ADVERTISING PHOTOGRAPHY DURING THE 1930s: VICTOR KEPPLER'S LUCKY STRIKE CIGARETTE CAMPAIGN

by

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Abstract

The Great Depression was a decade in the United States which was characterized by high unemployment, budget cuts and low income. Citizens, especially the working class did not have the financial resources to purchase the same amount of goods previous to this economic crisis. The advertising business took this opportunity to sell products to the masses, during a time when purchasing luxury goods were not a priority or even a possibility. This created many changes in how advertisements were produced and how they looked. Using Victor Keppler as an example, this thesis will describe how the advertising agency Lord & Thomas used colour photography for their Lucky Strike cigarette advertisement campaign, the *Witnessed Statement Series*. It will describe how the colour carbro print became the mass reproduced advertisement found in magazines and newspapers. The thesis will describe this process and the people who were involved in creating the final print advertisement.

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List of Illustrations[1]

[1] The italicized titles are those taken directly from the GEH database. Those in square brackets are titles taken directly from the tear sheets that distinguish one object from the other.

Introduction

In the 1930s, the United States faced a huge economic depression. It was characterized by high unemployment, the stock market crash and overproduction of consumer products. At the Depression's worst, 25% of the American public was unemployed.[2] Americans, as well as Canadians and Europeans, did not have the spare income to spend on unnecessary amenities. As a result, the advertising business faced a large obstacle. Their job was to sell a variety of products to the American public despite the economic climate. The advertising business was faced with the challenge of changing this economic downturn to one of prosperity for its clients, by convincing the buying public to purchase a certain brand of product. The modern, art deco illustrations used in advertisements during the 1920's shifted to photographs. Specifically, colour photographs were used to drive a hard sell, produced realism rather than idealism and was direct and to the point. Victor Keppler a commercial photographer described this decade as the ideal time for photography.[3]

This thesis will examine the work of Victor Keppler, a successful professional commercial photographer. He was a sought out photographer along with the likes of Edward Steichen, Lejaren à Hiller, Nickolas Muray and Clarence White. In this study, Keppler's photographs for the Lucky Strike cigarette campaign: *Witnessed Statement Series* of 1937 to 1938 will be examined, in order to discuss the use of photography in print advertisements during its "golden age". As well, the paradox between the Great Depression and the use of the expensive carbro print will be discussed to create a better

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[2] Charles Goodrum and Helen Dalrymple, *Advertising in America: The First 200 Years* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990), 39.
[3] Victor Keppler, *Man + Camera* (New York: American Photographic Book Publishing Co., Inc., 1970), 83.

understanding of this time period and its use as a tool to drive a hard sell. This thesis will not only concentrate on the photographer, but the team of professionals who produced and disseminated the final print advertisements in magazines and newspapers.

Victor Keppler Biography

Victor Keppler was born in New York City in 1904.[4] Keppler was interested in photography throughout his youth. He bought his first camera in 1916 with his life savings of $1.25.[5] Keppler was the president of his high school's camera club. As the president he convinced the Metropolitan Museum of Art to hold a photography competition for high school students like himself.[6] He won first place.[7] Keppler's father did not approve of his son's interest in photography. As a result, Keppler enrolled in New York University's law school. After one year, he quit and pursued his passion for photography with the help of his new bride, Josephine Windham. Jo became his assistant during his all-night photo shoots and helped him set up props. She also developed and printed his photographs. By the 1920s, Keppler worked in the Magistrate Court's Fingerprint Bureau where he photographed the finished fingerprint cards. At this time, he realized advertising was the best place to make money as a photographer. Thus, he pursued a career as a "photographic illustrator in advertising" and quit his job at the Fingerprint Bureau.[8]

Keppler had very basic photographic equipment at the time, including two cameras and "three small photofloods and [one] heavy carbon-arc spotlight".[9] Despite the

[4] Frederic W. Rosen, "Victor Keppler: A Retrospective," *Studio Photography,* February 1981, 69.
[5] Rosen, "Victor Keppler," 71.
[6] Keppler, *Man + Camera,* 25.
[7] Rosen, "Victor Keppler," 71.
[8] Rosen, "Victor Keppler," 73.
[9] Rosen, "Victor Keppler," 73.

lack of sophisticated photographic equipment, Keppler pursued his goal of advertising photography. He made daily visits to the headquarters of advertisement agency, Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn (BBD&O), looking for work. During one of these visits Harry Payne, an art director, tired of Keppler's daily visits gave him a problem to solve that unbeknownst to Keppler was "impossible" to solve. The art director gave Keppler an assignment to photograph canned spinach in a white bowl on a white tablecloth and make it look appetizing. This was a trick assignment because it was difficult to make the spinach look appealing enough to eat against a white backdrop. It was a common assignment given to those looking for work, since the applicants were set-up to fail with this impossible task. According to Keppler, a bowl of canned spinach became the turning point in his photographic career.[10] After a few days working all night, Keppler presented his final prints to Payne. Keppler solved the impossible problem and photographed spinach as an edible and appealing side dish.[11] The art directors were impressed and hired Keppler for two major accounts. This was the beginning of Keppler's photographic career in advertising.

Keppler at this time also decided that if he was going to be the professional photographer he wanted to be, that meant mastering all elements of photography including colour. During the 1920s, artists dominated the colour market in the advertising industry with their hand drawn sketches and paintings. When photography was used to illustrate advertisements it was done in black and white. It was during this time Keppler entered the business. He was determined to break into this exclusive territory by mastering colour photography, specifically the carbro print.

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[10] Keppler, *Man + Camera*, 47.
[11] Rosen, "Victor Keppler," 76.

It was Keppler's rule "to never tell a client a job could not be done."[12] The art directors at BBD&O coined Keppler's catchphrase: "It can be done—call Keppler!"[13] Keppler was considered by many advertising agencies as the one man that could do the difficult and the impossible. In addition, he was also known for his hard worth ethic and his eighteen-hour work day.[14] By World War II, Keppler was "the premier advertising photo illustrator in the country."[15] Throughout his advertising and commercial career, Keppler photographed thousands of products and brands and worked for many different advertising agencies. He also photographed a number of magazine covers and story illustrations for *The Saturday Evening Post*, *American Magazine*, *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Better Homes and Gardens*.[16]

Victor Keppler retired the advertisement business in 1961 but pursued another goal of teaching photography to those who were eager to learn. He became the head of the Famous Photographers School of America in Westport, Connecticut. Unfortunately, the school failed due to the mismanagement of funds and folded. Victor Keppler died in 1987.

Methodology

In writing an expository essay about commercial photography and its use in print advertisements during the nineteen-thirties I have chosen Victor Keppler, a New York based photographic illustrator, as a case study. Victor Keppler was a popular and successful photographer who was known to complete any assignment. He is amongst the

[12] Rosen, "Victor Keppler," 76.
[13] Rosen, "Victor Keppler," 76.
[14] "Keppler, Victor" (photocopy of typewritten biography found in Information File of The Richard and Ronay Menschel Library), 2.
[15] Rosen, "Victor Keppler," 78.
[16] Rosen, "Victor Keppler," 80.

few successful photographic illustrators of his time, including Nickolas Muray, Edward Steichen and Lejaren à Hiller.

To begin understanding this time period and its advertisements, I consulted a variety of secondary sources in which the authors have studied art and/or advertisements during the early twentieth century. The literature describes the economic and social aspects of advertisements, including the people who created them, the purpose of its creation, and why they look the way they do. In addition, I also investigated how advertisements looked in their original context. In doing so, I consulted a variety of popular magazines from the nineteen-thirties that reached a large general audience. Through this investigation, I realized that cigarette advertisements were common. It was one of the many products in these magazines that were advertised to the American people as an essential product for their lives.

Through these findings, I could justify studying cigarette advertisements. The photography archive had one Keppler box filled with his colour carbro cigarette photographs. These photographs depicted men working in auctions or in the curing barns where the tobacco leaves were toasted. In addition, the Keppler collection also contained the corresponding magazine and newspaper tear sheets. The tear sheets were final proofs of the print advertisement that were then printed and reproduced in popular national magazines and newspapers. These were photomechanical reproductions of the original carbro print with the addition of advertisement elements, such as copy, captions, headlines and superimposed images. Advertising agencies used these elements to persuade an audience to purchase the product.

