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#### MIDDLE TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY

## SIPPIN', PAUSIN', AND VISUALIZIN': VISUAL LITERACY AND CORPORATE ADVERTISING

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE

FACULTY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

BY

KEVIN CASON

MURFREESBORO, TENNESSEE

DECEMBER 2009

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## SIPPIN', PAUSIN', AND VISUALIZIN': VISUAL LITERACY AND CORPORATE ADVERTISING

#### KEVIN CASON

Dean, College of Graduate Studies, Dr. Michael B. Allen

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Advertising often serves as a tool to market sponsors of events and promote a wide variety of products in the vast commercial market. Similarly to marketing products, I feel it is important to recognize and "promote" those people that have been important in helping me grow as a scholar and public historian.

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#### ABSTRACT

Visual culture is all around us on a daily basis, and we see it in a variety of forms. One type of visual material that offers valuable insights into reflecting and capturing American culture and society over time is print advertisements. Corporations often use print advertisements to market their product and create a distinct brand image. Two companies that have established creative marketing campaigns for their respective products are Jack Daniel's whiskey and Coca-Cola.

Although the main purposes of Jack Daniel's and Coca-Cola's advertisements is to market the product and create a corporate identity, there are also other levels of analysis to consider. Advertisements often serve as material culture artifacts that provide evidence of the time period when they were created. In addition, advertising agencies and creators use evocative qualities and techniques to attract the consumers' attention.

While the study of visual materials is important for historians to recognize, it is also relevant for public historians such as archivists who sometimes struggle with determining what resources are essential to keep and preserve in an age of an abundance of resources. By understanding and researching the historical context of images and utilizing insights from the advertising scholarship, archivists can gain a better understanding of the informational, evidential, and evocative values of advertisements. With an improved analysis strategy, archivists can hopefully discern the importance in preserving and maintaining visual resources. By exploring the intriguing history and advertising of a specific type of visual material, in this case, the advertisements of Jack Daniel's whiskey and Coca-Cola, this dissertation provides some insights on the different levels that historians and archivists can use to better interpret and analyze images.

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#### CHAPTER T

#### INTRODUCTION

Visual culture is all around us on a daily basis and we see it in a variety of forms. From comic books to photographs, maps to billboards, and paintings to advertisements, we are constantly bombarded with visual materials in contemporary society. While there are many types of visual media, one form that has greatly influenced the popularity and familiarity of many products for Americans and other countries in the world is print advertisements. Numerous companies establish marketing strategies and create specific brand images to make people clearly recognize a certain product in the vast commercial market. Since advertising and marketing have contributed to the success of items such as beverages, clothing, food, and automobiles, it is important to explore the evocative qualities that advertisements have and the ways they reflect and shape society. By examining two popular products, in this case Jack Daniel's and Coca-Cola, I am

able to explore the history and marketing of the products and learn about the strategies and approaches that both companies use in their print advertising to appeal to consumers.

In an age of an abundance of visual media, archivists are challenged with determining what is necessary to preserve in order to document American culture and society. However, the archival literature does not offer an approach for analyzing and understanding the significance of visual resources such as advertisements. Since advertisements serve as cultural artifacts and show how products have been marketed over time, I argue that archivists must have better skills for interpreting these visual items and explaining why they are important to keep. By discussing and analyzing a specific type of visual material, in this case, the advertisements of Jack Daniel's whiskey and CocaCola, this dissertation will provide a model that archivists can follow to analyze and interpret their visual materials.

While there are many products that could be used as representative examples, my interest in Southern history, state and local history, and American cultural history led me to choose Jack Daniel's whiskey and Coca-Cola as my case studies. In addition to appealing to my scholarly

interests, Jack Daniel's and Coca-Cola also offer excellent examples of the ways in which corporations have used print advertisements to develop distinct brand images to sell their products in a vast commercial market. Although both of them started out as a regional, Southern product, each has grown into an iconic name brand that is recognized internationally.

Jack Daniel's and Coca-Cola's world-wide brand name recognition rests in part on the advertising campaigns that the companies use to promote their commodities. However, both companies have developed distinct advertising campaigns that seem to play a dual role of promoting the product while also creating a corporate identity that appeals to the consumer. For Jack Daniel's, they use rural nineteenth-century imagery and emphasize their Lynchburg roots to promote their whiskey. Similarly, Coca-Cola has developed a particular brand identity of its own by highlighting the pleasurable experiences consumers can have when drinking their refreshment. While advertisements can simply be viewed as a tool to market a particular product, they can also be analyzed for their material culture evidence and their evocative qualities. By examining Jack Daniel's and Coca-Cola's print advertisements from a multidisciplinary perspective, the

study and comparison of two iconic brands becomes an important contribution for scholars interested in material culture, advertising, visual media, archival studies and history.

Working with the scholarship on visual literacy has given me a certain viewpoint and interpretation of what visual materials such as advertisements can convey that will shape how I present and discuss my topic. For example, I have learned that visual images are forms of historical evidence that can serve as cultural artifacts that provide insights about a historical time period, an event, a historical figure, or certain consumable products.

As Peter Burke discusses in the book, Eyewitnessing:
The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence, some images show

¹Some of the general scholarship on the interpretation of visual materials that the author examined include: Thomas J. Schelereth, Artifacts and the American Past (Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History, 1980); Alan Tractenberg, Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989); James Guimond, American Photography and the American Dream (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991); Elizabeth Kaplan and Jeffrey Mifflin, "'Mind and Sight': Visual Literacy and the Archivist," in American Archival Studies: Readings in Theory and Practice, ed. Randall C. Jimerson (Chicago, IL: The Society of American Archivists, 2000), 73-97; Peter Burke, Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001).

details of material culture that people at the time would have taken for granted and would have failed to mention in texts or other written sources.<sup>2</sup> One example that Burke uses to illustrate this point is how a sketch of the interior spaces of the Swan Theater has helped historians who study Shakespeare's dramas understand the construction of the theater. By examining the sketch done by a foreign visitor around 1596 showing a two-story house set at the back of an open stage and the audience surrounding the performers, historians have gained an insight into the structure and appearance of the theater that was not expressed in written sources.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly to sketches and paintings, advertisements reveal evidence of material culture that might not be addressed in written sources. For instance, advertising

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Peter Burke, Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid, 90-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Some of the general literature on the history of advertising and consumerism in America includes: Stuart Ewen, Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976); Roland Marchand, Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Susan Strasser, Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 1989); William

scholar, Roland Marchand, showed that in 1929, the Chrysler Motor Company distinguished its Chrysler Coupe's style by equating it with classical art. Using diagrams and illustrations, the advertisement revealed how the Egyptian lotus-leaf motif had influenced the front elevation of the new Chrysler and how the "dynamic symmetry" of its fenders and wheels mirrored the "wave borders of classical masterpieces." Although Coca-Cola and Jack Daniel's may not connect their products with classical art, their ad makers developed different approaches and consciously chose certain styles and symbols to appeal to the consumer.

Leach, Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture (New York: Vintage Books, 1993); Marilyn Kern-Foxworth, Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, and Rastus: Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow (Westport, CT: Praegar Publishing, 1994); Jackson Lears, Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America (New York: Basic Books, 1994); Ellen Gruber Garvey, The Adman in the Parlor: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Roland Marchand, Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Ted Ownby, American Dreams in Mississippi: Consumers, Poverty, & Culture, 1830-1998 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Tom Pendergast, Creating the Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture, 1900-1950 (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000).

<sup>5</sup>Roland Marchand, Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940, 128-9. In addition, the visual literacy scholarship has helped me be aware of the different levels of analysis for visual materials. For example, in the article "'Mind and Sight': Visual Literacy and the Archivist," Elizabeth Kaplan and Jeffrey Mifflin argue that there are three different levels of thinking about visual materials. The first level of visual literacy is simply what the image is "of." For advertisements, it is the promotion and marketing of a certain product such as clothing, perfume, or an automobile.

Kaplan and Mifflin also argue that there is a second level of visual literacy, which requires the interpretation of the content and context of visual materials. This level of interpretation requires specific historical knowledge about the items, why they were created, and the historical evidence that the materials can reveal.

For example, in Artifacts and the American Past,
Thomas Schlereth shows that by studying mail-order
catalogs from the late nineteenth and early twentieth

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Elizabeth Kaplan and Jeffrey Mifflin, "'Mind and Sight': Visual Literacy and the Archivist," in American Archival Studies: Readings in Theory and Practice, ed. Randall C. Jimerson (Chicago, IL: The Society of American Archivists, 2000), 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Ibid.

centuries, researchers can learn that the catalogs not only serve as sources for understanding mass advertising and marketing to consumers, but they also provide detailed design chronology of objects like stoves. Furthermore, a study of the social uses of catalogs suggests that in the nineteenth century many students from one-room schoolhouses used mail-order catalogs for reading, spelling, and learning how to draw objects by using catalog models. By learning about the uses and importance of mail-order catalogs, I have gained a better understanding on the importance of knowing about the historical context of records and how this knowledge can help with understanding the contents of Jack Daniel's and Coca-Cola's advertisements.

The third level of visual literacy deals with purely abstract ideas such as the style and expressions of the photographer or advertisement's designer and how their attitudes and life experiences shaped the records that they created. For example, ad creator and designer Earnest Elmo Calkins loved to study visual materials and read about art, visited galleries and museums, and enrolled in a drawing

<sup>\*</sup>Schlereth, Artifacts and the American Past, 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ibid., 51-2.

 $<sup>^{10}\,\</sup>mathrm{Kaplan}$  and Mifflin, 80.

class at Pratt Institute in New York. 11 Although he was never proficient as an artist, he believed that the form and attractive designs and colors of art could be used in print advertising to appeal to the consumers' eyes. 12

Eventually, he incorporated some of the artistic techniques into the advertisements that he created. While some of his advertisements were inspired by his love for paintings and drawings, Calkins also utilized photography to capture the reader's attention. Calkins became a pioneer in using photographic images in advertisements and advocated the use of photographs and the practical aspects of working with live models. 13

The third level of visual awareness also includes the symbols and abstract ideas that can be conveyed through images. 14 For advertising, it is important to be aware of the symbolic and stereotypical images that are conveyed. For instance, in Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, and Rastus: Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow, Marilyn

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Rob Schorman, "Claude Hopkins, Earnest Calkins, Bissell Carpet Sweepers and the Birth of Modern Advertising," The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era 7, no.2 (April 2008): 211.

<sup>12</sup> Thid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Ibid., 217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Kaplan and Mifflin, 80.

