

A PIONEER OF MODERNITY: RAUL DE CALDEVILLA AND THE ADVERTISING BUSINESS IN PORTUGAL (1914-1923)

PEDRO ALMEIDA LEITÃO*

Abstract: *In 1914, Raul de Caldevilla established in Porto his ETP, the first advertising agency in Portugal committed to the promotion of brands. Unlike its predecessors, whose function was almost exclusively the placement of advertisements in the press, Caldevilla directs the full process from creative idea to advertising media, attracting clients thanks to the originality and quality of his work. As an entrepreneur, he will seek to internationalise his business and secure contractual or ownership control over strategic resources. Between 1919 and 1923, Caldevilla attempts to build a big company that, in addition to advertising, includes lithography and film production in its activities. Although the large capital requirements will sentence the firm to an early end, Caldevilla's plan is worthy of study for its ambition and boldness, especially considering how undeveloped Portuguese advertising was at the time.*

Keywords: *Caldevilla; advertising; Escritório Técnico de Publicidade; Empresa do Bolhão.*

Resumo: *Em 1914, Raul de Caldevilla funda no Porto o ETP, a primeira agência de publicidade em Portugal orientada para a promoção de marcas comerciais. Ao contrário dos seus predecessores, cuja função consistia quase exclusivamente na colocação de anúncios na imprensa, Caldevilla dedica-se ao desenvolvimento de todo o processo, desde a ideia criativa até ao meio publicitário, atraindo clientes pela originalidade e qualidade do seu trabalho. Enquanto empresário, procura internacionalizar os seus negócios e assegurar o controlo, contratual ou de propriedade, sobre recursos estratégicos. Entre 1919 e 1923, tenta erguer uma grande empresa que, além da publicidade, estenderia a sua atividade à litografia e à produção cinematográfica. Ainda que as elevadas necessidades de capital tenham ditado o fim precoce deste projeto, o plano delineado por Caldevilla é digno de estudo pela sua ambição e arrojo, em pleno contraste com o incipiente desenvolvimento do sector publicitário no país.*

Palavras-chave: *Caldevilla; publicidade; Escritório Técnico de Publicidade; Empresa do Bolhão.*

INTRODUCTION

The history of advertising in Portugal has not yet received proper attention from academia. Despite its interdisciplinary interest in fields such as design, marketing, cultural studies, economic history, among others, bibliography on the subject has been limited to catalogues, which are visually attractive but focus mainly on design trends; and to papers that take advertisements as historical evidence for illustrating the evolution of businesses or of consumer patterns. Comprehensive works dedicated to advertising as a practice are rare. Estrela's analysis for the Estado Novo period is such a case¹, though a more in-depth study on the sources and a methodological clarification of research would improve significantly

* FLUP-CITCEM.

¹ ESTRELA, 2004.

its academic interest. The article by Barbosa, Calvera and Branco on Raul de Caldevilla's ETP is the exception that proves the rule². Although sharing the same subject and timeline, these authors focus mainly on design, while here we apply a business history perspective.

Even considering the incipient stage of investigation, Caldevilla already stands out as a beacon of inventiveness in the early days of the development of advertising in the country. He is, unquestionably, a pioneer. For the first decades of the 20th century, in most of Western Europe, the United States, even in South America, we find plenty of evidence of a thriving advertising market: agencies and agents assuming new roles in brand promotion, newspaper and magazine pages covered with coloured advertisements, cities decorated with posters, billboards, even electric signs on rooftops, radiant window displays on the streets, the invention of new media formats... In Portugal, despite a promising development in the press as an advertising medium, the overall scenery was dreary.

After a few years travelling through South America and a period in Paris to expand his learning, in 1914 Caldevilla was ready to cause a stir. He opened an office in Porto as the first advertising agent in a modern sense, creating alluring advertisements for press, poster and even atypical media such as tramway placards. He soon grabbed the opportunity to take his business to another level. With the Puertollanos' climb to Torre dos Clérigos, not only did he create a great publicity stunt but also the first filmed advertisement in the country.

Soon Caldevilla was dreaming of a three-division company that would combine advertising, lithography and film. Rather than limiting its operations to the domestic market, he had a clear plan to internationalise his business as soon as possible. Between 1919 and 1923, under the firm *Empresa Técnica Publicitária Film Gráfica Caldevilla*, he was close to fulfilling his plan of a multimedia, vertically integrated, internationally oriented, technically and creatively leading company. Unfortunately, the partnership split up due to management disagreements. Caldevilla's plans crumbled before he had the chance to consolidate his project. The lithographic workshop, renamed *Empresa do Bolhão*, was the only unit that survived from the original structure. For the next decades, it would produce some of the country's most famous advertising posters³.