The tear sheet collection pertaining to the Lucky Strike collection contained two different sets. The first set was magazine tear sheets. These were colour print advertisements that in addition to text and headlines incorporated a large portion of the original image. These were named the *Witnessed Statement Series*. The second set was newspaper tear sheets. These were black and white print advertisements. Unlike the magazine tear sheet whose focal point was the Witness (the independent tobacco worker), these newspaper tear sheet focused on a female celebrity smoking a Lucky Strike cigarette. However, the newspaper print advertisement incorporated the Witness as a solitary figure from the original carbro print. Thus, this investigation will include how the advertising agency used the carbro print in two different ways for two different sets of advertisements in two different sets of publications.

The bulk of this thesis was a comparative analysis between the carbro print to its corresponding tear sheet. The first part of the analysis was a comparison between the carbro print and the magazine tear sheet. Differences between sets of objects, such as colour shift, additions or omissions of people or things are noted and described. Changes made to the original photograph revealed the jobs and people who produced the final print advertisement. The second level of analysis was a description of the use of headlines, copy, text boxes, typographies, superimposed images and other written content that was added to the print advertisements. Through these comparisons and points of interest, I tracked the various manipulations and changes made to the original. Lastly, the final part of analysis was the comparison of the original print to the newspaper tear sheet. I followed the same mode of comparison, as described above. All of these elements

revealed how the original photograph was used in a print advertisement including the changes done unto it and the people that transformed one into the other.

Literature Review

Four main categories of literature were consulted, including Keppler's autobiography, advertising history in the United States, technical aspects of photograph advertisements and colour reproduction, and lastly, popular magazines from the nineteen-thirties.

Victor Keppler as a Commercial Photographer

Victor Keppler's *Man + Camera: A Photographic Autobiography* (New York: American Photographic Book Publishing Co., Inc., 1970) was a source that discussed his life and career. Specifically, Keppler explained his work ethic, the labour involved in photographic shoots and the various advertising campaigns he was involved in. It was quite helpful that he wrote it because it provided a personal and insightful account of the commercial photography business. However as mentioned, it was a personal account and did not describe the commercial photography world as a whole. It solely described one person's account of his own personal experiences.

Advertising History in America and the use of Photography

Charles Goodrum and Helen Dalrymple's *Advertising in America: The First 200 Years* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990) was a book on the history of advertising in the United States from the eighteen hundreds to the present. The authors explained how the past influenced the present look of advertisements. This book included a great introduction that divided the history of advertising into two parts. The second half, "A Short History- From World War I to Present" was helpful since it discussed the changes

in advertisements, including the growth of photography's use in print advertisements during the early twentieth century. In this section, a comparison was drawn between the advertisements of the nineteen-twenties and the nineteen-thirties, specifically looking at its dissemination and the advertisement's composition. Lastly, this book contained a chapter on the history of cigarette advertisements, which provided further historical context on this particular type of commercial work.

Florence G. Feasley and Elnora W. Stuart's article, "Magazine Advertising Layout and Design: 1932-1982" in *Journal of Advertising* (volume 16 issue 2, 1987), was a study that analyzed the evolution of advertisements in a fifty-year span. This was a quantitative study that was not useful for my thesis. However, it identified many visual elements of a print advertisement that I used as points of comparison. For example, Fleasley and Stuart identified eleven different types of layouts. In addition, they counted the number of type styles, number of illustrations, words in a headline, copy blocks etc. All of these things were useful to identify and compare in the Keppler material.

The Art of Persuasion: A History of Advertising Photography by Robert A. Sobieszek (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1988) investigated photography's place within a history of advertising. Using the collection at the George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film, Sobieszek demonstrated the changes and trends of photography's use in advertisements. This book provided some illustrations of the work that I looked at. The author recognized that many workers are responsible for the advertisements' final look. However, Sobieszek argued that the photographer's vision and work are still the most influential part of the print advertisement. Hence, the book concentrated on the visual qualities of the photographs.

For my purpose this assessment of imagery was of no use but the book still provided a reference point in which to discuss advertising as part of a history of photography.

Elspeth Brown's book, *The Corporate Eye: Photography and the Rationalization of American Commercial Culture, 1884-1929* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2005) included a chapter that discussed photography's use in commercial illustration from its inception to its acceptance as an appropriate medium for advertisements. For example, Brown explained that advertisements' primary objective was to demonstrate the feel or "air" of a product. However, photography produced realistic imagery. It was understood that photographs were true and objective. This was unlike the paintings and sketches of the previous decade, which were thought to project feelings onto their audience. However, with some key players in the advertisement world such as Lejaren à Hiller, photography grew to be one of the primary forms of advertisement illustration. Overall, this chapter provided great insight to how photography was used in print advertisements during the nineteen-twenties and nineteen-thirties.

Michele Bogart's book, *Artists, Advertising, and the Borders of Art* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995) contained a chapter that specifically concentrates on the "Rise of Photography" in advertisements. It mentioned key players in the business from the nineteen-tens to the nineteen-thirties, including Clarence White and Edward Steichen. However, unlike Elspeth Brown, Bogart questioned why commercial art is not understood or seen as comparable to fine art. He examined how certain workers, such as advertising agencies and photographers organized themselves into "elite groups" to claim

authority over their work. This argument was not useful for my purposes, however it does provide context in which to study photography's use in print advertisements.

Lastly, another useful resource to understand advertisements from the Great Depression was Roland Marchand's *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985). Marchand argued that advertisements were a balance between displaying the world as it was and creating a world that people desired. In other words, advertisements were understood as a mirror and a window to the desires of society for modernity. The "ad men" and their audience wanted advertisements to reflect a modern society. This book was very useful as it provided insight into the visual cues used in print advertisements from the nineteen-twenties and nineteen-thirties. One chapter focused on the visual clichés of the Great Depression, which advertisers used to create anxiety in their audience. For example, one common trend was "The Parable of the Unraised Hand," which blamed parents for their children's failure in school. This was to be remedied if the proper products were purchased, such as oatmeal, vitamins and toilet paper.[17]

Technical Aspects of Advertising and Colour Reproduction

Stephan Baker's, *Advertising Layout and Art Direction* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959) was a textbook for an advertising student in 1959. It was not intended to be a comprehensive study, however it did provide an overview and description of the inner workings of an advertising agency. For example, Baker presented a case study of how the advertising agency, Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn was run and its division of labour. Although it did not include any specific study of Lord &

[17] Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 296.

Thomas, the agency responsible for the Lucky Strike cigarette campaign, one can assume that the basic set-up of a large advertising agency was similar to that of BBD&O. Although the time period I investigated was several years before this source was published, it was still a relevant source as it described the advertising institution as one that was shaped by the nineteen-thirties, when the agency's autonomy was restructured. Art directors gained more power and had greater input in satisfying client's demands. It also described how photography should be used in advertisements and its purpose in a print advertisement.

Technical Literature on Colour Production and Reproduction

Louis Walton Sipley's *A Half Century of Color* was his own personal study of colour photography using the collection of the former American Museum of Photography. This book provided an overview of colour photography's use in advertisements, in its reproduction and the key photographers who worked in the field. For example, it provided information on both Nickolas Muray and Victor Keppler's colour commercial work and their use of colour film, one-shot colour cameras and sets.

Principles of Color Reproduction: Applied to photomechanical reproduction, color photography, and the ink, paper, and other related industries by J.A.C. Yule (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967) was a good resource that explained in detail how colour was reproduced for print. Yule described four types of printing: letterpress, lithography, photogravure and screen-printing. I was concerned primarily with off-set lithography since the magazine tear sheets were reproduced using this process. This book provided detailed information on colour theory in terms of printing as well as colour

correction. This was useful in describing the tear sheets under study and how they were mechanically reproduced.

Annual of Advertising Art (New York: Art Directors Club, 1937-1939) was a periodical that awarded prizes to the best print advertisements of the year. The awards were given out in a number of categories, including colour, black and white, and poster advertisements. Victor Keppler won an award for best colour advertisement in 1939 for one of his auctioneer images for the *Witnessed Statement Series*. His advertisement was included in this volume with an image and short credit lines.

Paul Outerbridge's *Photographing in Color* (New York: Random House Inc., 1940) was an excellent source that described the carbro printing process in great detail. Outerbridge was a photographer who worked with this medium and was knowledgeable in every aspect of the carbro printing process. The book was published in 1940 during the same period Keppler was also using the carbro process. Although Keppler may have had a different printing method, this book demonstrated how difficult, complicated and time consuming this process was.

Barker Devin's *Tricolor Pigment Printing (Carbro): A Working Manual* (Burbank, CA: Devin McGraw Colorgraph Company, 1940) was another manual that described the working method and procedure in carbro printing. This source when compared with Outerbridge's book did not vary in terms of method. Both sources describe the complexity and expense of this colour process.

