

Angeles launched style events, including community parades and rodeos.⁷⁷ While helping to sell California sportswear, this systematic cross-promotion on the local and regional level attracted national media attention.

The Palm Springs Round Up was not only a style forum; it also put forward coherent messages about store merchandising and display.⁷⁸ California lifestyle marketing linked clothing style, mass marketing techniques, retail display, and point-of-sale promotions. Merchandisers who attended the Round Up were convinced by such promotions to return to their hometowns and open up California shops and departments selling sportswear in the way they had witnessed at Palm Springs.⁷⁹ These departments around the country echoed the Round Up's emphasis on masculine leisure, bodily display, and an outdoor lifestyle, for these cultural tropes had become inseparably linked to California sportswear. Marketers' innovative use of scantily clad male models in the Round Up literalized this connection.

The Palm Springs Round Up style show, along with the inventive advertising of leisurewear, signaled a new relationship to marketing in the men's-wear industry. The California companies in MAGIC transformed the Round Up into much more than a market week. It was a tour-de-force performance that offered participants—store buyers from around the country—a taste of rodeos, swimming pools, and other symbols of the California lifestyle and the sportswear that was for sale. This reflected an orientation that was very different from East Coast manufacturers, at least until the mid-1950s. California sportswear companies may have produced clothes, but the Round Up illustrated that marketing, not manufacturing, drove their businesses. The associations with sexuality, leisure, and status aspiration sold the clothes.

In the 1950s, menswear manufacturers had promoted their clothing as appropriate and correct. The three-piece suit was, after all, appropriate for every occasion, a veritable male uniform. The success of California leisurewear not only changed men's wardrobes, but also changed the way men's clothes were viewed. After the marketing of California sportswear, men's clothing took on greater representational weight: it became symbolic of a lifestyle. The suit did not, of course, disappear. But it increasingly came to represent conventionality, business, and sobriety. Many men, on many more occasions, chose instead to align themselves with the informal ease and sexually laden imagery of leisurewear. California sportswear companies, in creating these cultural linkages, ensured their success and transformed the marketing of men's consumer goods.

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CHAPTER TEN

Marlboro Men: Outsider Masculinities and Commercial Modeling in Postwar America

Elizeth H. Brown

ON 24 NOVEMBER 2004, the *Los Angeles Times* published a photograph that became one of the iconic images of the U.S.-Iraq war. Shot by *Times* photographer Luis Sinco, the picture depicted a battle-weary soldier, Marine Lance Corporal James Blake Miller, following a twelve-hour skirmish near Fallujah. Miller squinted beneath his helmet, his camouflage paint smudged and a cigarette dangling from the right side of his mouth. The photograph captured the nonchalant heroism of the ground troops, who were rugged, independent, hardworking, and, above all, masculine. It especially resonated among audiences back home because of an unintended reference to one of America's most successful advertising images: the Marlboro Man. Within a few days, more than a hundred newspapers had reprinted Miller's picture. The *New York Post* summarized its symbolic meaning: "Marlboro Man Kick Butt in Fallujah."¹

As this portrait suggests, the iconic Marlboro Man epitomizes a particular version of heterosexual masculinity that gains power and coherence in symbolic spaces outside of the domestic, feminine, and urban realms. In the mid-1950s, the Chicago advertising agency Leo Burnett, collaborating with tobacco company Philip Morris, carefully fashioned this version of butch masculinity in response to postwar America's dominant vision of white-collar

manliness. This essay explores Marlboro's re-branding, from a woman's luxury smoke to a man's cigarette, with reference to the Leo Burnett agency's use of the Marlboro taroos to signify "outsider masculinities," and its discovery of Darrell Winfield, a real cowboy who became the quintessential Marlboro Man. The original Marlboro Man, depicted in print advertisements by professional models, was seen in a variety of occupations, from car tinkerer to bongo player. By 1962 the Marlboro Man appeared only as a cowboy, portrayed not by models but by real American cattlemen. The fact that the Marlboro Man was a working cowboy was central to the discourse of authenticity in the ad campaigns of the 1960s. Faced with the implicit feminization of the male model before the camera lens, brand executives sought to secure a dominant reading of the Marlboro Man as aggressively masculine and heterosexual, attributes that were coded through an emphasis on authenticity and "realness." Between 1954 and 1968, they produced an icon of heteronormative butch masculinity that allowed oppositional readings by some viewers who used the representation to craft new sexual subjectivities.

Sex, Gender, and Marlboro Marketing in the Interwar Years

Before cigarettes moved into mainstream American culture during World War I, Progressive reformers had labeled them as hazardous to Americans' moral health. Henry Ford even called cigarettes "little white devils," believing they led consumers down an irrevocable path of moral decline. When the United States entered World War I in April 1917, cigarette sales were illegal in eight states and anti-cigarette bills were under consideration in another twenty-two. Mainstream white America associated cigarettes with foreigners and other lowlifes: working-class immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, actresses who flaunted their sexuality on stage, and effeminate men. Evangelist Billy Sunday urged men to eschew cigarette smoking, claiming that there "nothing manly" about it. "For God's sake, if you must smoke," Sunday exclaimed, "get a pipe."¹ Despite these condemnations, evermore Americans took up the habit, so that cigarettes accounted for 20 percent of the country's tobacco consumption by 1920. The war had legitimated cigarette consumption because the United States government sanctioned smoking by servicemen. Congress ordered the War Department to include cigarettes in army rations as a prophylactic that guarded against more objectionable vices, such as drinking or consorting with prostitutes. Widespread

cigarette smoking by American soldiers associated the commodity with the culturally sanctioned norms, including heterosexual masculinity and jingoistic patriotism.²

In the 1920s, Philip Morris, a small South Carolina tobacco company, marketed Marlboro as a luxury cigarette for sophisticated urban men and young middle-class women. During the Jazz Age, women represented a significant percentage of the adult smoking population. In 1926, for example, *Advertising and Selling* reported that 15 percent of the cigarette market was female.³ As they became more visible in films and novels, cigarettes emerged as an emblem of modernity for the "new woman" and her younger counterpart, the "flapper," who embraced public smoking as a symbol of newly defined personal autonomy.⁴ This increased visibility of female smokers, especially in urban centers, sparked a new critique of the cigarette industry by middle-class reformers, who lobbied for legislation to curb women's public smoking. The cigarette industry worried about attracting "the lightning of the busybody element that brought about Prohibition—the long-haired men and the short-haired women whose lives are incomplete unless they are stage managing the lives and actions of the rest of us."⁵ Fearing that reformist zeal might lead to a cigarette ban, tobacco companies and their advertising agencies approached female smokers only after much cautious deliberation.

