

ACADEMY OF PERFORMING ARTS IN PRAGUE  
FILM FACULTY

Film, Television, Photography, and New Media  
Field Photography

**BACHELOR'S THESIS**

ON THE MEANING OF CIGARETTE SMOKING IN  
FASHION PHOTOGRAPHY

**Hanlu Gong**

Thesis advisor: Mgr. Michal Šimůnek, Ph.D.

Examiner:

Date of thesis defense:

Academic title granted: BcA.

Prague, 2019

AKADEMIE MÚZICKÝCH UMĚNÍ V PRAZE  
FILMOVÁ A TELEVIZNÍ FAKULTA

**BAKALÁŘSKÁ PRÁCE**

CIGARETY A JEJICH VÝZNAM V MÓDNÍ FOTOGRAFII

**Hanglu Gong**

Vedoucí práce: Mgr. Michal Šimůnek, Ph.D.

Zkoušející:

Datum obhajoby diplomové práce:

Akademický titul udělen: BcA.

Praha, 2019

## **Declaration**

I declare that I have prepared my Bachelor's Thesis/Master's Thesis, Dissertation independently on the following topic:

Collaboration within Photography - The Involvement of the Photographed Subject within the Photographic Process

under the expert guidance of my thesis advisor and with the use of the cited literature and sources.

Prague, date: .....

.....

Signature of the candidate

## **Warning**

The use and public application of the findings of this thesis or any other treatment thereof are permissible only on the basis of a licensing contract, i.e. the consent of the author and of the Academy of Performing Arts in Prague.

## User's Log

By signing below, the user attests that he/she has used this thesis solely for study purposes, and he/she declares that he/she will always cite the thesis appropriately among the sources used.

[illegible]



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>List of Illustrations</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Abstract</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Abstrakt</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Photographers and smoking models</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Helmut Newton</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Edward Jean Steichen</b>	<b>15</b>
<i>Horst Paul Albert Bohrmann and Gabrielle Chanel</i>	<i>20</i>
<b>Keith Trumbo</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>34</b>

## List of Illustrations

Figure 1, Edward Bernay's Torches Freedom, 1928, <https://kitchendecor.club/files/edward-bernays-torches-freedom.html>

Figure 2, Le Smoking, US Vogue (June 1, 1994), p.62.

Figure 3, Clothing designs, US Vogue (October 15, 1936), p.96, 97.

Figure 4, The Other Side of Midnight is romance, US Vogue (June 1977), p.56

Figure 5, Cursi or Chic, US Vogue (October 15, 1936), p.83.

Figure 6, Maids' uniform, 1933,  
[https://www.google.com/search?rlz=1C5CHFA\\_enCZ709CZ709&biw=1440&bih=788&tbm=isch&sa=1&ei=CjaqXMryHsbeataei9AM&q=maids+uniform+in+1930s&oq=maids+uniform+in+1930s&gs\\_l=img.3...10964.12225..12321...0.0..0.78.376.5.....1....1..gws-wi](https://www.google.com/search?rlz=1C5CHFA_enCZ709CZ709&biw=1440&bih=788&tbm=isch&sa=1&ei=CjaqXMryHsbeataei9AM&q=maids+uniform+in+1930s&oq=maids+uniform+in+1930s&gs_l=img.3...10964.12225..12321...0.0..0.78.376.5.....1....1..gws-wi)

Figure 7, Nurses' uniform, 1930s,  
[https://www.google.com/search?q=nurses+uniform+in+1930s&rlz=1C5CHFA\\_enCZ709CZ709&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwidx4Wrw77hAhXHLVAKHdzMACkQ\\_AUIDigB&biw=1440&bih=788#imgsrc=NxXKJbhKEAFUeM:](https://www.google.com/search?q=nurses+uniform+in+1930s&rlz=1C5CHFA_enCZ709CZ709&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwidx4Wrw77hAhXHLVAKHdzMACkQ_AUIDigB&biw=1440&bih=788#imgsrc=NxXKJbhKEAFUeM:)

Figure 8, Coco Chanel in Paris, photo by Horst P. Horst, 1937,  
<https://www.vogue.com.au/fashion/news/the-most-inspiring-coco-chanel-quotes-to-live-by/image-gallery/b1cb17be7e20734d0b255fbd5a478ed4?pos=7>

Figure 9, Smoking woman, US Vogue (December 1, 1974), p. 76

Figure 10, Bellodgia ads, US Vogue (December 1974), p.91

Figure 11, Christian Dior ads, US Vogue (December, 1974), p.97

Figure 12, Lucky Strike ad, 1930, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/behindthesmoke/6051385300/in/set-7215762732684257>

## **Abstract**

Smoking has become popular among women mainly since the 1920s Lucky Strike "Reach for a Lucky instead of a sweet" campaign promoting cigarettes as a symbol of liberated, healthy and attractive woman. During the following decades, all cigarette brands used similar advertising strategies for attracting their customers, very often using celebrities in their advertisements and employing slogans describing cigarette smoking as a symbol of attractiveness, sex-appeal, success and even fitness and healthiness. Since the 1970s anti-smoking initiatives became successful in many countries all over the world leading to laws restricting the advertising of cigarettes on television, radio and in some cases even in printed magazines, newspapers and on billboards. Since 1990s many countries required to display a health warning on cigarette advertisements and adopted further laws restricting tobacco advertising and cigarette smoking itself. But despite this broad and robust anti-smoking campaigns, it seems that in the fashion industry, there is still a strong bias for depicting models while smoking cigarettes. The aim of the thesis is thus to analyze the work of three famous fashion photographers (Helmut Newton, Edward Steichen, Keith Trumbo), decipher meanings of cigarette smoking models in their photographs (fetishism, the liberation of women etc.), and trace, how (if at all) they have reflected anti-smoking campaigns. Photographs for the analysis will be selected mainly from the Vogue Archive.

