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Introduction


Chapter 1. Marketing Problems and Advertising Methods as America Industrialized

1. See the essay on sources for a brief review of histories of advertising.
3. Like more recent authors on marketing, Melvin Thomas Copeland of the Harvard Business School included advertising as only one chapter of eight in his 1920 textbook Marketing Problems (New York: A. W. Shaw, 1920).


15. *Massachusetts Spy*, Worcester, 10 October 1821. This and other advertisements will be reproduced as accurately as possible as to grammar, spelling, and typographic emphases of the originals.


Spears, 100 Years on the Road: The Traveling Salesman in American Culture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).


23. See appendix regarding calculation of expenditures during this period.

24. By significant contrast, even though some food stores were parts of chains as early as the 1890s, the stores themselves remained relatively small neighborhood businesses until home refrigeration and the spread of automobiles made possible the supermarkets of the 1930s. Home refrigeration reduced the necessity for daily food shopping, and automobiles made it possible to carry home sufficient quantities for several days at a time. Richard S. Tedlow, New and Improved: The Story of Mass Marketing in America (New York: Basic Books, 1990), pp. 191–92, 226–45.


31. Hower, Macy’s, pp. 54–65.


34. Emmet and Jeuck, Catalogues and Counters, p. 20.


Chapter 2. Owner-Manager Control of Advertising

1. For instance, in 1896 Henry King called advertising columns “a history of society.” “A Treatise on Advertising,” Printers’ Ink 17, no. 9 (1896): 17–19; reprinted from Once A Month. See the essay on sources for recent examples.

3. See the essay on sources regarding the importance of small businesses, then and now.


10. Otto Leisy, memo (Cleveland, 1910), WRHS Library, MSS 4143, container 1, folder 2.


17. Printers' Ink 4, no. 16 (1891): 548.


27. Young, Toadstool Millionaires, pp. 137–38

28. Newspaper clipping, publication unnamed, New York City (21 September 1875), scrapbook, Andrew Campbell Collection, HM&L, accession 1314, box 44; Young, Toadstool Millionaires, pp. 138–39.


The American Medical Association was one of the leaders in the fight against patent medicines; its reports on the contents and effects of these products can be found in Nostrums and Quackery: Articles on the Nostrum Evil and Quackery Reprinted, with Additions and Modifications, from the Journal of the American Medical Association, 2d edn. (Chicago: American Medical Association Press, 1912).


Quoted in Tedlow, New and Improved, p. 272.


Quoted in Porter and Livesay, Merchants and Manufacturers, p. 223.

Chapter 3. Printers, Advertisers, and Their Products


2. Editorial, “Have We Reached the End?” *Inland Printer* 3 (September 1886): 748–49.


5. Ibid., pp. 65, 89–90, 220–30.


11. This phrase comes from the 1933 President's Research Committee on Recent Social Trends, quoted in Daniel J. Czitrom, *Media and the American Mind from Morse to McLuhan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), p. 126. See the essay on sources for histories and analyses of lithography and its cultural roles.


18. Nichols, Art Education, p. 44.


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30. Catalog of Thomas Sinclair & Son (Philadelphia, 1885), Catalog Collection, HM&L. The firm was listed as Thomas Sinclair and Co. in Philadelphia at least as early as 1854. Marzio, *Democratic Art*, p. 15.


34. A. H. M., “Division of Responsibility,” *Inland Printer* 7 (April 1890): 588. The journal’s standing in the profession had the sanction of major trade organizations; for example, ibid. 7 (October 1889): 21.


36. Ibid.

45. This dynamic played out again when large general-circulation magazines suffered revenue losses because broadcasting captured much of the general market advertising, first with radio in the 1920s and then television in the 1960s. Cable and satellite television currently challenge the networks’ and local stations’ revenues for the same reasons.

Notes to Pages 71–73
60. Mott, American Magazines, 1865-1885, p. 5.
64. Puck and Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper were exceptions to this rule as both of these popular journals featured lithographed illustrations by the 1870s.
70. Catalog of Thomas Sinclair & Son (Philadelphia, 1885), Catalog Collection, HM&L.
71. WCBA, Sewing Machine Collection, box 2, folders 7–19.
73. The Jno. B. Jeffery Printing Co., Chicago, to the secretary of the Northern Indiana and Southern Michigan Agricultural Society, South Bend, Indiana, April 30, 188[?]. WCBA, Printers and Printing Collection, box 4.
74. Catalog of Thomas Sinclair & Son (Philadelphia, 1885), Catalog Collection, HM&L.
75. This figure represents the best judgment of current authorities. Interview with Dave Cheadle, of the Trade Card Collectors’ Association, Denver, Colo., 22 January 1996.
77. For example, the promotions in *Catalogue of Signs for Advertising*, Robert Hartmann (New York, 1901), p. 1, WCBA, Advertising Collection, box 7.