Popular Magazines of the Nineteen-Thirties

In addition to secondary resources and the objects studied from the collection, it was necessary to look at the original magazines in which these print advertisements were

originally found and disseminated. The magazines consulted include: *LIFE, The New Yorker, Newsweek, Ladies Home Journal* and *Forbes*. These magazines were chosen for two reasons. The first reason was that all these publications' titles and dates were included in the magazine tear sheet proof, except for *LIFE* magazine. *LIFE* magazine was chosen because it was a very important and popular general magazine during the nineteen-thirties. Fortunately, the Lucky Strike Cigarette advertisements were reproduced on several back covers of *LIFE* magazine. Secondly, these magazines were easy to access in hard copy or microfilm at the Rochester Public Library. The use of these primary sources was to gain a better understanding of how the advertisements were included as part of a larger whole. In other words, the magazine tear sheets do not tell us of where and how these advertisements were found in a magazine. Thus, in using the original magazine, it was now possible to study the advertisement original in its original context.

There were no primary sources that detail the inner workings of Lord & Thomas. In addition, correspondence between Keppler and Lord & Thomas was not found. This would have provided a better understanding of the interaction between advertising agency and photographer. Thus, this research included published sources to create links and draw conclusions to supplement these gaps in resources.

Description of Keppler's Collection and Provenance at GEH

George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film has a large collection of Victor Keppler material donated by him and posthumously. In addition, Keppler material was also acquired through the 3M/Sipley collection. The Keppler material is held in two different archives within the museum. The first is the photography archive which holds Keppler's carbro prints, magazine and newspaper tear

sheets, glass plate negatives, film negatives, lantern slides and black and white proof prints. The second is the manuscript collection held in The Richard and Ronay Menschel Library. This collection is made up of both textual and visual material spanning his photographic career in advertising from approximately 1935-1952.[18] This includes albums of advertising work from 1941 to 1958. Some of these albums have a cohesive organization based on type of photography (colour or black and white) and by year, while others have a mix of photographs in no evident order. The manuscript collection also contains, account books, job books, appointment books from 1935 to 1954 and sample albums that hold an assortment of photographs and tear sheets

George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film acquired Keppler material from two main sources. The first is the 3M/Sipley collection. Louis Walton Sipley was a photography enthusiast who acquired a large collection of photographic objects for educational purposes, including Keppler's colour photography. The collection focused on American photography and became the basis for American Museum of Photography, based in Philadelphia.[19] The museum ran from 1940 until Sipley's death in 1968. His widow was not successful in finding a new home for the collection. However an American company, 3M, bought it to add to their historical collection.[20] 3M's initial plans wer to create a new museum with their collection, however this did not happen. Instead, 3M donated the Sipley collection (including Keppler's material) to the George Eastman House in 1977.[21]

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[18] For an in-depth description of the collection, please refer to the Sipley finding aid, at The Richard and Roany Menschel Library at George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film.
[19] David Wooters, "The Blind Man's Elephant," in *A History of Photography: from 1839 to the present,* eds. Therese Mulligan and David Wooters (New York: Taschen, 2005), 26.
[20] Wooters, "The Blind Man's Elephant," 27.
[21] Wooters, "The Blind Man's Elephant," 27.

The second acquisition source comes from Victor Keppler himself. This makes up the majority of the collection. He donated a variety of material including photographs and other textual materials, such as the account and job books housed in the Library. The acquisitions came in many instalments. The first donation from Victor Keppler was in 1951. This donation was made up of his published book *The Eighth Art* and a motion picture camera. This was followed with a donation of Keppler's photographs for the Timken Roller Company calendar. In 1968, Keppler donated a large collection of his negatives and prints. This donation included the *Witnessed Statement Series* tear sheets and carbro prints. Two small donations of photographic material, followed in 1972 and 1980. Finally, the last major donation was posthumously in 2001, fourteen years after his death.

Historical Context

The nineteen-twenties, appropriately referred to as the "Roaring Twenties", was a decade of prosperity in the United States. The end of World War I marked the beginning of an economic boom where American life shifted from a culture of producing and manufacturing to consumerism. In Lawrence B. Glickman's article, "Rethinking Consumerism: Consumers and the Public Good during the 'Jazz Age,' " the author described pre-nineteen-twenties America as "producerism," which was a term he used to describe how society's focus was to produce goods rather than purchase them.[22] Glickman identified a shift in American culture from "producerism" to consumerism. Society's main focus was to acquire and consume goods. An expanded advertising industry, instalment buying, credit companies, mass production of the automobile and

[22] Lawrence B. Glickman, "Rethinking Consumerism: Consumers and the Public Good during the 'Jazz Age,' " *Magazine of History* 21 no.3 (July 2007): 17.

chain stores such as Woolworth contributed to this shift.[23] In Stephen Fox's book, *The Mirror Makers*, he described the advertising industry during the nineteen-twenties as "high tide and green grass." He was referring to advertising agencies that now found themselves in an ideal position with a receptive and wealthy audience, a booming economy, and an approving government.[24]

The Great Depression began as a result of the October stock market crash of 1929. This led to a decade of economic depression for the United States and to most parts of the world. The consumerism ideology from the previous decade was misjudged and producers manufactured more goods than the consumer population could purchase. This and the combination of high unemployment meant an overproduction of goods that no one was buying. People did not have the money to purchase the goods they were able to consume a decade ago. The advertising industry through its print advertisements, was attempting to deny what many Americans already knew. Advertisements continued to present a life full of luxuries and products that all Americans needed. However, Americans knew that this was not a reality but in fact a misrepresentation of their current economic state.

By 1931, eight million Americans were unemployed.[25] The income of advertising industry was also affected. According to Fox, the annual income of the advertising industry in 1929 was $3.4 billion and dropped to $2.3 billion two years later.[26] Fox described how Albert D. Lasker, the president of Lord and Thomas, cut salaries by 25%

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[23] Lawrence B. Glickman, "Rethinking Consumerism," 16.
[24] Stephen Fox, *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and its Creators* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1984), 79.
[25] Fox, *The Mirror Makers*, 118.
[26] Fox, *The Mirror Makers*, 118.

and had to terminate fifty jobs in 1931.[27] Despite this, Victor Keppler in his autobiography described the nineteen-thirties as the ideal time for advertising. Keppler could be overstating this fact. However, advertising agencies were pushing for the use of photography in advertisements, which created jobs for photographers including Keppler. It was a challenging period for advertising agencies since their audience was frugal with the little income (if any) they had. [28]

The print advertisements from the nineteen-twenties were mostly illustrated images that appealed to the art deco movement of the time. The illustrated advertisement also served the purpose of evoking emotions from the audience.[29] For example, it was understood that an illustrated advertisement for soap could express the feeling of clean hands. In other words, the advertisement should be able to represent the results and feelings from using a product by simply looking at the advertisement.[30] Photographs were also being used in advertising at this time. However, they were used solely for small print advertisements. It was believed that photographs were too real and would not look like art or create emotion from the viewer. In other words a reader would not understand the product by glancing at a photograph. The reader would especially not comprehend the emotional outcome of using said product. He/she would only view and understand the product as a tangible object that can be bought and sold. Drawings and paintings produced idealism and photography produced realism.

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[27] Fox, *The Mirror Makers*, 119.

[28] It must be noted that this is a very generalized view of history. It should be understood that history depends on three major factors including: race, gender and social class. Depending on these elements, affects how things were experienced. For example, the upper class in the United States was not severely affected by the Great Depression because they had the financial backing that middle class America did not have. In other words, the upper class could afford the same luxuries they have always been able to purchase, whether it was in the 1920s or in the 1930s.

[29] Elspeth H. Brown, *The Corporate Eye: Photography and the Rationalization of American Commercial Culture, 1884-1929* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2005), 171.

[30] Brown, *The Corporate Eye*, 171.

Before the Great Depression, a shift in advertisement illustration was underway. A major figure in this history was Lejaren à Hiller. He took pictorialist elements and adapted them into advertising photography. He created elaborate stage set-ups with props, models, sets and lighting to create an image that could produce the same emotional impact as an illustration. By 1929, advertisement photography had come of age with major players such as Victor Keppler and Nickolas Muray.[31] Thus, photography was now an accepted art form. It could produce both idealistic and realistic images that would provide the same if not a more significant reaction from its viewers. In addition, due to the budget cuts it was cheaper to hire a photographer than it was to hire an illustrator. Hence, with the acceptance of photography as a suitable means of illustration for advertisements and the cost savings, it made sense to use photographs for print advertisements.