## **Abstrakt**

Kouření cigaret se stalo populární mezi ženami zejména od konce druhého desetiletí 20. století, a to díky kampani Lucky Strike, která propagovala cigarety jakožto symbol svobodné, zdravé a atraktivní ženy. V průběhu dalších let používaly tuto reklamní strategii i ostatní značky snažící se oslovit nové zákaznice, přičemž velmi často využívaly ve svých kampaních celebrity a pracovaly se slogany, jež popisovaly kouření cigaret jako symbol atraktivnosti, úspěchu, dobré tělesné kondice a zdraví. Od sedmdesátých let 20. století se začínaly objevovat antikuřácké kampaně, jež postupně vedly k přijetí zákonů omezujících reklamu na tabákové výrobky v televizi, rozhlasu a v některých případech dokonce i v tisku a na billboardech. Od devadesátých let 20. století pak začalo být v mnoha zemích požadováno uvádět na obalech tabákových produktů varování před jeho škodlivostí. I přes tyto stále výraznější antikuřácké zákony se však zdá, že módní průmysl stále využívá modelek s cigaretou na stránkách módních a lifestyleových časopisů. Cílem této práce je popsat dílo vybraných módních fotografů (Helmut Newton, Edward Steichen, Keith Trumbo), analyzovat významy, které nesou na jejich fotografiích modelky s cigaretou (fetišismus, emancipace apod.) a sledovat, zda (a pokud vůbec) nachází antikuřácké kampaně odezvu v módní fotografii. Analyzované fotografie jsou vybrány z archivu časopisu Vogue.

## **Introduction**

Smoking has become popular among women mainly since the 1920s. During the following decades, all cigarette brands have capitalized their advertisements on the fashion industry in order to market their products toward women. Most notably, Lucky-Strike's campaign "Reach for a Lucky instead of a sweet", promotes cigarettes as a symbol of liberated, healthy and attractive woman. Such aspects are reflected through Lucky-Strike's cigarette pack with different kinds of colors and flavors; the more fashionable the cigarette packs and advertisements for women-the more sales Lucky Strike are able to gain. As a result, models, creative directors, fashion designers, artists, and many other influential people in the fashion industry were involved with the emergence of cigarette culture. It was very often to use gorgeous celebrities in their advertisements and employing slogans describing cigarette smoking as a symbol of attractiveness, sex-appeal, success, fitness and healthiness. The 1920s showcases the fashionable yet audacious woman emerge in cigarette advertisement, while the 1930s shines an elegant attractiveness, manifest a sense of luxurious dynamic. The Great Depression was a great example in demonstrating how cigarette "positivity" impacted everyday women's societal status. Equality comes in a huge role with cigarette. Woman was not well dressed, lacked fashionable items such as jewels, and societal status is lower than men. By smoking the brand of cigarette advertised in front of family and friends, one woman can perceive herself embracing a sense of luxurious presentiment and a heightened level of societal status. Such atmosphere is even stronger for women in the fashion world, where smoking is seemed to be obliged to undertake. Fashion trends change, but the initiative of tobacco companies to use and manipulate women through these trends has not changed. As the cigarette culture is matured all over the fashion industry, cigarettes themselves are longer and narrower than average cigarettes that men smokes. This

adoption of slim cigarette is a clear reference to a woman's figure. A slim, slender figure is often presented as more desirable by women in fashion magazines and models in the fashion industry. Such idea portrays a subliminal, indirect message that slim cigarettes will result in its smokers obtaining or maintaining a slim figure. Whatever the case is, tobacco companies know that if a woman sees a model in an advertisement who think of or regard in charismatic, she will want to imitate her.

Since the 1970s anti-smoking initiatives became successful in many countries all over the world leading to laws restricting the advertising of cigarettes on television, radio and in some cases even in printed magazines, newspapers and on billboards. Since 1990s many countries required to display a health warning on cigarette advertisements and adopted further laws restricting tobacco advertising and cigarette smoking itself. But despite this broad and robust anti-smoking campaigns, it seems that in the fashion industry, there is still a strong bias for depicting models while smoking cigarettes. Nowadays, while smoking cigarette might not be a mainstream activity that the general public will participate in, in the fashion industry smoking creates a sense of rebellious and independence for women. The aim of the thesis is thus to analyze the work of three famous fashion photographers (Helmut Newton, Edward Jean Steichen, and Keith Trumbo), decipher meanings of cigarette smoking models in their photographs (fetishism, the liberation of women etc.), and trace, how they have reflected the perception of smoking at the moment. Photographs for the analysis will be selected mainly from the Vogue Archive<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> "Vogue Archive," *Vogue - Condé Nast*, accessed from <http://archive.vogue.com/home/>

## Photographers and smoking models

Smoking was popularized after the First World War around the 1920s. However, the majority of the smokers (consumers) were men. To expand the business, American Tobacco Company took into employment of Edward Bernays to do the public relations for promoting cigarettes. Edward Bernays started making the propaganda posters in the New York City before the Easter Day Parade<sup>2</sup>. On the propaganda there were women smoking publicly and he told the press to expect that [women suffragists would light up “torches of freedom” during the parade to show they were equal to men]. Since smoking has always been men’s activities and women were not expected to be smoking. Propaganda has always been a negative form of sending out information but Edward Bernays used it as a successful promotion for the American Tobacco Company. And on the day of the Parade, there were women smoking to express their feminism beliefs in front of a great number of people. Instead of proving to themselves but also spreading the message to the rest of the women compatriots out there in the city as a way of supporting each other. As a matter of fact, this became a huge success and there were women smoking publicly during the parade of that year.

---

<sup>2</sup> Gunderman R., “The manipulation of the American mind: Edward Bernays and the birth of public relations,” *The Conversation*, last accessed April 1, 2019, from <http://theconversation.com/the-manipulation-of-the-american-mind-edward-bernays-and-the-birth-of-public-relations-44393>



*Figure 1, Edward Bernay's Torches Freedom, 1928,*  
<https://kitchendecor.club/files/edward-bernays-torches-freedom.html>

In this photograph (Figure 1), this woman is joining the parade with her dog on the leash in the left hand as her right hand was holding a cigarette. Unlike other female members who attended to this parade along with their partner or friends, this particular women holds on to her cigarette and demonstrates her psychosocial needs which implicates her own camaraderie, self-confidence, freedom, and independence.

## **Helmut Newton**

Helmut Newton was born in Berlin, Germany, and had a great interest and involvement with photography at the age of 16<sup>3</sup>. His first photographic work was presented at Singapore in 1938 and humbly became one of the most influential fashion photographer in Europe by 1946. Many photographers and individuals considered him as “controversial photographer...one of the most

---

<sup>3</sup> “ARTIST Helmut Newton,” *International Center of Photography*, last accessed April 2, 2019, from <https://www.icp.org/browse/archive/constituents/helmut-newton?all/all/all/all/0>



powerful and influential photographers of the past century<sup>4</sup>.” He was made well-known by the whole fashion industry as a German-Australian photographer that mainly focused on black and white photographs when many of his artistic works were presented in famous fashion and lifestyle publication: *Vogue*.