Caldevilla is a key figure in the history of Portuguese advertising, a shooting star that marked an era and quickly vanished. This article aims at studying his entrepreneurial endeavours from 1914 to 1923. The business practices he introduced were perfectly in line with international trends. Considering the backward stage of domestic advertising at the time, it further contributed to establish Caldevilla's influence in the field. He produced several reports, conferences, newspaper articles, not to mention brochures and leaflets printed for promotional purposes, which have survived and that allow us to

² BARBOSA, CALVERA, BRANCO, 2009.

³ LOBO, 2001.

understand his thoughts and actions. Some of these documents had not yet been considered by academics but they are important sources for studies in advertising history.

1. THE ADVERTISING AGENT BEFORE CALDEVILLA

The practice of advertising in the Western World changed dramatically over the course of the 19th century and especially in the early decades of the 20th. The role of agents was defined in the first place by a specialisation in the prices of advertising space in the press. Later, the focus will change to the client and to the promotion of his brands.

In the first half of the 19th century, a new business model for the press was invented, which multiplied its reading public. Thanks to advertising revenues, newspapers were able to lower their sale price, allowing a wider audience of the middle and lower classes to access its pages. This larger public, in turn, attracted more advertisers, which contributed to the amazing financial returns of local newspapers. These grew in circulation to reach consumers nationwide and the press quickly became the main media for advertising⁴.

Also, at a time of great economic volatility, companies sought to gain a steadier position on their sales volume through a firmer control over distribution chains. Brands were useful tools to accomplish such a task. To expand their business, first on a domestic and then on an international basis, companies needed to make their brands known⁵. Advertising was the way brands expressed their value in the marketplace, attracting notoriety and creating favourable associations in consumers' minds.

The professional that handles advertising, the agent, will follow these structural changes, from a media to a brand-oriented business. As the press expands its circulation, he will act as specialist in the rates of advertising space. Dealing directly with newspapers and magazines, he gets favourable discounts on the price of placing advertisements, which he then sells to advertisers at a profit. He can also act as consultant on the best media mix an advertiser can put his money in, providing press circulation numbers, geographical distribution, general characterisation of the public, but his core expertise is as trader of advertising space. Advertiser and newspaper are both clients of his office, which often created some ambiguity in business relations⁶.

In Portugal, it is no wonder that the first time we hear about an advertising agency is in close connection to the first mass circulation daily in the country, «Diário de Notícias», launched in 1865⁷. Agência Primitiva de Anúncios, which operated throughout the 1870s and was succeeded by Agência Havas⁸, included in its services the publication of advertisements and announcements in the most important papers in

⁴ OHMANN, 1998: 20; STARR, 2004: 252.

⁵ WILKINS, 1992: 67-68.

⁶ FOX, 1997: 14.

⁷ TENGARRINHA, 1989, 215.

⁸ Very likely the advertising division of the French news agency. *Agencia Havas*, 1885: 194.

the country, drawing attention to the special rates the agency had contracted with the media. A rigorous calculation of the estimated cost of the advertisement is also presented as a selling point. It could also translate to Portuguese from French, English, Spanish, etc., revealing already the importance of foreign advertisers. Finally, it also accepted the creation of short or long article-like advertisements, «according to a given idea»⁹. Copywriting, which will later become a core skill for any agent, is still something he could lend a hand to, but not his main responsibility. Creativity is not yet an important part of the business.

Although it did not work in exclusivity for the newspaper, a considerable share of this agency's business was in the personal, classified-like insertions that constitute the financial success formula of «Diário de Notícias»¹⁰. Over the years there was an exponential growth in the number of these small, cheap and pictureless advertisements, where one could announce to be looking for a maid, a house, a job, or to be selling some goods, to promote an auction or inform that a ship had just arrived. This kind of advertising is also characterised as being a one-time experience, which, since most goods advertised were still unbranded, rendered the establishment of a business reputation as almost impossible¹¹.

As companies start to include marketing and branding plans in their sales strategies, expenses with advertising will increase and a new role for the agent will be created. He is no longer just a trader in media space, but a builder of brands. Assuming a long-term relationship with certain clients (key accounts), he will carefully develop advertisements or campaigns, creatively using its textual and graphic elements to convey positive, valuable qualities in association with the branded product. The nature of the advertising practice will shift from mass promotion, typical of the late 19th century, to strategic branding¹². The agent will start to be seen as a skilled technician and the teachings of this nascent profession will be compiled in a body of texts, providing the theoretical framework of what sometimes will be called scientific or rational advertising¹³.

2. CALDEVILLA'S WRITINGS ON ADVERTISING

The first Portuguese to embody this role and to articulate these ideas is someone who derived his experience from several years in business travels throughout the Americas and Europe. He claimed to be well informed about the latest trends in advertising and was eager to make them known in his home country.