*Notes to Pages 78–81*
87. The two signs by Prang are described in Levinson, "Images That Sell," pp. 95, 98. The two Donaldson Brothers' signs are in the WCBA, Advertising Collection, oversize portfolio drawers.
95. Driscoll, Church & Hall, wholesaler's warehouse photograph taken in Boston, Providence area, circa 1885. Glass negative collection of Frame Central, Boston.
96. Marshall Bros, circular, circa 1885, BLC.
100. Enoch Morgan’s Sons spent a total of $72,000 on advertising in 1885, including
$8,300 for sign painting and $19,400 for “stunts and miscellaneous.” Presbrey,
*History and Development of Advertising*, p. 394.


102. Stage, *Female Complaints*, p. 110.

103. A search through the Western Reserve Historical Society’s collections, includ­ing the Kovel Collection, Cleveland, in 1990, yielded this itemization.


105. “The Man Behind the Counter,” *Tobacco Leaf* 36 (30 August 1899): 6. After 1890, the plethora of giveaways, including trade cards and posters, lost their prominence as advertising media, although the variety remained for decades. W. F. Hofert, ed., *Advertising Specialty Manufacturers’ Directory*, 1st edn. (Chicago: Schulman Bros., 1917), and *Blue Book of Advertising Products* (Oak Park, Ill.: W. F. Hofert, 1927). By 1930 they were reduced to “junk” mail and two relatively minor categories in terms of total expenditures, point-of-purchase advertising and “novelties,” or specialty advertising, now generally used for retail, business-to-business, and franchise promotions.


108. “Ethel” belongs to the Kovel Collection of the Western Reserve Historical Society in Cleveland.


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117. A similar pattern existed in the editorial content of newspapers; even papers that did target minorities and ethnic groups only rarely reported on their activities beyond their immediate communities. Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards, p. 70.


119. This information on Sterling’s residence courtesy of Dorothy A. Larson, director, Derby (Conn.) Historical Society. Telephone conversation (25 August 1994).

120. Young America: Stories and Pictures for Young People (Boston: Aldine, 1888).


122. For a measure of the mixed responses to industrialization and urbanization, see the essay on sources.


125. For theoretical approaches to interpretation across cultures, see the essay on sources.

Chapter 4. Advertising Progress as a Measure of Worth

5. For an introduction to the rapidly growing literature on nineteenth-century U.S. bourgeois culture, see the essay on sources.


27. Davis, Conspicuous Production, pp. 83a, 83c, 83g, 88, and passim.


29. Landes concludes this section with the remark that the “labouring poor” were “undoubtedly of another mind.” David S. Landes, The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Revolution in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 122–23.

35. As skeptical as many moderns are of technological progress in the real world, the popularity of Star Trek and its spin-offs belie total pessimism.
37. This monument now stands outside the National Portrait Gallery in Washington, D.C.


49. Kirkland, Dream and Thought, pp. 7–9.


55. Wells, Richardson & Co.'s Lactated Food, trade card, circa 1880.


61. Robert Bell, Alexandria Chemical Co., to Leonhardt Lithographer Co. (January 28, 1898, February 9, 1898, and February 15, 1898), Leonhardt Lithographer Collection, accession 1022, Soda House MSS, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, Delaware. Abbreviations and underlining are in originals.


65. G. G. Green, Green's Diary Almanac, 1880 (Woodbury, New Jersey), pp. 11, 29. This story originally appeared in the 1878 almanac.

66. The quotation from the 1889 almanac is on page 17. The 1885–1886 and 1880 almanacs are the author's. All other G. G. Green materials are in WCBA, box 12, folders 19–25.

67. This book was distributed to dealers and retailers for customers' perusal. G. G. Green, Home of August Flower and German Syrup (Woodbury, N.J., 1889), WCBA, Patent Medicine Collection, box 12, folder 25.

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78. Dr. Thomas’s Electric Bitters, flyer, circa 1890.

79. Other examples from this period include Electric Fruit Jar, Electric Shoe Dressing, Electric Cleanser, Kil-lo! Electric Bug Killer (a liquid that came in a bottle), Bogle’s Electric Hair Dye, and even Electric Light Oil and Electric Light Candles (which were made of wax).