*Figure 2, Figure 2, Le Smoking, US Vogue (June 1, 1994), p.62.*

In 1975, Helmut Newton photographed for the Fashion Brand Yves Saint Laurent, as this photograph (Figure 2) was presented in one of the *Vogue* Archive. In this particular photograph, the model is styled into the slick back hair, and move on to her face She doesn't show any particular strong emotion on her face and physical stands, instead she displays a very solemn and serious manner of expression, as if she is lost in her thoughts. Such expression and thought are

---

<sup>4</sup> “HELMUT NEWTON,” *Annenberg Space for Photography*, last accessed April 2, 2019, from <https://www.annenbergphotospace.org/exhibits/helmut-newton/>

demonstrating something profound and important and trying to convey the general public about women independence in the fashion industry. The photograph is simple and direct, it does what it meant to express. Furthermore, the main colors are just black and white. Unlike a photograph with colors, which portrays different forms of meanings. This black and white aspect is great in make use of a very different mindset from setting out and seeing the world, as Newton is trying to convey a message. That a woman's world without color which compel the general public to understand the photograph in a specific meaning. What is interesting is that the model in the photograph is dressed in a tuxedo suit just like the standard tuxedo for men since the late nineteenth century. She has a white shirt on the inside and without of a tie, but the white shirt has a drape around the collar area which adds femininity to the whole outfit. Aside from the white shirt, the model has a black striped tuxedo suit. The suit brings out the strong masculinity since it was always being seen on men since the late nineteenth century. Even though the "masculinity" and the "femininity" are completely contradicting each other but this unity of the outfit and the model made a great harmony out of it. Most importantly, the focus is towards the model's hand, she is holding a lighted cigarette in the air with her right hand and as her left hand was in the left pocket of the suit trousers. Rousers out of a tie, but the white shirt has a drape around the collar area which adds femininity to the character. As mentioned in *In Vogue: North American and British Representations of Women Smokers in Vogue, 1920s-1960s*, "Confidence was a trademark of the woman smoker in adverts and fashion spreads in the pages of Vogue<sup>5</sup>" (Warsh C. & Tinkler P. 32). The whole ambiance created by the hands left the impression that she is too occupied in her mind to take another smoke of the cigarette. The whole image brings out

---

<sup>5</sup> Warsh, Cheryl & Tinkler, Penny. (2007). In *Vogue: North American and British Representations of Women Smokers in Vogue, 1920s-1960s*. *Canadian bulletin of medical history* = Bulletin canadien d'histoire de la médecine. 24. 9-47. 10.3138/cbmh.24.1.9.

woman's independence and confidence.-



Figure 3, Clothing designs, US Vogue (October 15, 1936), p.96, 97.

This is a double page that is from the Vogue October 1936 Issue (Figure 3), from the first section of this sketches of outfits we can see that the sketched women were still wearing dresses. In fact, women has been wearing dresses since the middle ages, it has been always symbol of woman's elegance and it demonstrated what a woman should be. Even today in the twenty first century, women still chose dresses over other forms of clothes for formal events, for instance, in

the Oscars in 2019, woman who chose suits over gowns made the news since the majority is wearing the dress<sup>6</sup>.

Moving back to the 1975, based on the pictures from the Vogue Archive, we can see that the dress gave the model a great outline for her figure. Even without the use of cigarette implementation, the aspect of women confidence and elegant were quite important and stand out in the twentieth century. The desire for such outlooks were tremendous allowing cigarettes to play a huge role in helping women to achieve what they wanted.



Figure 4, *The Other Side of Midnight is romance*, US Vogue (June 1977), p.56

"One of the key areas in which modernity and the confidence of the woman smoker were conveyed was in her relations with men. Heterosexual attractiveness and self-confidence were explicit characteristics of the women who smoked...Even when young men offered cigarettes to a woman...men assured of women's superiority<sup>7</sup>"(Warsh C. & Tinkler P. 34). The dimension of

---

<sup>6</sup> Katz R. E., "The Women Wore Suits, The Men Wore Gowns: Unpacking the 2019 Oscars Fashions," *Garage*, last accessed April 2, 2019, from [https://garage.vice.com/en\\_us/article/a3bnbe/the-women-wore-suits-the-men-wore-gowns-unpacking-the-2019-oscars-fashions](https://garage.vice.com/en_us/article/a3bnbe/the-women-wore-suits-the-men-wore-gowns-unpacking-the-2019-oscars-fashions)

<sup>7</sup> Warsh, Cheryl & Tinkler, Penny. (2007). In *Vogue: North American and British Representations of Women Smokers in Vogue, 1920s–1960s*. *Canadian bulletin of medical history* = *Bulletin canadien d'histoire de la médecine*. 24. 9-47. 10.3138/cbmh.24.1.9.

men and women's interactions were enhanced and undergo a tremendous change with cigarettes having a role in the twentieth century.

For instance, from the left photograph of the first Double page (Figure 4), the woman and the man were photographed as if they had some affair together, and the man is trying to please the woman based on the unsatisfied facial expression. The man had his left hand on that woman's left arm and also turned his face towards the woman to tell her some sweet words so that the unpleasant expression would disappear. However, the woman in the photograph was wearing a dress, a thin dress that had a V-neck as the collar. Other than the dress, she had another shirt being layered over the dress. This even though it had two layer but it didn't give the outfit a heavy feeling. In fact, the flow layers provided the model a much more vulnerable sensation allowing the men around her wanting to protect her. However, the V-neck played an important role in making the men attracted to the woman in the outfit but also treasure her for her sensitivity. In the second Double page, it is a photograph combining a man and a woman again. The flirt can be sensed through the photograph itself. The setting took place in a bar that has the absence of enough lights, the man on the left is interested to the woman on his left and the he had a grim left on the corner of his lips. In his right hand, he was holding a cigarette, the cigarette matches the suit and made a wealthy look for this guy. As for the woman, she was wearing a tight dress that had a low cut in her chest area especially around the waist. It was tied up so it enabled her to be in a better figure than her original one. This woman was staring at one spot looking persisted, she wants more. And the exposed collarbone was helping her to get what she wanted. Her left hand was on the seductive collarbones yet her right hand directly to the man in the position of having it more. Under the dress, we can see the shape of her leg in such position implying that she would go with him if she got what she asked for. The expressions from the

women in both images depicted the battle of masculinity and femininity. In these two photographs from the June 1975 Vogue issue, we can analyze that in the 1970s the dress was definitely common for woman even though it is not as convenient as trousers that men wears all the time since the dress comes with many limitations. However, before the 1970s woman also had many restrictions in the American society and they were never as equal as men.

