the categories healthcare and beauty, followed by technical novelties and artisans. There was only one advertisement on textiles among them. This shows that the well-to-do German speaking citizens of Kassa were interested mainly in high quality products of the chemical industry and machinery: these were products which were either unavailable locally or the choices were limited. There are a number of advertisements which target female readers: the products of the beauty industry, but also two about healthcare offer products and services especially for children which evoke sentiments of a careful mother: children's soap and a sanatorium for physically or mentally undeveloped children. It shows that in these circles of society healthcare was as much developed that special healthcare products for children were thinkable and were consumed by some families.

3.3.2. *Kassai Hírlap*

In the *Kassai Hírlap* we also find foreign advertisements, but not in such a high number as in the *Kaschauer Zeitung*: from the 25 advertisements 6 were from abroad, 7 from other Hungarian cities and 12 from Kassa, which shows that local entrepreneurs considerably used the possibility of advertising in the local newspaper. Among the foreign advertisements we again find only advertisers from German speaking countries like in the case of the *Kaschauer Zeitung*: Austria, Switzerland and Germany, that indicates clearly the foreign economic orientation of the town. Two important sources of advertisements besides Kassa were Budapest and Vienna with 4 and 3 examples in this particular issue,³⁰ this shows the economic presence of the two capital cities. Among the advertisers from Kassa the heavy presence of the Main Street and its immediate surrounding is obvious: only 2 out of 12 of the entrepreneurs did not have its address in this central area of the town. In this sample the distribution of the commercial and industrial branches is very similar to the distribution among the total of advertisements examined in this study, only textiles, food and beverages are represented in a smaller amount. One can only detect in a few cases some gender specificity of the advertisements: women were targeted in the case of two beauty products, in a job announcement, and in an advertisement of a typewriter, where a silhouette of a typing lady is seen in the picture. In the sample there are two advertisements, in which the lucky and the unlucky person are depicted: the one who used the product and the one who did not. These figures are male, and especially the lucky farmer, who, according to the advertisement purchased grapevine from Torontál County, is a bulky, dumpy, proud person with a giant grape in his hand, who stays calmly on a strong vine arm and it does not break. This figure represents the ideal male farm owner: healthy, balanced, robust and rich. This is not an urban ideal as grapevines are also not typical modern products but many citizens of Kassa were also

³⁰ *Kassai Hírlap* 14th March 1909.

land owners so the advertiser could hope to reach potential customers with this bulky male figure. There is another product offered for land owners: a threshing-machine from Budapest. These advertisements indicate certain connections of the city to agriculture, showing that among the newspaper readers there were also land owners.

3.3.3. *Kassai Munkás*

In the *Kassai Munkás*, among the 17 advertisements we find only local ones, except the advertisement of the electoral newspaper of the party, but even this looks so puritan that it was probably an announcement of the redactors themselves who did not have more advertisements to fill the space with. Such announcements were frequent: in other issues they advise to read the *Népszava*, the main socialist organ printed in Budapest. There are no foreign advertisers but among the advertisements from Kassa the Main Street and its immediate surrounding again dominates: only one location is outside the city center and one address is not indicated in the private ad. Most advertisements were published on textiles and shoes. There are also some advertisements from pharmacies, and they advertise the pharmacy in general, not some special products the pharmacy may keep. It seems that workers did not have a developed “medicine consumption culture”: they relied on the advice of the pharmacist on the spot when they went to a pharmacy.

Advertisements on textile and shoes show that this was a field where even workers had to spend money, not to follow fashion but out of necessity. (Image 4.) Surprisingly the majority of these advertisements target the male reader: they offer male readymade clothes, boots etc. In male readymade clothes shops it was also possible to buy clothes for little boys and girls, so the head of the family could receive information on clothing for all members of the family except his wife, and it was also probable that he decided over the purchase. Some

advertisements call the reader “comrade” and a coffee shop³¹ even gave a discount to organized workers. This coffee shop was situated directly below the publishing office of the Kassai Munkás, and it was probably well connected to the socialist movement.

The small samples of the three local newspapers show interesting differences in the consumption habits of different social groups. The upper-bourgeoisie, the middle class and the working class had different strategies for choosing the place of their purchases. In the case of the readers of the *Kaschauer Zeitung*, consumption was heavily oriented towards German speaking foreign lands. The readers of the *Kassai Hírlap* also made use of the offers of the German market, but they also ordered from other towns of Hungary and bought products in the center of their hometown. The readers of the *Kassai Munkás* purchased items only in Kassa, but the area of shopping within the town was the same for all classes of society: the Main Street and its surroundings. In this sense the shopping area was not segregated: everybody used the same place. Everybody was equal but some people were more equal because they could order foreign goods. This is exactly the difference between an ordinary citizen and a cosmopolitan and Sándor Márai as a child was about to feel this difference, as he wrote in his memoirs:

We met very rarely with the fine Jewish dwellers of the second floor. They lived a grandiose life, they travelled a lot, their children were educated in catholic secondary schools. The lady-thick, sad, suffering from cardiac malady- played the piano very well and she let her dresses sewed in the capital. The bourgeois and petit bourgeois women of the house were of course jealous of her. (-) The neolog family did not erect a tent any more when it was required according to the feast, they went only rarely to the synagogue and my father once told us with surprise and indignance that he had travelled together with the illustrious Jewish family, who had eaten in the railway carriage Mediterranean fresh grapes rolled into cotton; in the end of March. We discussed this throughout the whole evening, with amazement and uneasiness, especially my mother was disturbed by this “obscenity”.³²

³¹ the difference between a cafe and a coffee shop was, according to an order of the city council, the following: a cafe keeps alcohols, must be situated above the earth and has at least one billiard table. A coffee shop was not allowed to have alcohol and billiard table, and no music or singing was allowed inside. 1500/46./1903

³² Sándor Márai, *Egy polgár vallomásai* [Confessions of a Bourgeois] (Budapest: Helikon, 2005), 16-17.

