The Safe Cigarette:

The Need to Reassure
The Safe Cigarette

One: The Safe Cigarette

Two: The Cigarette

Three: The Need to Reassure

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I just like to smoke because I like to smoke, and there is no other minor vice that gives me pleasure equal to it.
Each morning the headlines used to leave my remaining hairs by some new horror curled,
But now I have accepted the fact that I am living in a perilous world.
What’s one more potential peril in a totally perilous world?
Ogden Nash, excerpt from “The Kinsey Report Didn’t Upset Me, Either” LOOK, March, 1964

Anxiety Defined

There is no other consumer product in the 20th Century in the American manufacturing sector that compares to the Cigarette, combining enormous and steady profit levels for the manufacturer alongside a constant and nagging unease in consumers. During the post war period, when the ideal of commercial competition had been tempered by the suspicion of the existence of a cartel run by the major Tobacco Companies, an initial unease developed into a nervousness, an anxiety, and even fear at the consequences of consuming the product - even being in the company of those consuming the product.

Throughout this study, and at the root of my own creative work, there is a critique of the relationship between anxiety and contentment, and the role that visual strategies play in creating reassurance. Sometimes those strategies are legitimate, to diminish hysteria or prejudice.

My particular interests are in the study and creation of visual devices where;

- the anxiety is manufactured from without;
- the reassurance is bogus;
- the process is designed to persuade the consumer for commercial gain or undue influence.

Anxiety is a difficult state of mind to depict visually, it being neither dramatic like anger associated with red facial flushes and not clearly visible like sorrow accompanying tears. Anxiety is more subtle an emotion that can remain hidden beneath the surface. It is at best a nuance of emotions related to an apprehension about the future. Attempts to depict anxiety visually could be mis-read as nausea, a headache or even a stomach ulcer.

An anxious person is not concerned with what has happened or is happening now but what may happen. Since the future is always uncertain, to some extent anxiety is experienced by us all.¹

Definitions in words may help to offer some illumination.
**Anxiety** - definitions

1. A State of uneasiness or tension caused by apprehension of possible future misfortune.
2. An Intense desire, eagerness (Anxious).
3. An Intense state of apprehension or worry occurring in a variety of nervous or mental disorders.

Synonyms include; uneasiness, worry, concern, disquiet, misgiving, foreboding, apprehension, fear and dread. An antonym is Tranquillity. Its exaggeration is alarm. Anxiety is not to be confused with Angst (German for anxiety) implying an overall and non-specific sense of anxiety or remorse.

**Unease** - definitions

1. (of a person) Anxious or apprehensive.
2. (of a condition) Precarious and uncomfortable.
3. (of a thought) Disturbing and disquieting.

Synonyms include, uncomfortable, ill-at-ease, agitated, perturbed, restless, edgy, nervous and anxious. The antonym is “relaxed”.

In conventional narratives anxiety can turn into Alarm, filling the subject with a gathering apprehension, anxiety or fear. Alarm can accelerate into Terror perhaps generated by an awareness of danger. The word ‘alarm’ can also mean any device that transmits a signal warning of danger. Its antonym is “reassurance”.

Anxiety is not Paranoia, a form of schizophrenia, a progressive deterioration of the personality. “Intense fear or suspicion. Undue suspicion and fear of persecution”.

Anxiety is not Anger, rage and wrath, the result of a real or imagined grievance. Anger manifests itself physically, in sound and expression; it implies a much more intense emotional state than anxiety. Its antonym is “calmness”. Anxiety can be tolerated, a niggling concern lurking beneath the surface. The emotion of anxiety can eat away at the feeling of contentment over a period of time. Visible expressions have long been categorised, e.g. the ‘Conferences’ of the French seventeenth century painter Le Brun. Empirical, biological study of expression is somewhat different from Physiognomy, the recognition of the character through the study of the facial features. Charles Darwin sought to describe in minute detail exactly what facial contortions constituted particular expressions in *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, (1872), in which he examined over 36 emotions, through 14 chapters, distinguishing subtle levels of change, e.g. disdain, contempt, disgust, guilt and pride. Fig 3:01 is from Chapter 7, “Low Spirits, Anxiety, Grief, Dejection, Despair”, attempting to describe “obliquity of the eyebrows”.

Perhaps one way to understand the gradations of anxiety is to place representations of expression in a sequential chart. Through the creation of an Anxiety Chart, I have tried to visualise the various stages from contentment to terror, fig 3:03. The emotional range of anxiety can be seen in the central section;
Fig 3.01  "Plate II", Charles Darwin, The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals, 1872
Fig 3:03  Anxiety Chart, by the author, 2000
subtle gestures reinforce the state of mind, e.g. hands raised to the forehead, with the indication of facial musculature, furrowed brows, closed eyes, and in more exaggerated cases, clenching of the teeth. Alarm, fear and terror are better defined visually in a recognisable repertoire of extreme facial distortions.

At the other end of the spectrum are blank faces, the absence of facially perceptible emotion that can warm into a mild smile registering the transference from relaxation to contentment. The scale could continue to convey the facial contortions of the overjoyed and delighted, expressions common in advertising imagery, often ludicrously out of proportion with the actual benefits of the product. This ability to visualise extremes for the conveying of emotions can be seen in fig 3:02. A Lucky Strike advertisement (March 1938). Claudette Colbert makes a feature of her ability to portray different emotions, “From Laughs to Tears in 30 seconds”.