Until the Pregnancy Discrimination Act in 1978 , women could be fired from the workplace for being pregnant<sup>8</sup>. Due to the discrimination from the society and environment towards woman, it is much easier to scrutinize the role of women involving in the society. Finding a rich husband is a much reliable option for women at the time since a good husband would be able to offer a decent life for the family and after all, woman's job will just be taking care of the husband and their future descendants. As a result, this photograph by Helmut newton was really a pioneer act through that time. It is like an avant-garde movement call for the women from the time in order to promote the idea of bringing out the independence and rebelliousness from woman. By having the woman dressed up in "men's only" clothes but fits the female body perfect well and smoking a cigarette. Cigarettes were first introduced after the World War II for male soldiers and it was a taboo for women to do so because of it resembles male power and woman were simply not allowed. Introduced the cigarette into this fashion photograph really helped the fashion brand Yves Saint Laurent to expressing the idea behind the clothes and letting the world sense the discrimination towards women.

---

<sup>8</sup> "The Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978," *U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission*, last accessed April 2, 2019, from <https://www.eeoc.gov/laws/statutes/pregnancy.cfm>

To conclude, in the photograph taken by Helmut Newton, he demonstrated the cultural influences of cigarette consequent to women in the twentieth century. Women lacked the opportunity to gain societal power, confidence, and influential reputation as tobacco industry took advantage of such women's psychosocial needs. A woman can fulfill all such needs just by lighting up a cigarette. Newton was able to show the pragmatic effects of women who utilized cigarette as a tool to achieve what they wanted. A clash between the male masculinity and female femininity were the main theme of Newton's photographic work. He questioned the thought or suggestion as to whether female femininity was an action of mimicking the concept of male masculinity. Using the symbol of cigarette, he brought out the notion regarding cigarette channeling the anger and unease that women faced, and whether such emotions created feminism as a counterpart to masculinity.

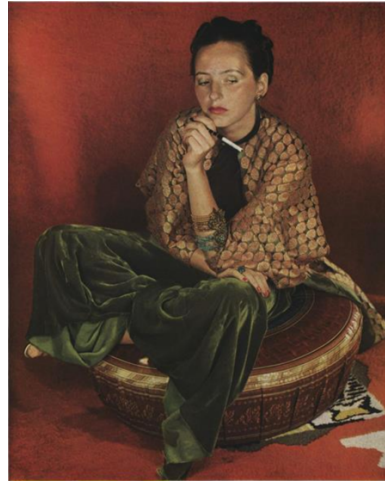
## **Edward Jean Steichen**

Edward Jean Steichen born in Bivange, Luxembourg, and showed his interest in painting and photography when he was in high school. Unlike other photographer, he was unique in a way that he pursued a "[photographic] strategy, known as Pictorialism<sup>9</sup>." Pictorialism is an approach to photography that emphasizes "beauty of subject matter and tonality", similar to how a paint would be like. He quickly became famous as a commercial photographer in the early 20th

---

<sup>9</sup> Szarkowski J., "Edward Steichen-AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHER," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Edward-Steichen>

century in the United States where he mainly focus on taking photographs of famous artists and celebrities.



*Figure 5, Cursi or Chic, US Vogue (October 15, 1936), p.83.*

Edward Steichen took this photograph in 1936 (Figure 5). It was in a dark setting with the hanging delicate burgundy backdrop. Rather than standing in typical model poses, this model was sitting crossed legs in a very relaxed position on a well-made ottoman that was placed on a fluffy rug which has the similar tonality as the backdrop but only a little bit more abstract decoration on. In the photograph, the model was staring at the bottom right corner without having much expression. The emotionlessness expression from her face reflects her vulnerability in the society and fashion industry. Like many other female individuals in the fashion industry, she was told what to wear and what to do. She was wearing a long dark green velvet dress on the inside and also having a golden toned long jacket on the outside. She was wearing red nail polish and her right hand is resting on the left hand while her left hand was holding her chin in such casual way with a filter that has an unlit cigarette connected in between her index finger and her



middle finger. This photograph is eye catching due to model's uncommon pose, the ambiguous mood as well as the interesting details when the viewer spends more time seeing this photograph.

There was a text placed on the left of the photograph, from the beginning it introduced a new foreign word in the second paragraph of the text "Cursi" which later in the third paragraph it was explained I quote "It is bad taste, affection, social or intellectual pretentiousness, inappropriateness, or too much of a muchness." Connecting the text and the photograph from the right you sense the exoticness from the photograph itself also with the text under the photograph started as "Salaam to Eastern Indolence". There are also other details to support this impression, for instance, comparing with illustration of the outfit from page 96-97 (Figure 3), it is easy to observe that the outfits that were popular around the time in 1936 and was still very formal and elegant since the Great Depression hit the United States in the year of 1929 due to the crash of the stock market. The majority of the workers were the men and the unemployed of men reached to the 24.9%<sup>10</sup>, it was a prominent problem since men were the major income of the family, having lost the job would result their families not being able to survive. Due to the fact of the reality, many men became depressed and viewing themselves as failures of society which they cannot uphold their family. However, married women who used to be in the house started seeking jobs in order to solve such problem. They started working as nurses, school teachers, beauticians, janitors, and etc...

---

<sup>10</sup> Margo A. R., (1993) "Employment and Unemployment in the 1930s," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, last accessed April 4, 2019, from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.627.1613&rep=rep1&type=pdf>



Figure 6, Maids' uniform, 1933,  
[https://www.google.com/search?rlz=1C5CHFA\\_enCZ709CZ709&biw=1440&bih=788&tbn=isch&sa=1&ei=CjaqXMryHsbeataei9AM&q=maids+uniform+in+1930s&og=maids+uniform+in+1930s&gs\\_l=img.3...10964.12225..12321...0.0..0.78.376.5...1....1..gws-wi](https://www.google.com/search?rlz=1C5CHFA_enCZ709CZ709&biw=1440&bih=788&tbn=isch&sa=1&ei=CjaqXMryHsbeataei9AM&q=maids+uniform+in+1930s&og=maids+uniform+in+1930s&gs_l=img.3...10964.12225..12321...0.0..0.78.376.5...1....1..gws-wi)