The Jewish lady from the neighborhood traveled to the capital to get her dresses sewed and the family could manage to buy grapes from an unknown source in March: these were consumer experiences different from what one could perceive in the developing, but still provincial town of Kassa. Class differences did not influence the place of consumption within the town but outside it: considerable economic means broadened the geographic scope of the shopping horizon. The jealousy of other women in the house may remind the reader to the theory of Veblen (see pp. 11-13.) that consumption can be motivated by the wish to represent social class and to imitate higher classes. The women were angry because the Jewish lady with her cosmopolitan consumption habits represented obviously a higher social status than what they ever could reach.

As the budget allowed it, the palette of the consumed goods became also more colorful: while the reader of the *Kassai Munkás* went to the pharmacy without preferences to buy a certain product, the reader of the *Kassai Hírlap* knew already a number of brands and purchased them either in one of the pharmacies or ordered them from a distant town. The reader of the *Kaschauer Zeitung* was the most likely to order something instead of visiting the local pharmacy, with this the number of potential consumer goods also grew considerably.

It was the advertisements of the *Kassai Munkás* which targeted male readers to a great extent, because in workers' families women were less likely to read newspapers and also because it was he, decided about purchases. In the *Kassai Hírlap* one finds among gender-neutral advertisements some which target female readers and some which were meant to evoke the attention of males: there is even a bulky land owner as a prototype of lucky man depicted. One finds in the *Kaschauer Zeitung* the utmost female advertisements, among them those which try to sell products for children.

The gender perspective of shopping and consumption seems to be an important aspect of consumption. In literature it is emphasized that modern consumer culture creates new

spaces of sociability, which are visited especially by female consumers, for whom the shopping area is one of the few public spaces which they can visit without limitations. If shopping would be a dominantly female passion, we would find many advertisements which target female readers, but we have seen that this is not to the same extent true for all the three examined newspapers. The *Kaschauer Zeitung* was the most feminine while the *Kassai Munkás* targeted directly male readers. This indicates that the described pattern of the consuming women does not fit to the lower classes of society: it was a middle-class and upper middle-class experience, and, at least in Kassa in the early twentieth century it was not shared by the working class. Of course these samples are too small to draw far reaching consequences and this conclusion would need further research to be exactly proven.

3.4. Marketing Strategies

3.4.1. *Rational Argumentation*

Advertisements are meant to convince the reader to consume the offered product. The methods for convincing the consumer were mostly the pure rational explanation and the enumeration of arguments. They also use positive adjectives and phrases like fine, beautiful, high quality, excellent, professional, new, inimitable etc. But many advertisements make an effort to convince the reader rationally about the benefits of the product or of the supply. The explanations are relatively long, and they may include following contents:

- enumeration of all sorts of products kept in the shop, or enumeration of all attributes of one particular product
- references for quality, such as indication of thanking letters, previous orders of prominent people, prizes won at exhibitions, date of foundation etc.
- additional benefits: free catalogues, discounts, free tests

- comparison to other products, warning to buy the original only
- enumeration of the people, who may be touched by the announcement
- information about prizes: cheap products, fix prizes, credit, possibilities to pay in installments.

If an advertiser tries to include more than one of the following contents, which often happened, the advertisement may become considerably long. One example is a Lysoform advertisement, (Image 9.) which was published in the *Kassai Hírlap* (26th March 1909) and filled half a page mainly with normal-size letters. The product is a disinfectant. The advertisement first explains, how important it is in various cases to use a disinfectant, and especially this product is worldwide used, its effectiveness is proven scientifically, and a number of positive attributes of the product are listed. The advertisement even describes the packing in which it is available, and calls the attention to a booklet with the title “Health and Disinfection” which can be taken from every pharmacy for free and can be also ordered from Budapest if the pharmacy is out of it. The advice is given to try it and to pay attention to the original packing and to the word “lysoform”. Such advertisements evoke the feeling that they do not want to manipulate but to inform the public about obvious benefits of a product and it is in the readers own interest to read the lengthy advertisement and to learn about a possible solution of a problem.

3.4.2. Eye-Catching Phrases

Eye-catching phrases became especially important parts of advertisements because in the early twentieth century Kassa advertisements were dominated by text. It is probably due to the limits of contemporary print techniques that there were only a few drawings and ornamental motives used for decoration, but no photos and no complicated drawings:

consequently advertisements could not tell a lot with pictures. But visual influences are important parts of advertising, so calligraphy gained an important role, especially because advertisements were relatively long and readers somehow had to be convinced to read these lengthy announcements.

Obviously one eye catching phrase must be the name of the product or service in question. But it is often not the most conspicuous information. Interestingly it's often the name of the retailer that is printed in big, bold letters. Even if the unit had a fantasy name, for example a café was called "Petőfi", the information printed with big letters was the name of the owner, Manó Weiss.³³ Usually shops did not have fantasy names but they were remembered after their owner's name. One would think it was usual at least in the case of catering service units to give a fantasy name, but among the advertisements one can find an exception even from this rule: the restaurant of the widow Seress, Istvánne³⁴ did not have a fantasy name: only the name of the owner differentiated it from other restaurants. And this was much more the case for shops, which were almost exclusively remembered after the name of their owners. Especially in short advertisements the advertisers gave primary their own name, than the type of product or service they offer and finally the address: the name of the owner was among the most crucial information that had to be included into the advertisement. There was a personal relationship between shop owners and customers and it forced the owners to announce changes in the ownership clearly in newspapers.

Besides the name of the shop owner and the product advertisers sometimes used eye-catching words which refer to the situation before or after using the product. In advertisements for medical products the eye-catching word is often the name of the illness:

³³ Felvidéki Újság, 6th March 1909

³⁴ Felvidéki Újság 4th March 1909.