Kern-Foxworth examines the stereotypical portrayals of African-Americans in advertising from the turn of the twentieth century to the present. Through her narrative, she shows that even after the Civil War, advertising greatly exaggerated African Americans' physical features by depicting them with their mouths open unusually wide, protruding lips, and eyes that bulged uncontrollably. 15

While the overtly demeaning depictions changed in the twentieth century, African Americans were still stereotyped as the "faithful servant" with iconic figures such as Rastus, the Cream of Wheat Chef, or the "black mammy" like Aunt Jemima pancakes for more than fifty years. Although advertisements from Jack Daniel's and Coca-Cola do not portray stereotypes of African Americans, it is important to recognize that even their advertisements can convey stereotypical and symbolic images to convey a certain idea, message, or corporate identity. By having this understanding, I have acquired another way to analyze the messages that Jack Daniel's and Coca-Cola use in their advertisements.

In addition to offering stereotypes, advertisers and marketers use symbols and images in advertising to appeal

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Marilyn Kern-Foxworth, Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, and Rastus: Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow (Westport, CT: Praegar Publishing, 1994), 30.

to people's emotions, desires, and anxieties. For example, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, industrial capitalism and factory work became the norm and the skills of a person seemed to be replaced by simple routine tasks making many workers feel as if they could easily be replaced. According to advertising scholars Stuart Ewen and Ted Pendergast, advertisers and marketers responded to these feelings by devising advertisements that focused on personal appearances and the consumption of goods to distinguish one person from another. By smoking a pipe, wearing a particular product, or looking a certain way, people could accumulate the social appearance necessary in a world that had placed a decreasing value on creative skills and hard work.

As a result of the scholarship on visual literacy, material culture and advertising, I have gained a better understanding of the roles of advertising as well as the different levels of analyzing two dimensional visual materials such as print advertisements. Since historians and public historians often encounter visual documents in

<sup>16</sup> Ewen, 155.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Pendergast, 165.

their research and work, developing better interpretive skills at analyzing their visual persuasive and evocative qualities is necessary.

For archivists and historians, one step in understanding the value of print advertisements is to know the context and contents of the records. While Jack Daniel's and Coca-Cola have distinct brand imaging, both companies have been influenced by the trends in marketing and advertising over the years. In addition, the advertisements that were created often reflected the cultural and social movements of the time period. As a result, the history and advertisement analysis chapters for each company provide some historical context to show how each of the companies fit in the larger spectrum of American history. Since both companies have a distinct history and advertising strategy, I present the two companies as case studies.

In the second chapter, I provide the case study on the history of Jack Daniel's whiskey. Since the Jack Daniel's company incorporates its history, Lynchburg roots, and information about how the whiskey is made into its advertisements, it is important to first provide a brief history of the developments of the distillery. By gaining insight into its history, one can then see how the

company exploited its nineteenth-century rural heritage to present a distinct, "down-home" approach to promote its product.

Next, in chapter three, I turn to the analysis of Jack Daniel's advertisements. Jack Daniel's advertisements have had a consistency in approach for more than fifty years. Some of the creative themes that I found that are emphasized in the advertisements include: how the product is made, the promotion of the distillery's workers, the distillery's Lynchburg roots, and the use of the company's history. By focusing on its Lynchburg roots and the company's history, Jack Daniel's advertising agents and executives have established a distinct brand image that has helped them market their product over time.

In the fourth chapter, I present my second case study, the history and advertising of Coca-Cola. Similarly to Jack Daniel's, Coca-Cola executives and advertising agents have established a brand image to sell the popular soft drink. Since ad agents and executives have played a key role in promoting the product and transforming it from a locally made beverage into an international phenomenon, I explore the history of Coca-Cola to provide some contextual background.

In the fifth chapter, I analyze Coca-Cola's advertisements more closely. Through my investigation, I discovered that even though Coca-Cola has changed their approaches and techniques for marketing the product, the company still continues to convey the consistent theme of promoting the refreshing and pleasurable experience that people have when drinking Coca-Cola.

Finally, the sixth chapter adds some public history insights by looking at Jack Daniel's and Coca-Cola's advertisements from an archival perspective. As a graduate student in the public history program at Middle Tennessee State University, I have had the fortunate opportunity to expand my horizons beyond the historian's point of view and to see topics and subjects that concern public historians such as archivists. While archivists and historians both deal with visual media, they have different approaches in the way they think about and use visual materials.

Traditionally, archivists have looked at the informational and evidential values of images in their care; however, they must recognize that there is a third dimension to consider when analyzing and appraising visual items. The third dimension that must be considered is the evocative or emotional qualities that images can provide. Since advertising is intended and designed to be evocative

to appeal to consumers, the analysis of specific advertisements offers a good example of the emotional qualities that images have and allows us to see advertisements from an ad makers' perspective.

Using insights from the advertising and visual literacy scholarship, I have developed a model for approaching visual materials, such as advertisements, that could be useful for archivists. By understanding and researching the historical context of images and crossing disciplines to see how other scholars have interpreted advertising and marketing, archivists can gain a better understanding of the evocative values of advertisements in their repositories. By having a "visual" perspective, archivists will be able to understand even more the value of visual materials such as advertisements and why they are important to keep and preserve.

#### CHAPTER II

"MADE IN A QUIET, TENNESSEE HOLLOW": THE HISTORY AND
ADVERTISING OF JACK DANIEL'S WHISKEY

"Down this quiet shaded lane, a rare Tennessee whiskey is Charcoal-Mellowed Drop by Drop-and Friend, that Means It's Sippin' Whiskey!" With these words from an advertisement in an October, 1954 edition of Time magazine, the Jack Daniel's company initiated its first major marketing campaign to promote the famous Tennessee trademark (Figure 1). In the ad, readers learned about the little town of Lynchburg, Tennessee, where the distillery was located and how the whiskey was made by a charcoal-mellowing process. By incorporating information about the characteristics of the product, and providing pictures of rural nineteenth-century imagery, the Jack Daniel's whiskey

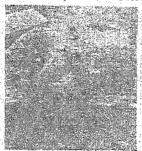
<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Down This Quiet Shaded Lane a Rare Tennessee Whiskey is Charcoal-Mellowed Drop by Drop," Jack Daniel's Tennessee Whiskey: Legends & Lore <a href="http://www.jackdaniels.com/advertisement.asp">http://www.jackdaniels.com/advertisement.asp</a> (18 February 2004).

# Down this quiet shaded lane, a rare Tennessee whiskey is Charcoal-Mellowed Drop by Drop —and, friend, that means it's sippin' whiskey!

deharcoal has been a good friend to the whiskey maker. This ancient substance makes the whiskey mellower and smooths out its flavor. Soyou'll find that all American whiskies are aged in charred oak barrels. But at our distillery in Lynchburg, Tennessee—the oldest registered distillery in the United States—we carey this honored mellowing process one step further. We use the charred oak barrels, of course—but first we let our whiskey seep through vats filled with 100 inches of finely ground hard maple charcoal.

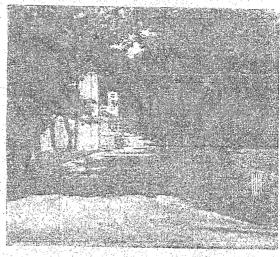
Jack Daniel solow trip through charcoal puts it into contact with 5 to 6 thousand times as much flavor-smoothing charcoae as it later gets in the barrels.

That's the story of our "charcoal-mellowing" process—the best way we know of smoothing out all the "rough edges" in a whiskey's flavor. Once



maisasy-making's rarest process: Hisparing chesilar cherconi-mails-wing.

molococos lo fesa.



you've tasted Jack Daniel's, we think you'll wonder why no other whiskey is under this old, unhurried Tennessee way. Whatever the reasons, one thing is certain. You'll be glad you've found the one whighevinat gets this "extra nessifig." Charcoal-incllowing diep by drop produces a pare and wonderful whiskey—with a throne so annoth, Jack Daniel's har won tive gold medials in competicities with the world's linest whiskies.

The next goal we seek is comapproval. Won't you ask for jack Daniel's next time contorder whiskey? Discovering us friendlier sippin' flavor is ceally a rewarding experience, we promise you.



Green land for single vine length on whicker and Bleen fallet-edges parce of modes. Described on the control of the control of

Figure 1. "Down This Quiet Shaded Lane." From Time, 18 October 1954.

company created a distinct theme and image that has been an effective advertising strategy for more than fifty years.

While the rural imagery that evokes nineteenth-century values has been at the forefront of the company's plan to make Jack Daniel's whiskey into an international phenomenon, scholars have not yet explored its marketing success and the advertising approaches the company uses. Since the Jack Daniel's company incorporates its history, its Lynchburg roots, and information about how the whiskey is made into their advertisements, it is important to provide a brief historical context for the distillery's development.<sup>2</sup>

Jasper "Jack" Newton Daniel, the youngest of twelve children, was born to Calaway and Lucinda Daniel on a Moore County farm around 1850. As a child, Jack went

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>The author acknowledges that the following history is based mostly on the history that the Jack Daniel's company promotes itself through its website, its advertising and its distillery tour in Lynchburg, Tennessee. Finding evidence that supports some of the stories that the company promotes is difficult, especially when there is no public access to the Brown-Forman records, the current owners of the Jack Daniel company. However, by researching in genealogical resources, legal records, scholarly historic works, and other local materials, some of the history can be verified.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Jeanne R. Bigger, "Jack Daniel Distillery and Lynchburg: A Visit to Moore County, Tennessee," Tennessee Historical Quarterly 31 (Spring 1972): 18.

to work for a local Lutheran minister, named Dan Call, who also made whiskey and ran a dry goods store. Under Call's supervision, Daniel learned how Call made his whiskey by using the traditional "sour mash" method of leaving a little of the mash from earlier brews in the storage vat to speed up the fermentation of subsequent mixes.

In addition, Call used a filtering system called the "Lincoln County Process" to age his whiskey. Call took hard sugar maple and burned it to charcoal, then filtered the whiskey into barrels. While most distilleries in Tennessee used the process at the time, it cost them both time and money and many eventually abandoned the practice for quicker profits. Call, however, was a true believer in the "Lincoln County Process" and so were his customers, who preferred his whiskey to the others available in the region. 5

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Ben A. Green, *Jack Daniel's Legacy* (Nashville, TN: Rich Printing Company, 1967), 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Ibid., 89. The distilling of whiskey and moonshine was a common practice not only in Tennessee but also in places such as Kentucky and in the Appalachian regions. For more on the history of whiskey distilling and moonshining see: Gerald Carson, The Social History of Bourbon (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1963); Henry G. Crowgey, Kentucky Bourbon: The Early Years of Whiskeymaking (Lexington: University Press

Over the next several years, Call taught Daniel the system and shared his knowledge about the production of whiskey that he had gained by experimenting and through years of experience. Daniel soon proved he was an able distiller. In 1863 in the depths of the Civil War depression and with a major southern religious revival underway, Call became a full-time minister and sold the business to Daniel, who was a teenager at the time.