Figure 7, Nurses' uniform, 1930s,  
[https://www.google.com/search?q=nurses+uniform+in+1930s&rlz=1C5CHFA\\_enCZ709CZ709&source=lnms&tb](https://www.google.com/search?q=nurses+uniform+in+1930s&rlz=1C5CHFA_enCZ709CZ709&source=lnms&tb)

As the photographs of nurse and maids uniform (Figure 6 & 7). The fashion from 1930s is very connected into being profession yet still showing the femininity side of the women. Despite the more opportunities for women to achieve financial independence, nursing was one of the few professions a woman was allowed to pursue. Young female nurse were forced to wear a collared white dress and cap (male nurse can wear whatever they wanted) which remained the standard for female nurses throughout the twentieth century and indicates that there were strict policies upon women of what nursing uniform they should wear. From the book, “The Cigarette Century”, it proclaimed that “the radical popularization of tobacco in this 'perverse' form was contested as a moral and cultural offense for women<sup>11</sup>” (Brandt M. A., 45). It was female’s obligation at that time to fight against and change the cultural norms of what defines a woman.

<sup>11</sup> Brandt M. A., (2007), “The Cigarette Century,” *Basic Books*, last accessed April 10, 2019, from <https://books.google.com/books?id=yybaN6j4IpEC&printsec=frontcover&dq=cigarette+fashion+pdf&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjFk7nfuPPhAhXOslkKHwWZAHYQ6AEIKjAA#v=onepage&q&f=false>

Move on to the face of the model from the photograph, it is noticeable that she didn't have too much makeup on her face instead it was just enough to accentuate her features. It was the standard long and thin brows, and a mild green eyeshadow which brought the depth of the eyes also to match with the green velvet dress. Some pink blow on her cheek bones to make it glow and to gives the impression that she went under the sun to get much healthier. Lastly, the lipstick on her lips was the natural red as a substitute for the kitsch bright red that was popular among women at the time. In the corresponding text on the left page to the photograph, from the fourth paragraph it started mentioning keywords such as "Chic", "Frenchwoman" which implied the founder of Chanel how important it is to the fashion also the connection of female smoking to the fashion industry in general. After all, in the photographed taken by Edward Jean Steichen, he displayed the lack of fashionable freedom and position of employment freedom that women suffered in the 20th century. With little no freedom of what women want to pursue for their career and what to wear, the implementation of cigarette provides a short-cut solution for women to feel satisfied. Women had the attempts to achieve fashionable freedom through the use of cigarette. "The 1930s have been called a "golden age for spinsters." In the 1920s and the 1930s some women, especially college-educated women, chose to remain single. These women expected to find spiritual and emotional—perhaps sexual—fulfillment from other women. The decision to remain single was often part of a commitment to a career in social reform, academic life, or a profession. In spite of the discrimination women faced in the tight labor market, the Depression provided opportunities for these young women to become self-reliant. Their experiences of economic independence inhibited their desires to hurry into the dependency of marriage. As one women from Providence, Rhode Island, explained, "It's not that I didn't want to get married, but when you are working and have your own money...." The Depression also

created a scarcity of men financially able to marry and led to many broken engagements.

Another woman explained that she did not choose to remain single, but her obligations to her family came first: "During all the years I worked, I had a boyfriend, but we both had responsibilities at home.... Now they say 'career woman/ but at the time you wouldn't call yourself that. It's just because you felt you had a responsibility at home too." Whether committed to lives with other women, or inspired by their experience of economic independence, more than six million single women supported themselves or contributed to their parents' households in the 1930s.<sup>12</sup> (Judith S. Baughman) With the cigarette and unique style of colors showcased from the combinations of clothes and hair women strive for the freedom of choice in terms of what they want to express.

## **Horst Paul Albert Bohrmann and Gabrielle Chanel**

Gabrielle (Coco) Chanel found Chanel in 1910 when she was 21 years old and at the time she was the perfect model for her own pieces of clothes. Two years later in 1912 the hats she made was already in popular press and worn by the famous actresses during the period such as Lucienne Roger and Gabrielle Dorziat. By the later 1930s quote from The Guardian on Gabrielle (Coco) Chanel written by Amy de la Haye "Chanel's daywear continued to be characterized by its simplicity, but perhaps surprisingly she participated in the Vogue for Victorian-revival styles, presenting cinch-waisted, full-skirted, and bustle-backed evening gowns worn with shoulder-

---

<sup>12</sup> "Working Women in the 1930s." *American Decades*, edited by Judith S. Baughman, et al., vol. 4: 1930-1939, Gale, 2001. *U.S. History in Context*, from <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?p=UHIC&u=sand55832&id=GALE|CX3468301237&v=2.1&it=r&sid=UHIC&asid=4a83ab53>

length lace gloves and floral accessories.” Chanel got famous for being simple yet brought out the elegance out of women. Since Chanel became the leading brand in the whole fashion industry, the worship from the society started showing its way to the brand and the people started to idolize the founder of the brand which is Gabrielle Chanel. Gabrielle Chanel has been a symbol for cigarettes.

Horst Paul Albert Bohrmann was born in Weißenfels, Germany. Unlike other photographer mentioned above, Bohrmann studied architecture during his four years of undergrad. After graduating, he found his interest towards photography by meeting a fashion photographer that works in Vogue New York. He was a talented man and quickly got the hang of photography as he developed an “unique aesthetic can be described as a mixture of Surrealism and Neoclassicism with its reverence for ancient Greek ideals and focus on form and mystery, creating a vibrant sensuality that set his work apart<sup>13</sup>.”