81. H. J. Heinz Co. streetcar advertisement, circa 1900, Edison Institute, Dearborn, Mich., ID no. 69.152.3; and Heinz trade card, circa 1895.

83. Green’s August Flower Boshee’ German Syrup chromolithograph show card, circa 1885. WCBA, Patent Medicine Poster Collection.
91. Ibid., p. 83.
93. WCBA, Pattern Industry Collection, box 1, folders 1, 2; box 3, folders 27, 32.
96. Time and its proper uses were major themes in this period’s culture, as manifested in advertisements and other expressions of peoples’ concerns. See the essay on sources for major analyses.
97. WCBA, Agricultural Machinery Collection, box 8.

Notes to Pages 138–151
Chapter 5. Early Advertising Specialists

1. For histories of the advertising agency, see the essay on sources.
8. Advertisement placed in *Bill Poster* (November 1900), no page number indicated on loose sheet, NWA.

Notes to Pages 157–163
18. Advertisement for N. W. Ayer & Son in Farm Implement News n.s. 7, no. 2 (1886): i, NWA.
19. Fox, Mirror Makers, pp. 20–21; Rowell, Advertiser's Gazette 1 (June 1867): 1, WCBA, Advertising Collection, box 5; ibid., 8 (March 1874): 6; Rowell, Forty Years, pp. 161–63, 358–59, 365.
21. Pope, Modern Advertising, p. 120; Rowell, Forty Years, pp. 463–64.
28. Rowell, Forty Years, p. 443.
30. Rowell, Forty Years, p. 442.
32. Lasker, Lasker Story, p. 16.
34. Ibid., pp. 72–75, 77, 405–11.
36. Ibid., reprinted on p. 110.
39. Stanley Resor, “Some of the contributions which the J. Walter Thompson Company Has Made to Advertising Thought and Practise over the Last Sixty Years,” MS (25 April 1931), p. 2, JWTCA; house advertisement for J. Walter Thompson, 1889, JWTCA.
40. Quoted in Fox, Mirror Makers, pp. 30–31.
42. “Some Basic Roots,” p. 3; house advertisement for J. Walter Thompson Company, 1889, JWTCA.
44. Rowell, Forty Years, p. 441. Also, Presbrey, History and Development of Advertising, p. 271.
46. Rowell, Advertiser’s Gazette 8 (March 1874): 5; the second statement is quoted from Rowell’s 1872 Advertiser’s Gazette, in Pope, Modern Advertising, pp. 133–34; Rowell, Forty Years, pp. 328–29.
47. S. M. Pettengill & Co., Catalogue of 1,200 Cooperative Newspapers with Their Rates of Advertising (1876), n.p., WCBA, Advertising Collection, box 3.
Chapter 6. Competition and Control

1. For histories of advertising agencies and professionals, see the essay on sources.
2. See the essay on sources on business history.
6. A column directed to "Entrepreneurs" in 1995 indicates the continuing strength of the impulse for founders to name small businesses after themselves despite countervailing advice that this "makes the business look small and unprofessional." Courtney Price, "Take Time to Find Right Name for Your Business," Rocky Mountain News (Denver), 1 February 1995: 38A.

Notes to Pages 177–187


10. Rowell, Forty Years, pp. 375-76.


15. Theodore C. Search, annual presidential address to the National Association of Manufacturers, Convention Reports, 1895-1898 (23 August 1897), pp. 8-23; ibid., pp. 65-70; National Association of Manufacturers Archives at HM&L.


17. For instance, Printers’ Ink 4, no. 14 (1891): 471; 15, no. 7 (1896): 57; and 60, no. 1 (1907): 25; AD Sense 14, no. 6 (1903): 461-62.


23. Borden also pointed out that competitive advertising can raise or lower selective demand for particular brands, affecting relative prices in one industry. Borden, *Economic Effects*, pp. 512-17, 850-53.
34. Rowell, *Forty Years*, p. 392.

*Notes to Pages 190–197*
44. Quoted in Rowell, Men Who Advertise, p. 184.
47. N. W. Ayer & Son, advertisement, Farm Implement News n.s. 7, no. 2 (1886): 1, NWA.
52. Things to Know About Trade-Marks: A Manual of Trade-Mark Information (New York: J. Walter Thompson, 1911), pp. 7, 10, 11, JWTCA.
57. Lamoreaux, Great Merger Movement, pp. 18, 45.
59. Rowell, Forty Years, p. 470.
60. See the essay on sources for analyses of the changes in business management and organization during this period.