⁹ *Única em Portugal*, 1870: 326, our translation from the original in Portuguese: «segundo a idéa que se lhe apresente».

¹⁰ CUNHA, 1914: 52-53.

¹¹ LEITÃO, 2020: 60.

¹² SCHWARZKOPF, 2010: 169.

¹³ OHMANN, 1998: 97; FOX, 1997: 73.

After a couple of years working as vice-consul in the south of Spain, Raul de Caldevilla assumed the double position of sales representative for Real Vinícola, a wine company from Porto, and the Portuguese government's official agent for the markets of Spanish America. From 1908 to 1912, he visited almost every corner of the continent, gathering commercial data which he then used to produce reports on the market conditions for the expansion of Portuguese wines, while at the same time pushing Real Vinícola's brands with local retailers¹⁴.

Although he was not given any budget for advertising expenditures, Caldevilla was convinced that it was the only business approach that could produce some effect in the expansion of sales. In his 1912 report on Argentina, he recommends a serious and continuous spending on advertising, not only to increase exports but also as a solution to the main problem faced by Portuguese wines: counterfeits. He dismisses measures such as the creation of a seal of warranty (which he regards as easily forgeable) and proposes in turn that companies change drastically their distribution methods, from packaging (most wine was still shipped in bulk; bottling was paramount to prevent fraud and to the perception of quality¹⁵) to promotion (i.e., advertising campaigns focused on strong brands). That was the strategy the Italian wines had chosen and which had made them so popular in Argentina¹⁶.

Caldevilla did not intend to be a theorist. His texts were oriented to persuade audiences that knew very little about advertising or to businessmen to whom some practical teachings could come in use, such as the lectures, which he had printed, *A Publicidade* and *Um Auxílio ao Retalhista*. After leaving Real Vinícola, he sought training in Paris with the advertising theorist Octave-Jacques Gérin¹⁷. In 1916, he also prepared a short course for the Raul Dória School in Porto. Looking at its contents, we can appreciate how up-to-date he was with international trends. It is also instructive that, in distinguishing different advertising styles by country, he included the «Portuguese approach according to Caldevilla's applied technique»¹⁸.

He regarded advertising as everything that led a buyer to make a purchase, based on the process of «informing, announcing, making known what is offered for sale»¹⁹. Thanks to it, the customer is aware of the market offer, its quality and place of purchase. In a word, advertising is information. This is particularly important in an economy of affluence, where one must «avoid the certain disaster of an industrial superabundance

¹⁴ CALDEVILLA, 1947: 13.

¹⁵ He tells that in Chile many retailers were led to believe that Port wine was made in Britain, since in the wine label it was written «bottled in London». British shippers imported wine from Portugal in bulk and then bottled it in their facilities. CALDEVILLA, 1947: 13; CALDEVILLA, 1913: 51-52.

¹⁶ CALDEVILLA, 1913: 72-73.

¹⁷ CALDEVILLA, 1947: 13.

¹⁸ *Programas*, [1916]: 42, «a forma portuguesa segundo a técnica aplicada de Raul de Caldevilla», in the original.

¹⁹ CALDEVILLA, 1914: 25, «o de informar, o de divulgar, o de tornar conhecido o que se offerece á venda», in the original.

without wide and lucrative demand»²⁰. The old ways of face-to-face promotion, via retailer or salesman, were inadequate to cope with the expansion of modern businesses²¹. In South America, he was confronted with the inefficient sales methods chosen by Portuguese companies: «some of our businessmen [...] suppose, naively, that having a good wine, a fine label and a good salesman is enough to sell»²². Advertising is what amplifies information and notoriety about a product or brand in a crowded and noisy market. In fact, it may come to a point where the product becomes «emancipated» from distributors and, instead of having to pressure the middleman to recommend it constantly to customers, it is the customer himself that comes to the shop asking for it²³.

He also distinguishes between a positive «progressive» technique of advertising, typical of the United States, with its originality in ideas to attract the consumer's attention and to inquire him directly, and an «improper» technique, still pervasive in most countries outside the US, which prioritises graphic decoration and sober messages. He describes advertising made in Portugal in a discouraging way, as being limited to «feeble and narrow [press] advertisements, poor in space and clear ideas, or by posters that look like sombre court notices»²⁴.

Nevertheless, he proposes some solutions to practical problems. In *Um Auxílio ao Retalhista*, he exemplifies how shop owners can create appealing advertisements at a very small cost, simply by working on the design and dressing of their window displays. True to his analysis of progressive advertising (though close to the US method, he defined his approach as unique), he goes on explaining the seven key aspects of an appealing window display: Consistency, Variety, Speech, Movement, Originality, Opportunity and Light²⁵.