“rheumatisms”, “incontinence”, “anemia” etc. In beauty industry the opposite is the case: the reader is faced not with the problem but with a promise for example “beautiful bosoms”.

There are some eye-catching phrases which can be seen as real marketing tricks because it is impossible to understand the message of the text with reading the eye-catching phrase only. This evokes the curiosity of the reader and forces him or her to read on. The information content of the eye-catching word is low, so when the reader cannot guess right, what the advertisement is going to be about. When he reads the whole advertisement, there will be a little surprise for him. Such advertisements function similarly to jokes: the first part of the joke leads the thoughts of the receiver to a certain field, while in the punch line he suddenly detects that he was misled: the situation is not as he imagined. In advertisements the new information is usually not in such a direct contrast to the previous piece of information that it would make us laugh, but the mechanism is somewhat similar to jokes. Such fantasy evoking phrases are for example “after theater” you should visit a particular café or “what to do with our children?” send them to a sanatorium or “they make a stir” these shoes for children. Sometimes the information content of the eye-catching phrase is so low that the reader cannot imagine anything, and ideally this makes them even more curious: “this advertisement” will interest every cultivated people, because disinfection is important, or “wonderful!” one can order shoes from Krakow.

3.4.3. Regular Advertising

Regularity in advertising helps the reader remember the information: repetition makes the product and the retailer more and more familiar. The most effective sort of advertising strategy is when the advertisements of the same advertiser are to some extent similar to each other: they use the same calligraphy or picture and they always appear on the same place within the newspaper, but each of them offers something new. Of course such a constant and intensive presence in advertising is expensive and needs lot of effort and majority of the local

advertisers did not have so much capital and time to think out new and new strategies. But there were some advertisers who spent considerable amount of money on diversified advertising.

The easiest way for making the advertisements divers was to call the attention to different products: for example the Szakmáry & Zilahy grocery offered once rabbits and eastern eggs, in a later advertisement mineral water. The trader Mayer seemed to have little money himself for advertising, so he could buy only a small advertisement in the *Felvidéki Újság* in the heading “Most called firms in Kassa”: a place for low-budget advertisers with tiny advertisements. In this advertisement Mayer listed everything he had in his workshop: typewriters, bicycles, gramophones and also offered automobile service. And additionally he could convince the manufacturers of certain products to advertise in local newspapers, indicating that the product is available in his workshop. With this trick he could appear in two additional advertisements in the newspapers which offered a Stower typewriter and a Pfaff sewing machine. The most expensive advertising strategy was that of Vilmos Kolumby, owner of a haberdashery and trousseau shop, who let their advertisements put to the bottom of the first page. His advertisements appeared frequently and in all of the examined newspapers.

It was unusual that an entrepreneur used real sales, two-in-one like actions or other marketing strategies. One effort was made by Béla Pallaghy, perfumery shop owner, who announced that he bought a lottery ticket and if he wins, the prize is going to be distributed among his customers, who purchased something in a given period of time. He informed the readers regularly about the actual stage of this action. Through this he reader could always find something new in the advertisement, although the circle of products did not change.

The analysis of newspaper advertisements gives a detailed picture about consumption experiences in Kassa. Local advertisements did not cover all commercial and service activities of the town but they were restricted to certain products and services which were bound to a modern middle-class lifestyle: textile, construction and technical innovations and healthcare are the most frequent fields of advertising. Advertisers were prominent, but small retailers and suppliers: not intellectuals, not traditional artisans and not vendors of the market place.

The study of different newspapers shows that the shopping experience was not the same in various social classes: higher classes consumed a larger scale of products which were purchased partly in foreign cities while lower classes did their shopping in the town and had a narrower scope of consumed goods. The experience of shopping as a possible new way of sociability and entertainment was not shared by working class women.

In their marketing early twentieth century advertisers used specific methods. It was usual to list everything notable about the product and the shop to give as much information as possible: advertisers tried to convince with reason and not with emotions, but it did not mean that they would not use a great number of positive adjectives. Shops were remembered after their owners and not after the fantasy name of the shop. As print techniques were not as developed as to allow the appearance of complicated drawings or photos in newspapers, calligraphy of the advertisements became the main visual impulse. Some advertisers advertised regularly but this happened mostly with little diversity and this was not combined with marketing strategies like special offers or sales. Early twentieth century marketing was based much more on informing and reminding the public than on consciously applied psychological impulses.

4. Advertising Industry and its Perception

Advertising became more and more a common experience of everyday life in early twentieth century Kassa. This on the one hand led to the professionalization of the advertising business; on the other hand advertising reached its goal as it met the public. The first perceptions of mass advertising were positive experiences.

4.1. Advertising, a new Business

It became more and more obvious that advertising was unavoidable in certain sectors of commerce and services. The spread of this marketing strategy became a product itself, because retailers paid for their shields, flyers, newspaper advertisements etc. A number of suppliers specialized in this new field, newspapers could not stay competitive without advertisements and soon the city council also discovered their potential as an additional source of income.

In Kassa there are at least two entrepreneurs known who specialized in the production of advertisements. One of them was a traditional artisan: he was a shield painter. M Klein, successor of Kraushar, (his name was used in this way, probably because Kraushar was well remembered,) advertised regularly with a simple but clever advertisement in local newspapers: it had white letters on a black background. His shield painting workshop came out with the idea of putting advertising benches in those public areas which were most frequently used by the public for promenades³⁵. The idea was very original, because at that

³⁵ Precisely Main Street, Szécheny Park, which was the major green area in the town and Petőfi Park, a smaller green square. See Image 15. in the appendix.

time there were probably only a few public benches. On the other hand, a large number of postcards were made about the Main Street, but only on a few of them is a bench visible. The workshop offered to buy the benches and paint advertisements on them³⁶. The painting cost 3.60 crowns or 4 crowns if the customer wished to change the background color, and they had to hire the bench for at least two seasons which made an additional cost of 20 crowns. Altogether a considerable amount of money but for this the advertisement became visible for two years. Unfortunately, it is not known whether this business was rentable or not. But this was only a new field where the workshop tried to make profit: its major profile was the production of advertising shields.