In 1866, Daniel registered his distillery operation with the United States government. The distillery was

of Kentucky, 1971); Esther Kellner, Moonshine: Its History and Folklore (New York: Weathervane Books, 1971); Joseph Earl Dabney, Mountain Spirits; A Chronicle of Corn Whiskey From King James' Ulster Plantation to America's Appalachians and the Moonshine Life (New York: Scribner, 1974).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Frank B. Williams, Jr., "893 Barrels of Jack Daniel's Old No. 7: The Troubles and Trials of Lem Motlow, 1923-1930," Tennessee Historical Quarterly 58 (Spring, 1999): 35. For more on Tennessee society during this time see: Stephen V. Ash, Middle Tennessee Society Transformed, 1860-1870: War and Peace in the Upper South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987); Robert Tracy McKenzie, One South or Many? Plantation Belt and Upcountry in Civil War Era Tennessee (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Donald L. Winters, Tennessee Farming, Tennessee Farmers: Antebellum Agriculture in the Upper South (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> May Dean Eberling, "Jack Daniel's Distillery," Moore County History Collection, Moore County Library, Lynchburg, TN.

located near his birthplace on a tract of land in Lynchburg that included a limestone cave and spring (Figure 2). As Daniel recognized, the presence of iron-free water from the distillery's cave and the ready availability of corn, rye, and barley malt to produce the fermentable mixture called mash made Lynchburg an ideal site for whiskey production.8

Jack Daniel was not the only one to recognize the abundance of agricultural resources in the area. In a study done for the Tennessee Bureau of Agriculture in the nineteenth century, J. B. Killebrew noted that Moore County's rich soil and waterways such as the Elk River provided a place for growing an abundance of wheat, corn, and oats as well as other agricultural products. As a result of being able to grow these crops, whiskey manufacturing was noted as a major industry in the county.

In addition to the good water and agricultural resources, Daniel's site was only about fifteen miles from the larger railroad town of Tullahoma. Since Daniel

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>Green, 70-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>J. B. Killebrew, Introduction to the Resources of Tennessee: First and Second Reports of the Bureau of Agriculture for the State of Tennessee (Nashville, TN: Tavel, Eastman & Howell, 1874), 860.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 862.

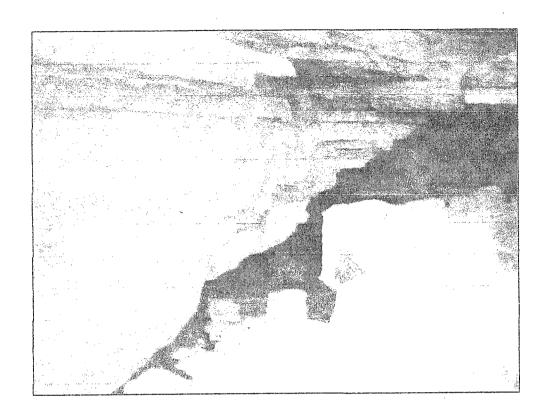


Figure 2. "A view of Jack Daniel's Cave Spring." Photo courtesy of author.

was interested in expanding his whiskey market beyond the local area, he valued the proximity of the railroad. 11 Jack Daniel's interest in using the railroad, followed a national pattern, as Americans relied increasingly on the railroad for their involvement in the market revolution of the time. During the nineteenth century, railroads were constructed throughout the United States and served as important resources for transportation and the shipping of goods. 12

Similarly to other places, Tennessee encountered the development of railroads such as the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad that passed through the middle part of Tennessee. As a halfway point between Nashville and

<sup>11</sup> Pat Mitchamore, A Tennessee Legend (Nashville, TN: Rutledge Hill Press, 1992), 18-19.

<sup>12</sup> Some works that address the development and history of the railroad and how it transformed American life and the landscape are: George R. Taylor, The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860 (New York: Rinehart, 1951); Brooke Hindle and Steven Lubar, Engines of Change: The American Industrial Revolution, 1790-1860 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1986); John R. Stilgoe, Metropolitan Corridor: Railroads and the American Scene (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983); Albro Martin, Railroads Triumphant: the Growth, Rejection, and Rebirth of a Vital American Force (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); James W. Ely, Railroads and American Law (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2001); Barbara Young Welke, Recasting American Liberty: Gender, Race, Law, and the Railroad Revolution, 1865-1920 (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Chattanooga, Tullahoma was established as a major passenger and freight depot by the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad in the 1850s. 13 As a result, Tullahoma became a thriving commercial center for the area and served as an important access point for many smaller communities nearby such as Lynchburg. 14

Although Jack Daniel established a new whiskey business in Lynchburg, he was not the only one producing whiskey in Tennessee during the nineteenth century. In Coffee County, the Cascade Distillery (the predecessor for George Dickel Distillery) established a distillery near a year-round water source known as Cascade Springs close to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Carroll Van West, Tennessee's Historic Landscapes (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 343. Another work that discusses the history of the Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad is: Jesse C. Burt, Jr., "Four Decades of the Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railroad, 1873-1916," Tennessee Historical Quarterly 9 (1950): 90-130.

<sup>14</sup> For more on the history of Tullahoma see: Leighton Ewell, History of Coffee County, Tennessee (Manchester, TN: Doak Printing, 1936); Corinne Martinez, Marjorie Collier and Sarah Shapard, Coffee County, Tennessee: From Arrowheads to Rockets (Tullahoma, TN: Coffee County Conservation Board, 1969); The Goodspeed Histories of Cannon, Coffee, DeKalb, Warren and White Counties (Chicago, IL: Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1887; reprint, McMinnville, TN: Ben Lomond Press, 1972); Historic Tullahoma, 150th Anniversary Edition (Tullahoma, TN: Tullahoma Historic Preservation Society, 2002).

the town of Normandy. 15 In addition, the numerous creeks, springs, and fertile soil made Robertson County an ideal place for the development of whiskey operations such as Pitt Brothers Distillery, Charles Nelson's Greenbrier Distillery, and Wiley Woodard's Distillery. 16 Jack Daniel also experienced local competition from fourteen other registered distilleries in Moore County. 17 In fact, Jack Daniel's was second in production to Tom Eaton's Distillery known as Tolley & Eaton in the county during the nineteenth century, even though he produced one hundred and fifty gallons of spirits per day. 18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> For more on the history of Cascade Distillery and George Dickel Distillery see: Kay Baker Gaston, "George Dickel Tennessee Sour Mash Whiskey: The Story Behind the Label," Tennessee Historical Quarterly 57 (1998): 150-167;

lef For more on the history of Robertson County Distilleries see: Kay Baker Gaston, "Robertson County Distilleries, 1796-1909," Tennessee Historical Quarterly 42 (Spring, 1984): 49-67. See also: "Woodard Hall," Tennessee Century Farms Collection, Center for Historic Preservation, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, TN.

<sup>17</sup> The Goodspeed's Histories of Giles, Lincoln, Franklin & Moore Counties of Tennessee (Chicago, IL: Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1886; reprint, Columbia TN: Woodward & Stinson, 1975), 807. For more on the history and various distilleries that have existed in Lynchburg and Moore County see: The Heritage of Moore County, Tennessee, 1871-2004 (Waynesville, NC: Walsworth Publishing Company, 2005).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Goodspeed's Histories of Giles, Lincoln, Franklin & Moore Counties of Tennessee, 807.

During the year of 1866, Jack Daniel first bottled his whiskey in earthenware jugs with cork stoppers. To distinguish his whiskey from others, he began stenciling his name on the jugs, which became the first form of distillery advertising (Figure 3). By the late 1870s, glass bottles had become the rage. At first, Daniel followed suit by developing a standard, round, glass-mold bottle embossed with the distillery name (Figure 4). Daniel became dissatisfied with that design, however, and began searching for something different. 19

In 1895, a salesman with Illinois Alton Glass Company showed Daniel a unique, new, untested bottle design- a square bottle with a fluted neck. Studying the bottle, Daniel decided that since his charcoal-mellowed whiskey was different, the bottle he put it in should be different as well.<sup>20</sup>

Believing that a festive atmosphere was conducive to drinking whiskey, Daniel also established a ten-member cornet band during the 1890s to promote his whiskey

<sup>&</sup>quot;Hip To Be Square: Jack Daniel's Bottle History," Jack
Daniel's Tennessee Whiskey: Old No. 7 <a href="http://www.jackdaniels.co.uk/oldno7/bottles.asp">http://www.jackdaniels.co.uk/oldno7/bottles.asp</a> (18 February 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Ibid.



Figure 3. "Jack Daniel's Whiskey Earthenware Jug, c. 1860s." From Old Bottles and Jugs, Jack Daniel's Booklets Folder, Moore County History Collection, Moore County Library, Lynchburg, TN.



Figure 4. "Jack Daniel's Round Glass Bottle with Embossed Lettering, c.1880." From Old Bottles and Jugs, Jack Daniel's Booklets Folder, Moore County History Collection, Moore County Library, Lynchburg, TN.

throughout the countryside. The band included instruments such as a cornet, a helicon bass, alto horns, a snare drum, and a bass drum. On each of the drum heads the brand name of "Jack Daniel's Old No. 7" was painted to advertise the beverage (Figure 5). 21 The band traveled by a wagon that Daniel bought, and they played concerts on Saturday evenings and Sunday afternoons for the Lynchburg residents as well as for parades, political rallies, holiday celebrations, and selected funerals in the surrounding area. 22

In 1904, the World's Fair came to St. Louis, Missouri, and Daniel saw the event, which millions of people would attend, as another opportunity to promote his whiskey. During this time, fairs were not uncommon. From 1893 to 1915, America experienced a surge in fairs and exhibits such as the Tennessee Centennial Exposition in Nashville in 1897 (Figure 6), the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo in 1901, and the World's Fair in St. Louis in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Peter Krass, Blood & Whiskey: The Life and Times of Jack Daniel (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2004), 146-147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Mitchamore, 37.



Figure 5. "Lynchburg Cornet Band, c.1900s." From Jack Daniels Booklets Folder, Moore County History Collection, Moore County Library, Lynchburg, TN.

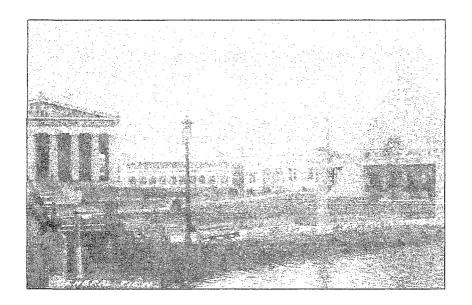


Figure 6. Calvert Brothers & Taylor, photographers. "General View of Tennessee Centennial." Photograph.
Nashville, TN: Calvert Brothers & Taylor, 1897. From
Tennessee State Library and Archives, Tennessee Historical Society Picture Collection, Image 27161.