I will now explore some major causes of anxiety in American culture, of the period, and how it was associated with personal health, social situations or larger world-issues and how images can reflect that larger perspective of anxiety. There is a considerable literature on this and I have tried to identify selected key themes and dates in the ‘Bibliography and References’ section of Fascicle Eight.

**Anxiety in American Culture**

It is above all a curious fusion of the trivial and the apocalyptic which, under the aegis of an ‘open society’, has created paranoia about the Individual and the role of the State. A survey of the mass circulation magazines of ‘fifties America reveals a constant weekly diet of general and specific anxieties. General MacArthur in Korea striving to take personal charge of the Atomic Bomb, great suspicion in U.S. political circles of new post-war European leaders and of Latin America’s lack of willingness to conform to U.S. policies. General Eisenhower, as a retiring president in 1956, warned the American public of a Military/Industrial conspiracy devouring an excessive proportion of natural assets. U.S. Senator McCarthy publicly searched out communists between 1950-4. Mysterious multi-national forces (as well as the Mafia, Teamsters and the Kremlin) were rumoured to have assassinated a President in 1963, and continued to haunt the popular imagination throughout the remainder of the century.

In the Artist’s Books and Multiples, I have taken aspects of these ideas into limited edition print production. One major design opportunity has been the possibility in creating my visual fictions, to distance myself from the concept of authorship, by creating a series of holding companies, manufacturing companies, and design agencies in which the crucial ideas at the heart of the Fascicles can be explored beyond the limits of:

- legal and legislative restraint;
"Emoting to order" is certainly a real strain on the throat. That's why an actress thinks twice before choosing a cigarette. Miss Colbert says: "After experimenting, I'm convinced that my throat is safest with Luckies."

Ask a tobacco expert why Luckies are so easy on the throat. He'll undoubtedly explain that the choice tobacco Lucky Strike buys, makes for a light, the exclusive "T" certain irritants for.

Here's the expert's advice: the experts not con manufacturer, Luc's exclusive smokers as...
• a threshold of unease at hidden machinations;
• taste and common sense;
• while creating wilful, often comic distraction from the main issues.

In the process I have maintained a constant set of references to the different types of wit and humour, (conscious and unconscious), that generally informed the postwar period in America. The experiencing of anxiety can eat away at the feeling of well-being over a period of time, but what exactly are the visual mechanisms for creating anxiety in a reading public. Is the same body of images and their juxtaposition appropriate for issues of health, social issues and larger world issues?

Is anxiety a useful emotion?

Unease in the U.S.

Looking at issues raised in LOOK, LIFE, Esquire, Pageant, Popular Mechanics and The Saturday Evening Post, in the period after Pearl Harbour, Americans belief in Fortress America was undermined on a weekly basis - all the more unnerving because fear of disease, economic turmoil and armed attack were delivered directly into the home for family reading. The American people in the post-war world were anxious about their own identity - the part that ethnic minorities were to play, the role that they were to play in a dangerous world, where ideals of the enforcement of peace conflicted with an impulse towards isolationism.¹

Anxieties or life-worries can be split into four general areas, each bringing slightly different levels of stress and concern. Some anxieties are treatable by the individual, others are not. For each advantage there seems to have been a disadvantage, for each new piece of evidence pointing towards the existence of the American Dream, there was evidence for the reality of the American Nightmare. Throughout, I try to associate particular areas with specific images to be represented.

1 The Environmental context - The new highway system offered ease of access, speed of arrival but also road deaths and the deterioration of the environment. The availability of new fertilisers and agricultural management promised cheap, plentiful food yet eroded and poisoned the land. America might assert political and economic power with massive technological force, yet the Atomic threat from the Soviet Union, and later China also led to anxiety and a loss of peace of mind.

2 The Political context - America prided itself in the maturity of its democratic process, yet Senator McCarthy with his ‘205 card-carrying communists’ (1950) was able to directly threaten the Presidency. America promoted itself as a racial and cultural ‘melting pot’ yet
devised cruel strategies of segregation for its racial minorities (Brown v. Board of Education 1954 and Montgomery Bus Boycott 1955). Critics of the American Dream drew attention to the execution of the Rosenbergs (1953), the public excesses and private conspiracies of the Mafia as exposed by the Kefauver committee (1950). ‘Police Action’ in Korea (1950-’53), nuclear brinkmanship over Soviet rockets in Cuba (1962) were evidence of the instability of National life as was the assassination of the President (1963), all documented with considerable visual evidence in the mass circulation magazines.

3 The Social context - Everywhere the interlocked structures of business provided the promise of secure employment yet unrestrained competition developed into the acceptance of the survival of the fittest where men were sacked, and unless provided with private medical insurance, deprived of health care. Pressures to conform and yet retain individual expression were ironic. The Kinsey Report for the first time openly detailed measures of sexual behaviour.

4 Personal health - An abundance of food and leisure seemed to create a personal feeling of confidence and health but medical evidence suggested the concealed dangers in unrestrained consumption, ranging from an increase in cancers and heart disease to fear of body odour and discolouration of the teeth. The addition of fluorides to the diet, intended to benefit health, was regarded by an anxious section of the community as an infringement of their human rights. Regular food scares ate away trust between consumer and producer.