Caldevilla was not a scholar and he did not write for posterity. He was a practical man whose aim was to sell the idea of advertising itself, trying to convince the public through his lectures and articles of its value and usefulness. As a pioneer, he had to make a convincing case for what he saw as a change of paradigm: «with properly directed advertising, everything will grow» — not just the profits of the big merchant

²⁰ CALDEVILLA, 1914: 27, «evitar os desastres certos d'uma superabundancia industrial sem procura ampla e remuneradora.», in the original.

²¹ Nevertheless, he considered the roles of retailer and salesman as relevant and proposed that their effectiveness would be largely increased through the use of advertising. To the former, despite the criticism, he will dedicate a proper lecture. The latter, he regards as useful in getting distributors' and retailers' acceptance and collaboration, especially in new markets: «A word [by the salesman] persuades and has an advantage over the circular that is not read or the wine sample that is not tasted». CALDEVILLA, 1909: 582, «a palavra convence e leva de vencida a circular que não se lê ou a amostra que não se prova», in the original.

²² CALDEVILLA, 1913: 71, «Alguns dos nossos homens de negocios [...] supõem, ingenuamente, que para vender basta só um bom vinho, um bom rótulo e um bom viajante!», in the original.

²³ CALDEVILLA, 1914: 37-39.

²⁴ CALDEVILLA, 1914: 33, «em annuncios tísicos, apertados, muito avaros de espaço e de ideias claras, ou em cartazes que lembram editaes de graves magistrados», in the original.

²⁵ CALDEVILLA, 1918: 20, «A Unidade, a Variedade [...], a Fala, o Movimento, a Originalidade, a Oportunidade, a Luz», in the original.

or the small retailer but also the wages of the working man. Advertising could become «the triumphal weapon of our commerce»²⁶. But being a businessman himself, it was also an attempt to attract investors and clients to his entrepreneurial projects.

3. THE FIRST ADVERTISING AGENCY AND THE FIRST ADVERTISING FILM

The lecture *A Publicidade* presented to Ateneu Comercial do Porto in May 1914 was not only a moment to exhibit the wonders of advertising to the city's businessmen but also an opportunity to introduce his newly founded ETP – Escritório Técnico de Publicidade, considered to be Portugal's first advertising agency²⁷, at least in the modern sense explained above.

The most important brand the agency promoted was Caldevilla himself. He is described as a cosmopolitan and travelled man, shrewd in business and familiarised with the latest international trends²⁸. In ETP's office he is the advertising mind, the creative thinker and developer of campaigns. A team of designers headed by Amoroso Lopes put his ideas to paper. His partner António de Oliveira Cálem (of the Cálem family of wine shippers) acted as sales director²⁹.

Caldevilla was also seeking to attract foreign customers that wanted to advertise in Portugal, as is shown by ETP's brochures published in French, the *lingua franca* of the time³⁰. He developed the advertisement from scratch, working on an idea that could easily attract the viewer's attention by means of a playful and visually appealing composition³¹. A professional exclusively dedicated to the entire process of advertising, from idea, to design and media mix is certainly an innovation introduced by Caldevilla in Portugal³².

ETP did not only include the traditional media of press and poster, but extended largely the catalogue of advertising displays: placards on tramways (both outside and inside), billboards on railways, stage curtains on theatres, big outdoors in cities, small format advertisements (calendars, postcards, flyers and brochures), and even film³³. Caldevilla knew that a firm control over innovations was crucial in order to avoid copycat competitors. He secured his special advantages through exclusivity contracts, such as the one with the tramway company in Porto, or through ownership, as he did with the billboards on the Minho railway, the model of which he also tried to patent³⁴.

²⁶ CALDEVILLA, 1914: 59-60, «Com a publicidade bem dirigida tudo se engrandecerá», «a arma triumphal do nosso commercio», in the original.

²⁷ BARBOSA, CALVERA, BRANCO, 2009.

²⁸ *La Propagande au Portugal*, [s.d.]: 14.

²⁹ CALDEVILLA, 1947: 14.

³⁰ *La Propagande au Portugal*, [s.d.]; *Anuncios que dão na vista*, [1915-1916].

³¹ BARBOSA, CALVERA, BRANCO, 2009: 28.

³² *Leia e Releia*, [s.d.].

³³ *La Propagande au Portugal*, [s.d.]: 6.

³⁴ BAPTISTA, 1998: 83.

In mid-1917, a particular event will open a new cycle of growth for Caldevilla's projects. It began with the visit to ETP of two Spanish construction workers, José and Miguel Puertollano, whose special skill was to repair lightning arresters, crosses, and other objects on the top of tall buildings without the aid of scaffolding or ropes. Though they came to Caldevilla to advertise their services in the local press, he had more ambitious plans and immediately offered them a contract for a series of publicity stunts³⁵.