The branding strategies and advertising campaigns used by Philip Morris, Liggett & Myers, and the American Tobacco Company in the 1920s reflected this careful approach.⁶ In 1924, Philip Morris introduced Marlboro—today the world's best-selling brand—as a cigarette for ladies. Its 1926 advertising campaign featured the slogan "Mild as May," touting the new mild blend as fit for the female smoker's delicate tastes.⁷ That year, Liggett & Myers introduced its "Blow Some My Way" advertising campaign, featuring a romantic couple enjoying Chesterfield cigarettes in the twilight. In one ad, a man lights his Chesterfield while the woman leans into the resulting halo of smoke. The tag line clearly signals to female readers, anxious that love and a delicious whiff of tobacco smoke blow their way. The campaign stirred controversy for its inclusion of women as subjects. Even though they did not show a woman smoking, the ads clearly suggested the feminine desire for romance and a smoke. The Chesterfield ads were the most direct appeal to women to date.⁸

In April 1927, Philip Morris became the first tobacco company to show a woman smoking in a national advertising campaign. The ads, published in *Box Top*, *Pictorial Review*, and other mass-market periodicals read by middle-

class women, featured a "modern" young woman with bobbed hair, beads, and makeup reclining with a lit cigarette in her elegantly extended hand. The copy linked Marlboro to luxury: "Women—when they smoke at all—quickly develop discerning taste." Rather than raise the hackles of irate reformers, Philip Morris received favorable letters from female smokers who approved of the new campaign. According to the trade journal *Advertising and Selling*, the Marlboro campaign had "broken new ground," inaugurating what was "probably one of the most significant individual advertising efforts in several years."⁹ As American cigarette manufacturers discovered the female consumer, Philip Morris led the way with Marlboro, a "woman's cigarette."

The Marlboro campaign quickly inspired the competition to create ads that more closely linked women's smoking to fashion, both in the body and attire. By the late 1920s, advertisers and businessmen worried that parts of the consumer marketplace had grown saturated. In response, advertisers abandoned what historian Roland Marchand called the "great genteel hope" of the early 1910s—the belief that advertising might educate and uplift a mass audience—and embraced overblown testimonials, scare tactics, and competitive copy as a means of stimulating sales.¹⁰ In cigarette advertising, the American Tobacco Company's Lucky Strike campaign, launched in 1928, directly engaged fear and fashion. American Tobacco's chief executive George Washington Hill violated one of the advertising industry's longstanding taboos when he developed a campaign that pitted the cigarette industry against the candy industry. More important for this discussion, the "Reach for a Lucky Instead of a Sweet" campaign linked smoking, fashion, and the body, creating a trope that would have a lasting impact on cigarette advertising. Hill hired publicist Edward L. Bernays to identify Lucky Strikes with fashionable slenderness and Jazz Age standards of beauty. Bernays asked commercial photographer Nicholas Muray to encourage other artists to hire svelte models, indirectly "praising slender women who lit cigarettes instead of eating sweets."¹¹ In his autobiography, Bernays later claimed that his collaboration with Muray led to the use of thin models for advertising work and the acceptance of Parisian "slim fashions" among fashion editors. To promote further Lucky Strikes, Bernays arranged for six Ziegfeld Follies chorus girls to pledge moderation, displaying their commitment to the "modern figure with its tantalizing, sinuous curves." When the Ziegfeld Follies went on tour, moderation became a part of the publicity theme.¹²

The Lucky Strike campaign is an explicit example of tobacco manufacturers' long-standing efforts to link smoking to fashions in dress and ideal

body types. From Victorian times through the post-World War II era, advertising professionals, publicists, and others have linked commodities to ideal bodies to produce fashion, and vice versa. In the 1890s, tobacco companies illustrated their trade cards with voluptuous actresses. During the 1930s, the relationship between cigarettes, the body, and fashion was again reconfigured in terms of a new ideal: the nonconformist, outsider masculinity of the Marlboro Man.

Re-Banding and Re-Gendering Marlboro

Despite innovative marketing during the interwar years, Marlboro remained one of the weakest cigarette brands until the mid-1930s. In 1946, sales suffered dramatically, as military orders were cancelled, the domestic cigarette shortage ended, and smokers returned to other brands. In response, Philip Morris president Alfred E. Lyon restructured the company so that he could focus more energy on marketing and sales. By 1952, Philip Morris had recovered from the slump. Between 1946 and 1952, U.S. cigarette sales grew by 17 percent, Philip Morris sales by 77 percent. By 1954, however, Marlboro was still considered a "woman's cigarette." At this time, growing concerns about the health risks of smoking had boosted the popularity of filter cigarettes. Philip Morris lacked a strong brand in this expanding market segment. Filter-tip cigarettes represented only 3 percent of the industry in 1953, but *Futures* predicted that nearly 15 percent of the market would be in filter tips by 1955.¹³ Marlboro's lackluster performance combined with Lyon's desire to expand Philip Morris's presence in the popular-priced filter market led to a major re-branding effort.¹⁴

In the wake of the 1952 cancer scare, cigarette manufacturers turned to the filter as a means of assuaging public fears about health and taste.¹⁵ In 1953, each tobacco company used a different type of filter, using their ad campaigns to tout the healthy attributes of the new cigarettes. P. Lorillard's Kent, the first major filter cigarette and the industry leader before Marlboro, used treated asbestos on crepe paper. Benson & Hedges's Parliament, a filter tip acquired by Philip Morris in 1953, used cotton. The tobacco companies competed for fickle "switch smokers," known to change brand loyalty with aplomb, by emphasizing their filter's unique features. Mid-1950s advertisements emphasized that a particular brand had less nicotine, that the filter removed harmful tars and irritants, and that the blend did not irritate the

nose, lungs, throat, or mouth. By inference, the tobacco companies admitted that smoking was a harmful habit, but promised smokers that filters guarded against health risks. Each claimed that its filter best protected the body.¹⁷

At Philip Morris, public-relations director George Weisman, a career executive who joined the tobacco company in 1952, argued for a new moderately priced filter-tip cigarette. In early 1953, Philip Morris president O. Parker McComas authorized Weisman to launch a market-research program on the new cigarette. Weisman's team included Alfred's son, David Lyon, who worked as an executive in the Cecil & Presbrey advertising agency in Chicago.¹⁸ Weisman and Lyon interviewed leading market-research firms, including those headed by Alfred Palmer and Ernest Dichter, before hiring Elmo Roper for the project.¹⁹ As part of Marlboro's re-branding, Roper conducted the most extensive marketing research on cigarettes in the nation's history to that date. Roper undertook 20,000 home interviews to determine consumers' attitudes toward filtered cigarettes.

The results of the 1953 Roper survey revealed important information about consumers' perceptions of filtered cigarettes. Although 61 percent of interviewees had tried filters, most did not stick with these cigarettes for two reasons: taste and image.²⁰ Market research had shown that most smokers thought filters had an adverse effect on taste, and at a time when twice as many men smoked as women, Marlboro was thought to convey an effeminate, or "sissyish," image.²¹ With Marlboro, the ivory-tipped filter and the luxury focus harked back to Progressive era associations between smoking, the immigrant classes, and non-normative masculine gender formations. In the 1930s, twice as many men smoked as women, and most did not feel comfortable with an effeminate masculinity. In this context, Marlboro's "sissy" connotations emerged as a key marketing focal point.

The Roper study served as a focusing device, leading Weisman's team to redesign Marlboro's packaging and the cigarette's taste to suit normative masculine gender expectations. At David Lyon's suggestion, the company hired a new package designer, Frank Giannicono, to respond to the Philip Morris call for "a bold, masculine-type package." Production chief Clark Ames had recently returned from Germany with a flip-top box, hoping that it might serve as a prototype for the new Marlboro package. Initially the design team opposed the hard box, seeing it as a throwback to the 1890s, but they ultimately adopted it, eventually making rugged durability part of the brand's masculine image. Other elements, including the logo and color scheme, came under scrutiny.