At Home and in the Body

The projection of anxiety from the Global context into the North American continent extends into the home itself and to the American citizen’s perception of his/her own body. During this period there is a noticeable polarisation of anxieties - an attempt to diminish the uncontrollable anxiety of mass-destruction, and attempts in mass marketing to inflate the nature of individual anxiety or even invent problems where none had previously existed.

The home reflects our tastes and values. Unlike the work place the home is solely our own responsibility. In the home and its images we display our wealth, hygiene, taste, intelligence and success.

It is this concept of the domestic paradise and the reality that inspired my book, Anxious Homes. It is a guide book for people who have no time or inclination to do things properly; the guide we all need when hurriedly cleaning the house when guests are due. This guide reassures the reader that we are not
The optimum 8-stroke vacuum cleaner path:
• Do not attempt to move furniture or coffee tables, just vacuum around them
• Do Vacuum rugs in the centre making sure the vacuum marks show clearly
• Do not waste time on wooden floors where vacuum marks can not be seen
Could The Reds Seize Detroit?

By James Metcalfe, Look Staff Writer . . . Photographed by Frank Bauman, Look Staff Photographer
alone in being ‘incompetent’. **Anxious Homes** was created as an antidote to all the images of domestic perfection and competence that surround us. **Fig 3:05** shows how to vacuum the floor in a barely adequate way.

“We have the whitest kitchens and the most shining bathrooms in the world. But in the lovely white kitchen the average American housewife can’t produce a meal fit to eat, and the lovely shining bathroom is mostly a receptacle for deodorants, laxatives, sleeping pills, and the products of that confidence racket called the cosmetic industry”. Raymond Chandler, *The Long Good-Bye*, Penguin Books, 1998 [1953], p.199.

There are articulate accounts of such anxieties in the plays and autobiographies of Arthur Miller, in the films of Don Siegel, in the short stories of John Cheever and Kurt Vonnegut. The hysteria and fear in American society at the time, of the Cold War is only now being fully documented from both sides of the ideological divide. The fear of Communism in this Age of Anxiety has been well documented. Don Siegel’s film from 1956, **Invasion of the Body Snatchers**, has often been used as an example of how much Science Fiction in film and literature projected the anxieties of the time, depicting institutions and authorities as corrupt and inadequate. Visual narratives of the time depict invasion of the Nation, this can be triggered by unnatural tampering with atomic power. Fears of a possible Russian Atomic attack or the accidental triggering of atomic disasters were very real and regularly referred to in the mass circulation magazines. It is indicative of the blend of terror and the absurd that **LOOK** Magazine, from which many of my choices of cigarette advertisements are selected, ran a feature in August 1948 called **COULD THE REDS SEIZE DETROIT?**

This is a five page black and white story containing ten photographic dramatic realisations of ‘Reds’ stabbing and shooting the good citizens of Detroit, **figs 3:06** and **3:07**. The style of the copy is melodramatic with phrases such as “Detroit...is the industrial heart of America. Today a sickle is being sharpened to plunge into that heart.” The prose builds to, “Communists in this country would lash out in every major city, striking swiftly while the nation reeled from shock...caught in the madness of the moment, emboldened by the darkness, intoxicated by an unbridled license to kill, loot and destroy, mobs would swarm in the streets.” Fear and suspicion in the civilian public during this period was regularly encapsulated within the appearance of maps and diagrams in magazines, for example show the apparent number of Communists in each state, **fig 3:09**, show ‘sneak’ atom bomb attacks and the targeting of atomic power plants, **fig 3:08** and explanations of “How to Build a Family Foxhole”, **fig 3:04**. Atomic power was hailed as an attractive source of cheap energy but articles in the magazines regularly drew attention to its dangers. Even a handyman magazine such as **Popular Science** offered advice on building an atomic shelter for the family, while ratcheting up the national anxieties in rich and bloody colours.

The mass circulation magazines regularly discussed domestic anxiety. William H. Whyte described job insecurity in *The Organisation Man* (1961), “The best defence against being surpassed,
Red-planned jail breaks would turn armed convicts loose upon Detroit streets.

Fig 3:07 Detail, “Could The Reds Seize Detroit?” ibid.

A SPECIAL PHOTOGRAPHIC REPORT FOR PAGEANT
BY LLOYD MALLAN

TARGET:
The U.S. is easy prey for a sneak H-bomb attack. And

IN THE SOMETHING light of police sirens, the first of the big jet bombers with swept-back wings lumber along the lonely airstrip somewhere near the Arctic Circle and is suddenly airborne, silhouetted against

U.S.A.
this is how, one day not long ago, it was actually done

the sky. The other planes follow, then all four turn and head due South-East. Inside the planes, crewmen, all carefully picked experts at their trades, discuss the final details of their mission. They've gone over it a thousand times, but this is the pay-off. The cargo they carry is H-bombs. Their targets are Kansas City and St. Louis. World War III. still undeclared, has just begun.

Fig 3:08 Lloyd Mallan, “Target: U.S.A”, Pageant, April 1957 Vol.12, No.10.
executives well know, is to surpass somebody else, but since every other executive knows this also and
knows that others know it too, no one can ever feel really secure.” This insecurity and the pressure to
succeed is also explored in Arthur Miller’s Death of a Salesman. Miller asks in a country where anyone
can grow up to become President, why are you unable to get a promotion at work and why can’t you
afford a new washing machine like everyone else?