Using only their bare hands, the Puertollanos climbed several times to the Torre dos Clérigos bell tower, the tallest building in the country at that time, tossing from above advertising flyers. The last time they climbed, on October 28th, Caldevilla organised a great festival in Porto, building up enthusiasm some weeks before by placing articles about the Puertollanos' endeavours and asking readers to send a postcard with the word «I want to see» to Fábrica Invicta, the owner of the brand they would be promoting. The event also included three marching bands playing a one-step march created for the occasion, fireworks, and a special discount on trains to the city³⁶.

On top of that, he had a camera crew filming the two Spanish acrobats. When they reached the top, the Puertollanos simulated to have tea and biscuits of the Petit Beurre brand. This film became known as *Um chá nas nuvens* (a tea in the clouds, literally) and is considered the first Portuguese advertisement on film (Caldevilla himself considered it the first in the world³⁷). In Lisbon, the Puertollanos repeated their stunt by climbing the Basílica da Estrela's dome³⁸.

From this moment on, Caldevilla had the spotlight on him. Although most of ETP's records have not survived, the years after 1917 must have been excellent for business. In 1919 he moved his office to the luxurious Palácio do Bolhão, a 19th century palace where he found space to accommodate not only his agency but also a lithographic workshop. His success is also measured by the list of businessmen that were persuaded to enter the new partnership³⁹. After *Um chá nas nuvens*, he took some time to visit film studios in Italy and France. When he returned home, he knew that film was where he should continue his rising career.

4. THE CALDEVILLA COMPANY: ADVERTISING, LITHOGRAPHY, AND FILM

The years from 1919 to 1923 mark the height of Caldevilla's ambitions as entrepreneur. He aimed at «creating two new absolutely perfect business units: a complete graphic

³⁵ CALDEVILLA, 1947: 15.

³⁶ CALDEVILLA, 1947: 37-38.

³⁷ CALDEVILLA, 1947: 36.

³⁸ RIBEIRO, 1983: 145-146.

³⁹ BARBOSA, CALVERA, BRANCO, 2009: 24; *As Grandes Iniciativas*, 1920: 5.

workshop and a major film division»⁴⁰. The statutes of this new company, Empresa Técnica Publicitária Film Gráfica Caldevilla (ETPFGC), declared that its purpose was «to work in the graphic sector, to organise and direct advertising campaigns in the country and abroad, to sell every material considered to be an advertising vehicle, to explore every concession it can obtain, to produce films that may be well accepted in every market of the world»⁴¹. Advertising, lithography and film were the three business divisions of Caldevilla's model company.

In analysing his corporate strategy we must have in mind two essential concerns: vertical integration and internationalisation. In the ETP years, we have seen how he did not restrain his agency to the traditional tasks of designing campaigns and selecting the appropriate media, but secured privileged access to strategic formats, whether by exclusivity contracts (such as the one with the Porto tramway company) or by full development and ownership (such as the billboards alongside the Minho railway). Caldevilla was also aware of the limitations of the Portuguese market, both in size and initiative. He considered the expansion of business outside the country, always looking for foreign customers and export opportunities. We know that, apart from his brochures in French, he also attended an industrial fair in Lyon to showcase ETP's works⁴².

The main advertising medium of the time was still the press⁴³. It was an industry where the high circulation newspapers, such as «O Primeiro de Janeiro» in Porto, or «O Século» and «Diário de Notícias» in the capital, were read by tens or (in the case of the Lisbon papers) hundreds of thousands every day. Due to the size of their circulation, they controlled the advertising market in the sector⁴⁴.

The other important format was outdoor advertising, particularly posters in city streets. The industry was not yet dominated by big companies and Caldevilla probably saw it as an easy way to make a stand in a relevant medium. His lithographic unit was meant to be a modern, quality-focused and technically advanced workshop. Initially, the acquisition of an existing unit was considered, but the option was discarded because it failed to meet the cutting-edge technological requirements that Caldevilla had in mind⁴⁵.

⁴⁰ CALDEVILLA, 1923: 9, «criar duas grandes industrias, absolutamente perfeitas: um estabelecimento grafico completo e um estabelecimento cinegrafico importante», in the original.

⁴¹ BAPTISTA, 2003: 216, «exercer a indústria gráfica, organizar e dirigir propagandas no país e no estrangeiro, vender todos os materiais considerados veículos de publicidade, explorar as concessões que obtenha, impressionar filmes que possam ser bem aceites em qualquer mercado do mundo», in the original.

⁴² *Leia e Releia*, [s.d.].

⁴³ In fact, according to ESTRELA, 2004: 35, in the 1930s it was still the only medium taken seriously by advertisers. In neighbouring Spain, by 1934 the press collected about half of the overall spending in advertising. PÉREZ-RUIZ, 2001: 100.