*Figure 8, Coco Chanel in Paris, photo by Horst P. Horst, 1937, <https://www.vogue.com.au/fashion/news/the-most-inspiring-coco-chanel-quotes-to-live-by/image-gallery/b1cb17be7e20734d0b255fbd5a478ed4?pos=7>*

---

<sup>13</sup> “ARTIST Horst P. Horst,” *International Center of Photography*, last accessed April 4, 2019, from <https://www.icp.org/browse/archive/constituents/horst-p-horst?all/all/all/all/0>

A very famous photograph of Gabrielle Chanel smoking in 1937, photographed by Horst P. Horst (Figure 8). This photograph along with famous quotes by Gabrielle Chanel was from Vogue Australia in 17 August 2018, it was under the category of “Fashion > News”, and the title for the article was “The most inspiring Coco Chanel quotes to live by”. In this article there are plenty of photographs of Gabrielle Chanel herself along with the quotes by her. In this photograph, Gabrielle Chanel was comfortably lying on this luxurious satin couch, dressing in her own Chanel outfit, including a head band on her well combed hair. She was wearing her necklaces layered up on around her bare neckline due to the V-neck black dress. The necklace just falls on her naturally in contrast to the well designed, elegant black dress which created such relaxed yet still feminine atmosphere. Her right hand was rested on her flat abdomen, and her fingers were gathering up holding onto to a cigarette that was almost finished. Based on the year 1937 and Gabrielle Chanel being alone in the photograph enjoying the environment, we can tell she was already a unique person. Since there was still a dogma that cigarettes were only for the men and woman smoking were considered highly sexual. In the 1930s, gender still played an important part in the overly conservative society as the men were the prominent and the women were the trivial. Being sexual for a woman was definitely as topic each woman should avoid. Nonetheless, Gabrielle Chanel just went true to herself even in the public photograph showing the side of her that loves the cigarettes. And in the last quotes below the photograph, I quote “In order to be the irreplaceable one must be different.” In this quote, we can comprehend this sentence as in Gabrielle Chanel was just talking about herself. After all, she was very successful

already in the year 1937. Despite her clothing brand Chanel, she was being the different one as in smoking in public and not being shy about it.

According to a research done by the World Health Organization, “tobacco companies have supported women’s organizations for many years. In 1987, Philip Morris gave more than US\$ 2.4 million to more than 180 women’s groups that promote women’s leadership in business, politics, and fashion<sup>14</sup>.” It would not be surprise that they supported Coco to promote the use of cigarette. She is publicly open to something that was almost a “sin” at the time yet she has no fear over that. Having become a public influencer of the time, also including how the general public seeing her as an idol yet the society haven’t seen the bad health effects carried out by the cigarettes. People would follow what their idols do in order to feel that they are one step closer to someone that seems so far from them also having someone so successful doing something that was considered “wrong” at the time made the whole women smoking into a “fashion” due to the “Herd Behavior”. Quote from Investopedia, “Herd behavior represents the tendency for an individual to mimic the actions of a larger group, whether those actions are rational or irrational. In many cases, herd behavior is a set of decisions and actions that an individual would not necessarily make on his or her own<sup>15</sup>.” In this case, Gabrielle Chanel was the larger group due to the fame and recognition she received from the public society and the general public became her followers and the action was the women smoking situation. And suddenly, mimicking Gabrielle Chanel smoking would empower the women and gives the image which represents an successful and independent women which was avant-garde at that period because of the fact that most

---

<sup>14</sup> World Health organization, "Why Women and Girls Use Tobacco," last accessed April 3, 2019, from [https://www.who.int/tobacco/publications/gender/en\\_tfi\\_gender\\_women\\_marketing\\_tobacco\\_women.pdf](https://www.who.int/tobacco/publications/gender/en_tfi_gender_women_marketing_tobacco_women.pdf)

<sup>15</sup> Phung A., "Behavioral Finance: Key Concepts - Herd Behavior," *Investopedia*, last accessed April 6, 2019, from [https://www.investopedia.com/university/behavioral\\_finance/behavioral8.asp](https://www.investopedia.com/university/behavioral_finance/behavioral8.asp)

married women don't have their own life to live but a family to take care of. Living off their husbands' salaries and taking care of the children was all they needed to do or could do. Being independent and having their own career was the last thing that society would expect.

Back with the image from the Vogue issue, this photograph wasn't directly influenced by the Chanel founder Gabrielle (Coco) Chanel, however, Chanel was a gigantic fashion movement and it reflected to the people that women smoking started to become exceedingly popular. This photograph perfectly brought out the uniqueness through the clothing and the surroundings but also the differentness of the subject in the photograph and the cigarette with the feminine filter is the best to show how strong the subject in the photograph was. Even though she was a woman, she wasn't muscular but she was unbreakable, and the liberation of herself.

Ultimately, in the photograph taken by Horst P. Horst, his photographs of the famous fashion designer, Gabrielle Coco Chanel, exhibited how cigarette began to influence the fashion industry. With the influence of Chanel, the fashion industry glamorized the use of smoking cigarette. Women who desired fashionable (sexual) freedom and financial freedom were beginning to challenge the concept of what women could be. Smoking fit nicely into the optics of that narrative that women were smoking just like men did and depicted the image of better or even disobedient women. Men loved to see women smoking. When women smoke a cigarette at the public, it will attract other men which means women will have more leverage over sexual affairs. It is a cycle of influences as such culture was translated into the fashion industry, while the fashion industry shapes the culture of the society.



## Keith Trumbo

Keith Trumbo did not mention where he was born in, but he emphasized that New York, United States is his “home”. Trumbo started his photography career in London for a few years then came to New York worked with a famous American fashion photographer, Irving Penn. Slowly, he worked his way up and got his photographs onto famous publications such as Vogue and Vanity Fair. He co-founded Keith Trumbo Studio in New York City and mainly focuses on portraits for the general public.



*Figure 9, Smoking woman, US Vogue (December 1, 1974), p. 76*

Here is a portrait photographed by Keith Trumbo (Figure 9). This photograph was appeared in December 1st, 1974 Vogue Issue under the Chapter Beauty and Health. This is a very eye-catching photo, the photograph itself was in black and white. The black and white aspects again emphasized the gloomy dynamic that Trumbo was trying to convey upon. The subject in the photograph is a woman and she has this short but effortless-looking blonde hair, which it gives the impression that she combed it but the wind made the hair went on a more natural side. She has a fine feature but her eyes looked tired as if she hasn't been sleeping for a

long time mainly from the darkness area under her eyes. Her lips were holding the lit cigarette and her face, we cannot see well behind the smoke from her cigarette. Moving down, it was her neck, from the photograph we can tell she is skinny, her collar bones popped out so much under the black round neck t-shirt she was wearing. Despite cigarette can demonstrate the confidence and independence of women, it also shows the negative health characteristics that cigarette can impose on women. "The refinement was an essential feature of respectable femininity and feminine beauty; it 'required attention to the finer details of appearance and depended on careful maintenance and control/containment of the female body'<sup>12</sup>(Warsh C. & Tinkler P. 20). In a society where men dominated the world, a figure who provides financial and political stability, women who smoke cigarette and strive for independence in terms of an abstract ideal can be consist as a not desirable or optimistic way to undertake because it exert influence upon their health condition both physically and mentally. Such addictive compulsion of cigarette from women emerged from the means of self-managing the activity. According to a research study *Understanding Cigarette Addiction amongst Women*, "addictive consumers are women who have adopted what is traditionally considered to be a male-based mechanism for coping with depression or unsatisfactory situations - that is, doing something rather than thinking about their problems<sup>13</sup>." We can also interpret this photograph that women during that time who strive for independence in such an unbalanced society can cause depression in which women fall into the

---

<sup>12</sup> Warsh, Cheryl & Tinkler, Penny. (2007). In *Vogue: North American and British Representations of Women Smokers in Vogue, 1920s–1960s*. *Canadian bulletin of medical history* = *Bulletin canadien d'histoire de la médecine*. 24. 9-47. 10.3138/cbmh.24.1.9.