The Tennessee Centennial offered Tennesseans an opportunity to experience the fair on a regional level.

1904 (Figure 7). During this time, many manufacturers, including Jack Daniel's, considered displays and tasting competitions at the broadly visible national and regional fairs the best opportunities to gain prestige and national exposure. Since mass circulation magazines had only begun to appear in the 1890s, many companies believed that they could reach a larger segment of the public through exhibits rather than print media. As a print media.

While the St. Louis World's Fair celebrated progress and provided American industry and inventors a stage to showcase their machines and creations, it also had many competitions from dairy shows to whiskey tastings. With encouragement from many people such as his still hands and his nephew Lem Motlow, Daniel entered his brew in the exhibition and tasting of fine whiskeys. His was one of twenty whiskeys entered from around the world. Some of the whiskey brands that entered into the competition were from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Roland Marchand, Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 250; Susan Strasser, Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the Mass American Market (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 1989), 180.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Krass, 174.

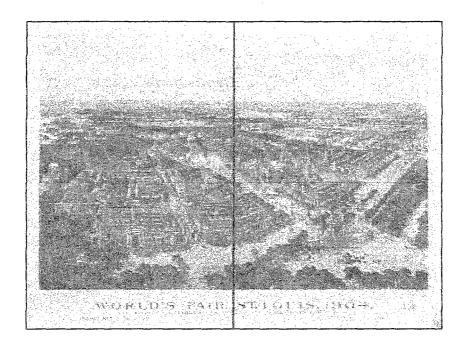


Figure 7. "World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904." Map. 1904. Library of Congress: Map Collections. http://memory.loc.gov (21 May 2008).

The World's Fair offered an opportunity for businesses such as Jack Daniel's to showcase and market their products.

Kentucky, Canada, and Scotland; however, Daniel's whiskey was the only one awarded the World's Fair Gold Medal and honored as the world's best whiskey.<sup>26</sup>

In April of 1907, as a result of deteriorating health, Daniel decided to turn over the operations of his distillery business and his plant located in Lynchburg to his two nephews, Lem Motlow and Dick Daniel, who had already been working in the distillery business. Although both of the nephews owned the distillery for awhile, in August of 1907, Lem bought out Dick's partial ownership of the distillery by paying him a lump sum of \$10,000 to step aside and relenquish any claims on the business. 28

As the years passed, Jack's physical condition grew worse and he spent a considerable amount of time away from his home under treatment of physicians, staying some time at Hot Springs, Arkansas, and in a hospital in Nashville, Tennessee. Thereafter he returned to his home where he spent the remainder of his life under the care of a trained

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Green, 113; Fayetteville Observer, December 8, 1904.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup>Moore County Deed Book, Vol. 9, April 16, 1907, 340-341; Krass, 195.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Moore County Deed Book, Vol. 9, August 12, 1907, 375-76; Krass, 197.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Krass, 200.

nurse and other attendants.<sup>29</sup> Daniel died on October 9, 1911, as a result of complications from diabetes.<sup>30</sup> He was buried in the Lynchburg Cemetery, where many other white political and commercial leaders of the town and county are interred (Figure 8).<sup>31</sup>

After his death, many family members felt a sense of loss without him. For example, one of Jack's sisters, Louisa Daniel Rutledge, who often commented about her feelings in her diary and memoirs, remarked that she missed her brother because she "could always go to him and get comfort and be welcome." 32

From 1910 through 1937, the Jack Daniel Distillery was prohibited by law from producing spirits in Tennessee.

During the first decade of the twentieth century,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Moore County Chancery Court Loose Records, Reel 71, Case 517, February 21, 1913.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Lynchburg Falcon, October 12, 1911. Other state newspapers that had articles about Jack Daniel's death included: The Nashville Banner, October 10, 1911 and the Fayetteville Observer, October 12, 1911.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Timothy Richard Marsh and Helen Crawford Marsh, compilers, *Cemetery Records of Moore County, Tennessee* (Shelbyville, TN: Marsh Historical Publications, 1975), 53.

<sup>32 &</sup>quot;Louisa Daniel Rutledge Booklet," Louisa Daniel Rutledge Collection, Box 1, Folder 3, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

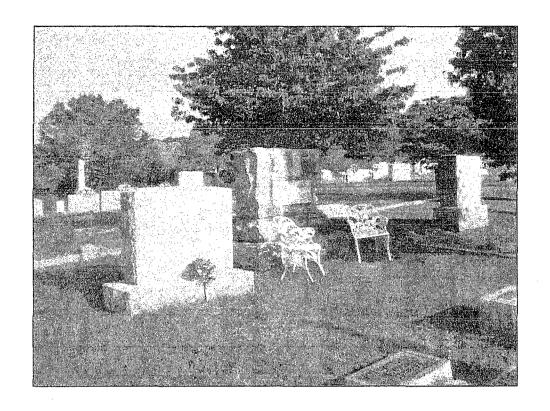


Figure 8. "Jack Daniel's Grave in Lynchburg Cemetery." Photo courtesy of author.

prohibition became a major concern and issue for politicians as well as other groups of society such as the Tennessee Anti-Saloon League and the Women's Christian Temperance Union because alcohol was linked to physical and mental impairments that led to acts of crime and physical and emotional abuse. 33 As a result of these concerns, the Tennessee legislature enacted the Manufacturer's Act that stopped the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages in Tennessee. 4 With this act, Tennessee became "dry" ten years before national prohibition. Within the first weeks after the passage of the act, dealers, distillers, and brewers announced that they would either close their businesses or move them out of Tennessee. 55 During their last days of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Robert E. Corlew, Tennessee: A Short History (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), 415; Eric Burns, The Spirits of America: A Social History of Alcohol (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2004), 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Corlew, 429.

Jecades in Tennessee: 1885-1920 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1965), 166, 171. For more on the history of the prohibition and temperance movements in Tennessee and in the South see: Eric Russell Lacy, "Tennessee Teetotalism: Social Forces and the Politics of Progressivism," Tennessee Historical Quarterly 24 (Fall 1965): 219-240; Wilbur R. Miller, Revenuers and Moonshiners: Enforcing Federal Liquor Law in the Mountain South, 1865-1900 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

operation, distilleries ran at full capacity and dealers conducted big closing sales, but prices remained high for good brands.<sup>36</sup>

As long as it was legal to ship liquor into the state there would be no need to go thirsty in Tennessee. Certain Nashville dealers notified their customers that they would be located in Hopkinsville, Kentucky; Evansville, Indiana; St. Louis; Paducah; or Cincinnati and would be prepared to express whiskey and beer into Tennessee on a large scale. 37 Detailed listings of available brands and order blanks were printed in the newspapers. It appeared that the law could be obeyed without great inconvenience to the customers. 38 Like those Nashville dealers, Motlow moved his liquor stocks outside the state to St. Louis, Missouri, and ceased production of the whiskey in Lynchburg. However, he left the Lynchburg distillery intact. 39

After the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment and the passage of the Volstead Act by Congress, prohibition of alcoholic beverages extended nationwide, and Motlow and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Issac, 171.

<sup>37</sup> Gaston, "George Dickel," 163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>Issac, 171.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

other distillers had to stop their production of their products. 40 According to his daughter Mary Avon Motlow, during this time, Lem became more interested in his farm and made many improvements including the introduction of tobacco as a cash crop that all of his neighbors could profit from as well. In addition to farming, Lem started raising horses and showed them at a variety of horse shows in the region (Figure 9).41

In 1938, some years after the repeal of national prohibition, Motlow resumed operations at the Lynchburg distillery and continued until 1942, when the United States government banned all whiskey production for the duration of World War II. Similarly to other industries, American distilleries were enlisted by the War Production Board (WPB) to produce items for the war effort. According to the authors of The Book of Bourbon and Other Fine American Whiskeys, American distilleries were directed to produce

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>Paul H. Bergeron, Stephen Ash, and Jeanette Keith, Tennesseans and Their History (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 222.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Mary Avon Motlow Boyd Remembers Her Father Lem Motlow and the Motlow Family" from *The Heritage of Moore County, Tennessee, 1871-2004* (Waynesville, NC: Walsworth Publishing Company, 2005).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>Krass, 224.

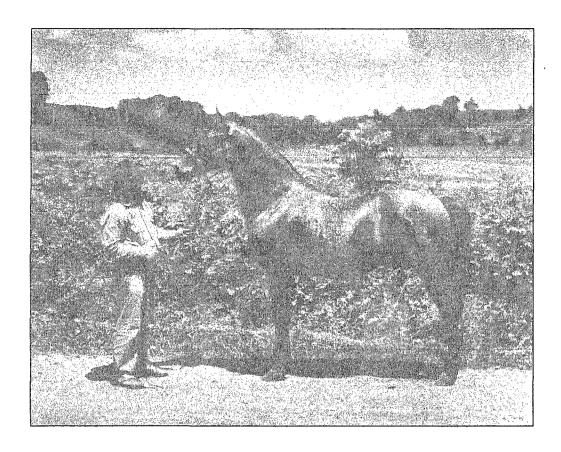


Figure 9. "Horse Named 'King O'Chiefs' Held by Mr. Harrison, Owned by Lem Motlow of Lynchburg, Tennessee, 1940." From The Department of Conservation Photograph Collection, Image 19840, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, TN.

In addition to this horse, the Tennessee State Library and Archives has photographs of four other horses that were owned by Lem Motlow during the 1940s.

industrial alcohol that helped with the manufacturing of items such as jeeps, artillery shells, rubber, and rayon. 43 Despite the setback of the war, Motlow did achieve some accomplishments for the distillery during the war years.

For one thing, Motlow erected a life-size statue of his uncle, Jack Daniel. In 1941, the statue of Italian marble was placed about one hundred feet from the mouth of the cave spring, the water source that the company uses to make the whiskey (Figure 10). The statue of Daniel shows him dressed in a knee-length frock coat, a high-rolled planter's hat, a vest, and a broad bow tie. Only the feet are larger than life-size because the weight of the statue needed more support. 44 By creating a statue of his uncle, Motlow successfully commemorated the founder of the distillery.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Gary Regan and Mardee Haidin Regan, *The Book of Bourbon and Other Fine American Whiskeys* (Shelburne, VT: Chapters Publishing LTD, 1995), 83-84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>Bigger, 19. In recent years, the Jack Daniel's company moved the marble statue indoors into the visitor center. The company now has a bronze sculpture of Jack Daniel near the cave spring. For more on the unveiling of the new statue see: "Jack Daniel Unveils New Statue," Beverage Industry 91 (October 2000): 94.