⁴⁴ LEITÃO, 2020: 53-54. We know that by the late 1880s, «Diário de Notícias» represented over 30% of all the advertisements placed in the Portuguese press.

⁴⁵ CALDEVILLA, 1923: 15-16.

In Switzerland he found precisely that: a new method developed by Guilherme Frey which adopted photography for the reproduction of drawing models on printing stones, a technique that improved copying precision and speed⁴⁶. The Frey method was the crucial technical advantage of Caldevilla's new lithographic workshop, which he considered to be the best equipped in the country, at least in terms of large format printing⁴⁷.

He expected to be competitive to sell to foreign markets not only thanks to the advantages of the Frey method but also to the favourable exchange rate of the Portuguese currency and the low cost of labour in the country. He identified Brazil, Spain, Britain and Belgium as the main prospective export destinations. Although this printing method was already in use by Hudson Brothers of London, he believed that the economic advantages he enjoyed would make his works cheaper than those of local competitors. According to Caldevilla, a British client even came to the point of placing an order, which, had it been carried out (it was not, due to a conflict in payment terms), would have rendered the company a margin of 130%⁴⁸.

There was a big international market for fine printing, as is shown by Frey's orders from Italy, Germany and Britain. Caldevilla also calls attention to the amount of works that had to be imported to Portugal from countries such as Germany, France, Britain and Italy, a total of almost 448 tons in the five years from 1910 to 1914⁴⁹. The company could attract those orders, offering a quality of service that was impossible to get elsewhere in the country. Finally, he mentions that, if everything else failed, not only the machinery could be converted to capital but also the intellectual property of Frey's method could be sold in Brazil and in Spain⁵⁰.

Film was the most promising and even revolutionary medium. First of all, Caldevilla saw the film industry itself as a big client of advertising and he intended his graphic division to create advertisements for Caldevilla Film productions⁵¹. Besides, after *Um chá nas nuvens* he needed no proof of how useful film could be in promoting products. The Puer-tollanos' film was shown in theatres in Porto, Lisbon and then it went on tour throughout the country. Every time the film premiered on a new location, ETP's team would arrange with local grocers to have Petit Beurre biscuits highlighted on window displays, supplying them with promotional material such as advertising posters, photos and even fireworks. Soon the biscuits were sold out countrywide and the maker, due to production limitations, was forced to print a notice advising the public not to look after the brand⁵².

⁴⁶ CALDEVILLA, 1923: 25.

⁴⁷ CALDEVILLA, 1923: 32.

⁴⁸ CALDEVILLA, 1923: 11-14.

⁴⁹ CALDEVILLA, 1923: 27-28.

⁵⁰ CALDEVILLA, 1923: 33.

⁵¹ CALDEVILLA, 1923: 10.

⁵² CALDEVILLA, 1947: 116-117.

There was another dimension to film that attracted Caldevilla. He regarded cinema as a way to exalt the national identity embodied in the natural landscapes, monuments and folklore⁵³. A man of his time, he accepted the idea that promoting the country's reputation was a higher purpose that would ultimately benefit the whole of society⁵⁴. Occasionally, there were brands, products or companies depicted in the films produced by Caldevilla, like the ones about the thermal spas in the north of Portugal — three of them, Melgaço, Vidago and Pedras Salgadas, were owned by his partner Lopes de Oliveira⁵⁵. But more frequently the aim was to bolster the country's image abroad. We do not know much about Caldevilla's political views but should not dismiss this as a crucial motivation. In a letter to his friend Campos Monteiro, he discusses the adaptation of *Os Lusíadas*, the great national epic, to film: «Believe me my friend that well above profits it is in my plan the limitless ambition of being useful to this Land so dear to me»⁵⁶.

In 1921, he decided to see the best that was being made in Europe. In Italy, he visited the Ambrosio-Film and the Italia-Film studios in Turin, where he claims to have closed a distribution deal even before anything was set up, and the Milano-Film in Milan. He then went to France where he got a project for his own film studio, to be built in the Quinta das Conchas estate in Lisbon⁵⁷. As soon as construction started, so too began Caldevilla's persistent problem: there was not enough money. He will plead insistently with his partners to suppress the shortage but to no avail. With the investment already made in the graphic division and the capital needs required for this new unit, several times larger than the first, soon there was a clash between him and his main partner, Lopes de Oliveira, who was also the financial director of the company. Any money the graphic business rendered was fuelled back to Lisbon⁵⁸, but still it was not enough and the Quinta das Conchas project was put on hold.