64. In his index to *Visible Hand*, Chandler lists nine corporations of this time period whose titles began with *United States*, eight with *United*, nine with *International*, three with *Continental*, and thirty-four with *American* (pp. 587–607).


66. Ibid., pp. 67–73.


71. On specialization and professionalization during this period, see the essay on sources.


75. Advertisement, Lord & Thomas, Chicago, *Printers’ Ink* 13, no. 7 (1895): 71.


Chapter 7. The Competition to Modernize Advertising Services


7. Livermore & Knight, Advertisers, Fifty Years of the Pioneer Spirit (Providence, R.I.: Livermore and Knight, 1925), n.p., HM&L.


Notes to Pages 216–219


42. Ibid.


55. *Inland Printer* published a good example of the arguments for regularizing com-

68. Ibid., pp. 116–17.
70. The Thompson Blue Book on Advertising (New York: J. Walter Thompson, 1909), pp. 5, 15, JWTCA.
71. F. Wayland Ayer, speech at Business-Getting Conference (5 April 1907), NWA; Rowell, Forty Years, pp. 31–34. The agency had 163 on staff in 1900, 298 in
72. Rowell, Forty Years, p. 468.
73. “Notes of a Speech Made by Mr. Stanley Resor to New Members of the Company, May 4, 1931,” p. 9, JWTCA; Pope, Modern Advertising, p. 142.
75. See essay on sources for trends in professional association.
76. Quoted in Presbrey, History and Development of Advertising, p. 542.
85. Ibid.
Reynolds's position takes into account the break up of the American Tobacco Co.'s trust because that had occurred in 1911.

88. "Why the Printer is Becoming a Factor in Advertising; Advertising is Printed Salesmanship," editors, Printing Art 9 (July 1907): 304.


91. Walsh, Selling Forces, pp. 67–70, 84. Note that the time frame given here is rather shorter than the actual period of changes.


Chapter 8. Taking Advertisements toward Modernity


21. William J. Raddatz, untitled article, *Signs of the Times* 14, no. 57 (1911): 8, MS 3480, container 1. folder 1, WRHS.
31. Armistead, “Recollections.”


42. Joel Benton, Printers’ Ink 8, no. 2 (1893): 18–19.


44. A Printer, “Expert’ Ad. Writers and the Compositor.”


47. Frank Presbrey, The History and Development of Advertising (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran, 1929), pp. 98, 100.

48. This undated poster and two others dated 1900 and 1903 for the Robert Porter Brewing Co., Alexandria, Va., are in WCBA.


68. Fowler, Fowler’s Publicity, pp. 520–21, 654.

69. Ibid., pp. 273–300.


71. The Anderson Preserving Co. had roots deep in the nineteenth century, having shared a common ancestor with the Campbell Soup Co.


74. Advertisements and other items in Post Family Collection, box 1, folders 3, 4,


96. Lasker, Lasker Story, p. 47.
109. Herbert N. Casson, Ads and Sales: A Study of Advertising and Selling from the

Both the primary and secondary literatures are replete with tales of these marketing accomplishments. See the essay on sources for recent scholarship in marketing history.


Cahn, Out of the Cracker Barrel, pp. 65–70. The National Biscuit Co.'s 1901 policy statement is quoted in Chandler, Visible Hand, p. 335.


This statement was attributed to Frank Siddell, "The Philadelphia soap man." Printers' Ink 11, no. 1 (1894): 11, column filler.


Advertisements for the Sun, Printers' Ink 13, no. 9 (1895): 8.


Casson, Ads and Sales, p. 88. Also, Starch, Advertising, pp. 91–95.


Advertisements for the Ladies' World in Printers' Ink 11, no. 4 (1894): 147; ibid. 11, no. 6 (1894): 213.
133. Edd Applegate, ed., The Ad Men and Women: A Biographical Dictionary of Advertising (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994), pp. 262–71; Fox, Mirror Makers, pp. 81, 86–88. Helen Woodward was also a prominent copywriter, but she worked later and for less duration than Lansdowne.


149. Applegate, Ad Men and Women, pp. 262–71; Fox, Mirror Makers, pp. 81, 86–88.

150. Sally Wyner, "A Literary Product: The Relationship of American Literature and Advertising Copy" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1995). Also, Marchand, Advertising the American Dream, esp. ch. 2.