To get a handle on these features, Philip Morris hired industrial designer Egmont Arens and Louis Cheskin's Color Research Institute of America in Chicago to research more than a hundred prototypical package designs. Working with Arens and Cheskin, the Container Corporation of America, a packaging giant that made cigarette boxes, tested eight trial packages among Chicago supermarket shoppers. From these eight trial packages, they focused on two designs, one picturing a filter-tip cigarette, another with a crest. Cheskin conducted eye-movement tests and surreptitiously photographed shoppers' movements and package choices to gauge the packaging's appeal. In a later oral history, Weisman remembered that the results had been "superb."²² Next, Cheskin ran an association test among 805 smokers to gauge motifs and colors; 80 percent favored a crest design and a package with bold red accents. Cheskin reported that the crest unconsciously signified quality and prestige; red gave the package strong visibility.²³ These tests dictated the look of the final package. John Scott Fores, senior account supervisor for Publicity Consultants Inc., a company that had been working with Philip Morris during these years, told an audience in 1958 that these tests dictated which colors should be used in the final package design.

Cheskin, Roper, Burnett, Weisman, and others involved in Marlboro's re-branding represent what Regina Lee Blaszczyk has called "fashion intermediaries." As Blaszczyk has argued, these design professionals worked at the intersection of product development and demand, responding to consumers' perceptions and desires and redesigning commodities in an effort to increase market share.²⁴ Marlboro's creative team members recognized the centrality of fashion and design as signifiers of both selfhood and social positioning. Looking back on the Marlboro re-branding project in 1958, adman Leo Burnett commented: "Outside the clothes and jewelry you wear, a cigarette package is your most frequently exposed possession."²⁵ The public display of material goods is central to the process of constructing and redefining social categories, including those organized around gender. As sociologist Pierre Bourdieu has argued, social classes are made intelligible to others through the everyday life of things, which constitute a symbolic system organized around the logic of difference. In Marlboro's re-branding, the primary organizing logic was gender: a system of power and social relations based on perceived differences between the sexes.²⁶ Fashion intermediaries involved with the brand's transformation used design to associate the cigarette with gendered meanings, new to Marlboro, but deeply entrenched within postwar American culture.

Sissies Versus Macho Men: Marketing a "Cigarette with Balls"

In 1954, market research told Philip Morris that consumers perceived Marlboro as a fancy smoke for dudes and women. Leo Burnett, the adman who relaunched the brand's identity in 1954, recalled that "people regarded the old ivory-tipped Marlboro as *sissey*." In contrast, the new Marlboro of 1954-55 had "a flavor you could get hold of and roll around in your mouth. There was nothing *sissey* about it."²⁷

Postwar perceptions and definitions of masculinity figured into this transformation. The historian John Higham has observed that "sissy" became a gender-based term of derision in the 1890s, when middle-class men started defining their masculinity on the basis of their difference from women. Similarly, George Chauncy has noted that in the 1920s heterosexual observers used the vernacular terms "sissy," "fairy," and "pansy" synonymously to describe men of effeminate character.²⁸ The mid-1950s cultural association of Marlboro with the *sissey* posed a double threat to Philip Morris. On the macro level, Marlboro's *sissey*-ness implied a failure of masculinity at a time when the boundaries of heteronormative gender roles were carefully policed.²⁹ On a micro level, the *sissey*'s implicit lack of courage became problematic in the context of the cancer scare. If the public believed that cigarette smoking could kill, a masculine brand image might help to alleviate some of those fears. If audiences identified with an invincible strongman, they might see their own bodies as resistant to disease and decay.

To counter the effeminacy connotations, managers at Philip Morris and two advertising agencies—Cecil & Pembrey, and Leo Burnett—developed a campaign that introduced the public to a new Marlboro, the "cigarette with balls," a phrase coined by David Lyon in 1954, when he worked on the Marlboro account as vice president of the Cecil & Pembrey agency.³⁰ Lyon showed Philip Morris executives his ideas for a new image that included an advertisement of Red Sox outfielder Ted Williams announcing "I smoke Marlboro" as "an example of macho testimonials." According to Weissman, the "mission really was to create strong flavor, a masculine-looking pack and a macho campaign."³¹ Adman Jim Cecil died in 1954, and his firm dissolved. Philip Morris executives turned to another Chicago agency, Leo Burnett, whose work on the Marlboro account developed the macho theme introduced by Lyon.³²

As the founder of the "Chicago School of Advertising," Burnett had developed a world-class agency by capitalizing on Midwestern values that

celebrated family, home, and soil. Established in August 1935, the Leo Burnett agency had \$1.7 billion in annual billings by 1984. In the post-World War era, Burnett built his agency's reputation by creating brand identities based on animation and live-action characters, including Tony the Tiger, the Jolly Green Giant, Charlie the Tuna, the Pillsbury Doughboy, the lonely Maytag repairman, and the Marlboro Man.³³ Advertising insiders have criticized Burnett's creative work as "corny, unsophisticated, almost childish," particularly in comparison to contemporary agencies such as those of David Ogilvy and Doyle Dane Bernbach.³⁴ Yet Burnett had the uncanny ability to measure Middle America's pulse. Personally, he enjoyed collecting vernacular, down-home phrases. On his desk, Burnett kept a folder labeled "Corny Language," filled with phrases that conveyed "a feeling of sod-buster honesty."³⁵ Burnett's intuition and his gut feelings for the myths that structured Americans' sense of place and cultural identity guided his decisions about Marlboro's new brand identity.

Marketing Outsider Masculinities: The Tattoo Campaign, 1954-59

For Marlboro, Leo Burnett crafted a masculine icon whose independence, vigor, and virility offered an alternative to the feminizing effects of postwar conformity, mass culture, and suburbanization. In large part, the campaign focused on "outsider" masculinities, that is, masculine gender positions that did not depend on family life, domesticity, or the breadwinning role as a means of anchoring heteronormativity. As a precursor of the famous cowboys, Marlboro Men of 1955-59 achieved this not with Western imagery, but with a tattoo embossed on the outside of the model's left hand. In print advertisements and television commercials, the tattoo symbolized a virile, outsider masculinity that provided a stark contrast to the cory postwar domesticity.³⁶ The campaign featured older men with tattoos that signified a romantic past filled with travel adventures. Two audiences were targeted: the male smoker, who perhaps longed for an adventurous life unencumbered by mortgage payments and a nine-to-five job, and the female smoker, who might fantasize about the raw sexuality of such virile masculinity.

Unlike the familiar sailors' tattoos that testified to a World War II stint in the South Pacific, the Marlboro Man's ephemeral body art was produced in the studio. At the start of each photo shoot, Lee Stanley, the Leo Burnett executive who managed the Philip Morris account, inked a mock tattoo onto



Figure 10.1. "Why the Tattoo?" 1956 print advertisement. Courtesy Marlboro Collection, National Museum of American History Archives Center, Series 4: Advertisements, 1926–86, box 26: Print Ads, 1927–1962.

the model's hand with a ballpoint pen, copying military designs published in a 1944 issue of *National Geographic*.³⁷ He drew the fake tattoos upside down, so when the model lifted the Marlboro to his mouth, the audience would see the image right-side up. The 1955 Marlboro tattoos included several designs based on naval motifs: lightning flashes crossed by an anchor, an anchor and the letters "USN," and two crossed anchors. One design portrayed a bald eagle gripping a striped shield flanked by two anchors, referencing the official seal of the United States and the U.S. navy (Figure 10.1). The tattoo connected