The other known entrepreneurs who earned their living exclusively from the advertising business, were Ármin Fried & Co., who owned, according to an advertisement in the address book, the first mechanical packing factory: they produced packing and wrapper for other companies.

The local printing houses also benefited from the spread of advertising culture because they were the ones who printed the posters, flyers and counter tickets. Especially counter tickets must have been produced in great numbers because all customers who purchased something in a shop must have received one, and shop keepers also used their own decorated notepapers and envelopes (Image 6.) for official correspondence, for example they reminded customers to settle the invoice, but even for private correspondence: one shopkeeper informed the *Touristic Society* that he wants to quit his membership³⁷. All these writings must have consumed a considerable amount of printed paper produced by the local press. Such

³⁶ “Reklámpadok a sétányokon. A közönség ingyen használhatja. “ [Advertising Benches on the Promenades. The Public can Use them for Free], *Felvidéki Újság* 13. Jan. 1912.

³⁷ It was Dezső Spitz, millinery shop owner in 1914, Vychodoslovensky Museum Kosice R 17885

orders were part of everyday life, and occasional advertising campaigns: posters and flyers only came to it as a possible source of income.

The local press also published newspapers and newspapers could not keep low prices without advertisements. Even if the *Kassai Munkás* was, because of its socialist ideas, generally hostile to advertisements as capitalist products, it could not avoid publishing them: the realistic decision was made to tolerate advertisements in the contemporary capitalist milieu and fight against capitalism with capitalism's own weapons. Besides the shield painter workshop, the mechanical packing factory, the printing houses and the newspaper agencies, there were probably a number of forgotten existences who benefited from advertising: poster gluers, sandwich men, flier distributors etc.

There were many entrepreneurs who had an interest in the intensification of advertising and this led to the birth of a new genre: advertisements, which advertised advertising. The *Felvidéki Ujság* explained in 1912 before Christmas³⁸ how important advertising is for all commercial activities and calls the attention to some well-known products which became widespread with the help of effective advertising: the Lysoform disinfectant, the Diana bonbons, the Joseph Franz Mineral Water and the Paris Department Store in Budapest. The article especially targets local traders and argues that the *Felvidéki Ujság* is read mainly by local citizens so it is an ideal newspaper for local advertisements. Similarly the printing house of Béla László tried to convince entrepreneurs about the usefulness of beautiful and tasteful printed papers, which are “the most effective ways of advertising”.

³⁸ “A felvidéki ujság és a hirdető közönség” [The Felvidéki Ujsag and the Advertising Public] in *Felvidéki Ujság* 10th Nov 1912.

4.2. The City Council

The city council gave out the first regulation on advertising in 1883³⁹, but by that time the city council did not yet aim to benefit financially from this business. The goal was only to protect private property: it was allowed to glue posters only at places which were especially marked out for this and to keep the walls of the houses generally free from posters. The city council had its own boards for official announcements: it was not allowed to place announcements of any other kind in these places. It was forbidden to damage posters and a new poster could be glued on an older one only after 8 days. From each poster one example had to be deposited in the police station, probably to keep control over the content of the advertisements.

It was in 1911 that the city council went further than simply regulating advertising activities in public places. It was decided to monopolize the right of placing any kinds of advertisements in public places and collect a fee for them. And at the same time it was aimed to make the rules stricter: despite the 1883 regulations contemporaries experienced that private houses were fully covered with posters.⁴⁰ So the city council forbade advertising on any surface which did not have this primary function: no gluing on walls of houses was allowed, posters could be put only on shields and columns, which had this primary function and were owned by the city, or on temporary walls around building plots. Here again one can observe the efforts to protect the houses and walls from glue, which was already articulated somewhat weaker in the 1883 regulations. At the same time the city council began with the operations to set up advertising columns in public spaces especially in the Main Street.

(Image 8.)

³⁹ General Assembly Resolution no. 65814/II, 8474/218 1898

⁴⁰ article of Lajos Körmendy-Ékes dr. in *Felsőmagyarország* 15th Febr. 1911 pp 2-3

The following forms of advertising were charged for by the city council⁴¹:

- all posters
- shields, except the ones which advertised activities inside the building on which the shield was placed
- flyers
- sandwich men
- advertising coaches, except if it was the property of the advertiser
- every other new idea the city council did not think about.

In the case of the posters the advertiser had to pay a fee for the place and for the gluing which was done exclusively by the city council. It was also possible to hire advertising coaches or flyer distributors of the city council, who would even deliver fliers to a concrete list of addresses. The fee paid for the place depended upon the size of the posters and the time period in a complicated system, so that prices could not be calculated by simple multiplication of the price paid after the smallest poster in a shortest period of time. (Image 13.) The local market was defended against the attractive foreign advertisements in such a way that local entrepreneurs had to pay much lower fees for their advertising posters.

Despite these advantages the new resolution meant a growth of advertising costs for local entrepreneurs, who until that point could glue their posters basically wherever they wanted for free. Consequently the *Kassai Ujság* opposed this regulation⁴², stating that it is only a new way for making local entrepreneurs' situation worse, who now would be forced to advertise less, although advertising is an unavoidable means of modern retailing: the public is

⁴¹ General Assembly Resolutions no. 3188 57/1911 and no. 6366/138/1911

⁴² "Bilincset a reklámra!" [Handcuff on the Advertisement!] *Kassai Ujság*, 11st Sept. 1910.

used to new and attractive advertisements. Interestingly the *Felsőmagyarország* argued for just the opposite: that advertising columns will animate advertising culture, which was by that time according to the writers opinion in an underdeveloped phase: “it seems that our commerce and industry is not aware of the pulsating vein of our economy: advertising.”⁴³ The *Felsőmagyarország* hoped that the advertising columns will be attractive enough to make retailers conscious about the importance of advertising. Because advertising seemed to be important: in this both newspapers agreed.