159. Davis, Conspicuous Production, pp. 59–60.


163. Ibid., p. 169.

164. Ibid., pp. 192, 319 n.89.


Chapter 9. Modernity and Success


6. See the essay on sources for the research basis of this conclusion.


Fowler, Fowler’s Publicity, pp. 691–93.


J. Walter Thompson Co., Where Good Advertising is the Constant Product (New York: 1905); Charles Austin Bates, Good Advertising and Where It Is Made (New York, 1905), JWTCA.

J. Walter Thompson Co., Where Good Advertising is the Constant Product, n.p.; idem, Thompson Blue, p. 9.


Rowell, Forty Years, p. 441; “Concentration, the Secret of Success,” editorial,


41. Rowell, Forty Years, p. 376.


56. N. W. Ayer & Son advertisement, "Our Opinion of Advertising" (5 June 1904), NWA.


Notes to Pages 315–318


65. Resor believed he had derived this definition from Thomas Huxley. "The Agency and the Representative," speech, 3 November 1919, p. 4, JWTCA.


89. “Monuments of Success in Advertising that Stand in Every City,” Profitable Advertising 2, no. 10 (1892): 294–95.
91. “Parable of the Traveler and His Good Fairy,” Judicious Advertising 1, no. 7 (May 1903): 26–27.
Chapter 10. The Appropriation of Progress

2. This interpretation draws, in part, on Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckman, The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966), esp. pp. 23, 67, 97-99. For major sources on professional and business culture trends of this era as well as theoretical resources, see the essay on sources.
mocracy, Nationalism, and The Committee on Public Information (Chapel Hill: 

15 (May 1895): 181; editorial, Judicious Advertising 1, no. 8 (June 1903): 12; “In-
dexes of Prosperity: The Return of Good Times Shown in the Newspapers—
Measure of Prosperity,” New York Times, 9 January 1900, p. 6. Also, Henry 

9. See the essay on sources for the basis of this assessment.

37–38. Also, “Cocoaanuts and Cocoaanuts, Advertising Talk in a New Dress,” 

Francisco Call.

56–58.


no. 9 (1898): 3–6.


Hundred Years of American Commerce, vol. 1 (New York: Greenwood Press, 
1968; first published 1895), pp. 76–83. Depew’s work is a two-volume collection 
of analyses on the state of American business with essays written by a person 
prominent in each area.


37.


Illustrations,” Cosmopolitan 33 (September 1902): 491.

no. 21 (1894): 907–8; George P. Rowell Advertising Co. advertisement “The 


23. C. F. David advertisement, “Can’t Afford to Advertise?” Profitable Advertising 3, 

200–201.


Notes to Pages 331–337
Age of Steel. Also, "Modern Advertising," *Printers' Ink* 13, no. 19 (1895): 23, reprinted from the *Whiting Sun* (Kans.).


46. Ibid.


Sherman did agree, however, that advertising was necessary to maintain demand for manufactured goods and thereby did contribute to progress, pp. 158–59.


83. In particular, "Advertising Bulletin No. 5: Advertiser and Publisher," Collier's 43 (29 May 1909): 5. Also, J. Walter Thompson, "Reaching the Millions."


92. Walsh, Selling Forces, p. 231.
95. J. Walter Thompson Co., The J. Walter Thompson Book, pp. 5–9, JWTCA.


108. Ibid.

Conclusion


4. See the essay on sources for a summary of studies of business peoples' operations and attitudes during this era.


Notes to Pages 360–365
12. N. W. Ayer & Son, form letter to newspaper publishers, 25 September 1919, NWA; N. W. Ayer & Son, form letter to newspaper and magazine publishers, 2 January 1919, NWA.
13. Paul F. Stacy, "Advertising Advertising," undated page from The Next Step (c. 1921), NWA.
14. N. W. Ayer & Son series of advertisements “Advertising Advertising” (1919), NWA. Earlier examples abound of publications themselves encouraging their readers to have confidence in their advertisers’ products. For instance, Country Life in America 11 (March 1907): 603; ibid. 11 (April 1907): 634.

Notes to Pages 365–370
39. For expositions of the issues, including several that place advertising at the center of the debates, see the essay on sources.

42. Many visionaries, including the popular Edward Bellamy and Henry George, proposed redistribution systems to increase effective demand, but these ideas had little impact on policy before the Great Depression of the 1930s, when the failure of consumers’ effective demand, not desire, shut down industry and gave credence to Keynesian analysis.


**Appendix**


Notes to Pages 377-383