American patriotism and the sailor's adventurous life. Although World War II stimulated interest in tattoos among enlisted men and civilians, by 1955 they had lost their significance as military status symbols. A 1946 poll of servicemen found most new recruits uninterested in tattooing, and body art was in decline by the early 1950s.³⁸ Tattoo artist Samuel Steward, who researched the relationship between sexuality and tattooing for Alfred Kinsey, recalled the impact of the Marlboro campaign. Suddenly "young men wanted a tattoo on the back of the hand," preferably upside down as shown in the ad.³⁹ John Landry, brand manager at Philip Morris, described another unusual aspect of the 1954–59 Marlboro Man. For models, the ad campaign used "older men, much more mature men than was usual product advertising at the time—rugged men." Putting a tattoo on the hand of a mature man added to his "mystery and intrigue."⁴⁰

The campaign separated Marlboro from other filter brands and helped the general acceptance of filter cigarettes. The tattoo campaign ran through 1959, when medical concerns over the spread of hepatitis ended the emphasis on tattooing as a sign of masculinity. The dominant ideal for white, heterosexual, middle-class men in the 1950s—the major audience for Marlboro's tattoo campaign—hinged on marriage, family, a white-collar job, a car, and a suburban home.⁴¹ Between 1950 and 1956, the pressures of conformity attracted countless social commentators, including David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd*, William H. Whyte's *The Organization Man*, and Robert Lindner's *Must You Conform*.⁴² During the 1955 campaign, Leo Burnett engaged contemporary versions of "outsider masculinity" in an effort to associate Marlboro with undomesticated "cool." As we have seen, tattoos signified the sailor's mobility and connected initiation into his homosocial world. Other images, such as the bass player and bongo drummer used in a 1955 television commercial, defined outside masculinity in terms of beat culture.⁴³ The photographer in another commercial signified a third type of outsider masculinity: the virile creative artist. As Patricia Venzel-Becket persuasively argues, fashion photography and combat photojournalism had re-gendered professional photography as a "man's world."⁴⁴ In all these early Marlboro Man images, we can see an early example of what historian Thomas Frank called "hip consumerism."⁴⁵

Gender, Modeling, and Representation

The use of male models in the early Marlboro campaign represented, however, a possible crisis in gendered representation. Throughout the history of

Western visual culture, and most especially in twentieth-century advertising, women have been represented as the object of a masculine gaze, while men have been understood to be the makers of those representations. John Berger famously summarized, "Men and women appear. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at."¹⁶ These early Marlboro Men, as macho as they strive to be, invite the desiring gaze—a subject position that has historically been seen as feminine. In a 1955 Marlboro commercial featuring an older man who enjoys tinkering with his car, for example, the camera lingers in a sustained close-up on the model's mature face, while a voiceover signifies an introspective interiority that positions its subject as mysterious, elusive, and implicitly an object of desire or identification (and the line between them is slippery). In the first of the cowboy commercials, also from 1955 and featuring what executives later dismissed as a "Hollywood Cowboy," the model's youthful face, crisp clothes, and stillness before the lens position him, implicitly, as the object of the gaze—and hence as "feminine." Leo Burnett faced a challenge with these early television ads. How to develop a male icon, an object of identification and desire, while safeguarding against the implicit feminization of appearing before the lens? In 1950s America, effeminate masculinity connoted the fairy; thus Burnett's challenge concerned both gender (masculinity) and sexuality (heteronormativity). To echo Berger's formulation, how could men "appear" before the lens and not be "women"?

Leo Burnett pursued several options for safeguarding the Marlboro Man's heteronormative masculinity. One approach was to use older models, which Burnett began to do with the tattoo campaign. A second was to begin including women in some of the ads, which he did with the 1958 Berner Malin's campaign. The presence of a female figure, however marginal, worked to secure the narrative's heterosexual framework. A third approach considered that, if men's job was to act, rather than appear, then the Marlboro Men would have to start physically moving—their appearances before the lens would need to connote the "action" associated with masculinity. Rather than simply "appearing" before the lens, as women generally did in advertising of this period, Marlboro Men would need to be on the move.

Two 1955 cowboy commercials—one shot in a movie studio, another on location at a ranch—show how Leo Burnett executives constructed the Marlboro Man's image as a heterosexual, masculine icon. The first Marlboro commercial with a cowboy, "A Man and His Cigarette," features a model in Western dress—cowboy hat, ranch shirt, and bandana—securing a rope to a



Figure 10.2. Frame grab from Marlboro television commercial. Courtesy Marlboro Collection, National Museum of American History Archives Center, Television Commercials, vol. 1: TV ads 1955-1956.

fence post against a painted cloud backdrop. When the commercial begins, the cowboy is already securing the rope in a minimalist gesture; the fact that nothing is attached to the rope, such as a horse, confirms that little exertion is necessary to accomplish this symbolic activity. As the narrator intones "guess I'll have a cigarette" and reaches for the Marlboros in the chest pocket of his crisp shirt, the viewer's eyes are drawn to the cowboy's body and attire. The camera view does not capture the model's lower body, so the viewer is asked to read macho virility in the head and torso alone. The viewer sees a dark cowboy shirt with light snaps, topped off by a knotted bandana so new that the perky ends defy gravity. Neither the Western shirt nor the crisp new hat shows signs of weather, dust, or use outside the studio (Figure 10.2).

Looking back on the campaign thirty years later, Leo Burnett executive John Benson dismissed this image as "a Hollywood cowboy, a model cowboy, who was not very good." Although Benson doesn't spell out why he wasn't any good, I would argue that his youthful good looks, store-bought clothes, and lack of action onscreen presented a problem of gender, which later became coded as a problem of "authenticity." His performance of masculinity, already tainted by his status as a paid model rather than the "real" cowboys who later emerged in the campaign, was insufficient to counter the implicit feminization of appearing before the lens in clothing that "real" cowboys had

been denigrating as signifying a "Montgomery Ward cowboy" since the late nineteenth century.⁴⁷

In a second cowboy commercial, the Leo Burnett agency addressed concerns of gender, sexuality, and authenticity by featuring two cowboys in action, on location, on horseback. This 1955 commercial opens with a distant shot of two men on horseback riding down a hill, driving horses into a corral. The cowboys approach the audience, stop, and relax on their mounts while enjoying a smoke of Marlboro cigarettes. Their companionable dialogue disrupts the intimacy established with individual viewers, dissolving any implicit sexual tension between the implied male viewer and the on-screen male models. Furthermore, the models' purposeful movement on horseback deflects the implicit feminization of the lens; heteronormative masculinity is shored up through the manly work of corralling horses.

The cowboy soon emerged as Marlboro's iconic representation of outsider masculinity. John Benson, a Leo Burnett account executive who had worked on Marlboro since 1954, recalled that the creative team had brainstormed about the most macho representation of contemporary American masculinity. Benson recalled the crucial meeting where someone asked, "What's the best masculine image in the U.S. today? Some people said, 'cab driver.' Then finally someone said, 'a cowboy.' And everybody said 'that's it.'" Leo Burnett produced a photograph of a cowboy on the cover of an old *Life* magazine, and, in Benson's memory, "The first Marlboro ad is almost identical to that *Life* magazine cover. . . . We reproduced as close as we could that cover."⁴⁸

In these early years, each Marlboro cowboy wore a mock tattoo on his left hand. Eventually, however, campaign managers realized that the cowboy, rather than the tattoo, registered with viewers as a mark of renegade masculinity, Benson remembered. "Every time we ran a cowboy, there was a bump in the Starch report," the ad research report compiled by Starch INRA Hooper.⁴⁹ Led by consumer research, the Leo Burnett agency focused the Marlboro campaign on the cowboy.