In fig 3:10 John Hancock Insurance (1956), the image addresses the fear of being trapped in a poorly
paid job while getting steadily older with no prospect of promotion and no chance to move on. The copy
suggests taking hold of your future and changing your destiny. This image could so easily be Arthur
Miller’s Willy Loman from Death of a Salesman, David Mamet’s Shelley Levene from Glengarry Glen
Ross, John Cheever’s Elliot Nailles from Bullet Park, Kurt Vonnegut’s Dwayne Hoover from Breakfast of
Champions or many other ageing unsuccessful salesmen so popular in American fiction.

The Body as the Seat of Anxiety

“...The sickness of one of my folks or of myself, or ill-doing or / loss or lack of money, or depressions or exalitations, / Battles, the horrors of fratricidal war, the fever of doubtful / news, the fitful events; / These come to me days and nights
and go from me again...” Walt Whitman, “Song of Myself (1881)”, The Works of Walt Whitman, Wordsworth Poetry

We can plot the spectrum of the issues that in the ‘fifties that constituted the establishment of ‘Health
Care’ within major life-threatening illnesses that required medical intervention, right through to
identifying minor conditions that could be diagnosed and treated by individual buying of branded
remedies from a drug store. In a society where health insurance was (and still is) expensive, the images
of the persuasive salesman offering a quick, cheap cure-all were particularly powerful. With advances in
science and technology, many non-life threatening (but debilitating) conditions such as rheumatism
could be self-treated by buying pain killers over the counter. Minor afflictions such as athlete’s foot,
toothache, headache and backache were all advertised as conditions that you could cure yourself. The
usual advertising strategy would often explain its particular remedy in the tradition of a family health
encyclopedia.

Anxieties associated with minor medical conditions are intensively targeted by the advertiser - the
minor irritations of body odour, yellow teeth, blotchy skin, frizzy hair and bad breath. These conditions
are clearly identified with photographic images and/or artwork (comic strips being much used).
Testimonials are used that exaggerate the impact of the condition. A ‘before and after’ visual scenario is
particularly popular in creating and addressing anxieties.
Fig 3.09  Detail, "RED", LOOK, September 1952, pp.68-69

Fig 3.10  Detail, Hancock Insurance advertisement, SEP, May 1956
The Smell of Anxiety

The sense of smell is exploited visually in many anxiety-inducing advertisements. We cannot see smells. This makes visual representation of them challenging for the artist or photographer. The technique used most commonly is to visualise other peoples’ reactions to smell. This leaves the consumer to imagine what the smell must have been like to evoke the reaction pictured. The consumer’s imagination provides the unknown smell in the image and completes the narrative. Bad smells implied in advertisements often feature musty rooms, fire smoke, bad food, body odour and tooth decay.

Bad breath is perhaps the commonest smell illustrated and is visualised in two ways; firstly, the offending breath has produced expressions of disgust in people around the subject; secondly, the breath has been cleansed and this is often reflected by the subject kissing a member of the opposite sex. fig 3:11 is a Polident advert from 1946 shows quite clearly what to expect from other people if you ‘offend’. The copy next to the right of this image reads “No, it’s not the candle smoke that’s bothering her, Mister. It’s probably your unpleasant breath due to unclean dentures. Avoid offending in this way....” Smell and breath are transient. The suggested marketing solution is to have recourse to the product ‘just-in-case’. This powerful sub-section of the representation of anxiety is an important calculation in depicting the act of smoking cigarettes, as we shall see later.

The manufacturers of Listerine decided to use the fear of ‘bad breath’ to sell their product as early as 1922 instead of celebrating ‘sweet breath’. Advertisements for Lifesaver mints c.1955 used other tactics to hint at smell, by picturing food that is expected to cause breath odour rather than simply images of the product. Spring onions, coffee, cigars and cigarettes are scattered across the page with the suggestion to eat a mint after every meal or cigarette to head off breath odour - of course by buying packets of mints. Nailles, the main character in John Cheever’s Bullet Park, is a salesman for Spang mouthwash.

“In the TV commercials for Spang, boxers in the ring objected to one another’s bad breath. Bad breath was a human infirmity like obeseness and melancholy and it was his simple task to cure it...Bad breath could sap a man’s self-esteem, posture and appearance. Suspecting himself to be a sufferer the victim would mumble into his shirt, hoping to direct the fumes downward...Bad breath drove children away from home. the wise statesman in his councils was not heeded because his breath was noxious. Bad breath was a cause of war”. John Cheever, Bullet Park, 1967, p.104.

With bad breath capable of causing war what then of body odour?