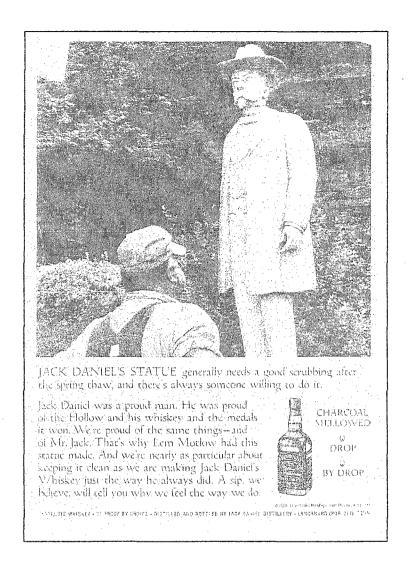


Figure 10. "Jack Daniel's Statue." From Jack Daniel's Ads Folder, Moore County History Collection, Moore County Library, Lynchburg, TN.

Many of Jack Daniel's advertisements, like this one from 1964, featured the marble statue that honored the founder of the distillery. Other ads featuring the statue include: a September 1969 ad, a June 1975 ad, and a September 1980 advertisement from Southern Living. The statue is now prominently displayed in the center of the distillery visitor center.

During the 1940s, Motlow also succeeded in having Jack Daniel's whiskey designated as an official "Tennessee whiskey" by the United States government. 45 Prior to its official recognition as a "Tennessee whiskey," Jack Daniel's had been officially listed by the U.S. Treasury Department as a bourbon, which classified it with Kentucky's noted whiskey. However, in 1944, the U.S. government issued a report to the company that stated that the charcoal mellowing process used by the company was unknown to bourbons, ryes, and other whiskeys and, therefore, Jack Daniel's was officially designated as a Tennessee Whiskey. 46 According to whiskey scholar, Michael Jackson, the distinctive feature of Tennessee whiskey is the method of filtration. 47 Unlike other bourbons and whiskeys, the filtration is done before barreling rather than after. In addition, Tennessee whiskey uses a filter that is ten feet deep and the filtration process lasts for

<sup>45</sup>Krass, 224.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>Kimbra Postlewaite, "In the Plant: Jack in the Barrel," Beverage Industry 89(3)(1 March 1998): 26-28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>Michael Jackson, The World Guide to Whisky: Scotch, Irish, Canadian, Bourbon, Tennessee Sour Mash Whiskey, and the Whiskies of Japan: Plus a Comprehensive Taste-Guide to Single Malts and the World's Best Known Blends (Topsfield, MA: Salem House Publishers, 1988), 184.

ten days, a longer time period than for making other whiskeys and bourbons. By mellowing the whiskey concoction before barreling, a cleaner whiskey goes into the wood and provides a distinctive balance of flavors. For the promotionally minded Motlow, the official recognition meant he could publicize his product as a "Tennessee whiskey," a term that would be prominent in the product's advertisements for many years to come (Figure 11).49

In 1946 the federal government lifted the ban on whiskey making. However, a provision remained allowing only inferior grades of grain to be used. Motlow, unwilling to compromise the quality of his whiskey, refused to resume operation until 1947, when the restriction was lifted and the finest grains were made available again. In 1945, when the restriction was lifted and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Ibid. In addition to Jack Daniel's, the only other whiskey that is designated as an official Tennessee whiskey with similar methods of making their product is George Dickel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup>Green, 184. For more on the distinctive characteristics of bourbons and whiskeys and their history see: Gerald Carson, "Bourbon," American Heritage 25(2) (1974): 60-63, 95; Gary Regan, The Book of Bourbon and Other Fine American Whiskeys (Shelburne, VT: Firefly Books, 1995); Frederick Allen, "The American Spirit," American Heritage 49(3) (1998): 82-92.

<sup>50 &</sup>quot;Rare Jack Daniel's," Fortune (July 1951).

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

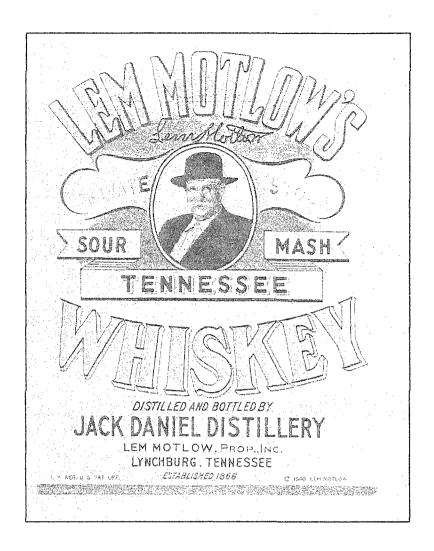


Figure 11. "Lem Motlow's Whiskey." From the Motlow Collection, Box 10, Memorabilia Folder 7, Moore County Library, Lynchburg, TN.

Lem Motlow often marketed the product as a "Tennessee whiskey" as this promotional piece from the 1940s shows.

In 1947, Lem Motlow died and he was buried in the Lynchburg Cemetery like his Uncle Jack Daniel. 52 At this time, the land was inherited by Lem's wife, Ophelia Motlow and their children, Reagor, Robert, David Evans, Connor, and Mary Avon Motlow Boyd. This land was the same property that was conveyed to Lem Motlow and Dick Daniel by Jack Daniel in 1907. 53

While the property was acquired by the family, the distillery's daily business operations were passed on to Lem's four sons, Reagor, Robert, David Evans, and Connor. 54

The Motlow brothers, while increasing production, remained faithful to the tradition of quality set up by Jack Daniel and their father. 55 However, the Motlow family decided to sell their company in the 1950s, for several reasons. One reason was that in the 1950s, a tax of \$10.50

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Timothy Richard Marsh and Helen Crawford Marsh, compilers, *Cemetery Records of Moore County, Tennessee*, 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Moore County Deed Book, Vol. 26, April 15, 1953, 406-409.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> "Lem Motlow, 77, Distiller, Dies of Hemorrhage," Nashville Tennessean, 2 September 1947, 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> For more on the Motlow Brothers and the Jack Daniel Distillery see: Emmett Gowen, "Sippin' Whisky and the Shirtsleeve Brothers," *True Magazine* (November 1954): 56-60, 66-68.

for each gallon of storage had to be paid upfront before the whiskey was sold. Since the tax was a tremendous sum and whiskey was a product of undetermined value, the Motlows realized that it would have a devastating effect on their business if the price dropped. Another reason the Motlows decided to sell was because of potential inheritance tax problems if one of them should die. 56

A third reason that they may have decided to sell was because of constant pressure from corporate buyers who wanted to reap the benefits of Jack Daniel's success. During the 1950s, many prospective companies had begun to show interest in acquiring the company because the whiskey proved to be very profitable and popular with consumers. As a result of its popularity, the company decided to expand the distribution of the whiskey by adding the product to many shelves in numerous cities across the United States.<sup>57</sup>

In 1956, the sons sold the distillery to Brown-Forman Beverage Worldwide, Inc., a company that was based in Louisville, Kentucky. The Brown-Forman Beverage company was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>Green, 174-175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup>Ibid., 196.

founded in 1870 by George Garvin Brown and was a family owned business. Frior to the acquisition of Jack Daniel's whiskey, Brown-Forman's brands included alcoholic beverages such as Old Forrester, Early Times, and King. Although Jack Daniel's was owned by a new company, the president of Brown-Forman, George Garvin Brown, Jr., decided that the company should retain its character, identity, policies, and personnel. Under Brown-Forman, the Motlow family, who were the majority owners, continued to operate and manage the company. Reagor Motlow, the president of Jack Daniel's at the time, remained in that position and his brothers were retained as officers.

During the 1950s, the Brown-Forman company decided to develop a marketing credo that would provide guidelines

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup>Harry Harrison Kroll, *Bluegrass*, *Belles*, *and Bourbon*: A *Pictorial History of Whisky in Kentucky* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1967), 111. For a more detailed history of Brown-Forman see: John Ed Pearce, *Nothing Better in the Market* (Louisville, Kentucky: Brown-Forman Distillery Co. 1970).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup>"Daniel Distillery Sold; Reported for \$20 Million: Oldest Registered Firm Bought by Brown-Forman of Louisville; No Changes Planned, Say Buyers," Nashville Tennessean, 29 August 1956, 1.

<sup>60 &</sup>quot;Brown-Forman Corporation: Company Acquires the Jack Daniel Distillery," New York Times, 29 August 1956, 56.

<sup>61&</sup>quot;Daniel Distillery Sold."

for promoting the whiskey. After taking some time to plan, chief marketing director Winston Smith and his committee developed a document that explained the "Jack Daniel's character." The document stated that "the words we use in our advertisements won't sell, they'll tell, and we'll always weave our word story around Jack Daniel's exclusive charcoal mellowing process, seeking to convey the fact that every drop of whiskey is lovingly crafted to a rare flavor not to be in part found anywhere." 62

After the brief description, the document contained an eight point marketing program. The strategy plan was:

- 1.) Maintain product quality; 2.) Hold to high price;
- 3.) No dealing allowed with retailer or wholesaler;
- 4.) Stress the smallness of the distillery to the drinking public; 5.) Create advertising that will create emotional involvement between customer and product; 6.) Concentrate marketing efforts in major market areas; 7.) Coordinate marketing efforts of advertising to sales; 8.) Do not change any of the above. 63

In addition to the marketing plan, the company also decided to develop a print advertising campaign to promote

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Verne Gay, "Jack Daniel's Builds Big with Nostalgia," Marketing & Media Decisions, 18 (Spring 1983), Infotrac http://infotrac.galegroup.com.exproxy.mtsu.edu (25 May 2005).

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

their product. With the assistance of Gardner Advertising, an agency located in St. Louis, Missouri, the Jack Daniel's company began to devise a plan for marketing the whiskey to consumers. 64 Company executives realized that the special formula of Jack Daniel's whiskey included the people of Lynchburg, as well as the product. Inspired by this realization, the company began a print advertising campaign featuring stories about its history, its Lynchburg roots, its people, and the charcoal-mellowing process they used to make their product. 65

The ad that initiated the company's major marketing campaign appeared in a *Time* magazine in October of 1954.<sup>66</sup>
Like the whiskey the ads promote, today's campaign is virtually unchanged from what was introduced in *Time* magazine.<sup>67</sup> Each year, twenty ads are produced for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup>Patricia Winters, "A Toast to Jack Daniel's: Down-Home Campaign is 35 and Going Strong," Advertising Age, 22 May 1989, 39.