The cowboy was an inspired branding choice. Every time the cowboy appeared in a Marlboro commercial, audiences interpreted the icon through a cultural lens framed by nearly a hundred years of popular culture. For generations, the cowboy had inspired popular images: Buffalo Bill's Wild West shows of the late 1800s, Owen Wister's popular novel *The Virginian* (1902), and Edward S. Porter's *Great Train Robbery* (1904). The Marlboro Man was a brilliant, intertextual invention, where every spaghetti western

worked to co-brand Marlboro and every Marlboro ad promoted the symbolic landscape that fueled the brand's campaign.⁵⁰

Despite the emphasis on "authenticity," unmediated access to the mythic American West was impossible. Kenneth Krom, who joined Burnett's Marlboro team in 1966, had difficulty understanding the West as anything outside representation. Krom admitted that his limited knowledge came from repeated boyhood readings of Andy Adam's *Log of a Cowboy*, first published in 1903.⁵¹ Adam's representation of cowboy life provided Krom with the knowhow to "document" authentic Western life on Marlboro shoots. By the 1960s, the international popularity of Hollywood Westerns helped usher the Marlboro brand into its place as world's most popular cigarette. John Landry, who joined Philip Morris in 1956 as a brand manager, urged Philip Morris to use the Marlboro cowboy in foreign promotions precisely because American Westerns had created a consistent perception of cowboys around the world.⁵²

Despite enormous popular interest in the cowboy, Leo Burnett and Philip Morris did not immediately situate their Marlboro Man in the idealized Western landscape that came to be known as "Marlboro Country." The mid-1950s tattoo campaign was followed in the late 1950s by a campaign showing Marlboro men as "regular guys" who invited consumers to "settle back" and enjoy a smoke. By 1958, Marlboro had attained a 4.5 percent market share, but sales were not growing. The "settle back" campaign had failed to reinvigorate Marlboro.⁵³ In 1962, brand managers developed the "Marlboro Country" campaign, which forever linked the cowboy to the Marlboro Man. Confident in their decision, the Burnett team turned their attention to the selection of an appropriate symbolic landscape. Because most of Marlboro's sales were in major metropolitan areas, 1962 Marlboro Country ads featured model Bob Beck as a Marlboro Man in urban settings, such as an empty Yankee Stadium or Fifth Avenue at dawn. These images committed the Leo Burnett agency to the cowboy as icon.⁵⁴

In 1962, the cowboy's landscape shifted from distinctive urban spaces to the open sky of the Old West. A member of Burnett's creative team came to the office with a record of Elmer Bernstein's soundtrack for *The Magnificent Seven* (1960). The team played the soundtrack while rolling the footage of a recently shot commercial. The linkage between the cowboy, the Western landscape, and the Marlboro cigarette was complete. After the Leo Burnett agency negotiated with United Artists and Yul Brynner for the rights to the soundtrack, the new Marlboro Country campaign went on the air in mid-1965. The thematic elements of Marlboro ads have remained relatively un-

changed since that time, despite the ban on cigarette advertising on television after 1971.²⁹

Modeling Masculinity: Professionals Versus the "Real Thing"

The Leo Burnett agency's most successful formula for anchoring the Marlboro Man's heterosexual, macho masculinity was to distance him from the term "model." As the brand's advertising managers developed the Marlboro Country campaign, which situated a working cowboy in a nonindustrialized, nonurbanized Western landscape, they also developed a discourse of authenticity and "realness" to describe the Marlboro Men. In contrast to the artifice of femininity, the "realness" of the Marlboro Men as working cowboys, rather than paid professional models, worked to secure a dominant reading of their representation as both heterosexual and masculine. As in other aspects of the Marlboro advertising campaign, this gender work took several years, between 1954 and the mid-1960s, to finalize. By the late 1960s the Marlboro Man was marketed consistently as a working cowboy, a "real" man whose implicit other was the feminized professional model, also known as the "Hollywood cowboy." In this equation, "realness" and "authenticity" became synonyms for heteronormative masculinity, while paid commercial modeling emerges as a synonym for femininity and, implicitly, queer masculinity.

Whether in 1954 or 1968, Philip Morris and Leo Burnett sought to depict the Marlboro Men not as professional models but as real working men.³⁰ In 1954, Leo Burnett vice president Owen Smith reported that Marlboro men were "businessmen, army and navy officers," and even antique dealers who had a hypermasculine appearance. By the 1960s, however, account executives, who had grown dissatisfied with surrogates, started recruiting actual ranch hands. The brand's macho image became anchored to the models' status as "working cowboys," rather than men who simply looked the part.

In the 1954–59 period, the campaign's photographer, Constantin Joffe, a leading photographer for *Vogue*, procured most of the tattoo models. Studio employers brought in friends from the local National Guard unit; commuters were searched for likely types. According to a trade article about the campaign in 1958, "to get the outdoor type for the cowboy, the suburbs were combed for healthy, manly looking faces."³¹ The campaign was also distinctive for the dominant role of the photographic image in the print campaign,

whether in magazines, newspapers, or outdoor advertising. Joffe departed from the fully lit set of contemporary ad campaigns and went back to the dramatically lit studio style of Edward Steichen's 1930s portrait work for *Vanity Fair*, where celebrity stars such as Greta Garbo were portrayed with a modernist sparseness and intensity. Joffe sought, through lighting, to eradicate any softness and to create the sharp angles that connoted "as strong and masculine an image as possible."³²

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Marlboro account executives distanced themselves from the term "model," stressing the men in their advertisements were not professionally trained mannequins. Disparaging models as fake and inauthentic, executives referred to the men in their television and print ads as "wranglers" (Tom Jarrard, a cowboy type who was hired as a model for a 1985 campaign, recalled, "I've never been called a wrangler until I worked . . . for Marlboro").³³ In John Landry's view, the authenticity of the cowboy as "real," rather than a paid model, was legible on his body. Landry believed that audiences could see the difference: "You can see it in their faces—these are people who have lived outdoors. In a subconscious way, people can identify with it because it is real."³⁴ Kenneth Krom, who began working on the Marlboro account for Leo Burnett in 1966, reiterated these themes when discussing television commercials. In his view, paid professional models did not know how to "hold the rope" or "cut up that steer." Even models who were good actors could not convince audiences they were real cowboys. "It's not believable. . . . It doesn't work!"³⁵

Krom's marks suggest a "realness"—to the Western landscape, to cowboy life—that can somehow be effectively communicated, without mediation, to Marlboro viewers. In fact, Krom used the rhetoric of journalism, or documentary film, to describe his on-location work as creative director—how they "covered," or "documented," a cattle round up, for example. The campaign paradoxically participated in the construction of an idealized landscape and way of life that bears a distorted relationship to history—Marlboro ads had no black or Hispanic cowboys, no all-terrain vehicles—but at the same time insisted on a rhetoric of documentary truth in their photographic realism. The account executives' insistence on the authenticity of the cowboy "wranglers" has been a constitutive element of this rhetoric. Executives' disparaging of the "professional model" and the "Hollywood cowboy" was a tactic designed to distance the campaign from the artifice of performance, which is the model's (and actor's) stock in trade. Furthermore the Marlboro Man's status as a "real cowboy" served to shore up his heterosexual masculin-

ity, as the profession of male model, then as now, often connoted a more fluid sexual identity than the straight norm.