Caldevilla reacted by improvising a studio in an old barn, where he managed to shoot two full featured films — he had planned eight for the company's initial phase⁵⁹. Lopes de Oliveira, in turn, sent his son to Lisbon to assume control of the film division. Caldevilla was left to direct ETP and the lithographic workshop in Porto⁶⁰. After a few months, however, and in spite of the determined objection from its founder, the film division was shut down and the grounds and filming equipment were sold⁶¹. Managerial

⁵³ BAPTISTA, 2003: 47.

⁵⁴ BAPTISTA, 2003: 56-57.

⁵⁵ BAPTISTA, 2003: 66; LOBO, 2001: 14.

⁵⁶ CALDEVILLA, 1921, «Creia meu amigo que muito acima dos lucros há no meu plano a ambição sem limites de ser útil a esta Terra tão querida», in the original.

⁵⁷ CALDEVILLA, 1923: 36-38. On the choice of Lisbon as the location for the studio, he explained that it was due to the fact that most artists (i.e., actors) lived there. *As Grandes Iniciativas*, 1920: 3.

⁵⁸ LOBO, 2001: 18.

⁵⁹ CALDEVILLA, 1923: 40, 53.

⁶⁰ *A Caldevilla Film Trabalha*, 1922: 6.

⁶¹ CALDEVILLA, 1923: 56; RIBEIRO, 1983: 154.

interference from both sides led to a rise in tension and, after several confrontations, he asked the two Lopes de Oliveira, father and son, to leave the partnership. As they refused, it was up to Caldevilla to present his resignation⁶².

In an interview later that year, after talking about the course of his last months in the company, the journalist wrote: «for a few moments [he] follows with his eyes the smoke swirls of his cigar. He seeks some comfort. The sad memories we brought to his mind disturb him»⁶³. Caldevilla's plan had failed: only for a very short period of time did he see all three business units working simultaneously and even then never at their full technical or productive capacity. The only part that survived from the original firm was the lithographic workshop, renamed Empresa do Bolhão, which kept on being one of the leading companies in its sector⁶⁴. The film division was bought by Patria Film but its activity was brief⁶⁵. As for Caldevilla, he continued to work in advertising, now on his own. Over the years, he developed several memorable campaigns, and in the early 1940s created for «O Primeiro de Janeiro» an advertising section called «O Utilitário», which seemed to have had some success⁶⁶. After such experimentation in a field where he was a pioneer, he ended his career working in the press, the traditional medium.

There were plenty of agencies after ETP/ETPFGC but little is known about them. Some consisted in studios set up by artists who designed advertisements for press or poster. Others were simply offices dealing with specific media. There was even one called ETP, though unrelated to the 1914 agency⁶⁷. Yet none was as complete or innovative as Caldevilla's. His achievements remained unmatched in Portugal for several decades.

CONCLUSION

Our aim was to present Caldevilla's golden years as a case which evidently stands out from the scenery of apathy that characterises Portuguese advertising in the first decades of the 20th century. He travelled widely and sought to develop in his home country techniques he saw as revolutionary. Being up to date with the latest international trends, but also recognising the limitations of the Portuguese market, he looked for opportunities abroad (internationalising his business) while extending his control (integrating vertically) to technological or contractual resources, especially in industries where he saw synergies with the advertising business.

⁶² CALDEVILLA, 1923: 55, 58.

⁶³ BALMACEDA, 1923: 9, «segue durante momentos com a vista as espirais de fumo do seu charuto. Procura ganhar alento. As tristes recordações que trouxemos á sua mente, encomodam-no», in the original.

⁶⁴ LOBO, 2001.

⁶⁵ RIBEIRO, 1983: 195.

⁶⁶ *O Utilitário de Raul de Caldevilla*, 1943.

⁶⁷ ESTRELA, 2004: 95-98. This author suggests a relation between both ETPs but our research has not yet found evidences that support that claim.

Ultimately, he probably failed for wanting too much in a very short time. By launching two major business units simultaneously, both of which required large capital investments before revenue could flow back to his partners' pockets, he suffocated the viability of the entire project. Time would eventually prove him right, by making the lithography business a lucrative one. The film unit did not follow the same path. We may only speculate that, had he restrained from his passion in the new motion picture art, a great advertising-lithographic company headed by Caldevilla could have dominated the Portuguese market — and maybe more.