Body Odour, like bad breath, can offend others while the culprit remains blissfully unaware. Fig 3:12 is an advertisement for Stopette spray deodorant (July 1952) The woman on the left, sneers at her neighbour, even though it is herself. Once protected, the offender can relax, no longer an object of embarrassment, and look disdainfully at others.
Fig 3:13  L&M advertisement, SEP, August 1960
Fig 3:11  Detail, Polident advertisement, *National Geographic Magazine*, March 1946

Fig 3:12  Detail, Stopette advertisement, *SEP*, July 1952
Some products need to suggest attractive odours e.g. perfume, food products and beverages. Although it is rare in cigarette advertising to allude directly to the sensory delights of the product burning, **Liggett & Myers** brand **L&M** ran a campaign during 1960 that focused on the smell of their cigarettes. Each advertisement featured a man holding a lit cigarette emitting a trail of smoke that weaves across the page, reaching the nose of a woman who then smells the smoke and responds with an expression bordering on ecstasy, *fig 3:13*. The aroma of the large yellow flowers being proffered by the older woman on the extreme right of the page cannot even compete with the delicious aroma of the burning tobacco. “...TO SUIT YOUR TASTE...REACH FOR FLAVOR-REACH FOR L&M”. The image is presenting another narrative, suggesting that the cigarette smell has properties akin to the Pied Piper by drawing women, unable to resist, to the source, the smoker of the cigarette. This is a claim that would sound outrageous isolated just as text. The light-hearted tone of the image manages to deflect the rather ridiculous proposition somewhat although this ‘harmless fun’ still promotes the brand as sweet smelling, flavoursome as well as a powerful lure for the opposite sex. It must be stressed that advertisements that contained visible cigarette smoke were unusual.

**How Is Anxiety Depicted in Advertisements of the Period?**


These five images depict external life pressures that have created human anxiety. Advertisements for medical products that use anxiety as a sales tactic often need to be visually specific. The nightmare vision from the Psychoquiz entitled in bold text *Do You Feel Secure?* shows a mature male unable to sleep or in the midst of a nightmare. His hand is on his temple reminiscent of headache symptoms as we shall see later. The mouth is drawn down and the lines around the eyes are clearly visible.

The depiction of the falling figure, *fig 3:16* is interesting as it provokes comparison with the dream sequence from Alfred Hitchcock’s **Spellbound**. The dream sequence (designed by Salvador Dali) reflects psycho analytical themes in the film using the imagery of surrealism and futurism to reflect the dark recesses of a disturbed mind. (The falling figure from **Spellbound** predates this image by two years and was probably the inspiration for it).

In the **Sanka Coffee** advertisement, *fig 3:14* the woman can’t sleep. “So uneasy, that you start imagining things - things you’d never think of in the daytime! But why are you so restless and jumpy? Why are you sleepless for that matter?” The solution offered is to change coffee brands. The consumer
Fig 3:16  Detail, *North America Companies* advertisement, *SEP*, May 1953

Do You Feel Secure?
Rich or poor, you may feel you're heading for a fall. A well-filled purse doesn't guarantee inner security. This test will tell how secure you are.

Fig 3:17  Detail, "Do You Feel Secure" *PSYCHOQUIZ* feature, *LOOK*, June 1947
My Production Costs Are Really Going Up!
I Can’t Raise or Even Hold My Present Prices!

When it’s so easy to avoid!

...why risk TOBACCO MOUTH
[Off-color breath • Off-color teeth]

SMOKE ALL YOU WANT! This new Listerine Tooth Paste, with Lusterfoam, attacks tobacco yellow and off-color breath.
is saved from having to spend time examining the root of the problem, not searching the soul about careers, relationships or home security.

As can be seen from Gatefold Three; **How’s Your Disposition Today?**, there are many, often trivial sources of unease that haunt the conscious or subconscious mind of the consumer.

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**Cigarettes as a Cause of Anxiety**

From the beginning cigarette smoking was associated in the public mind with health concerns. During the ‘fifties, investigative journalism used words like “cancer” alarming many consumers into discussions on smoking. How could a product be legal, it was argued to reassure, if it was so horribly bad for you? There are five major areas of anxiety which visual strategies might have to address in advertisements;

1. damage to the nose and sense of smell;
2. mouth and teeth problems such as, Tobacco mouth (bad breath), hot sparks burning the mouth and yellow discolouration of teeth;
3. ‘throat scratch’ and soreness;
4. internal body concerns such as, lungs, cancers, coughs, heart conditions and glue ear;
5. unpleasant stained fingers branding the smoker, as unwelcome in social grouping.

Cigarette manufacturers were already using health benefits as a selling aid. As early as 1930 **Lucky Strike** advertisements suggested smoking could keep you thin and active. In 1934 **Camels** were promoted as an aid to digestion and even as an energiser, as seen earlier.

In 1942 **Brown & Williamson** were claiming that **Kools** would keep the head clear and give extra protection against colds. As health researches started to focus upon the cigarette during the ‘fifties the beneficial consequences of smoking were dismissed, the manufacturer’s central aim changed to stress the harmless recreational product. King Size cigarettes were actively promoted as safer because the smoke travelled further, as if the process of incineration by length was a natural filtering mechanism. Filter-Tips were to develop from an economic way of reducing the tobacco content into the most popular generic cigarette virtually overnight. (Fascicle Six.)