<sup>65</sup>Thid.

<sup>66 &</sup>quot;Jack Daniel's Tennessee Whiskey-Jack Daniel's Advertisements," Jack Daniel's Tennessee Whiskey: Legends and Lore <a href="http://www.jackdaniels.com/advertisement.asp">http://www.jackdaniels.com/advertisement.asp</a> (18 February 2004).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Although the Jack Daniel's company continues to use the black and white imagery for their advertisements, the company has begun to produce some color advertisements for publications in 2004-present. The author has viewed some of

publication and they each tell a story about the tiny rural community and the oldest distillery in the United States, founded by Jack Daniel and located in Jack Daniel Hollow. The ads are always in black and white and run as two-thirds of a page, an economic necessity in 1954 that has since become the brand's trademark. In addition, the ads always feature an image of places or events in Lynchburg, its people, or its heritage with a narrative that describes how small-town values can be tasted in Jack Daniel's - "the smooth sippin' Tennessee whiskey," according to the tag line. On the line of the lage of the lage

From its inception until 1984, the advertising account remained with the Gardner Advertising agency. In 1984, the Jack Daniel's company changed its account to another St. Louis agency, Simmons, Durham, & Associates, because the long-time creator of their ads, Ted Simmons, had moved to the new agency. Simmons, who is president of the

the recent color advertisements on the Jack Daniel's website and in some recent issues of magazines.

<sup>68</sup>Winters, "A Toast to Jack Daniel's."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> "Jack Daniel's Strategy is Turning 35," The New York Times, 20 July 1989, 19.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Not Fancy, Just Phenomenal," Advertising Age 52 (27 July 1981): S-34.

Simmons, Durham and Associates advertising agency, has contributed to the success of the advertising campaign by writing more than three hundred Jack Daniel's ads since he first started on the account at Gardner Advertising in 1965.71

Over the years, Simmons has spent a week each year prowling the streets and front porches of Lynchburg for offbeat subjects for the ads. For example, on one of his visits to Lynchburg, he noticed puppies being sold from the back of a pickup truck on the main street in Lynchburg. This pired by this event, Simmons took a photograph of the puppies and created an advertisement. In the published ad, the image depicted the puppies being sold from the back of the truck and the narrative underneath the images stated "There aren't many towns where coonhound pups are sold on Main Street. But Lynchburg, Tennessee, is one." Finding such photo opportunities is a specialty of Simmons, and he continuously discovers more interesting subjects every time he visits Lynchburg.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Winters, "A Toast to Jack Daniel's."

<sup>&</sup>quot;Jack Daniel's Strategy is Turning 35."

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

The ads that Simmons creates are circulated in numerous publications nationally and internationally. Each year the Brown-Forman company spends over \$5.5 million to \$6 million on the advertising campaign in the United States in fifty national magazines. Some of the magazines that the advertisements are published in include Time, Newsweek, and Sports Illustrated. In addition, the company likes to publish their ads in regional publications such as Southern Living and Texas Monthly. These publications, as well as other southern magazines, figure importantly because they tend to bolster its very important markets in the southern tier of the United States. The ads also run in nearly all of the one hundred countries where Jack Daniel's whiskey is sold.

The practice of highlighting its Lynchburg, Tennessee roots and presenting a nostalgic nineteenth-century image has continued for more than fifty years with only a few exceptions. According to Arthur Hancock, executive Vice-President for Brown-Forman Beverage company and

<sup>.74</sup> Ibid.

 $<sup>^{75}</sup>$ Verne Gay, "Jack Daniel's Builds Big with Nostalgia."

<sup>76</sup>Winters, "A Toast to Jack Daniel's."

Timothy Younkin, senior Vice-President marketing director for Jack Daniel's, Brown-Forman has been tempted to change the campaign. In the tumultuous 1960s and 1970s, for example, Brown-Forman experimented with color. And in 1987, the company copy-tested the campaign for five months against other advertisements. However, as a result of their marketing research, the company executives decided to keep the old black and white advertisement campaign. 77

Perhaps the reason that the old campaign was more appealing and continues to be effective with consumers is because of the appeal of nostalgia. As advertising scholar Mary Cross has suggested, in a world of continuous modernization and increasingly crisis-ridden situations, the yearning for a simpler past becomes stronger. Because the advertisements evoke rural nineteenth-century imagery, people who read the advertisements and view the images associate Jack Daniel's with a simpler time and place. This

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup>Ibid. The market research for why the company executives decided to stay with the black and white advertisement campaign is unknown. Since the author was not permitted access to the company's marketing records, the only information that was available was this information from this article.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup>Mary Cross, Advertising and Culture: Theoretical Perspectives (Westport, CT: Praegar Publishers, 1996), 37.

association is reinforced through the use of stereotypical rural images such as dirt roads, people wearing overalls and plaid shirts, and pickup trucks. 79 The nostalgic feeling from Jack Daniel's advertisements has even been noted by ad creator Ted Simmons. According to Simmons, "Americans have bought into the notion of the little distillery up in the hills making whiskey the same way for generations. Its downhomefulness comes through. All of that strikes an emotional chord. The ads are appropriate for the times and they are appealing in a frantic, fast-paced world." 80

Although cultural scholars such as Anthony Harkins have shown that the depiction of rural and mountain life can be stereotyped in popular culture as socially and economically backward compared to modern and urban lifestyles, the rural symbols used in Jack Daniel's advertisements are intended to convey in a positive way the traditional American values and frontier spirit of their nineteenth-century heritage. 81

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup>This explanation is a logical assumption of the author and is not based on marketing research.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup>Howard Scholssberg, "Whiskey Maker Content with Business as Usual," *Marketing News*, 29 April 1991, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Anthony Harkins, Hillbilly: A Cultural History of an American Icon (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 7, 104.

Measuring the degree to which the "Smooth Sippin'
Tennessee Whiskey" campaign has contributed to the
whiskey's success is difficult to determine; however, the
increase in sales over the course of the advertising
campaign can suggest some degree of success. When the
campaign began, Jack Daniel's was selling about 100,000
cases annually. By 1989, the volume was 3.4 million cases
in the United States and another several hundred thousand
internationally. 33

In recent years the company has sold more than 6.5 million cases worldwide per year and has become the seventh most-popular spirits brand in the world. The brand has managed to increase its sales volume even as the global market for straight whiskeys has been virtually flat, going from 13 million cases in 1997 to 13.1 million cases in 2001.84

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup>The author acknowledges that advertising does not necessarily prove the success or consumption of a product and that there may be other factors that contributed to the increase in sales for Jack Daniel's whiskey.

<sup>83</sup>Winters, "A Toast to Jack Daniel's."

<sup>&</sup>quot;How Jack Daniel's Eases Bottlenecks," Baseline.com.
17 April 2003, Lexis Nexis Academic <a href="http://80-web.lexis-nexis.com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/universe/printdoc">http://80-web.lexis-nexis.com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/universe/printdoc</a> (11 April 2004).

With those results, the company had no plans to change the campaign any time soon. In fact, the campaign proved to be so creative that it won a regional advertising competition in 1989. Not only was the award an honor for the company, but it was notable because it was presented to them on the thirty-fifth anniversary of the advertising campaign. 85

The Jack Daniel's company has developed a consistent approach in its marketing and advertising that uses its nineteenth-century rural heritage to convey a certain corporate image to its consumers. In order to understand the creative themes that the company uses to promote their product, the next chapter will explore and analyze some of the print advertisements from over the past fifty years and examine some of the strategies and techniques that the company has used in its advertising campaign.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

## CHAPTER III

VISUALIZING THAT "SMOOTH SIPPIN' WHISKEY": THE
ANALYSIS OF JACK DANIEL'S ADVERTISEMENTS

The success and profitability of Jack Daniel's marketing strategy can probably be attributed to its simplicity, distinctiveness, and consistency over time. According to marketing scholar James Gregory, these qualities are essential for a successful corporate campaign. Jack Daniel's marketing campaign is simple because it focuses on its nineteenth-century rural heritage and emphasizes the charcoal mellowed and iron-free water qualities of their whiskey. The campaign is distinctive because it establishes the whiskey's association with the distillery's home town, Lynchburg, Tennessee. This theme is consistent because it has been developed over fifty years and presented in a variety of creative ways.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>James Gregory, Marketing Corporate Image: The Company As Your Number One Product (Chicago, IL: NTC Publishing Group, 1999), 46-47.

In order to understand the themes and how Jack Daniel's advertisements have had a consistency in approach, it is important to examine some of the selected print ads that the company has used over the years. Although the ads were selected, they were not arbitrarily chosen. They represent certain themes that I discovered after examining one hundred and five Jack Daniel's advertisements from 1954 through 1992 in issues of Time and Southern Living. I chose these magazines because my research indicated that Jack Daniel's often places their advertisements in these publications. In addition, they represent distinct genres and have readers who do not necessarily read the other. While most of the advertisements were from these publications, I also found a variety of miscellaneous ads in a "Jack Daniel's Ads" folder in the Moore County Library's archival collection.2

Some of the creative themes that I found that are emphasized in the advertisements include the workers who make the product, Jack Daniel's Lynchburg roots, the methods of making the whiskey, and the company's history. These

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In addition to developing a methodical approach for finding advertising examples, I used advertising and marketing trade journals such as *Advertising Age* and *Beverage Industry* as well as articles that appeared in newspapers such as the *New York Times* to help with understanding the approaches and marketing strategies that the Jack Daniel's company uses to advertise their whiskey.

themes were determined after I compiled the advertisements from the different magazines. Since I learned that the company has had a consistent marketing strategy for over fifty years, I decided to see if there were any common themes that had occurred over the years. After looking at a particular Jack Daniel's advertisement, I made some notes that described what I thought was the overall message or theme of the advertisement. For example, when I came across an advertisement that described Jack Daniel going to the St. Louis World's Fair to promote his whiskey, I decided that the main theme of the ad focused on the distillery's history. Through this systematic process of analyzing each of the ads that I had compiled, I began to find ads that had common themes and I grouped them together into the their respective categories. After going through all the ads that I had accumulated, I chose the advertisement that was the most representative of a certain theme for discussion in this chapter.

Jack Daniel's mass circulation magazine advertising and use of nineteenth-century hillbillies and nostalgia started during the 1950s and in some ways reflected the cultural and social history of the time. During the 1950s and 1960s,

America's interest in the Appalachian region increased as a

result of a new wave of mass migrations of southern hill folk and renewed political concerns over poverty that were voiced by politicians such as Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. Capitalizing on the interest and concern over the rural folk, television programs such as the Real McCoys, The Andy Griffith Show, Green Acres, and especially The Beverly Hillbillies featured hillbilly characters and settings. As cultural historian Anthony Harkins noted, through these shows, the hillbillies represented a people and culture strangely out of sync with modernity but they also served as symbols to point out the moral and social costs of an increasingly materialistic America.