In 1968, Marlboro account executives found Darrell Winfield, the person who became the *us-Marlboro Man*. Between the late 1960s and the 1980s, Winfield dominated Marlboro Country advertisements. Winfield was raised in a farming area of California's San Joaquin Valley by dustbowl migrant parents from Oklahoma. While working in a California food yard, Winfield accepted a job on a Wyoming ranch, moving there in 1968 around age thirty-eight. Three months later, in March, Winfield met photographer Jim Braddy and Leo Burnett's creative director Ken Krom at a ranch, the Quarter Circle Five. In Wyoming to scout locations, the admen heard about Winfield's look and tried to track him down as a possible model. When they met, Winfield was digging ice out of an irrigation ditch. For Krom the moment was sublime: "I had seen cowboys, but I had never seen one that just really, like, sort of scared the hell out of me." Winfield embodied Krom's vision of the ideal Marlboro Man. Rugged and honest, he looked like a "born leader," a cowboy without "any enemies."

Over the next twenty years, the "constant camaraderie" between adman, photographer, and model fueled the men's creative energies.⁶⁰ The advertising campaigns that emerged gave material expression to the Marlboro Man of Krom's imagination. After Winfield's retirement in the late 1980s, the Leo Burnett agency looked high and low for a replacement. After spending more than \$300 million in a talent search involving more than 20,000 candidates, the agency mourned the loss of the *us-Marlboro Man*. "We probably have to face the fact that we will never find another Winfield."⁶¹

Krom's account of his "discovery" of Winfield, repeated in many Burnett stories about Marlboro's history, engaged the rhetoric of outdoor adventure and exploration. Like a natural resource borne of the Western landscape, Winfield was a "diamond in the rough" whose weathered face and outdoor squint anchored his authenticity, while distancing him from the artifice of paid professional modeling. By the postwar years, most commercial photographers found their subjects through professional modeling agencies, such as Eileen Ford's New York firm, Ford Models. By the 1950s the international fame of celebrated models such as Dovima (Dorothy Horan), Suzie Parker, and Lisa Fonssagrives, and the work of fashion photographers such as Richard Avedon and Irving Penn, had transformed American fashion modeling and turned fashion photography into a respected commercial art form. For the first time, as their models appeared on the covers of *Vogue* or *Harper's Bazaar*,

photographers began to eclipse the role of designers in developing the season's "look," or feminine ideal. Patricia Venet-Becker has argued that "nothing signified artifice more than the fashion photograph."⁶² In contrast to this artifice and its associated femininity, Leo Burnett created the authentic masculinity of the "real" working cowboy and offered it to American audiences as the Marlboro brand's icon.

Winfield began posing as the Marlboro Man in fall 1968. For the first six or seven years, he worked part-time, retaining his summer job as a ranch foreman supervising four cowboys and managing a herd of 6,000 cattle. By the mid-1970s, Winfield began working full-time as the Marlboro Man. He had ten or so shoots a year, each five to ten days long. For each he received \$350 per day for on-camera work and \$200 for travel days.⁶³ Although Winfield helped the creative team locate additional wranglers, he mostly performed as the lead Marlboro Man. His relationships with Krom and Braddy grew increasingly close; he even vacationed with Krom and his family, as well as other Leo Burnett personnel, in Costa Rica.⁶⁴ While on the Marlboro payroll, Winfield distanced himself from the category of professional "model." Reflecting on his experience after his retirement, Winfield still maintained that the work was less like modeling and more like a real man's job. "To me, it's more like a ranch job, but with higher pay."⁶⁵ Having long been on the Philip Morris payroll, Winfield associated himself with the brand's image of authenticity and heterosexual masculinity.

With the shift to "real" cowboys as models, authenticity emerged as a key discourse in anchoring the heterosexuality of the Marlboro Man. To be a model—someone who is paid to perform with commodities before the lens—is to be implicitly feminized. Along with a variety of other strategies designed to counter the implicit feminization of the advertising model, including an emphasis on outsider masculinities and on action, the "realness" of the Marlboro Man as a working cowboy emerged in the 1960s as the brand's final approach in securing him as an icon of heteronormative masculinity.

But an image's meanings are produced through complex social relationships between viewer and image, shaped by the historical contexts in which the image is seen and interpreted. Though account executives might work to produce a dominant reading of the Marlboro Man's butch masculinity as heterosexual, specific historical viewers might make different readings of this iconic figure. In fact, Leo Burnett's crafting of a macho version of postwar masculinity appealed not only to straight viewers, but to gay ones as well.

Some postwar gay men, seeking to define new forms of gay sexuality, defined a new gender identity that joined both homosexuality and normative masculinity. This butch masculinity, increasingly articulated in the leather and motorcycle spaces of 1950s and 1960s gay male culture, and elaborated in the gay rodeo roundups of the 1970s, was increasingly defined against the feminized gender formations of the *sissy* or *fairy*.²⁶ For this group of men, for whom homosexuality and butch masculinity were coterminous, the Marlboro Man emerged as an important icon of both desire and identification.

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73. "Fact Sheet: Men's and Boys' Apparel Guilds in California"; William Wern Rose Jr., "Palm Springs: High in the Roundup," *Apparel Arts* (December 1943): clipping, MA.

74. "They're Still Talking About Palm Springs!" *California Men's Style* 1 (Apr. 1942): 26.

75. "California Glamour Comes to Life at Roundup Show," *California Apparel News* (31 Oct. 1941).

76. For accounts of these moments, see *Ogilvy, Playboys in Paradise*; Shanon Cole, "Don't We Now Our Gay Apparel": *Gay Men's Dress in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Berg, 2006); Frank Mort, *Culture of Consumption: Masculinities and Social Space in Late Twentieth-Century Britain* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Mark Simpson, *Male Impersonators: Men Performing Masculinity* (New York: Routledge, 1994); Colin McDowell, *The Men of Fashion: Punctured Males and Perfect Gentlemen* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997); Lynn Luciano, *Looking Good: Male Body Image in Modern America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001).

77. "Los Angeles Retailers Fledge Bank of Windows for Roundups," *Boy's Outlook* (Sept. 1947); "P.S.R.U. Guest Register"; "Roundup Huge Success," *California Apparel News* (1 Nov. 1948), clippings, MA; "Sportswear Round Up at Palm Springs," *California Men's Style* 1 (Jan. 1943): 31; Jack Hyde, "California Dandies," *Men's Wear* 121 (20 Mar. 1936): 120–24.

78. Ruth Miller, "Palm Springs Round Up," *Display World* (Dec. 1948), clipping, MA.

79. One such merchant, A. H. Silverman from Minnesota, was profiled in Lois F. Hutton, "Palm Springs Show Inspires New Shop," *St. Paul Pioneer-Press*, 4 Dec. 1948, clipping, MA.

CHAPTER 10. MARLBORO MEN: OUTSIDER MASCULINITIES AND COMMERCIAL MODELING IN POSTWAR AMERICA

Thanks to Sharon Ullman, Regina Lee Blaszczyk, and Woody Register for their helpful suggestions.

1. Patrick J. MacDunnell, "Marlboro Man Would Trade Fame for Smokes," *Los Angeles Times*, 14 Nov. 2004.

2. Cassenda Tate, *Cigarette Wars: The Triumph of "The Little White Slave"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 45, 66; Michael E. Starr, "The Marlboro Man: Cigarette Smoking and Masculinity in America," *Journal of Popular Culture* 17 (Spring 1984): 41–17.