The Great Depression also brought about another major change in photography's use in print advertisements. Black and white photography made up a large portion of the market during the nineteen-twenties. Colour was not yet established as a suitable means for advertisements since it could not be reproduced on mass with suitable results. Due to the Great Depression, advertisers were looking for a method to capture the audience's attention. Since colour photography was rarely used before, it became a commodity in the advertising industry. Victor Keppler realized that in order to maintain his position as a top choice photographer, he had to be a well-rounded photographic illustrator that could create any work that was needed of him, including mastering the difficult colour carbro process.

[31] Brown, *The Corporate Eye*, 214.

According to Sipley's *A Half Century of Color*, the carbro process was a product of the Great Depression, but did not offer any reasons as to why this was so.[32] Sipley explained that there were other colour photography reproduced in magazines, including screen processes such as, autochromes and Finlay. It was likely that these two colour processes did not produce the rich saturated colours, which was characteristic of carbro prints. Deep saturated colour would grab the attention of viewers and make the product more appealing. For example, the carbro process was used to illustrate appetizing food and colourful fashions in print form. Many commercial photographers adapted and mastered the carbro process to comply with the advertising agencies' and readers' demand for colour photographs. Lastly, in Keppler's *The Eighth Art*, he acknowledged the expense of a carbro print, but explained that the cost of one carbro print was nothing in comparison to reproducing colour.[33] Hence, this expense was reasonable when comparing it to the cost of a whole reproduction of colour prints.

Description of Keppler's account with Lucky Strike Cigarettes and the *Witnessed Statement Series*

Lord and Thomas hired Keppler in 1937, to photograph a Lucky Strike cigarette advertising campaign: *Witnessed Statement Series*.[34] These were photographically illustrated advertisements that used the advice and specialty of an "expert" to endorse the product. In this case, the campaign photographed several independent tobacco workers whose long careers have made them "experts" and knowledgeable of the tobacco used in Lucky Strike cigarettes.

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[32] Sipley, *A Half Century of Color*, 94.
[33] Keppler, *The Eighth Art*, 18.
[34] Victor Keppler, *Man +Camera*, 96.

To do so, Keppler went to Georgia, Florida, and North Carolina to photograph the "experts" as they worked in authentic locations, such as tobacco fields, auction sites and curing barns.[35] The photographed men included auctioneers, warehousemen, and independent buyers. Many of them, according to the print advertisement tear sheet, have worked in their specific careers as independent workers for over a decade. Independent worker refers to the men who do not work for a specific tobacco company but work as a middleman between the farmer and the cigarette company. As independent tobacco workers, many of them state their brand loyalty to Lucky Strike Cigarettes because they have witnessed the company buy the highest quality tobacco leaves. One can not be sure if this is entirely accurate. However, this exemplified the use of the expert or the professional opinion to sell products. This was done by other advertising agencies using the expert opinion of a doctor or the opinion of an actress.

Albert D. Lasker, president of Lord & Thomas advertising agency, obtained the largest account in the agency's history, the American Tobacco Company and its Lucky Strike brand.[36] George Washington Hill was the head of sales for Lucky Strike. When Lord & Thomas signed this account, Lucky Strike cigarettes sales were low in comparison to the other leading brands: Camel and Chesterfield. In three years, Lasker increased sales and made Lucky Strike the top-selling cigarette brand. The main source of sales came from the female demographic, which Lasker had a hand in creating. During the nineteen-twenties it was considered inappropriate for a women to smoke, especially in public. In order to change this taboo, Lasker created advertisements using photographs of European actresses and opera singers smoking. It was not taboo for women to smoke

[35] Keppler, *Man +Camera*, 74.
[36] Edd Applegate, *Personalities and Products: A Historical Perspective on Advertising in America* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998), 112.

in Europe. These advertisements claimed the cigarettes were "soothing for the throat" or that the cigarette smoke protected the singers' voices.[37] American women admired these European women. Soon after this campaign, Lasker used singers from the Metropolitan Opera and American movie stars of the time. This created a shift in attitude, whereby women smokers were accepted and no longer taboo. Thus, the sale of Lucky Strike cigarettes increased due to the expansion of their buying demographic.

Description of Materials

To carry out my analysis portion of this thesis, I used a total of fourteen objects. The first six objects are large sized colour carbro prints made approximately in 1938. They vary slightly in size and shape. These prints measured approximately 44 cm by 35 cm, mounted onto a larger mat board approximately 47 cm by 37 cm. Some of the photographs are stamped with Keppler's trademark (a wire photographer created by Calder)[38] and his studio address.

The photographs were taken in three southern states. However, it was not possible to identify each photograph's geographical location. The images depicted various stages of the tobacco manufacturing trajectory. Most of the images under study captured the auction sale of toasted tobacco leaves, in which an auctioneer and several buyers circled around a pile of tobacco leaves and bid. In two other images, a farmer with an "Independent Tobacco Expert" was in the curing barn examining the toasted leaves. The

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[37] Phillippe Lorin. *5 Giants of Advertising* (New York: Assouline Publishing Inc., 2001), 39.

[38] In New York City, Keppler met with a group of artists. Alexander Calder, or Sandy as Keppler refers to him created Keppler's trademark. Keppler and Calder met when Calder was still a struggling artist in New York City. On one particular evening Calder was visiting Keppler. At this visit, Calder made a figure of a photographer bending over his tripod and camera using wire and cork. Keppler photographed it and it became his trademark. (Keppler, *Man + Camera*, 96.)

final image was of a warehouseman who looked directly into the camera, holding a cigarette in one hand and a small stack of toasted tobacco leaves in the other.

The tear sheets were made in approximately 1938, within the same time frame as the carbro prints. These were much smaller than the original carbro print. Once again they differ in size and shape but the average size was 32 cm by 24 cm. These were reproduced by offset lithography, a four ink process of cyan, magenta, yellow and black. These images on the tear sheets were modified versions of the original print. For example, the images were all cropped, some small details were removed or added to the imagery on the tear sheet, and copy text and other imagery were superimposed onto the larger image. These will be discussed in further detail in the analysis section. Additionally, all these tear sheets contained some text in a small font size on the bottom right, directly below the image. This text included the magazine titles and dates, in which these advertisements were reproduced. All but one tear sheet had this information. However, all the tear sheets contained an advertisement number in a bold font at the left hand corner, directly below the image.

The final two objects are black and white newspaper tear sheets. These were much larger tear sheets with overall dimensions of approximately 55 cm by 38 cm. The magazine tear sheet included a large portion of the original image, unlike the newspaper tear sheet that only included the image of a single figure from the original carbro print. This figure was heavily retouched. The newspaper tear sheet also contained a half-tone reproduction of a photograph of a female celebrity holding a lit cigarette. The women were not identified or named within the advertisement. However, their names were written later on the tear sheet in red pencil. The women were celebrities from the

nineteen-thirties such as Bette Ann Davis and Susan Shaw. It was not known if Keppler photographed these women. The women were photographed from their shoulders upward and they take up a large portion of the tear sheet. The figure (the "expert") from the original carbro print was contained within an oval shape with text, including a quote that explained why this man was a loyal Lucky Strike smoker. Directly below the advertisement was a small block of text that contained information about the advertisement, including: a copy number, size (measured in columns and lines), source of publication (in this case, in newspapers), printed in the United States of America, advertising agency (Lord & Thomas) and a date.

Carbro Print

The carbro process was a very difficult, time consuming and expensive colour process. It was an assembly process using three different pigment tones to produce a colour print. This following section will provide an overview of the carbro process to give the reader a better understanding of the laborious work and cumbersome steps involved. Robert Sobieszek in *The Art of Persuasion*, described the carbro process as one that was made up of eighty precise steps and took ten hours to complete one print.[39] However, the work did pay off as it resulted in rich colours that according to Paul Outerbridge, a carbro printer, had "added feeling of depth and brilliance and a greater actual contrast range".[40]

The carbro print became the process of choice for many advertising photographers during the nineteen-thirties and nineteen-forties for the following reasons: technology was increasingly improving, such as better lenses; higher film speeds; costs

[39] Robert Sobieszek, *The Art of Persuasion*, 69.
[40] Outerbridge, Paul, *Photographing in Color* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1940), 121.

for colour photography production decreased; a one-shot camera was improved which produced three separation negatives at once; print making was made easier; and a greater demand for colour imagery increased the amount for colour advertisements.[41]

The carbro print was the only viable colour photographic process that suited the needs of advertising agencies. Despite its expense, it provided rich colours that suited the advertising world. In addition, the process included the use of separation negatives. These could be used to create printing plates. Both the carbro print and colour lithography were based on the same principle that if cyan, magenta and yellow were placed right next to each other, our brain and eye will combine them to recreate a colour. As you read further, you will discover that extensive retouching is needed to colour correct and manipulate the image. Therefore, the same separation negatives could not be used for both the carbro print and the printing plate.