SOURCES

- A CALDEVILLA *Film Trabalha* (1922). «Porto Cinematográfico». Ano 3, 6/7/8, 3-6.
- AS GRANDES *Iniciativas* (1920). «Porto Cinematográfico». Ano 1, 10, 3-4.
- AGENCIA Havas (1885). «Almanach do Diário de Notícias para 1886». Ano 1, 194. Lisbon: Empreza do Almanach do Diario de Noticias.
- ANUNCIOS *Que Dão na Vista* [1915-1916]. Porto: Escritório Técnico de Publicidade. At Raul de Caldevilla's descendants private collection, Porto.
- BALMACEDA, Ernesto de (1923). *Raul de Caldevilla*. «Invicta Cine». Ano 1, 5, 8-9.
- CALDEVILLA, Raul de (1909). *Republica Oriental do Uruguay (Relatório do Agente Comercial do Governo Português)*. «Boletim Commercial do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros». XII:6, 547-591. At Raul de Caldevilla's descendants private collection.
- CALDEVILLA, Raul de (1913). *Os vinhos portugueses na Argentina*. Porto: Real Companhia Vinícola do Norte de Portugal.
- CALDEVILLA, Raul de (1914). *A Publicidade*. Porto: Companhia Portuguesa Editora.
- CALDEVILLA, Raul de (1918). *Um auxilio ao retalhista*. Porto: Escola Raul Dória.
- CALDEVILLA, Raul de (1921). [Carta] 1921 mai. 4, Porto [a] Abílio Campos Monteiro.
- CALDEVILLA, Raul de (1923). *Serenamente...* Porto: [Author's edition].
- CALDEVILLA, Raul de (1947). *Uma célebre campanha publicitária, «Os Puertollanos»*. «O Tripeiro». Série V. Ano III, 1, 13-15; 2, 36-39; 4, 78-80; 5, 114-117.
- CUNHA, Alfredo da (1914). *O Diário de Notícias. A sua fundação e os seus fundadores. Alguns factos para a história do jornalismo português*. Lisbon: Diário de Notícias.
- LA PROPAGANDE *au Portugal* [s.d.]. Porto: Escritório Técnico de Publicidade.
- LEIA e Releia [s.d.]. Porto: Empreza Tecnica Publicitária.
- PROGRAMAS [1916]. «Anuário da Escola Raul Dória». Ano Escolar 1916-17, 22-46. Porto: Escola Raul Dória.
- O UTILITÁRIO *de Raul de Caldevilla*. Porto: Tipografia Modesta, 1943.
- UNICA *em Portugal*. «Almanach da Agencia Primitiva de Anuncios para 1871». Ano 1, 325-327. Lisbon: Agência Primitiva de Anúncios, 1870.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BAPTISTA, Tiago (1998). *Sobre alguns cartazes da ETP de Raul de Caldevilla, 1916-1923*. Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
- BAPTISTA, Tiago (2003). *Franceses tipicamente portugueses*. In BAPTISTA, Tiago, org. *Lion, Mariaud, Pallu – Franceses tipicamente portugueses*. Lisbon: Cinemateca Portuguesa – Museu do Cinema, pp. 37-98.

- BARBOSA, Helena; CALVERA, Anna; BRANCO, Vasco (2009). *Portugal's First Advertising Agency: Raul de Caldevilla and the ETP, 1914-1923*. «Design Issues». 25:1, 22-35.
- ESTRELA, Rui (2004). *A Publicidade no Estado Novo*. Lisbon: Simplesmente Comunicando. Volume I: 1932-1959.
- FOX, Stephen (1997). *The Mirror Makers. A History of American Advertising and Its Creators*. Urbana; Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- LEITÃO, Pedro Almeida (2020). *A publicidade e o desenvolvimento da imprensa de massas em Portugal: os casos dos periódicos «Diário de Notícias», «O Século» e «O Primeiro de Janeiro»*. In BAPTISTA, Carla; SOUSA, Jorge Pedro, org. *Para uma história do jornalismo em Portugal*. Lisbon: ICNOVA/FCSH, pp. 43-66.
- LOBO, Theresa (2001). *Cartazes Publicitários – Coleção da Empresa do Bolhão*. Lisbon: Edições Inapa.
- OHMANN, Richard (1998). *Selling Culture. Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century*. London: Verso.
- PÉREZ-RUIZ, Miguel Ángel (2001). *La Publicidad en España. Anunciantes, Agencias y Medios (1850-1950)*. Madrid: Fragua Editorial.
- RIBEIRO, M. Félix (1983). *Filmes, Figuras e Factos da História do Cinema Português, 1896-1949*. Lisbon: Cinemateca Portuguesa.
- SCHWARZKOPF, Stefan (2010). *Turning Trademarks into Brands: How Advertising Agencies Practiced and Conceptualized Branding, 1890-1930*. In LOPES, Teresa da Silva; DUGUID, Paul, eds. *Trademarks, Brands, and Competitiveness*. New York: Routledge, pp. 165-193.
- STARR, Paul (2004). *The Creation of the Media: Political Origins of Modern Communications*. New York: Basic Books.
- TENGARRINHA, José (1989). *História da Imprensa Periódica Portuguesa*. Lisbon: Editorial Caminho.
- WILKINS, Mira (1992). *The Neglected Intangible Asset: The Influence of the Trade Mark on the Rise of the Modern Corporation*. «Business History». 34:1, 66-95.