3. Tate, *Cigarette Wars*, 67–92; Richard Klein, *Cigarettes for Sale* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995), 76–88.

4. Lin Bonner, "Why Cigarette Makers Don't Advertise to Women," *Advertising and Selling* 7 (30 Oct. 1936): 21, 46–47.

5. On women's smoking, modernity, and the overthrow of Victorian gender expect-

tations, see Nancy Bowman, "Questionable Beauty: The Dangers and Delights of the Cigarette in American Society, 1880–1930," in *Beauty and Business: Commerce, Gender and Culture in Modern America*, ed. Philip Scranton (New York: Routledge, 2006), 51–86; Sara M. Evans, *Brevets for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: Free Press, 1989), 175; Tate, *Cigarette Wars*, 93–117; Peter G. Filene, *His/Her/Self: Gender Identity in Modern America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 139–40.

6. Bonner, "Why Cigarette Makers Don't Advertise to Women," 21, 46–47; Michael Schwabson, "Women, Cigarettes and Advertising in the 1920s: A Study in the Sociology of Consumption," in *Mass Media Between the Wars: Perceptions of Cultural Transition, 1918–1942*, ed. Catherine L. Covert and John D. Stevens (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1984), 75–82; and Tate, *Cigarette Wars*, 93–117.

7. Bowman, "Questionable Beauty," 78.

8. Bonner, "Why Cigarette Makers Don't Advertise to Women," 21, 46–47.

9. Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1900–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 37.

10. "Marlboro Makes a Direct Appeal," *Advertising and Selling* 8 (13 Mar. 1937): 21.

11. Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, 88–116.

12. Edward Bernays, *Biography of an Idea* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961),

38. For more on Bernays's work, see Regina Lee Blaszczyk, "The Colors of Modernity: Georgia O'Keeffe, Cheney Brothers, and the Relationship Between Art and Industry in the 1920s," in *Seeing High and Low: Representation and Social Conflict in American Visual Culture*, ed. Patricia Johnston (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 218–46; and her forthcoming book, *The Color Revolution*.

13. Bernays, *Biography of an Idea*, 38.

14. "The Uproar in Cigarettes," *Fortune* 48 (Dec. 1952): 130–33, 160–65. In 1952, *Reader's Digest* published "Cancer by the Carton," alerting the public to links between smoking and cancer. A longstanding critic of big tobacco, *Reader's Digest* drew on medical literature to accuse the cigarette industry of covering up the perils of smoking. See Richard Kluger, *Ashes to Ashes: America's Hundred-Year War, the Public Health, and the Unabashed Triumph of Philip Morris* (New York: Knopf, 1996), 121.

15. "Alfred E. Lynn and O. Parker McCoskey: Mass Production for Mass Sales," *Business Week* (27 May 1952): 72–74.

16. On filter cigarettes and health concerns, see "Marlboro Sicks to Tried and True Taroo-Man Model," *Advertising Age* 27 (Oct. 1958): 5, 100.

17. "The Uproar in Cigarettes," "In a Rabbit's Eye," *Time* (18 Feb. 1951): 96; "Cigarette Trade Yawns at FTC Rules," *Business Week* (1 Oct. 1955): 96.

18. Other Marlboro account team members included Ross Milhiser of the advertising department; Clark Ames, head of production; and Bob DuPree, director of research. See George Weissman, interview by Scott Ellsworth at Philip Morris Inc., New York, 27 Apr. 1987, Marlboro Oral History and Documentation Project, Archives Center, Smithsonian National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as MC-NMAHD). Historian Scott Ellsworth interviewed thirty people involved with the Marlboro account as part of a 1980s collecting initiative by the Archives Center.

19. On Debaaz and the origins of motivational research, see David Horowitz, *The Academic of Affluence: Critique of American Consumer Culture, 1939-1979* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 48-74.

20. Philip Morris created a new tobacco blend, or "recipe," that became the focus of the Borer Malkin's advertising copy in the mid-1950s. The new blend was also central to Marlboro's re-branding, much like the tattoo. See Weisman interview; "FR Man Fuses, Adman Burnett Bats 'Secrets' of Modest Marlboro He-Man," *Advertising Age* 17 (17 Nov. 1958): 3, 99.

21. Weisman interview; "Bad News Can Mean Good Growth," *Forbes* 101 (11 Nov. 1968): 30-32. Weisman worked as a Hollywood public-relations specialist before joining Philip Morris. In 1941, he publicized the Academy Award-winning film *The Best Years of Our Lives*. See "Marketing Man at the Top," *Sales Management* 99 (15 Dec. 1967): 34-38.

22. Weisman interview; "FR Man Fuses," 3, 99. Many thanks to Regina Lee Blaszczak for the information on Egmont Arma's involvement in Marlboro packaging redesign.

23. Louis Chaddix, *How to Predict What People Will Buy* (New York: Liveright, 1971), 104; David G. Lyon, *Off Madison Avenue* (New York: Putnam's, 1966), 66; "The Marketing Miracles of Philip Morris," *Dun's Review* (Apr. 1968): 32-33, 77-79.

24. Regina Lee Blaszczak, *Imagining Consumers: Design and Innovation from Hollywood to Bowling* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 73.

25. Leo Burnett, "The Marlboro Story," *New Yorker* 34 (15 Nov. 1958): 41-43 (quotation 43).

26. On "habitus" and material culture, see Pierre Bourdieu, *In Other Words: Essays Toward a Reflexive Sociology* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990), 73. On gender, see Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988).

27. "The Marlboro Story"; Weisman interview.

28. George Chauncy, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of a Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 71, 123.

29. Juana Meyerowitz, "Beyond the Feminine Mystique: A Reassessment of Post-war Mass Culture, 1946-1958," in *Not Just Classes: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960*, ed. Juana Meyerowitz (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 229-60; David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Marc Stein, *City of Sincerely and Brotherly Love: Lesbians and Gay Philadelphia, 1945-1972* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004), 100-102.

30. Karen Singer, "Ex-Adman Has Untargeted Audience—in the Bag," *Adweek* 14 (Apr. 1986): 54.

31. Weisman interview. George Weisman did not remember if these ads actually ran.

32. *Ibid.*

33. Gary M. Levin, "Burnett—an Animated Celebration of Longevity," *Advertising Age* 6 (Aug. 1984): 11; Leo Burnett, *Communications of an Advertising Man* (Chicago: 1936), 137.

34. Hooper White, "Drive to Be the Best Among Many," *Advertising Age* 6 (Aug. 1984): 22.

35. David Ogilvy, *Ogilvy on Advertising* (New York: Crown, 1983), 200; Simon Swadlow, ed., *The Leo Burnett Book of Advertising* (London: Business Books, 1984), 3-4.

36. My discussion of the tattoo campaign draws on television commercials and print advertisements, MC-NMAH, dating from the mid-1950s.

37. There are different accounts of the sources of the tattoo iconography. Photographer Constantin Joffe claims he presented the idea to Burnett, expanding on suggestions from his wife (and employer). In Joffe's account, Burnett studied tattoos from around the world, including India and Japan, but rejected this research and directed the creative team to use simple military insignia. See Robert Giamon, *The New Advertising: The Great Campaigns from Asia to Volkswagen* (New York: Citadel Press, 1970), 123.