The carbro process was a subtractive colour process. It began with the production of three separation negatives. In some cases, a one-shot camera produced these negatives simultaneously, while in other cases, a photographer created three separate exposures for each colour filter.

Victor Keppler used a one shot camera to photograph the *Witnessed Statement Series*. This camera contained mirrors, red, blue and green filters, and two or three different chambers which housed three negatives. There are two types of one-shot cameras: one-mirror and two mirrors. It is not known which type of camera Keppler used. At its most basic function, the camera used a semi-transparent red mirror that reflected or absorbed light during exposure. This act of reflecting or absorbing different wavelengths

[41] Robert Sobieszek, *The Art of Persuasion*, 71.

of colour directed the light into different chambers, which then exposed a negative that is receptive to that specific colour of light.

No matter which camera used, three separation negatives were created using three different colour filters. Each of these filters corresponded to a certain colour pigment during the printing stage. For example, the negative exposed through a red filter was used for the cyan pigment, the green filter was used for the magenta pigment and the blue filter was used for the yellow pigment. A printer made black and white bromide prints from these separation negatives. It is essential at this point for the printer to make properly exposed black and white prints. If not, the colour balance would be off in the final product and the printer would have to start from the beginning to produce a carbro print.

The bromide prints must become "three transparent coloured layers of gelatin which can be superimposed on one another to make the finished print."[42] A pigment paper (cyan) was unrolled as it was submerged underwater. Once it was flat, it was placed in a bleach sensitizing bath. The soaked bromide print was squeegeed together to form a package. The silver in the bromide paper and the sensitizer in the pigment paper reacted. The gelatin from the pigment paper hardened when it came into contact with the silver from the bromide paper. This package was then stripped apart. The bromide print was thrown away and the pigment paper was placed in a warm bath. The unhardened gelatin was soluble in warm water and was washed away, leaving an image of the original photograph from the bromide print. The same thing was done with the two remaining bromide prints and corresponding pigment papers. Once the pigment papers were dry, they were soaked again and transferred onto a transparent celluloid sheet.

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[42] Devin, Barker, *Tricolor Pigment Printing (Carbro): A Working Manual* (Burbank, CA: Devin-McGraw Colorgraph Company, 1940), 4.

According to Paul Outerbridge's book, *Photographing in Colour*, every step must be done in a precise manner, using the same handling methods and timing for each pigment colour.[43] Any shift or change would alter a tone resulting in a print that is not colour balanced.

At this stage, the image from the celluloid could be transferred onto a final paper support. However, the pigments do not have the same level of transparency. The yellow pigment was opaque and the cyan and magenta are transparent. Therefore, the cyan and magenta layer must be placed on top of the yellow pigment. This meant the yellow would be the first layer on the white paper support. This made it very difficult for the printer to align and register the other pigment layers. Therefore, another necessary step was needed to avoid this problem. All three pigment layers were transferred onto a temporary support before it was transferred onto the final paper, first cyan, then magenta and then yellow. This ensured the opaque yellow layer to be in direct contact with the final paper support and below the transparent cyan and magenta layers.

This was a very brief overview of the carbro print. It did not thoroughly explain the tedious and extensive steps needed, including precision and accuracy in timing. For example, sensitizing the pigment paper was a complicated step that included very specific timing directions. Once the pigment papers were unrolled and flat, the bleach solution must be added to the first bleach bath and within 30 seconds the first pigment paper (cyan) must be immersed into this solution. After 60 seconds, the magenta pigment paper was submerged. After another 60 seconds, the yellow pigment paper was submerged. After 30 seconds of submerging the yellow pigment paper, the cyan was taken out and immediately placed on top of the bromide print and squeegeed together. This was done to

[43] Paul Outerbridge, *Photographing in Color*, 131.

ensure that the magenta and yellow were submerged in the sensitizing solution for the same amount of time as the cyan. According to Paul Outerbridge, "it is important that each colour soak, drain, sensitize, and lie in the sandwich for exactly the same length of time."[44]

Temperature was another key factor in the carbro process. Depending on the step, items needed to soak in warm or cool water. Paul Outerbridge recommended a work room at 60°F and at 50% humidity. Any higher, the print will alter considerably and result in a poorly made photograph. Outerbridge even suggested taking large slabs of ice and having a fan blow directly above the surface to cool the room to acceptable temperatures.[45] This was a solution previous to air conditioning and something Keppler and his printer may have done.

Tear Sheet Production

The tear sheets were photomechanical reproductions of the final print advertisements. This included the image, text layout, superimposed images, headlines etc. The tear sheets under current study were most likely proofs of the final advertisement, shown to the clients for final approval before they were reproduced in national and popular magazines and newspapers. Since these tear sheets were found within a large collection of other tear sheets in the Keppler material, it seemed that it was common practice to also provide the photographer with an example of his work used in a print advertisement.

The tear sheets were reproduced using offset lithography, also known as photolithography. These two terms were used interchangeably. This was a process which

[44] Outerbridge, *Photographing in Color*, 131.
[45] Outerbridge, *Photographing in Color*, 122.

used the concept of oil repelling water. The areas of the plate that held an image (printing area) repelled water and held onto the oily ink. The areas of the plate that had no image (non-printing area) absorbed water and repelled the oily ink.[46] It was also an indirect method of printing since a rubber cylinder took the impression off of the printing plate and "offsets" the image onto a printing cylinder.[47] It was the ideal method for its speed. By offsetting the image onto another cylinder, it made an impression of the image at every revolution of the cylinder. Thus, the speed of this indirect printing method created approximately "3,000 to 4,000 impressions per hour."[48]

This process was similar to the carbro process as it also began with the production of colour separation negatives and the assembly of colour to reproduce the original. The final print advertisement was photographed three times through three different filters: red, green and blue. Another blue filter was used to create the black colour in the original image. Hence, four negatives were created that was used with its colour ink counterpart, cyan, magenta, yellow and black.

If the inks were superimposed one on top of the other, it would not render the original colour. However, if the colour dots are placed next to each other, one's brain will blend them and reveal a panchromatic colour print. At this stage, these negatives were re-photographed using a half-tone screen at varying angles. A true colour reproduction was created using a rosette pattern, a flower-like pattern that was produced with four-colour halftones. The negative was re-photographed with the half-tone screen positioned at a specific angle according to its corresponding colour: 90° for yellow, 75° for magenta,

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[46] Sipley, *A Half Century of Color*, 129.
[47] Albert W. Dippy, *Advertising Production Methods* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1929), 175.
[48] Dippy, *Advertising Production Methods*, 174.

105° for cyan and 45° for black. During the printing process each colour was printed at a specific angle. The angles prevented the coloured dots from overlapping and resulting in a distorted image.

These negatives were contact printed onto a sensitized zinc plate using a vacuum to hold both pieces together. An arc lamp was used to expose the plate. After exposure, an ink dye was applied to the zinc plate. It was then submerged into a warm water bath. The unexposed parts of the plate were washed away in the bath and a positive image produced on the plate. The printing area (image) had a chemical structure that repelled water and accepted oily ink. The non-printing areas had a chemical structure that absorbed water and repelled the ink.[49]

This plate was used in a two colour press. The flexible zinc plate containing the printing image was mounted on a cylinder. It was dampened with a wetting solution and then rolled with ink. This plate cylinder rolled onto a blanket cylinder, which had a soft rubber surface. The blanket cylinder picked up the "inky image". The paper passed through the blanket cylinder and an impression cylinder, which pressed all the surfaces together to transfer the image onto the paper.[50]

Before the final print proof was created, printers checked the colour. If it did not provide a true colour rendering of the original photograph it was corrected. This was done using miniature press operations where an impression of each plate in its respective colour was printed to create a full colour proof. At this stage, colour was assessed for accuracy. At this time, inks were not precise or pure hence the colour of a printed proof never matched the original carbro print. However, it was important to determine whether

[49] Sipley, *A Half Century of Color*, 118-119.
[50] Metropolitan Postcard Club of New York City, "Glossary," http://www.metropostcard.com/glossaryo .html.

the colours were close to accurate or distort the colour balance; if the latter, it was necessary to create a new printing plate making the necessary modifications to adjust the tone. This was done by under or overexposing the first negative through the corresponding colour filter. For example, if the image was too magenta, then a new negative must be created using the green filter.