“From the consumer’s viewpoint...the cigarette campaigns have become increasingly riddled with warnings and appeals to fear. In the last few years various cigarettes have been heavily promoted on the grounds that they contain less nicotine, or travel the smoke further and thus protect your throat, or have no unpleasant aftertaste, or remove harmful tars and irritants, or are less irritating, or do not endanger the nose, throat and sinuses. The implication is that these dangers are inherent in cigarettes in general.” Anon, “The Uproar in Cigarettes”, **FORTUNE**, December. 1953, p.164.
Dirty Yellow, Tobacco Mouth

Perhaps the consumer's smoking unease is best represented in more detail in advertisements for products other than cigarettes. Toothpaste manufacturers were quick to make references, so successfully muted in selling cigarettes, to the phenomena of cigarette smoking staining the teeth yellow. Listerine and Pepsodent both make references to a “film” across the teeth and the phenomenon of “off-color teeth”. Listerine goes as far as to call the condition “Tobacco Mouth”. In the two-colour advertisement featured here, fig 3:19, a sophisticated woman in evening dress has a large flat transparent yellow panel covering her mouth, teeth and throat as well as the hand holding the cigarette to the mouth. The copy suggests it is the consumer who is at fault.

“When it’s so easy to avoid! ...why risk TOBACCO MOUTH [OFF-COLOR BREATH • OFF-COLOR TEETH] SMOKE ALL YOU WANT! This new Listerine Tooth Paste, with Lusterfoam, attacks tobacco yellow and off-color breath...Maybe you haven't got "Tobacco Mouth". Maybe your teeth sparkle and your breath is sweetness itself. But remember this: often enough the person who offends is the very person who is unaware of offending.”

The strategy of creating anxiety in this advertisement relates also to that of the Polident false teeth wash (fig 3:11). But here the subject is offered a visual palliative, and is rescued from social embarrassment as the dirty yellow film itself is seen to be peeled away by an invisible force - the toothpaste.

The Throat as a Focus for Anxiety

Smoke travels through the mouth into the buccal cavity, past the epiglottis and into the throat. From there it is sucked down to the lungs where it fills minute filliments, to be exhaled in reverse order past the throat and out of the body through the nose or mouth. This close, even fluid, relationship is often explored by advertisers. If a health problem was feared by the consumer the throat seems the most obvious source of discomfort. It is much easier to feel and visualise the throat than the lungs which are mysteriously encased in a rib cage. A sore throat can be seen by opening the mouth and looking in a mirror. Lung problems require doctors and complex medical apparatus. How can an image be made to externalise the throat? Sore throats and rasping coughs are painful and pain is often synonymous with heat. i.e pain can be burning, searing throbbing, smarting, sweating, feverish, hot-flushes, high blood pressure, inflammation, blisters, scalds. Pain from cold-related conditions such as chilblains, feels hot. Wounds and soreness are usually visually represented as red, to show blood near the surface of the skin such as with grazes or cuts. If the presence of Soreness is hot and red, is Soothing then (its antithesis), shown as cool and green?

The experience of smoking is overwhelmingly described in advertising copy as ‘cool’ and natural environments are indeed popular strategies for the depiction of a background (Fascicle Five). The
suggestion to the consumer is, if you must worry about health, then worry about the throat and the throat can easily be soothed by the actual application of the product. Keeping the consumer’s focus away from the lungs to the much milder irritation of a sore throat was a successful strategy in deflecting major concerns about the product.

**Visualisation of Soreness**

The visualisation of pain is summed up in this Anacin advertisement from December 1960 fig 3.20. Pain is forcing the eyes shut and the hand clasps the back of the neck in an attempt to rub the sensation away. The eyebrows have tensed into a frown. The frown is an outward signal of pain and is also, according to Darwin, a sign of a bad taste in the mouth.

“I have noticed that almost everyone instantly frowns if he perceives a strange or bad taste in what he is eating.”


Arrows are pounding the sensitive areas and the word ‘pain’ is placed in a jagged-edge graphic that has small lines resembling renderings of electrical signals focusing on the temple; this appears to be a very powerful headache. ‘Pressure’ and ‘Tension’ also appear but in smaller arrows. To confirm the pain the woman is experiencing the image appears again but smaller, this time as a diagram or cross-section. This is not a medical rendering however, more an artist’s impression.

**Cigarettes and Throat-Scratch**

How is the abrasion of the throat to be depicted so the consumer recognises the condition? Does tobacco really “scratch you throat?” Pall Mall were convinced that consumers were anxious about possible throat problems. The ‘Throat-Scratch’ campaign ran from 1950-3 and focussed upon the tendency of cigarettes to produce sore throats in some smokers. This phenomenon was associated with the slogan “Throat-Scratch” and the consumer was encouraged to “Guard against Throat-Scratch” fig 3.21.

The explanation of how the Pall Mall longer length cigarette could protect the consumer was displayed in a diagram described as the “Puff Chart”. The Puff Chart visually explained how it would take 17 puffs to smoke a regular cigarette down to the butt, while the longer Pall Mall still had about another 5 puffs left to go presumably enabling the smoker to leave a longer butt rather than to smoke down to the last inch. As a cigarette is smoked it has been suggested that chemicals travel through the shaft and
Most headaches are caused by tension that presses on nerves. Anacin contains special medication (not found in aspirin or any buffered aspirin) that relaxes tension, releases pressure and relieves pain fast. That’s why Anacin gives more complete pain-relief.
GUARD AGAINST THROAT-SCRATCH

enjoy smooth smoking

PALL MALL's greater length of fine tobaccos travels the smoke further... filters the smoke and makes it mild

PUFF BY PUFF... YOU'RE ALWAYS AHEAD

STUDY THE PUFF CHART! At the first puff, PALL MALL's smoke is filtered further than that of any other leading cigarette. Moreover, after 5 puffs of each cigarette— or 10, or 15, or 17—PALL MALL still gives you a longer, natural filter of fine, mellow tobaccos— guards against throat-scratch.