For the city council the monopolization of the right of advertising meant a new source of income. In this decision they followed the example of Budapest, which regulated advertising similarly and deputies from Nagyvárad (today Oradea in Romania) came to examine the practice of Kassa: the successful pattern was spread around the country.

4.3. Public opinion about Advertisements

When the city council monopolized the right of placing advertisements in public places, the ordinary consumer who did not have anything to advertise noticed only one change: the appearance of advertising columns alongside Main Street. The *Abauj-Kassai Közlöny* published especially sharp critiques on these new objects from a purely aesthetic perspective: they were too big, too close to each other and altogether ugly because they were made of iron instead of wood.⁴⁴ It is perhaps not an accident that advertising columns were placed only on the eastern side of Main Street: on the gentlemen’s promenade, not on the other side where the common people walked and where the spending power of the public was smaller. But the *Abauj-Kassai Közlöny* drew the critique back as soon as the posters appeared on the columns:

⁴³ “Városi aktualitások” [Actualities in the Town”] *Felsőmagyarország* 26th Febr 1911. p.2.

⁴⁴ “Állj meg!” [Stop!] in *Abauj-Kassai Közlöny* 26th Sept 1912.

“everybody likes the advertising columns because they are glued with the artworks of Hungarian advertising art.”⁴⁵

The local press always talked about advertisements and posters as things which represent aesthetic quality: they improve the visual appearance of the streets: they make them more vivid and diverse. Kassa liked posters, advertising benches, and shop windows: they even came out with the idea of organizing a shop window competition. The initiator was the *Commerce and Trade Society* who had great hopes of the success of the competition because they had been popular in other cities of the country. Shop window competitions had double benefits, as the journalist wrote in the *Felsőmagyarország*: “on the one hand they proved to be beautiful and effective means of advertising, on the other hand they did considerable service on the improvement of taste.”⁴⁶ One can observe that citizens of Kassa thought about posters and shop windows as works of art which bear aesthetic quality and are also useful means for gathering information. The skepticism towards advertisements, as byproducts of the capitalist system that creates false needs (see page 15.) was not yet present. Advertisements and consumption were regarded as necessary, practical and positive forces of a new modern lifestyle which the citizens of Kassa were just about to experience.

⁴⁵ “Kassa szépségei” [Beauties of Kassa] in *Abauj- Kassai Közlöny* 6th Dec. 1912.

⁴⁶ „Kirakatverseny Kassán” [Shop Window Competition in Kassa] in *Felsőmagyarország* 1st Aug 1909.

5. Conclusion

It is argued in this paper that advertisements in early twentieth century Kassa popularized new consumption habits offering a modern lifestyle. The introduction of new consumption patterns and the spread of advertising culture was part of the global process what we call modernization. The experience of modernity was not shared equally by all members of the society and it did not affect all fields of commerce and services to the same extent. One can even define the spatial area within the town, where shops and services of this modern lifestyle were situated: in the Main Street and in its immediate surroundings.

Accordingly, a typical modern entrepreneur had its shop in the central area of the town. He was more likely to be a trader than an artisan, because artisans could not offer the great variety of items which became a must in the emerging consumption culture. He typically offered some accessories of modern lifestyle: clothes which followed European fashion, machines which were produced with the help of technical innovations, health and beauty products which were developed in the laboratories of the progressive chemical industry, or could offer the installment of bathrooms with sewer and running water, gas and electricity systems etc. The entrepreneur, who offered these modern products, presumably lead his enterprise according to modern patterns: he would have a shiny shop with decorative shop window, modern furniture, telephone, he would offer extra services such as delivery, free catalogues, personal bids, he would come out more or less regularly with advertisements: and he would have enough capital to do so. Of course there were a great number of exemptions and border cases, which shows that this new pattern of entrepreneurship did not reach all segments of trade and industry: modernity was only in the making.

Modern ways of retailing were introduced only in some segments of commerce and industry, likewise the new consumption culture was not equally accessible to all classes of the

society. For the lower classes modern ways of consumption offered on the Main Street became only exceptionally part of their own lifestyle, while for the highest classes the offer of local traders and artisans was too small to cover their demands. They turned their attention towards foreign markets, mostly those of German speaking lands, where they could find higher quality and greater supply. Or foreign purchases were motivated by pure snobbery: by the wish to show off social status, as Veblen argued in his theory. So came that local market was seen as less prominent and accordingly an effort was made to protect it against foreign entrepreneurs: when the city council began collecting fees for advertising activities on public places, local advertisers had to pay a considerably smaller sum than foreigners.

Local public welcomed the new consumption culture and its side effect: advertising with enthusiasm. This attitude was very similar to the positive sentiments towards technical innovations, because both consumption and technical innovations meant progress: a gradual, beneficial change. The citizens of Kassa considered especially posters as works of art, which had a decorative function and could be placed everywhere in the town without limitation. Nowadays we could not imagine advertising columns as decorations in the most important, historical areas of towns: a city major, who would like to be popular, would let flowers and plants placed on these places to improve the visual appearance of the area, not advertisements. This difference may have to do with the high quality of early twentieth century poster culture of the secession movement, but also with the novelty of advertising itself and the products offered by them: the excitement to learn about something new made people open to advertisements. People were aware of the many changes modernity brought about, and with the help of consumption progress could be reached in their own lives. The citizens of Kassa welcomed changes. They looked forward to them, they assisted in the process, and they loved the results.