Retouching

Noticeable changes were apparent between the tear sheet and the carbro print such as: tobacco leaves have greater detail in the veins; cigarettes were lit and smoking; men's faces and hands possessed a painterly quality rather than a photographic one. These types of details were examples of retouching due to the limits of photography and the limits photographers faced in commercial work. For example, negative exposures were long. Therefore, capturing movement (e.g. rising smoke) was not possible. Colour pigments in the carbro process and in the printing press were not pure. Therefore, the colours in carbro prints and in mechanical reproductions were not accurate and could be slightly off in colour balance. Due to these limits, retouching was an essential part of commercial photography.

Keppler was diligent in creating a photograph that would need the least amount of retouching. He thought if the photograph needed extensive retouching, it meant he did not do his job as a photographer.[51] A photographer should have the technical abilities and skills to create a well exposed, well lit and well composed image that will translate on the printed page of a magazine or a newspaper. Despite Keppler's skills as a photographer whose specialization was in colour, the need for retouching was inevitable due to the limitations of colour photography.

[51] Keppler, *Man+Camera*, 41.

Retouching must be done on the photograph before it becomes a half-tone negative. It was done to allow the engraver to get the best results for halftone reproduction. There were also various methods of retouching including the use of an airbrush, crayon and a sable brush.[52] In addition, the form and amount of retouching also depended on how the photograph was reproduced. The artist must understand each reproduction process and how each process requires a certain amount of retouching to reproduce well in print form. The method of retouching will differ depending on its form of reproduction. For example the tonal range of colours used for newspaper reproduction (black and white) was limited to five tones: black, 3 different greys and white. The tonal range was limitless for photolithography reproduction.[53]

The most common form of retouching was highlighting. The objects under study revealed details in the men's suits and shirts that were defined and visible in the tear sheet but not in the carbro print. This indicated the use of retouching to bring out these details. Furthermore, retouching was also used to highlight creases in the suits, pants, and hats. In the example below highlights were applied to the creases of the man's jacket sleeve. The buttons on his jacket sleeve are not visible in the carbro print. However, in the tear sheet proof, small but distinct highlights were placed on two buttons. The carbro print was dark and minor details such as buttons or creases were not apparent. Using an airbrush and paint, this was remedied and details became visible to the art director and the viewing public.

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[52] Leon Friend and Joseph Hefter, *Graphic Design* (New York: Whittlesey House McGraw Cook Co., 1936), 133.
[53] Walter S. King and Alfred L. Slade, *The Airbrush Technique of Photographic Retouching* (New York: The MacMillian Company, 1954), 13.

Figure 1. Victor Keppler. Detail of *Lucky Strike Cigarettes, Witnessed Statement Series, Andy Tilley,* assembly (carbro) process, ca. 1938.
(1976:0240:0051)

Figure 2. The American Tobacco Company. Detail of corresponding magazine tear sheet, [JUDGE OF 6 MILLION POUNDS OF TOBACCO A YEAR], off-set lithography, ca. 1939.
(1976:0249:0500)

Another evident difference between the carbro print and the tear sheet was the cigarette. In the carbro prints in which Lee Moore was holding a cigarette, the cigarette was not lit, nor was there smoke rising from the tip. However in the tear sheet, the cigarette was lit, burning and a faint stream of smoke rose from the tip.

Figure 3.Victor Keppler, Detail of *Lucky Strike Cigarettes, Witnessed Statement Series, Lee Moore,* Assembly (carbro) process, ca. 1938.
(1976:0240:0055)

Figure 4. The American Tobacco Company, Detail of corresponding magazine tearsheet, [29 YEARS 'IN TOBACCO' Sold Me on Luckies for Life], off-set lithography, ca. 1939.
(1976:0249:0498)

The objects in the collection only included a carbro print and the final tear sheet. It does not include any work in progress. Therefore, it was not possible to confirm the method of retouching. Based on the research done, airbrushing seemed to have been the most common method of retouching photographs. It provided the artist with more control

and precision. This was a job done by a specialist who had artistic skill and the ability to paint a photograph accurately and still maintain realism. This job was not done by the photographer but rather by an artist in the advertising agency's art department. He was skilled in painting and through experience knew where retouching was needed for each photographic illustration. In addition, the retouch artist was also given detailed instructions by the art director on how the image could be improved and where the emphasis should lie in the photograph for the purpose of selling a product.

Airbrushing was a method of applying colour to the surface of the print. The airbrush was a pointed tube with a nozzle. The nozzle was blocked with a fine needle. When the artist pressed the airbrush toggle the needle drew back into the nozzle and allowed an even stream of compressed air to pass through the opening. As the air flowed out of the airbrush, it took with it a "spray of thin liquid colour which has been previously prepared in a cup attached to the airbrush."[54] The artist controlled the amount of air and paint to get the desired coverage needed. By pushing down on the nozzle, a stream of air passed through the tool and by pulling back, the artist controlled the amount of paint. Thus, if the artist wanted a little colour, he simply needed to press the nozzle down and back a little and if he wanted more colour and coverage, the nozzle was pulled back further.

The airbrush as described above was used with a stream of air. Thus, there will be a greater concentration of colour in the middle of the airflow and fainter towards the edges. In order to maintain precision and accuracy, it was necessary for the artist to cover parts of the photograph he did not want to retouch and expose those parts where he

[54] Leon Friend and Joseph Hefter, *Graphic Design* (New York: Whittlesey House McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936), 140.

applied paint. This was done using frisket paper. This was paper cement that has been watered down to a 50% concentration solution. It was applied in an even thick coat onto a plastic substrate. Once it was dried thoroughly, the frisket paper was laid on top of the photograph. Using a utility knife, the artist cut into the frisket paper and cut out parts of the photograph that were to be retouched. The artist used the airbrush to paint the exposed parts of the photograph. This frisket paper was moved around the photograph and cut out to expose other parts of the photograph that needed retouching. The artist also used a thick piece of card as a protective cover to shield the photograph from the spray of paint. In addition to the airbrush, retouch artists also used a fine sable brush to define and paint in details that could be done by airbrush. For example, lettering on a product and other fine small details were painted by brush for greater precision and accuracy.

Retouching was not only used to correct or highlight minor details. In fact it was also used to completely remove parts of the photograph that distract or were deemed unnecessary. For example, the illustration below demonstrated how the retouching artist used his tools to remove a figure completely out of the image.

Figure 5. Victor Keppler, Detail of *Lucky Strike Cigarettes, Witnessed Statement Series, Dewey Huffine*, assembly (carbro) process, ca. 1938.
(1976:0240:0049)

Figure 6. The American Tobacco Company. Detail of corresponding magazine tear sheet. [That "Chant" spells "E-X-P-E-R-T"], off-set lithography, ca. 1939.
(1976:0249:0492)

In the example above, Keppler's photograph was manipulated in two different ways. The first is the removal of the man's face peeking from the edge of the photograph. This was most likely done since it was distracting to have half a man's face sticking out from the edge. The second major change was extending the shoulder of the man on the left. The original carbro print cropped out his body mid-shoulder. The retouch artist had drawn in the rest of his shoulder. It was not apparent to the viewer as the image still maintained its photographic quality. However, since the photographer cropped the figure's shoulder out, it was clear that the shoulder must have been retouched and drawn in to compensate for the cropping Keppler had done in his original print.

The retouching artist's job was to improve the original photograph and still maintain the image's photographic quality. According to King and Slade's *The Airbrush Technique of Photographic Retouching*, "a retouch job that 'shows' retouching is not a good job; a retouched illustration should never show where retouching was done."[55] In the examples above realism was still maintained, which showcased the skill of the artist.

Cropping

Another noticeable difference between the carbro print and the tear sheet was the cropping of the original photograph to become the final print advertisement. Much like retouching which added points of interest in an illustration, cropping also served a similar purpose. Cropping was a form of editing. It was done to remove parts of the photograph that were not necessary and brought focus to what was important and useful for the overall look and selling argument of the advertisement. The art director chose what part of the photographic illustration should be displayed and reproduced. In other words, the

[55] Walter S. King and Alfred L. Slade, *The Airbrush Technique of Photographic Retouching* (New York: The MacMillian Company, 1954), 95.

art director made the decision on the parts of the image that were needed to support and carry out the selling argument.