While popular culture such as television shows, movies, local color writers, and comics have portrayed hillbilly culture in a negative way by presenting mountaineers as backward compared to modern American society, Jack Daniel's advertising uses the hillbilly and rural imagery in a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Anthony Harkins, Hillbilly: A Cultural History of an American Icon (New York: Oxford University Press), 175, 185.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibid, 10. For more on television's depiction of the South see: Marsha G. McGee, "Prime Time Dixie: Television's View of a 'Simple' South," *Journal of American Culture* 6(3) (1983): 100-109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Harkins, 193.

positive way. 6 Through images of small town Lynchburg and its residents, people in overalls hauling whiskey barrels, or showing historic photographs of the founder, Jack Daniel's advertising provides an appreciation for its heritage and offers a nostalgic look at the past.

To show how Jack Daniel's uses its nineteenth century heritage and Lynchburg roots, there is no better place to begin the analysis of the advertisements than with the first magazine print ad that appeared in October of 1954 (Figure 12). In this advertisement, the advertising strategy that seems to be used by the Gardner Advertising Agency is referred to by advertising historians as the productinformation format, which focuses on explaining the product and its characteristics.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For some works discussing the depiction of hillbillies in popular culture see: John S. Otto, "Plain Folk, Lost Frontiersman, and Hillbillies: The Southern Mountain Folk in History and Popular Culture," Southern Studies 26(1) (1987): 5-17; W.K. McNeil, ed. Appalachian Images in Folk and Popular Culture, 2d ed., (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995); J.W. Williamson, Hillbillyland: What the Movies Did to the Mountains and What the Mountains Did to the Movies (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

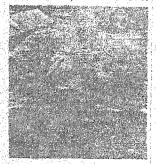
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>William Leiss, Stephen Kline, and Sut Jhally, Social Communication in Advertising: Persons, Products & Images of Well-Being (New York: Routledge, 1990), 240.

## Down this quiet shaded lane, a rare Tennessee whiskey is Charcoal-Mellowed Drop by Drop - and, friend, that means it's sippin' whiskey!

tharcoal has been a good friend to the whiskey maker. This ancient substance makes the whiskey mellower and smooths out its flavor. So you'll find that all American whiskies are aged in charred oak barrels. But at on distillery in Lynchburg, Tennessee—the oldest registered distillery in the United States—we carry this honored mellowing process one step further. We use the charred oak barrels, of course—but first we let our whiskey seep through wats filled with 100 inches of finely ground hard maple charcoal.

Jack Daniel's slow trip through charcoal puts it into contact with 5 to 6 thousand times as much flavor-smoothing charcoat as it later gets in the barrels.

That's the story of our "charcoal-mellowing" process—the best way we know of smoothing out all the "rough edges" in a whiskey's flavor. Once-



vehiskoy-making's excest process:
Firewing that for chartool-mellowing.
Fire chartool-mellowing.

you've fasted Jack Duniel's, we think you'll wonder why no other whiskey is made this old unharried Tennessee way. Whatever the reasons, one thing is cecum. You'll be glad you've found the one whisley that guts this 'extra bless. 8g. Charcoal mellowing drop by drop produces a rate and wonderful whiskey—with a flavorso smooth. Jack Duniel's has you live gold medais in competition with the work?

The next goal we seek is your approval. Won't you ask the jack Daniel's next time you order whiskey? Discovering its friendlier sippin 'dayor is troly a rewarding experience, we promise you.



Green land for those with med, a near in whiches and theel land-menta form of the opening ope

Figure 12. "Down This Quiet Shaded Lane." From Time, 18 October 1954.

In this advertisement, the company clearly distinguished Jack Daniel's from other whiskeys arguing that the whiskey makers "carry the honored mellowing process one step further."8 They claim that Jack Daniel's, like other American whiskies, uses the charred oak barrels to age its product, but Jack Daniel's differs from other companies because they first let their whiskey seep through vats filled with one hundred inches of finely ground hard maple charcoal. The advertisement then declared that "Jack Daniel's slow trip through charcoal puts it into contact with five to six thousand times as much flavor-smoothing charcoal as it later gets in the barrels."10 Not only did this description introduce the strategy of describing the company's whiskey producing methods, but it also differentiated the whiskey from others by emphasizing the natural maple charcoal's qualities and the mellowing process that are used to make the whiskey. For Jack Daniel's the

<sup>% &</sup>quot;Down This Quiet Shaded Lane a Rare Tennessee Whiskey is Charcoal-Mellowed Drop by Drop," Time, October 1954.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> For a description on the process of making Jack Daniel's and how it differs from the ways other bourbons are made see: Kimbra Postlewaite, "Jack in a Barrel," *Beverage Industry* 89(3) March 1998, 22-4.

<sup>10 &</sup>quot;Down This Quiet Shaded Lane," Time, October 1954.

description of its mellowing process is important because it classifies the product as a "Tennessee whiskey" and provides a distinction when compared to other bourbons on the market. 11

In addition to offering information about how the product is made, the advertisement introduced the visual theme of using black and white imagery and having the size of the ad be two-thirds of a page. While the page size was an economic necessity in 1954, it eventually became the brand's trademark. Since the ads did not take up the full length of a magazine page, the company requested that their ads would be adjacent to an editorial and that no other advertisements would be allowed on the same page spread to compete for the consumer's attention.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Verne Gay, "Jack Daniel's Builds Big With Nostalgia," Marketing and Media Decisions, Spring 1983, Infotrac http://infotrac.galegroup.com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu (25 March 2005).

<sup>12</sup> B. G. Yovovich, "Not Fancy, Just Phenomenal," Advertising Age (27 July 1981): S-34; "Campaign Reaches Rightful Age," Advertising Age (26 July 1984): 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Patricia Winters, "A Toast to Jack Daniel's: Down-Home Campaign is 35 and Going Strong," Advertising Age (May 1989): 39.

<sup>14</sup> Verne Gay, "Jack Daniel's Builds Big With Nostalgia."

The ad also initiated the advertising strategy of using its Lynchburg, Tennessee roots and "down-home" rural approach to sell its product. As Arthur Hancock, the executive vice president of the distillery noted, "We felt that if we could take advantage of a small Tennessee town at the foot of the Cumberland Mountains, we would have something with lasting appeal." A large image of an unpaved road shaded by towering trees provided a small glimpse of Lynchburg and implied that the whiskey was made in a peaceful, slow-paced atmosphere. The narrative likewise conveyed this leisurely approach: "once you've tasted Jack Daniel's we think you'll wonder why more whiskies aren't made in this old, unhurried way." 16

The emphasis on Jack Daniel's Lynchburg and Tennessee heritage was also used repeatedly in the ad to encourage the reader to associate the whiskey with a certain place.

For example, the heading of the ad stated that "Down this quiet shaded lane, a rare Tennessee whiskey is Charcoal-Mellowed Drop by Drop . . "Furthermore, the narrative

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> "Jack Daniel's Strategy is Turning 35," The New York Times, (20 July 1989), 19.

<sup>16&</sup>quot;Down This Quiet Shaded Lane a Rare Tennessee Whiskey is Charcoal-Mellowed Drop by Drop," Time, October 1954.

told the reader that the distillery was in Lynchburg,

Tennessee, and was the oldest registered distillery in the

United States. 17 By starting with a very informative ad that

communicated how the whiskey was made in a small, rural town

in Tennessee, the Jack Daniel's executives and marketers

developed a marketing approach of utilizing scenes from

Lynchburg and the distillery to advertise the whiskey over

time.

Perhaps by not focusing on the drinker and emphasizing its Lynchburg roots and rural imagery, Jack Daniel's followed a similar pattern of other brewers and distillers who tried to normalize alcohol in a society that viewed the consumption of alcoholic beverages as a major vice.

According to historian John Burnham, after prohibition of alcoholic beverages was repealed, alcoholic beverage makers and sellers tried to establish that they were a normal, respectable business. One of the major factors in normalizing alcoholic beverages in American society after

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> John Burnham, Bad Habits: Drinking, Smoking, Taking Drugs, Gambling, Sexual Misbehavior, and Swearing in American History (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 73.

World War II was the advertising of the producers. 19 By having advertisements of alcoholic beverages featured in popular magazines or showing ads that had picnic food such as Campbell's pork and beans and National Biscuit's Ritz crackers with products like Pabst beer, alcoholic beverage makers were able to expand their market outreach and indirectly indicate that alcohol consumption was a normal act. 20 By having images of Lynchburg and focusing on its nineteenth century heritage, Jack Daniel's may have indirectly been trying to show that whiskey making was a normal business that had a long tradition in American history.

After the Gardner advertising company debuted the first Jack Daniel's magazine advertisement, the advertising agents quickly began marketing the feature article on Jack Daniel's whiskey and the Motlow brothers that appeared in the November 1954 issue of *True* magazine.<sup>21</sup> Since the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ibid. 74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ibid., 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> " 'True' Story About Distillery Becomes Merchandising Aid," Advertising Age (1 November 1954): 2. For more on the article see: Emmett Gowen, "Sippin' Whisky and the Shirtsleeve Brothers," True Magazine (November 1954): 56-60, 66-68.

article focused on the distillery and the whiskey, and had an interview with Reagor Motlow, who managed the distillery with his brothers at the time, the Gardner advertisers capitalized on the opportunity to market the distillery and the article. The marketers featured advertisements and articles about the "Sippin' Whiskey and the Shirtsleeve Brothers" in newspapers throughout the United States. 22 Through these early marketing efforts, the Gardner advertising agency was able to advertise the whiskey to a wider audience of potential consumers.