Bibliography

Small prints:

From the collection of the *Vychodoslovensky Muzeum Kosice*, [Eastern Slovak Museum Kosice]:

Counter tickets of the textile shop of the Széman Brothers:

R 17887/1, from 1903

R 17887/2a, from 1900

R 17887/2b, from 1900

R 17887/4 from 1913

Advertising flyer of the pharmacy of Miklós Puky:

R 5135

Counter ticket of the millinery shop owner, Izsó Weiner:

R 17902 from 1906.

Dezső Spitz millinery shop owner quits his membership from the Touristic Society:

R 17885 from 1914.

Counter Ticket of an Undertaking:

R 23061 from 1901.

Counter Ticket of the Székely-Doby pharmacy:

R 21002 from 1907.

Newspapers:

Abauj-Kassai Közlöny [Abauj-Kassaer Annual]

Felsőmagyarország [Upper Hungary]

Felvidéki Újság [Uplands' Newspaper]

Friss Újság [Fresh Newspaper]

Kaschauer Zeitung [Kaschauer Newspaper]

Kassai Hírlap [Kassaer Journal]

Kassai Munkás [The Kassaer Worker]

Kassai Napló [Kaschauer Diary]

Kassai Újság [Kassaer Newspaper]

Newspaper Articles:

“A Felvidéki Újság és a hirdető közönség” [The Felvidéki Újsag and the Advertising Public] in *Felvidéki Újság* 10th Nov 1912.

“Állj meg!” [Stop!] in *Abauj-Kassai Közlöny* 26th Sept 1912.

“Bilincset a reklámra! Mondja a polgármester. Harc a plakát ellen” [Handcuff on the Advertisement. Says the city major. Fight against the Poster] in *Kassai Újság*, 11st Sept. 1910.

“Kassa szépségei” [Beauties of Kassa] in *Abauj- Kassai Közlöny* 6th Dec. 1912.

“Kirakatverseny Kassán” [Shop Window Competition in Kassa] in *Felsőmagyarország*, 1st Aug 1909.

“Reklámpadok a sétányokon. A közönség ingyen használhatja. “ [Advertising Benches on the Promenades. The Public can Use them for Free], *Felvidéki Újság* 13. Jan. 1912.

“Városi aktualitások” [Actualities in the Town] in: *Felsőmagyarország* 26th Febr 1911. p 2. (no title) in *Felsőmagyarország* 15th Febr. 1911 pp 2-3

General Assembly Resolutions of the City Council of Kassa:

Szabályrendelet a nyilvános helyekre kifüggesztett magánhirdetések megóvása tárgyában [Resolution in the Matter of the Protection of Private Advertisements Placed on Public Places] no. 65814/II, 8474/218 1898

Szabályrendelet a hirdetési ügy egységes rendezése tárgyában [Resolution for the Standard Settlement of the Matter of Advertising] no. 3188 57/1911

Térdíjak [Placement Fees] no. 6366/138/1911

Map:

Kassa törv. hat. jog. fel. szab. kir. város belsőségének és környékének átnézeti térképe. [Map of Kassa Free Royal Municipal Town's Inner Areas and Surroundings]. Budapest: Magyar Kir. Állami Nyomda, 1912.

Secondary Literature:

Campbell, Colin. *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism.* WritersPrintShop, 2005.

Csatlós, Istvánné. *Abauj-Torna, Gömör-Kishont és Zemplén megyei hírlapok és folyóiratok bibliográfiája 1918-ig. [Newspapers and Journals Bibliography until 1918 in Abauj-Torna, Gömör-Kishont and Zemplén Counties].* Miskolc, 1989.

Kassa szab. kir. város teljes cimtára 1911. évre : hivatalos adatok alapján összeállítva [Kassa Free Royal Town's Complete Address Book for the Year 1911: Compiled on the Basis of Official Data]. Kassa: Felsőmagyarország, 1911.

Kassa szabad királyi város szabályrendeletei [Resolutions of Kassa Free Royal Town]. Kassa: Felsőmagyarország, 1913.

Lawrence, Jeanne Catherine. “Geographical Space, Social Space and the Realm of the Department Store.” *Urban History*, April 1992, no 19.

Márai, Sándor. *Egy polgár vallomásai [Confessions of a Bourgeois].* Budapest: Helikon, 2005.

Marcuse, Herbert. *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* . London and New York: Routhledge, 2002.

Schama, Simon. *The Embarrassment of Riches. An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* . London: Fontana, 1991.

Szakál, Gyula. “Reklám és életforma Győrben a 19. és a 20. század fordulóján” [Advertisement and Lifestyle in Győr at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Century]. *Struktúra és városkép [Structure and City Sight].* Veszprém: Laczkó Dezső Múzeum, 2002.

- Thirring Gusztáv. *Magyar Városok Statisztikai Évkönyve [Statistic Annual of Hungarian Cities]*. Budapest, 1912.
- Veblen, Thorstein. *Theory of the Leisure Class*. Mineola, NY: Courier Dover, 1994.
- Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992.
- Zentai Violetta. *A fogyasztás kultúrája és a történelem. "Méltányos" érdeklődés. [The Culture of Consumption and History. An "Equitable" Interest]*
<http://www.c3.hu/scripta/scripta0/replika/2122/zentai.htm> 05.06.2009.

Appendix

The images from the *Vychodoslovensky Museum* (in the following VSM) and from the *Verejna Knižnica Jana Bocatia, Kosice* (VKJB) form the property of these institutions. Images can be used only with permission.

Image 1. Postcard with sight to the Main street. (VKJB)



Image 2. Postcard The Market Place on The Elisabeth Square in Kassa (VKJB)



Image 3. Advertisement of a Typewriter, *Kassai Hírlap* 14th March 1909.



Image 4. Advertisement of a Shoe Shop, *Kassai Munkás* 6th March 1909.



Image 5. Advertisement of Construction Works, *Kassai Hírlap* 21st March 1909.