Figure 7. Victor Keppler, *Lucky Strike Cigarettes, Witnessed Statement Series, Andy Tilley*, assembly (carbro) process, ca. 1938. (1976:0240:0051)

Figure 8. The American Tobacco Company, Detail of corresponding magazine tear sheet, [JUDGE OF 6 MILLION POUNDS OF TOBACCO A YEAR], off-set lithography, ca. 1939. (1976:0249:0500)

In some cases, the use of cropping was very evident, as exemplified in the comparison above. A whole subject, the farmer in the straw hat, was completely omitted from the print advertisement. This created a focus on the warehouseman, Andy Tilley, as he inspected a toasted tobacco leaf.

In other cases, the cropping is slight. In the example below, the cropping was not as obvious. Cropping was only evident on the men in the background whose faces and hats are slightly cropped out. As well, the foreground of the photograph was also cropped out by the text. This focused the attention onto the tobacco leaves. By cropping out the lower portion, one's eye was directed to the tobacco leaves and the men that surrounded them.

Figure 9. Victor Keppler, *Lucky Strike Cigarettes, Witnessed* magazine tear *Statement Series, Joe Cuthrell*, assembly (carbro) process, ca.1938.
(1976:0240:0065)

Figure 10. The American Tobacco Company, corresponding sheet, [An Authority ON TOBACCO QUALITY], off-set lithography, ca. 1939.
(1976:0249:0509)

Once again, the leading art director made this decision. Essentially, Keppler created a composition using the camera to frame the scene in front of him. Keppler cropped out any unnecessary subject matter through the viewfinder of his camera. It was also very likely that in creating the print Keppler may have also cropped the negative to create the final carbro print for the agency.

Additional Elements to Layout

The purpose of any advertisement, whether it was from the Great Depression or in a current magazine, was to entice the reader to buy a certain product and create a demand for it. The advertisements on television, on the radio or in print, provided an argument and convinced the readers, viewers and listeners to agree with the argument and buy the product. To do so, advertising agencies existed to provide the service of selling arguments to the public.

In terms of print advertisements, the visual elements of imagery and text are essential components that attracted a reader's attention. This included illustrations

headlines, text boxes and a slogan. The *Witnessed Statement Series* incorporated all of these elements to drive a "hard sell."

The person who created and produced the layout of an advertisement was the art director or the layout man. Essentially, it was their job to visualize the components of the advertisement and design the layout.[56] Additional elements to the layout include: illustration, heading, copy and a logotype. The heading referred to the advertisement's title. The copy refers to the text that explained the product or the selling argument. Lastly, the logotype was the recognizable company signature.[57]

The layout was usually done with a transparent sheet of paper or tissue paper. It was laid onto an illustration (photograph or drawing). The layout man drew out the headlines and other elements of the layout necessary to create a suitable final product.

The Lord & Thomas agency used art director Joseph Hochreiter to organize and create an advertisement for the American Tobacco Company. It used photography to illustrate both the product and an event to represent the selling argument and the label, Lucky Strike. This photograph was supplemented by text that directed the reader's eye to the headlines, text boxes and its slogans. Most importantly, the text supplemented information to the reader about the imagery they were seeing, which in turn was used to sell the product. The art director in discussion with the client's demands, decided to hire Victor Keppler to photograph real tobacco workers. These independent workers were the experts on all tobacco related things including brand loyalty. This was evident within the text box: "Mr. Huffine says: 'I sell to all manufacturers, and pride myself on being impartial. But I've seen what tobacco Luckies buy, and so I've smoked them ever since

[56] Richard Chenault, *Advertising Layout: The Projection of an Idea* (New York: Heck-Cattell Publishing Company, Inc., 1946), 5.
[57] Chenault, *Advertising Layout*, 6.

1917—about two packs a day.' " These short paragraphs below the image identified the man in the image by name and profession. It explained who he was, why he was photographed and how this information could affect the consumer's decision in purchasing Lucky Strike cigarettes. The image alone of the man hovered over a pile of yellow leaves with other men in suits did not convey the selling argument. The text was essential to the advertisement as it identified the character and his purpose in the illustration, which explained the purpose of the advertisement. One could argue that the image was supplemental to the text and not the other way around.

The art director must come up with the typography and its placement on the advertisement. The lettering can come from two sources. The first was hand drawn. This approach was more expensive, since an artist (hand letterer) must be paid to create custom made typography.[58] This method produced a unique type that has not been seen before in other advertisements and, that will also compliment the illustration rather than detract from it.

The second method was using pre-made, commonly used typography. According to Stephen Baker's *Advertising Layout and Art Direction*, choosing a type must be done with enough time and precise instructions from the art director to the typographer. The art director should also be knowledgeable in typography, as to understand its limitations and its strengths. There were also many factors that the art director considered, including size of type, spacing of words, spacing of individual letters, space between lines, lettering background, spacing a paragraph, capitals versus lower case, and finally borders or motifs surrounding the texts.[59] All of these were elements that will add to the text, bring

[58] Stephen Baker, *Advertising Layout and Art Direction* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), 91.
[59] Baker, *Advertising Layout*, 100-107.

attention to the selling argument and provide an overall pleasurable aesthetic to the advertisement to appeal to viewers.

Newspaper Tear Sheet

The newspaper tear sheets provided some insight in how Keppler's photographs were used. The advertising agency Lord & Thomas created these advertisements. However, it was not certain if the same art director, Joseph Horcheiter, created the newspaper advertisement. Unlike the magazine advertisements, these prints contained only one figure from the original carbro prints. The background and other figures have been completely cropped out.

Figure 11. Victor Keppler, *Lucky Strike Cigarettes, Witnessed Statement Series, Lee Moore*, assembly (carbro) process, ca. 1938.
(1976: 0240:0055)

Figure 12. The American Tobacco Company, newspaper tear sheet, [30 years in Tobacco SOLD ME ON LUCKIES FOR LIFE], rotogravure, 1939.
(1976:0249:0512)

In the example above, Keppler photographed Lee Moore standing in a warehouse surrounding tobacco piles. Moore's figure was taken from the original print and incorporated in the newspaper print advertisement. The image of Lee Moore was reduced in size and placed within an oval text shape with a headline and some additional text.

Addtionally, the image of Lee Moore was placed in the lower left side of the advertisement and a larger image of an actress, Bette Ann Davis, covered approximately

a quarter of the advertisment space. Unlike the magazine tear sheet whereby the image of the "experts" were the main illustrations, the newspaper advertisement used the original photograph and featured the "expert" as a solitary figure. It was placed only second to the main focus, in this case the actress. It was interesting to note however, that there was no mention of the actress in the advertisement. She was not referred to by name and the text did not refer to her at all. This suggested that she was a well known personality and readers did not need to be told who she was. Secondly, in using the photograph of the actress as the focal point of the advertisement, suggested that the imagery was strong to grab a reader's attention and did not need the supporting text to explain her relevance. This was unlike the magazine tear sheet, whereby the photographic illustration of the "expert" had to be explained in the text. Even in the newspaper advertisement, the photograph of the "expert" also contained a block of text that explained who the person was and his relevance to the advertisement.

Similarly to the magazine tear sheet, the use of Keppler's photograph of the independent tobacco worker continued to be used to provide a face or illustration of the speaking expert. His image was contained within an oval text box. The text explained how the farmers grew the best tobacco leaves and how Lucky Strike bought the best quality leaves. Therefore, he was also a Lucky Strike smoker. It was the quote and image of Lee Moore that made a secondary selling argument. The primary selling argument was the actress. Although there was no text in reference to her, she had a recognizable face and her hand holding a lit cigarette clearly and visually provided the selling argument: she smoked Lucky Strike cigarettes and so should you. The use of Keppler's photograph still played a secondary role in terms of the selling argument. The male independent

worker's role and purpose was explained with text and a photograph. The readers identified the quote and linked the voice to the face of the independent worker, Lee Moore. This approach was also used in the magazine tear sheet.

The use of Keppler's photograph of Lee Moore demonstrated the importance of photography during this time period. Specifically, the need to maintain realism in order to sell the argument, as to why Lucky Strike should be the cigarette brand of choice for the readers. Despite being a secondary figure to the actress Bette Ann Davis, Moore's photograph provided "evidence" of the independent tobacco worker and his expertise. By providing an image of his face and quote next to it, the selling argument would seem truthful, since his image was linked to his quote. In other words, by providing a visual cue to the quote, it personalized the advertisement and reached the reader as truth, or at least an opinion worth trusting. If this in fact did work and convinced readers to purchase Lucky Strike brand over other brands is outside of this thesis' reach. However, Keppler's photograph demonstrated its use as visual evidence of the expert and was utilized as a tool to support the overall selling argument.