OUTSTANDING — and they are mild!

Corp., American Cigarette and Cigar Co., Inc.

Fig 3.21  Pall Mall advertisement, SEP, May 1934
are deposited in the butt - consequently the last few inches of a cigarette are the most contaminated and likely to contain chemicals injurious to health. The same research has also taken into account typical butt lengths with the average butt length in the U.S. about an inch and a half, whereas in Europe it is three quarters of an inch. Pall Mall was not a filter cigarette and during this period filters became increasingly popular as concerns prompted consumers to switch to a ‘safer’ brand. Pall Mall describe the longer action of their brand as “filtering” the smoke and making it mild. This non-filter brand is described twice in terms of “filtration” causing confusion to a public looking for a filtered brand, a concept then still in its infancy. Pall Mall overwhelmingly dominated the Non-Filter-King market holding 72 percent of its sales in 1963 and it was the single most popular brand of any kind during the early ‘sixties. It is significant that Pall Mall’s greatest growth has been since the early ‘fifties when the health reports were made public.

While Pall Mall were alerting the public to “throat-scratch” other brands were keen not to be associated at all with references to throat complaints.

**Camel and the T-Zone**

Before World War Two Camel advertisements had emphasised the energising properties of cigarette with slogans such as “Don’t yield to fatigue” (1934); “They don’t get your wind” (1935), “For digestions sake” (1938) and “Get a Lift” (1932). At the end of the War when advertising cigarettes started in earnest again the Industry attempted to win back consumers who had switched brands during the shortages. Camel campaigns focused heavily on its qualities of mildness and especially on concerns such as “smoker’s cough” and “yellow teeth”.

Camel advertisements concentrated on the “T-Zone” - the highlighted area from the nostrils and cheeks over the mouth and narrowing down through the chin past the larynx to just above the trachea in the shape of a large sans serif capital letter ‘T’ fig 3:22. The slogan explains;

**T for Taste...**

**T for Throat...**

The “T-Zone” can be viewed as both “Taste” and “Throat” and the consumer is assumed to be discerning enough to be able to respond to quality tobacco. Consumers are coaxed to see how their throats react to the “cool mildness” of the brand with the promise of suiting the smokers T-Zone to a “T”. The T-Zone (represented by either male or female figure) appeared in Camel’s advertisements for 8 years from 1945 until 1953.
Your "T-Zone"

WILL TELL YOU!

T for Taste...
T for Throat...
That's your own proving ground for any cigarette

YES, the "T-Zone" is your own critical laboratory for any cigarette. That's where you learn by actual smoking experience the particular cigarette that suits you best.

For your taste and your throat are individual to you. Only your taste and throat can decide which cigarette suits best to you...and how it affects your throat.

Try Camels. See how your taste responds to the rich, full flavor of Camel's choice, properly aged tobacco. See how your throat reacts to the delightfully cool mildness of Camels.

According to a recent Nationwide survey:

More Doctors smoke Camels than any other cigarette.

Like the rest of us, doctors smoke for pleasure. They appreciate flavor and mildness just as you. When 113,935 doctors were asked by these independent research organizations to name the cigarette they smoked, most doctors named Camels more often than any other brand.

Fig 3:22 Camel, advertisement SEP, February 1947
Let’s look closer at the elements in fig 3:22. It features the T-Zone woman; she is smiling and has a relaxed posture. This is not a woman who is concerned about the effect of her cigarette on her throat, she has confidence, charm and poise in total control of herself. Her hand has a relaxed almost nonchalant grip on the lit cigarette. The cigarette extends out of her hand and is still hardly smoked. T-Zone characters never appear with a lit cigarette in their mouths. They sit and smile directly at the viewer whilst holding a barely smoked cigarette away from their mouths. This T-Zone woman does not smoke with an air of desperation. There is no craving, hardly a puff has been taken and the character is soothed, relaxed and contented. Any anxieties about Throat-Scratch have been dissipated by her calmness and confidence.

Camel advertisements during 1948 saw the T-Zone characters slowly relegated to the bottom third of the page either to the left or right. They still featured with text endorsements from the characters themselves or from accompanying explanations. The T-Zone character was occasionally a featured celebrity within the main image. These include celebrities such as “Harold Davis Alzana, Noted aerial artist of Ringling Bros., Barnum and Bailey Circus” and “Clem Murdaugh, 1946-1947 National Hill-Climbing Motorcycle Champion”. The celebrity was chosen usually for their energy as athletes or their fame as media stars. They all smile directly at the viewer while holding a long cigarette near to their mouths with an easy grip.

Fig 3:23 Shows a “T-Zone” advertisement from Camel that ran in February 1952, just before the concept was dropped in favour of the “30-Day Test”. The area of the “T-Zone” has shrunk considerably to the bottom right eighth of the page. There is now minimal text referring to the concept and the character is not identified by name. He has also lost his colour, and appears only in monochrome. The familiar smile and easy grip on the cigarette are still visible. The “30-Day Test” suggestion now shares the “T-Zone” copy. The main image is that of Eva Gabor, “Star of Television, Screen and Stage”.