Image 6. Envelope of a Pharmacy R 37595/0 (VSM)



Image 7. Advertisement with Hebrew Heading, *Kaschauer Zeitung* 26th March 1909.



Image 8. Postcard. An Advertising column on the Main Street (VKJB)



Image 9. Advertisement of a Disinfectant. *Kassai Hírlap* 18th March 1909.

KASSAI HIRLAP Március 28.

Ezen hirdetés

érdekelni fog minden művelt embert! Onnek tudnia kell, ha testi egészségének ápolására súlyos fektet, hogy minden házban nélkülözhetetlen egy feltétlenül megbízható fertőtlenítő szer. Betegség, sérülés, égés, bevágás, milyen sokszor fordulhat elő; a betegágynál való fertőtlenítés, sebek, dagadtak antiszeptikus mosása, öblítések (irrigáció), ragályos betegségek elleni védekezés és szagtalanítás, mind szükségessé teszi, hogy kéznél legyen a **tudományosan** sokszorosan kipróbált és elismert

LYSOFORM

mely határozottan a jelenkor **legkitűnőbb** fertőtlenítő szere és az egész világon használatban van. Gyorsan és biztosan hat, bárkinek kezébe adható, mert nem mérgező, **nem irritálja** a bőrt (mint a többi fertőtlenítő szerek, pl. carból, sublimát, hypermangan), **kellemes** illatú és végül **rendkívül olcsó**; ezek az okai közkeletességének úgy orvosi mint laikus körökben. 100 grammos **eredeti** zöld üvegekben **80 fillér árban** kapható az ország minden gyógyszerárában vagy drogériájában használati utasítással. Vegye figyelembe azt is, hogy a lysoform gyorsan és biztosan megszünteti a rossz szagot és izrádtságot is.

Egy igen érdekes könyv jelent meg kiadásunkban, egy tekintélyes orvos tollából, „Egészség és fertőtlenítés” címmel, melyben a lysoform használatát tárgyalja a családban és ez igazán minden anyának ajánlható olvasmány. Bárki ingyen kaphatja meg ezen könyvet az ország bármely gyógyszerárában vagy drogériájában. Ahol nem volna készleten, ott szíveskedjék dr. Keleti és Murányi gyógyszerészeti gyárához Újpesten, fordítani s e cég azonnal ingyen és bérmentve megküldi a könyvet.

Tegyen egy kísérletet!
Figyeljen a **LYSOFORM** szóra
és az eredeti csomagolásra.

Image 12. Flyer of a Pharmacy. German on the other side. R 5135 (VSM)

Hölgyek figyelmébe!

A szépség egyik főkövetke a szép arcból. Minden hölgy egyetlen vágya ezt elérni, de sajnos nagyhangú reklámok után indulva, leginkább tévednek is azt.

Minden jó cikknek az elterjedtség a legjobb bizonyítvány!

Dr. Sihalazky-féle készítmények felülmúlhatatlan voltát számos hiánypótlakozaton kívül legkiválóbban az igazolja, hogy évente 15-20 ezer postacsomagot küldök nemcsak az ország minden részére és Európába, de Ázsiában és Amerikában is vannak nagyszámú vevők, kik egyszerre száz számba rendelik, hogy a szállítási költséget megtakarítsák.

Szepítő, májfolt, mitesser, fénylő arcból, arcvörösség

mind elfűnik határolása folytán, és mindamellett semmi nyomot nem hagy hátra az arcon, nem teszi ráncosná az arcot, mert semmi **ártalmas anyagot nem tartalmaz**, amennyiben a világhírű orvos, Dr. Sihalazky előírata szerint készül.

A Dr. Sihalazky készítmények, úgy mint: arckenőcs, selyem-crém, szappan, selyem powder, arcmosódóvíz, éjjeli és nappali használatra valók.

Használati utasítás:

Éjjeli használatra: az arckenőcs való, melyből egy kis mogyoró nagyságúat letekvés előtt addig dörzsölünk az arcon, míg azt majdnem egészen beissza. Reggel az arcmosódóvízből két evőkanálnyit öntünk egy mosdóedény vízbe és a Dr. Sihalazky-féle szappannal lemoszuk arcunkat.

Sokkal gyorsabb az eredmény ha **napközben a crémből** borsó nagyságnyit szétörzsölünk az arcon. Ez nem zsíros, hanem száraz krém, így nem is lehet észre venni, hogy az arc be van kenve valamivel, mert nem fénylik, sőt még az arcnak szép színt is kölcsönöz. Majd utána igen vékonyan selyempoudert, — mely lebb, rózsas és krém színben kapható, — hintjük be.

A hatás bámulatos az eddig felülmúlhatatlan Dr. Sihalazky cikkek használata folytán.

!!! Tessék óvakodni az utáztatóktól, csak az a **valódi**, melynek edényén és külső csomagolásán **Dr. Sihalazky aláírásával ellátott arcképe látható!!!**

Dr. Sihalazky-féle arckenőcs	Ára	1 K 40 fill.
szappan	—	70
arcmosó víz	1	40
selyem krém	2	20
selyem powder	1	20

kis tégegy 1 K 20 f.
(bármely színben.)

A Puky-féle kézfinomító

dacára annak, hogy egészen új találmány, már is széles körben ismeretes, mint egyetlen szer, mely a legelhanyagoltabb kezet is hőbérre és bársonypuhává teszi. A leg-efekőbb hölgyek egyikénél sem hiányzik már e nélkülözhetetlen szer. Használati utasítás minden üvegen! **Ára 70 fillér.**

A hajapolónál igen ajánlom a „Capillor hajszesz“-t, mely megakadályozza a haj kihullását és hajhagymáknak mintegy táptálcát képezvén, kopaszságnál is igen bevált. Használati utasítás minden üvegen.

Ára 1 korona 20 fillér.