In addition, to its use and purpose in the advertisement, the photograph as it was used in the newspaper advertisement also exemplified how the illustration was manipulated to achieve a selling argument. As mentioned before, the image of Lee Moore was completely extracted from the original photograph and placed into another layout. An artist cut out the figure of Lee Moore with a small balde and placed it onto another paper support. This was also done in the newspaper tear sheet featuring Joe Cuthrell. Like Moore, his image was also taken from the original photograph. However, a pile of tobacco leaves in the foreground was included with Cuthrell's figure. This exemplified

the flexibility art directors and his team had in using a whole photograph to their advantage. It was possible to physically manipulate the print, cropping and cutting out figures, in order to create a whole new advertisement. Essentially the selling arguments between the magazine and newspaper advertisements are the same. However, the look between both has been altered completely. The original subject from the Keppler photograph maintained a secondary level of importance in the newspaper advertisements, since they were reduced in size and placed below the main focal point, that of a beautiful actress.

Like the magazine advertisement in colour, retouching was still used in newspaper advertisements. Some minor examples of retouching found in the newspaper tear sheets were highlights in the details of the men's clothing and painting in cigarette smoke. In addition, retouching also created major changes from the original print such as, smoothing awkward edges and painting a whole new article of clothing on the figure.

Similar to the magazine advertisement whereby rising cigarette smoke was painted to exemplify a lit and burning cigarette, smoke was also added for the newspaper advertisement. In the example below, the magazine advertisement had a faint white stream of smoke rising from the lit cigarette. On the right was the newspaper advertisement which had thicker smoke rising from the tip.

Figure 13. The American Tobacco Company, detail of magazine tear sheet, [29 YEARS 'IN TOBACCO' Sold Me on Luckies for Life], off-set lithography, ca. 1938. (1976:0249:0498)

Figure 14. The American Tobacco Company, detail of newspaper tear sheet, [30 years in Tobacco SOLD ME ON LUCKIES FOR LIFE], rotogravure, 1939. (1976:0249:0512)

This example demonstrated how retouching was subjective based on the opinions of the artist and art director. It can not be determined why each smoke cloud is different, however, it demonstrated the decisions being made to manipulate and alter the orginal photograph. In the case of the newspaper advertisement the rising smoke was seen as a necessary element to be enchanced.

The example above demonstrates a smaller feat of retouching. It was easy to airbrush smoke since it directly relates to cigarette smoking. On the other hand, retouching was also extensive, as exemplified. Below, there were two images of Joe Cuthrell, a tobacco auctioneer. Three major changes were apparent in the newspaper advertisement: his image was reversed, he was wearing a jacket and his right hand was included in the newsprint.

Figure 15. The American Tobacco Company, detail of newspaper tearsheet, [An Authority ON TOBACCO QUALITY], rotogravure, 1939. (1976:0249:0517)

Figure 16.Victor Keppler, detail of *Lucky Strike Cigarettes, Witnessed Statement Series, Joe Cuthrell*, assembly (carbro) process, ca. 1938. (1976:0240:0065)

This extensive use of retouching and manipulation of the orginal image was not seen before in the objects studied. Keppler's image had been reversed so that Cuthrell is now facing to the left, whereas before he faced his right. In addition, the retouch artist airbrushed and/or painted two major changes. In the original photograph, Cuthrell was dressed in a white dress shirt, a striped tie and a vest. However in the newspaper

advertisment, Cuthrell was wearing a jacket. His tie was partially covered and his vest was completely covered. The reasons for this retouching was unknown. However, it was extensive and completely altered the original Keppler photograph. Additionally in the original photograph, Cuthrell's hand was blocked by a man's hat. In the newspaper advertisment, this man's hat was cropped out and the rest of Cuthrell's hand was airbrushed in. This exemplified the use of retouching as a fixing tool. The original photograph did not show his hand, hence the retouch artist had to fill this gap. The art director wanted Cuthrell to wear a jacket in this advertisement and since the original photograph did not include Cuthrell in a jacket, it was once again fixed by the retouch artist. However, all this retouching had changed the original photograph of Keppler's to have a painterly quality as opposed to the realism found in the original photograph.

In the Lee Moore newspaper tear sheet, his face also had a painterly quality in comparison to the original photograph. As mentioned before, photography was predominately used in advertisements because it provided the advertising agency with the realism that viewers and buyers were seeking at the time. However, the painterly quality of the two figures, Cuthrell and Moore, demonstrated how retouching was extensively used, sacrifising the realism once provided by the photographic illustration. This painted look is evident in the men's faces as shown below.

Figure 17. Victor Keppler, detail of *Lucky Strike Cigarettes, Witnessed Statement Series, Joe Cuthrell*, assembly (carbro) process, ca. 1938. (1976:0240:0065)

Figure 18. The American Tobacco Company, detail of newspaper tearsheet, [An Authority ON TOBACCO QUALITY], rotogravure, 1939
(1976:0249:0517)

Figure 19. Victor Keppler, detail of *Lucky Strike Cigarettes, Witnessed Statement Series, Lee Moore*, assembly (carbro) process, ca. 1938. (1976:0240:0055)

Figure 20. The American Tobacco Company, detail of newspaper tearsheet, [30 years in Tobacco SOLD ME ON LUCKIES FOR LIFE], rotogravure, 1939. (1976:0249:0512)

This painted quality was exemplified in the shadows and highlights of the men's faces. For example, Moore's image in the newspaper advertisment had highlights that were not in the original photograph. For example, his chin, cheek and nose are all lightened to create a highlight. This made the image look severely retouched, losing the quality of realism. Cuthrell's newspaper image exemplified the same pattern. The highlights were retouched with a heavier hand, which caused the loss of realism. Both newspaper images now look like heavily retouched painted images of these men. This pratice of heavy retouching exemplified how Keppler's photographs are changed and altered to maintain a certain print quality and to adhere to a certain style of advertising. As mentioned before, decisions were made to add Cuthrell's jacket or to highlight Moore's face. The reasons

for these decisions are unknown, except that they were to "improve" the quality of the image for the purpose of selling a product.

Conclusion

Victor Keppler's photographs were a small part of a larger whole. The Great Depression created an economic crisis for Americans which prevented them from buying the same amount of goods they were accustomed to purchasing only a decade earlier. The working class was hit the hardest with the Depression in which they could not afford any luxuries. Companies and manufacturers were creating more goods than the existing demand. This resulted in an overstock and overproduction of goods. This was the economic state in which Keppler became an advertising photographer. Companies were facing large amounts of layoffs and budget cuts. Individuals of the working class were losing their jobs. Thus, advertising agencies now had to sell to disheartened and frugal individuals. Advertising agencies had to change their method of advertising and this became an opportunity for commercial photographers to enter into the business. Advertisements were no longer illustrated with artists' paintings and drawings, but rather were illustrated with photographs, made by well-known photographers such as Clarence White and Edward Steichen. Furthermore, black and white photographs had saturated the advertising market. Keppler as a well-rounded photographer and expert in colour photography became one of the few that could support the demand for colour photography. The cigarette advertisements were a prime example of how the Great Depression affected the advertising industry. The *Witnessed Statement Series* used "the expert" to sell the Lucky Strike Brand, since the experts were long time customers of Luckies. In addition, photography was used to document these experts while they work

with the tobacco leaves, or smoking a Lucky Strike cigarette. Lastly, the documentation of these men at work was done in colour. Since colour was still fairly new, it continued to grab the attention of consumers as they read their magazines.

Colour was still at its infancy during this time. Keppler mastered the carbro process and produced photographs for reproduction. However, the need for retouching, cropping and text was still necessary in order to create the best advertisement possible. This meant that once Keppler produced the carbro print, the photograph was passed onto other hands to transform and shape the image to produce the final print advertisement seen in a magazine or in a newspaper. This included the art director who orchestrated the initial concept of a campaign including the look and feel of the advertisement. Then followed by the retouch artist whose main job was to correct any faults in the photograph and to bring out details that the camera did not capture from the beginning. Keppler's photograph was shaped and formed to create the best suitable image that would reach an audience and convince them that the Lucky Strike Brand was the best brand. Keppler as a case study demonstrated how he was only one key player surrounded by many others, to create the final advertisement. The Great Depression was a formative decade that forced the advertising industry to change and created the rise of colour photography, which Keppler was fortunate enough to be in working in.

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