The concept of body “zones” was not limited to Camel cigarettes. The graphic device of splitting-up the body into smaller and more apparently understandable elements is quite common e.g. Life Bras advertisements (1954) featured the “Beauty Zone” (the collar bone down to the bottom ribs on a woman) and Mennen Shave Creams’ (1954), fig 3:24, featured the “Awkward Zone”.

The absurdity of zoning the body for sales purposes was at the heart of The Zone Chart, featuring a diagram that has fractured the face and arm into six zones, each attempting to cause anxiety in the consumer and then provide reassurance. Perhaps this artificial fragmentation of the body instead of an awareness of its totality, is the best way to distract the consumer’s mind in the service of reassurance, generating the concept of perceived need.
Fig 3:23  Camel, advertisement, SEP, February 1952

Fig 3:24  Detail, Mennen Shave Creams, advertisement SEP, March 1954
Coping with Anxiety

While Pall Mall were branding sore throats as ‘throat-scratch’ many professional people were used to endorse individual brands and reassure the public about risks to the throat. Anyone whose voice was important to their career became a potential endorser, the telephone operator, the sports announcer, the auctioneer, radio and television presenters. The largest group to feature however, was the Singer. Many brands featured opera singers, popular singers and band leaders (such as Vaughn Monroe). Singers were such a large group of endorsers that they will be looked at in more detail in Fascicle Four. Endorsements by professional singers was not the only tactic to reassure consumers about throat problems. Doctors and throat specialists are of particular interest in this context, providing as they did a complex range of expressions, associations and accessories.

(See Fascicle Four.)

I have established three central questions we will ask of images of reassurance.

- Who are consumers to trust? (Fascicle Four)
- What role was granted to Nature as an agent of reassurance? (Fascicle Five)
- What role was granted to Technology in reassuring anxieties? (Fascicle Six)
1
For a fuller description of the biological effects and causes of anxiety see, Charles Rycroft, Anxiety and Neurosis, Pelican Books, 1973 [1968].

2
Sources used for word interpretations;

3
For earlier explorations into facial expression, see also:
- John Bulwer, Pathomyotomia, 1649.
- Le Brun, Conférences, 1667.
- Pierre Camper, Discours par Pierre Camper sur le Moyen de représenter les diverses Passions, 1792.
- J.G. Lavater, L’Art de connaître les Hommes, 1807.
- Dr. Burgess, The Physiology or Mechanism of Blushing, 1839.
- Dr. Duchenne, Mécanisme de la Physionomie Humaine, 1862.

4
For overviews of U.S. history I have found the following particularly useful:
- Christopher Ricks and William L. Vance (editors), The Faber Book of America, Faber and Faber, London, 1992.
5
Dr. Kinsey as a member of the National Research Council compiled data on human sexual behaviour for over 10 years in order to compile his 1948 report. The report consists of two volumes, the one male, the other female and is based largely on personal interviews. The information is objective and specific, “Techniques of Masterbation”, “Nudity in Sleep and in Coitus” and “The Role of the Brain in Sexual Response”, are examples of Chapter titles in the Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female.


6
The public protests over the addition of Fluoride to the public water supply are a good example of this type of consumer anxiety, for more information see, the Chapter, “Fluoridation”, p.57ff, of the Consumers Union, I’ll Buy That: 50 Small Wonders and Big Deals, A 50-Year Retrospective by the Editors of Consumer Reports, Consumers Union, Mount Vernon, New York, 1986.

For a satirical version of consumer anxiety towards Fluoridation see General Ripper’s explanation of his obsessive water drinking in Peter George/Stanley Kubrick, Screenplay of Dr.Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb, Transworld Publishers, London [Bantam Books, 1963], pages 76-78.

“...have you ever seen a Russian drink a glass of water?...Fluoridation of water is the most monstrously conceived and dangerous communist plot we have ever had to face. The fluorides form a basis of insecticides, fungicides, and rodent poisons. They pollute our precious bodily fluids!”

See also the film, Dr.Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb, Dir. Stanley Kubrick, 1964.

7

8
See Invasion Of The Body Snatchers, film Dir. Don Siegel, 1956.

9


10
Vonnegut’s work is darkly comic and often explores the anxieties and apparent stupidity and pettiness of the human race:

11
See Don Siegel, Invasion of the Body Snatchers, Rutgers Films in Print, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1989, for a good account of how the fear of communist infiltration during the ‘fifties was used as a basis for a film.
Many popular magazines ran articles intended to alert their readership, e.g.


Polident is a cleansing agent for false teeth.

The term ‘halitosis’ was used in the advertisement with an asterisk by it, with an explanation printed at the bottom of the page; bad breath was considered too offensive to be placed in large text as a headline. Halitosis was a little used medical term prior to the *Listerine* campaign but soon achieved popular status, leading Lambert to comment that his tombstone would read “Here lies the body of the father of Halitosis.” Gerard B.Lambert, “How I sold Listerine”, *FORTUNE*, September 1956, p.111.

“You smoke to pep you up …cigaretes give you a “lift” (smoking stimulates the adrenal glands which cause a rise in blood sugar and a resultant feeling of energy), try carrying a small box of raisins in your coat pocket. Pop a few in your mouth instead of reaching for a cigaret; they’ll give you energy.”


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