38. Alan Governor, "The Changing Image of Tattooing in American Culture, 1846-1966," in *Writes on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History*, ed. Jane Caplan (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 213-23; Maureen Hewitt van Dinter, *The World of Tattoos: An Illustrated History* (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2001), 160.

39. Samuel M. Steward, *Bad Boys and Tough Tattoos: A Social History of the Tattoo with Gangs, Sailors, and Street-Corner Punks, 1910-1980* (New York: Haworth Press, 1990), 8.

40. John Landry, interview by Scott Ellsworth at Philip Morris Inc., New York, 12 Mar. 1986, MC-NMAH. For a nearly identical quotation, see William F. Gloede, "Agency Executives Fed at Home in Marlboro Country," *Advertising Age* 6 (Aug. 1984): 46.

41. The classic account of middle-class formation is Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988). For a recent look at heterosexual masculinity in the postwar era, see James Gilbert, *Men in the Middle: Searching for Masculinity in the 1950s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

42. David Kitzman, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950); William H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956); Robert Lindner, *Must You Confess?* (New York: Rinehart, 1956).

43. Normal Mailer, "The White Negro: Superficial Reflections on the Hipster," *Advertisements for Myself* (New York: Putnam, 1955), 331, 339-40.

44. Patricia Venzl-Bocker, *Shooting from the Hip: Photography, Masculinity, and Post-war America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

45. Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 108, characterizes Burnett as "the Chicago-based celebrator of middle-American values" who supported his younger colleagues' revolt against hackneyed late 1960s advertising strategies.

46. John Burtyn, "Ways of Seeing," in *The Feminist and Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Amelia Jones (London: Routledge, 2005), 37-40.

47. Mail-order retailer Montgomery Ward began selling cowboy dress through its

catalogs by the 1890s. See Laurel Wilton, "American Cowboy Dress: Transition to Fashion," *Dress* 28 (2002): 40–51.

48. John Benson, oral history interview by Scott Ellsworth, 14 Apr. 1986, at Leo Burnett Co., Inc., Chicago, Ill., MC-NMAH. The *LOVE* image was probably the 22 Aug. 1949 cover portrait of cowboy Clarence Daily Long. Many thanks to Woody Register for this connection; see also Pat McGeehan, "Cowboy Image Connects," *Advertising Age* 6 Aug. 1985: 46, in folder 2, box 3, series 2, MC-NMAH.

49. Benson interview; see also McGeehan, "Cowboy Image Connects."

50. The voluminous historiography on representations of the American West includes Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1975); Stanley Corkin, *Cowboys as Cold Warriors: The Western and U. S. History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004); Bruce A. Lohof, "The Higher Meaning of Marlboro Cigarettes," *Journal of Popular Culture* 3 (Winter 1969): 443–57; Christopher L. Salton, "The Cowboy and the City: Urban Affection for Wilderness," *Landscape* 27 (1985): 43–47; John Fleckner, "Marlboro Country: Discovery, Domination, Disappearance" (paper, annual meeting of the National Council on Public History, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, 1 Apr. 2004).

51. Ken Krom, interview by Scott Ellsworth, Leo Burnett Co. Inc., Chicago, 21 Apr. 1986, MC-NMAH.

52. Landry interview. For the fascination with American westerns and Marlboro's popularity in Europe, see John Blair, "Cowboys, Europe, and Smoked Marlboro in the Saddle," *Revue Française d'Études Américaines* 10 (May 1985): 193–202.

53. Scott Ellsworth, "Introduction to the Marlboro Oral History and Documentation Project," 20, folder 2, box 2, MC-NMAH.

54. In response to declining cigarette sales, Philip Morris led the tobacco industry's product diversification and foreign expansion efforts in the early 1960s. See "Embattled Tobacco's New Strategy," *Fortune* 67 (Jan. 1963): 100–130.

55. Landry interview; Norman Mann, interview by Scott Ellsworth, Leo Burnett Co. Inc., Chicago, 16 June 1986, MC-NMAH. Mann critiqued the cowboy-in-the-city ads as "too stylized"; he thought they failed to make Marlboro Country into a "real" place. Landry expressed a similar opinion in William F. Glonde, "Agency Execs Feel at Home in Marlboro Country," 40.

56. Account executive John Benson remembers: "Then we had a Hollywood cowboy, a model cowboy, who was not very good. . . . do an introductory commercial talking about this new filter cigarette with the flip box." John Benson, interview by Scott Ellsworth, Leo Burnett Co. Inc., Chicago, 14 Apr. 1986, MC-NMAH.

57. "Marlboro Won Success by Big Newspaper Ads," *Editor and Publisher* 6 Dec. 1950: 26, 30.

58. *Ibid.*, 26; for further claims about the masculine gender of the photographic element of this first campaign, see J. L. Watkins, *The 100 Greatest Advertisements* (New York: Dutton, 1993), 226.

59. Tom Jarrod, interview by Scott Ellsworth, Lander, Wyoming, 28 Aug. 1986, MC-NMAH.

60. Landry interview.

61. Krom interview.

62. *Ibid.*

63. "Cowboy Talent Search," T. A. Dadbeck to Nancy Lund, 31 May 1990, Bass no. 204827407/1409; and "Marlboro: The Search for New Faces," 3 Feb. 1994, Bass no. 2040848029/809; both from Legacy Tobacco Documents Library, <http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/> (hereafter cited as LTDL) (accessed 7 June 2006).

64. Vessel-Becker, *Shooting from the Hip*, 87.

65. Contract between Darrell Winfield and Filmmair Inc., 22 Sept. 1975, Bass no. 2048979980, from LTDL (accessed 7 June 2006).

66. Cap Adams, interview by Scott Ellsworth, Philip Morris Inc., New York, 14 Mar. 1986, MC-NMAH.

67. Darrell Winfield, interview by Scott Ellsworth, Riverton, Wyo., 27 Aug. 1986, MC-NMAH.

68. Angela M. Blain, "He Looked like the Devil," radio documentary, June 2004, aired on *To the Best of Our Knowledge*, Public Radio International.

CHAPTER 11. THE BODY AND THE BRAND: HOW LYCRA SHAPED AMERICA

The support of the Center for the History of Business, Technology, and Society at the Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Delaware; the Panel Fund for Textile Research (UK); and the Economic and Social Science Research Council of Great Britain (award PTA-026–27–0083), in the preparation of this work is hereby gratefully acknowledged, as is the assistance of Regina Lee Blaszczak, the volume's editor.

1. Unless otherwise stated, the material in this chapter draws on Kaori O'Connor, "Lyra, Babyboomers and the Intermaterial Culture of the New Midlife: A Study of Commerce and Culture" (Ph.D. dissertation, University College London, 2004). The ethnographic portion of the study involved interviews with 400 women between 1999 and 2003.

2. Robert B. Gardner, Jr., merchandising manager, Intimate Apparel, Textile Fibers Department, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company, manuscript of launch presentation, 1999; Arthur M. Saunders, Jr., director of the Sales Division, Textile Fibers Department, transcript of launch presentation, 1999, both in box 3, acc. 84.019, Textile Fibers Product Information Files, Periodical Collections, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Del. (hereafter cited as PI-HML).

3. Press releases circulated in London, "The World's Top Ten Textile Brands" and "Top Fashion Innovations of the Twentieth Century," ca. 2000–2002, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. Geneva, Switzerland, author's possession.

4. Marshall Sahlin, *Culture and Practical Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

5. John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1992), 58. See Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., and Stephen