<sup>13</sup> Tonks D., Eccles S., (2005), "Smoke Signals: Understanding Cigarette Addiction amongst Women," *University of Lancaster*, last accessed April 5, 2019, from <https://www.mngt.waikato.ac.nz/ejrot/cmsconference/2005/proceedings/criticalmarketing/Eccles.pdf>

trap of smoking a cigarette in order to feel better mentally; but sadly such mentality is going to be worsen in the long term.



*Figure 10, Bellodgia ads, US Vogue (December 1974), p.91*



*Figure 11, Christian Dior ads, US Vogue (December, 1974), p.97*

From the same issue (Figure 10 & 11), we can observe that the models were extremely skinny, from the first picture the female model was presenting for this perfume advertisement. She was wearing a long slip dress and sitting on a box leaning to the right of the audience, her arms were crossed in front of her chest, from the outline we can tell she was much skinnier than

a healthy person, especially the lighting for the shooting on her face tells the truth of how thin she was. Below the photograph, there was the perfume she's presenting and on the left of the perfume bottle, the catch line for the advertisement was, quote "Lead him on like a lady. Lead him on with Bellodgia." Just these two simple sentences, we could easily analyze that women's role in the society was still seducing a men and serve him with her own life. Many women were trapped in these stereotypes of the environment they lived in and they have to play along which is to follow all the rule of the society to be attractive and get a good man. The standard for being attractive at the time was to be as thin as possible. This misconception of the advertisement was planted into women's head like how propaganda works in the political realm of things. In the second advertisement, it was for the high-end fashion brand Christian Dior. In this photograph, the model was framed in an oval yet she posed in this pose just like she is so flexible in it. Her left arm is on her waist. the right one was holding on to her right knee and the fingertip touched the top of her head. The model was sitting on a block and the right leg was on the top surface of the block whilst her left leg is hanging on by the left side of the block that the mode was sitting on. Interestingly, this photograph is different from the previous ones since we cannot see the facial feature of the model. On the contrary, the leg was portrait perfectly well this was when the viewers started to focus on the body physic rather than whether this model had a beautiful face or not. In a conservative time period during the 1970s, being in the society-accepted mindset, being skinny was the only judgement for whether a woman is beautiful or not, even if the woman didn't have a great facial feature. Physical appearance weighed in that environment so much at the time in order to judge a woman rather than to understand if the woman is beautiful on the inside as well. Women were just accessories for the men being slim equals better chance for a better man.

According to a research study done by the International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, “Specifically, the [tobacco] industry designed a series of messages over the decades of the 20th century to shift the cultural and psychosocial meaning of women’s smoking from a negative to a positive and used these messages in their advertising and marketing, product development efforts and imagery<sup>14</sup>” (Greaves L., 4). Tobacco companies introduced cigarettes to woman with the promising campaign saying directly that cigarettes would help a woman losing weight and we can find many advertisement since the 1930s promoting cigarettes as a weight loss method. Despite the lack of scientific research upon the issue whether cigarette can have a statistical significance in determining weight loss, tobacco companies used the imagery of cigarette as a method to promote such effects.



Figure 12, Lucky Strike ad, 1930,  
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/behindthesmoke/6051385300/in/set-72157627326842577>

<sup>14</sup> Greaves L. (2015), "The Meanings of Smoking to Women and Their Implications for Cessation," *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, last accessed April 27, 2019, from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/67a8/57cc57f64853f5880d086e668e0727e1ba9b.pdf>

In the most well-known advertisement for promoting the idea to women consumers or future potential consumers that smoking can get you into a better shape or lose weight instead of doing physical exercises. In this advertisement by the Tobacco company named Lucky Strike (Figure 12), it is a very straight forward advertisement. The main subject was portrayed into a slim looking woman that is standing on a diving board. She looked content and confident with what she was doing and the full body swimsuit perfectly portrayed her curves, her slender long arms were leaning forward and this position gave her a better proportion. The bare arms and the bare legs resonated with each other which left the impression of a healthy, adult woman. On the contrary, there is a shadow behind the healthy looking woman. They looked similar even though the shadow is close to being completely dark without details. This shadow portrayed this lady in the obese version of her. The shadow was wearing the same swimsuit, same swimming hat but also double the size from the original subject. Her limbs were just so obviously went to overweight and with the heavy arms leaning forward just like the previous subject, it brings the empathy that the woman couldn't balance herself on the diving platform and if it was real, this shadow might have just pushed the healthy looking woman down. On the right side of the two drawings there was a Lucky Strike cigarette packet with eye catching red background and black font written in "Lucky Strike". And on the top of the packet there were a few white cigarettes with filters popping out and it gives the very suggestive to the viewers that cigarettes made by Lucky Strike is the "savior" for the ones especially females who desire to lose weight without much effort. On the top of the poster, there were red colored fonts in large sized capitals saying "IS THIS YOU FIVE YEARS FROM NOW? When tempted to over-indulge. Reach for a Lucky instead." This sentence is literally telling their women smokers or female potential consumers about their biggest fear and finding a much easier solution for the group. Even when a woman

married a good man due to her outstanding features. She still would have to keep herself in the best form to maintain the beauty, or just made it last longer. One of the biggest fear for women would be getting fat and this catch phrase for women already directly implied that smoking would help them keep in shape or they would lose weight due to smoking. By having a advertisement like this, the consumers of Lucky Strike would just grow much faster due to the society who formed an ideal body shape for women which became the entrance to get a good man that could provide his woman a wealthy life. and at the bottom of the poster there were big black fonts written in “It’s toasted”. In this case, we can tell that this sentence actually has two meanings. The denotation would be the tobacco was really toasted for the flavor and the connotation would be the subject from the poster would be tanned as a way of showing the healthy skin and secretly implant this idea to women viewers that smoking bring good to their own health. Especially below the “It’s toasted.” it mentioned that the cigarettes had throat protection and against irritation and coughs which it acted out as assurance who had doubts about the cigarette would bring anything bad to they health. And smoking slowly evolved into the society as a weight losing method and it having a cigarette in the hand make a woman “healthier”.