A „Haj-Regenerator“

az ősz haj eredeti színét adja vissza. **Ára 2 kor.**

10 koronát meghaladó rendelést bérmentve küldök.

A fenti összes készítmények kaphatók:

PUKY MIKLÓS

„ISTEN SZEM“ gyógyszer-tárában, Kassa. (A városháza mellett.)

Pontos, olvasható címet kérek! — Rendelések aznap postára adatnak!

Titoktartás biztosítva.

„Szt. Erzsébet“-nyomda r. a. Kassa. 1509-6045.

T-5135

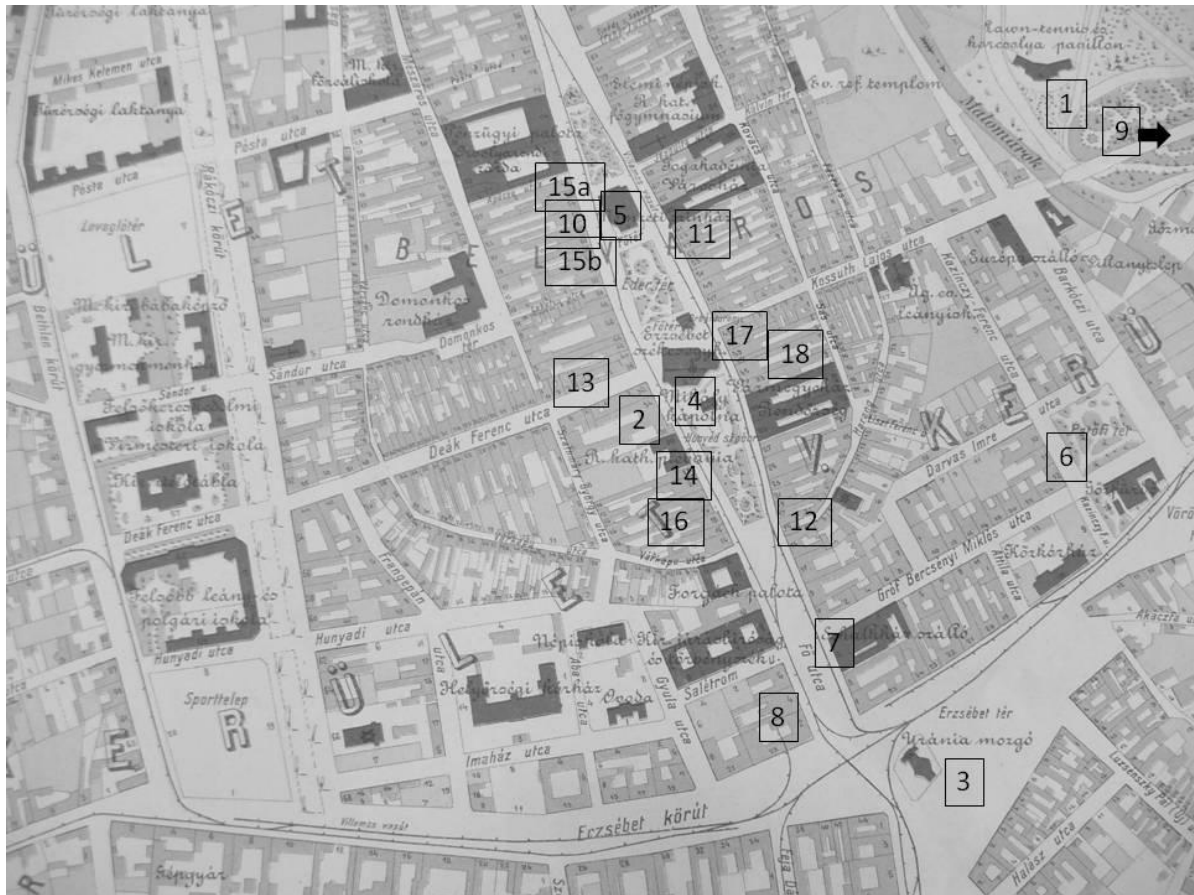
Image 13. Fees paid after posters. Size grows horizontally, number of days vertically.

Napok száma	$\frac{1}{4}$ év 35—48		$\frac{1}{2}$ év 48—63		1 év 63—95		2 év 95—126		3 év 95—189	
	korona	fillér	korona	fillér	korona	fillér	korona	fillér	korona	fillér
1—5 napra	1	—	1	85	3	—	5	—	7	50
6—10 „	7	50	13	50	22	50	37	50	55	—
11—15 „	10	—	18	—	30	—	50	—	72	50
16—20 „	12	50	22	50	40	—	65	—	107	50
21—30 „	15	—	26	—	45	—	75	—	112	50
31—40 „	22	50	39	50	87	50	122	50	167	50
41—50 „	27	50	48	50	85	—	140	—	220	—
51—60 „	30	—	52	—	90	—	150	—	225	—
61—70 „	37	50	65	50	112	50	187	50	300	—
71—80 „	42	50	74	50	130	—	215	—	332	50
81—90 „	45	—	78	—	135	—	225	—	337	50
Ragasztási díj 100 drb. után	1	—	2	—	3	—	5	—	10	—

Image 14. *Abauj Kassai Közlöny* 14th
July 1911.



Image 15. Map of the Town Center of Kassa, 1912.



1. Széchenyi Park
2. Bishop's Residency
3. Elisabeth Square, Market Place
4. Elisabeth Cathedral
5. Theater
6. Petőfi Park
7. Schalk Hotel
8. The Márais' House, early childhood
9. Railway Station
10. Széman Brothers' Millinery Shop
11. Miklós Puky's Pharmacy
12. Izsó weiner's Millinery Shop
13. Mayer's Workshop
14. "Turul" Shoeshop
15. a, b. Urbach's Engineer Offices
16. Lajos Stern's Grocery
17. Lipót Molnár's Pharmacy
18. Undertaker's Office