As a result, in the photographed taken by Keith Trumbo, the woman was extremely thin and was holding the cigarette. Instead of analyzing the photograph by itself, by combining the history of the promotions and advertisements carried out by the Tobacco Companies. A model smoking in the picture makes the model much slimmer than just the model alone. This method was extremely popular in the 1970s to adding more message in the photograph and also another way of advertisement for the Tobacco company, in to luring the audience feeling or imaging that

they were the subject of the artistic photograph and smoking a cigarette would make them not only slim but also emphasized the charismatic personality that it can potentially present.

## **Conclusion**

The relationship between cigarettes, women, and the fashion industry were complicated back in the 20th century. Despair, disparity between the sexes, economics, confidence, sexuality, traditional gender representations were factors that the tobacco industry exploited and weaved into a tapestry of woman as new source of income, woman as a consumer base, woman as an untapped market. In turn, the newly created image of a smoking woman became a cultural phenomenon and found its way into the fashion industry. Photographs presented here by Helmut Newton, Edward Jean Steichen and Keith Trumbo demonstrate the interwoven correlations between financial hunger and artistic expression in the remarkable era of the 20th century. First, Helmut Newton displayed impacts of cigarette use among women in the 20th century of the western civilization with the huge expansion of consumerism. In a consumerism-based culture, a society in which women were fighting for societal gains and economic independence became fertile ground for artistic expression. In time, cigarettes had taken part in fulfilling women's psychosocial needs. Newtown was able to show the effects of cigarette onto women hinting the collision of male masculinity and female femininity. Second, Edward Jean Steichen was shown to depict the lack of freedom and the restrictive nature of women's fashion at the time and the further lack of freedom that was women's access to employment in the 20th century. Steichen conveyed in his photographs a message that the effectuation of cigarette had the power to create an escape for women to perceive a sense of contentment. Third, Horst P. Horst, in his



photographs of the Gabrielle Coco Chanel, exhibited how cigarette began to influence the fashion industry. Smoking fit nicely into the written account of such case that women smoking portrayed the resemblance of the greater women. Last but not least, Keith Tumbo's photographs make the public view that women were exceptionally skinny with the contrast of cigarettes. He was able to incorporate and contrast the history of the promotions and advertisements of cigarettes to the health aspect of women who smoked cigarette; promoting the artistic values that cigarette brings to women fashion.

## Bibliography

- “ARTIST Helmut Newton,” *International Center of Photography*, last accessed April 2, 2019, from <https://www.icp.org/browse/archive/constituents/helmut-newton?all/all/all/all/0>
- Brandt M. A., (2007), “The Cigarette Century,” *Basic Books*, last accessed April 10, 2019, from <https://books.google.com/books?id=yybaN6j4IpEC&printsec=frontcover&dq=cigarette+fashion+pdf&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjFk7nfuPPhAhXOslkKHWwZAHYQ6AEIKjAA#v=onepage&q&f=false>
- Greaves L. (2015), “The Meanings of Smoking to Women and Their Implications for Cessation,” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, last accessed April 27, 2019, from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/67a8/57cc57f64853f5880d086e668e0727e1ba9b.pdf>
- Gunderman R., “The manipulation of the American mind: Edward Bernays and the birth of public relations,” *The Conversation*, last accessed April 1, 2019, from <http://theconversation.com/the-manipulation-of-the-american-mind-edward-bernays-and-the-birth-of-public-relations-44393>
- “HELMUT NEWTON,” *Annenberg Space for Photography*, last accessed April 2, 2019, from <https://www.annenbergphotospace.org/exhibits/helmut-newton/>
- Katz R. E., “The Women Wore Suits, The Men Wore Gowns: Unpacking the 2019 Oscars Fashions,” *Garage*, last accessed April 2, 2019, from [https://garage.vice.com/en\\_us/article/a3bnbe/the-women-wore-suits-the-men-wore-gowns-unpacking-the-2019-oscars-fashions](https://garage.vice.com/en_us/article/a3bnbe/the-women-wore-suits-the-men-wore-gowns-unpacking-the-2019-oscars-fashions)
- “The Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978,” *U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission*, last accessed April 2, 2019, from <https://www.eeoc.gov/laws/statutes/pregnancy.cfm>
- Margo A. R., (1993) “Employment and Unemployment in the 1930s,” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, last accessed April 4, 2019, from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.627.1613&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Phung A., “Behavioral Finance: Key Concepts - Herd Behavior,” *Investopedia*, last accessed April 6, 2019, from [https://www.investopedia.com/university/behavioral\\_finance/behavioral8.asp](https://www.investopedia.com/university/behavioral_finance/behavioral8.asp)
- Szarkowski J., “Edward Steichen-AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHER,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed from <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Edward-Steichen>
- Tonks D., Eccles S., (2005), “Smoke Signals: Understanding Cigarette Addiction amongst Women,” *University of Lancaster*, last accessed April 5, 2019, from <https://www.mngt.waikato.ac.nz/ejrot/cmsconference/2005/proceedings/criticalmarketing/Eccles.pdf>
- “Vogue Archive,” *Vogue - Condé Nast*, accessed from <http://archive.vogue.com/home/>
- Warsh, Cheryl & Tinkler, Penny. (2007). In *Vogue: North American and British Representations of Women Smokers in Vogue, 1920s–1960s. Canadian bulletin of medical history = Bulletin canadien d'histoire de la médecine*. 24. 9-47. 10.3138/cbmh.24.1.9.
- “Working Women in the 1930s.” *American Decades*, edited by Judith S. Baughman, et al., vol. 4: 1930-1939, Gale, 2001. *U.S. History in Context*, from <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?p=UHC&u=sand55832&id=GALE|CX3468301237&v=2.1&it=r&sid=UHC&asid=4a83ab53>

World Health organization, "Why Women and Girls Use Tobacco," last accessed April 3, 2019, from [https://www.who.int/tobacco/publications/gender/en/tfi\\_gender\\_women\\_marketing\\_tobacco\\_women.pdf](https://www.who.int/tobacco/publications/gender/en/tfi_gender_women_marketing_tobacco_women.pdf)