Over the years, Jack Daniel's advertisements have also incorporated images of their workers who make the whiskey. 23 The ads starred Jack Daniel's employees who were paid a dollar for their appearances. 24 According to ad creator Ted Simmons, "We don't use professional actors. We take pictures

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> " 'True' Story About Distillery Becomes Merchandising Aid," Advertising Age (1 November 1954): 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Some examples of advertisements that incorporated Jack Daniel's workers included a 1963 ad entitled "Sprucing Up Jack Daniel's Office," a April 1972 advertisement from Southern Living entitled "One Thing's for Sure on the Jack Daniel's Tour, We Won't Rush You," an August 1982 ad called "Woodsmen Drop In," a 1984 ad featuring "Jack Daniel's Retirees," and an ad entitled "Kick a Barrel of Jack Daniel's" from Time October, 1992.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Howard Schlossberg, "Whiskey Maker Content with Business as Usual," Marketing News 25 (29 April 1991), 2.

of the people who really make Jack Daniel's."<sup>25</sup> When questioned why he chose to use real Jack Daniel's workers, Simmons replied "American authenticity is the essence of the Jack Daniel's brand. That value has been communicated by featuring people who really do live and work in Lynchburg, and who craft the whiskey. We like to think of it as reality advertising, before there was ever such a thing as reality TV."<sup>26</sup>

Although Jack Daniel's advertisements featured the distillery's workers instead of having celebrities or actors endorse the product, famous personalities still have indirectly supported the brand. According to several news publications from the 1950s, notable people such as novelist William Faulkner, singer Frank Sinatra, and former vice-president John Nance Garner, who served under Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930s, were connoisseurs of what they believed to be the best tasting whiskey. 27 Despite the

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> "Jack Daniel's Celebrates 50 Years of Legendary Advertising: Celebration Includes Statue Unveiling in Lynchburg, Tennessee," Business Wire, 9 September 2004 http://www.proquest.com (24 June 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> "A Sippin' Whiskey," Time (10 September 1956); "Rare Jack Daniel's," Fortune (July 1951).

popularity with some famous people, Jack Daniel's marketers have not been tempted to use celebrity endorsements.

According to advertising creator, Ted Simmons, "endorsements would be wrong for Jack Daniel's . . . it would be too commercial [and] too blatant."28

While having celebrities endorsing the whiskey may not fit the Jack Daniel's character, another reason may be because of the criticism the company would receive if they did use a celebrity. As the author of Selling Sin: The Marketing of Socially Unacceptable Products has noted, even though celebrities are used to endorse a wide variety of products such as athletic shoes and cereal, they are not used to promote alcoholic beverages because these products are considered to be too controversial in society.<sup>29</sup>

One example of the use of incorporating the workers into the advertisements is a 1972 ad entitled "If You Don't Think It Heats Up" (Figure 13). In the ad, the reader was introduced to some of the "boys" who worked in the Jack Daniel's distillery rick yard. Most of the men were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> B. G. Yovovich, "Not Fancy, Just Phenomenal," Advertising Age (27 July 1981): S-34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> D. Kirk Davidson, Selling Sin: The Marketing of Socially Unacceptable Products (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2003), 171.

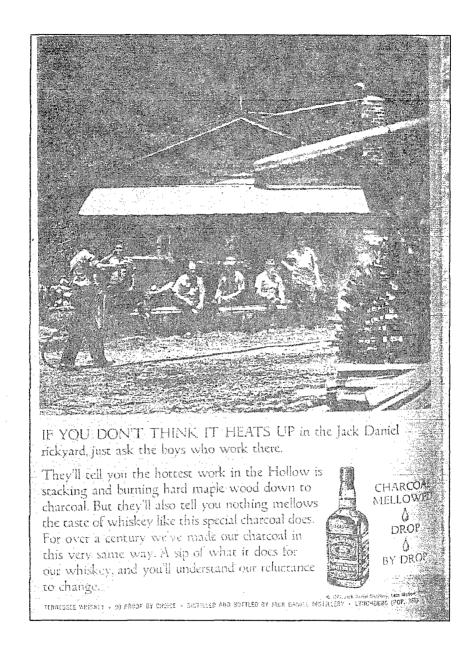


Figure 13. "If You Don't Think It Heats Up." From Southern Living, June 1972.

seated on a bench in the hot sun and were watching one of the workers spray water on the burning hard maple wood that was being made for charcoal. From an evocative standpoint, the five men relaxing in the rick yard may symbolically indicate to the reader that the work at the distillery is done in a slow-paced atmosphere where workers are not in a hurry to make the whiskey's ingredients.

Not only did the reader learn about a job that some of the workers did for the company, but the advertisement also reinforced the theme of showing how the whiskey was made. In the front right corner of the ad, the reader saw stacks of unburned maple. Directly behind the unburned wood was a stack of charred maple wood that one of the workers was spraying with water. The reader gained a visual understanding of the process of making the whiskey by seeing examples of how the wood appeared before and after it was burned. The text of the advertisement reinforced the imagery by informing the reader that the workers "stack and burn the hard maple wood down to charcoal" and then spray the wood pile with water to "mellow the taste of the whiskey." Through this imagery and description, the advertisement

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> "If You Don't Think It Heats Up," Southern Living, June 1972.

seems to also continue the theme of emphasizing the natural ingredients of the product and how the company makes their whiskey the same way that they did a century ago, even though there had been changes in technology over time.

The use of distillery employees in the advertisements has continued for more than fifty years and was even celebrated by the Brown-Forman Corporation executives and ad creator Ted Simmons. On September 9, 2004, the company and ad agency recognized the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Jack Daniel's advertising campaign by presenting to the town of Lynchburg a statue of Herb Fanning, who was a distillery employee for more than fifty years.<sup>31</sup> In addition to his longevity as an employee, Fanning appeared in the ads over thirty times and became the most featured employee in the brand's campaign (Figure 14).<sup>32</sup> The sculpture shows Fanning, who died at age 92 in 1997, in one of his favorite pastimes, playing checkers. It was placed in front of the Lynchburg

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> St. Louis Ad Exec Celebrates 50<sup>th</sup> Year of Advertising for American Icon Brand," AdClub St. Louis <a href="http://www.adclubstlouis.org/news.cfm?news=21">http://www.adclubstlouis.org/news.cfm?news=21</a> (4 July 2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Heather Timmons and Eric Pfanner, "The Media Business: Advertising Addenda; Jack Daniel's Honors Star of Campaign," The New York Times, 9 September 2004.

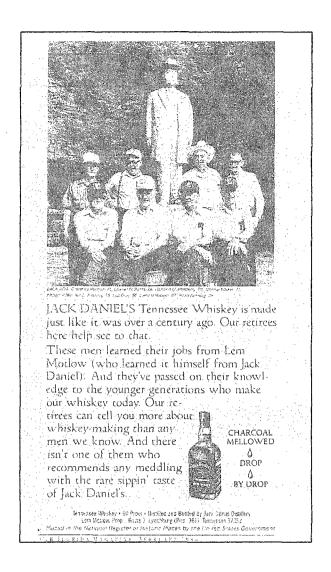


Figure 14. "Jack Daniel's Tennessee Whiskey." From the Jack Daniel's Ads Folder, Moore County History Collection, Moore County Library, Lynchburg, TN.

An example of the many advertisements that featured Herb Fanning, an employee of Jack Daniel's distillery for fifty years. Herb is at the right end of the front row.

Hardware and General Store on the town square where many Lynchburg residents and tourists can see it. 33

While some advertisements focus more on the workers of Jack Daniel's, other ads bring the product's Lynchburg roots to the forefront to distinguish the whiskey from its competitors. 34 One of the reasons that Simmons emphasized Lynchburg in many of the advertisements was because he believed that only a very small percentage of people who enjoyed Jack Daniel's actually got to visit Lynchburg and the distillery. 35 As a result, he thought it was his job as an advertiser "to take the Hollow to them and capture what happens in Lynchburg with pictures and words. "36 Simmons also commented that "every ad [was] like a little postcard from the distillery" and that those images "have taken the

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Some examples of other advertisements that emphasize the whiskey's Lynchburg roots include: a May 1968 ad entitled "If You're Coming Our Way," a February 1972 ad from Southern Living entitled "A Man Can Read the Moore County News in Just Five Minutes." Other examples include a July 1972 ad from Southern Living entitled "When Moore County, Tennessee celebrated Its Hundredth Anniversary," and a June 1975 ad entitled "Folks Who Tour Jack Daniel Distillery."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> "St. Louis Ad Exec Celebrates 50<sup>th</sup> Year of Advertising For American Icon Brand."

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

Jack Daniel's brand personality to the four corners of the globe."37

While Lynchburg scenes may have been used for the purpose of showing the town where Jack Daniel's whiskey is made, the advertisers may also have been appealing to the consumers' desire for the nostalgic small town. As historian, Richard V. Francaviglia has shown, in the popular mind, small towns seem to have a sense of security because they "seem to change less than the world around them" and offer a sense of community and a slow paced atmosphere that people long for in a world that seems to be frantic and fast paced. 38

Although small towns have differences, popular culture forms such as movies, television and novels have stereotyped

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Sandra Salmons, "Jack Daniel's Wins Favored Sales Spot," New York Times (2 January 1982): 27; "St. Louis Ad Exec Celebrates 50<sup>th</sup> Year of Advertising For American Icon Brand."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Richard V. Francaviglia, Main Street Revisited: Time, Space, and Image Building in Small-Town America (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996), 130-131. For works on the history and meaning of small towns see: Richard Lingeman, Small Town America: A Narrative History 1620-the Present (New York: Putnam, 1980); Robert Craycroft and Michael W. Fazio, Change and Tradition in the American Small Town (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1983); Hans Bertens and Theo D'Haen, eds., The Small Town in America: A Multidisciplinary Revisit (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1995).

the small town as if they are all alike in having a slow paced lifestyle and rows of brick commercial buildings, sidewalks, and a common public square. Following in the same pattern as popular culture, Jack Daniel's print advertising utilizes the same idyllic symbols with images of Lynchburg's businesses on the public square and people relaxing in rocking chairs and on sidewalk benches.

The marketing of Jack Daniel's small town and nineteenth-century roots plays an important role in the United States and overseas and does not differ too much from market to market. According to Hugh Murphy, a Jack Daniel's executive who overseas international marketing, "We're selling American sipping whiskey the same way we sell it in the states." For example, Jack Daniel's second largest market outside of the United States is Great Britain. For the British, the story of Lynchburg and images of nineteenth century hillbillies are familiar to the people who ride and wait on trains in London where the advertisements are often featured. Even places such as China and India are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Francaviglia, 132.

<sup>40</sup> Howard Schlossberg, "Whiskey Maker Content with Business as Usual."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> David Kiley, "Jack Daniel's International Appeal; By Sticking to its Homespun, Down-Home Story, The Tennessee

exposed to the same black and white advertisements featuring the square bottle and the distillery's story. 42

Although the advertising creators recognized that the use of nostalgic views of American life such as small town Lynchburg and nineteenth century hillbillies did not always resonate with all consumers, Jack Daniel's ad creator, Ted Simmons believed that the campaign established a distinct brand identity from the fashion-focused advertisements of other spirit brands or humorous beer advertisements. In addition, Simmons stated that "our ads try to present an image of a Norman Rockwell type small town community . . . . . . . people have a feeling that life is more pleasant in such a community, and they tend to transfer those good feelings to the advertised product."

Businesses like Jack Daniel's that strongly identify their product with a particular region are known as place-bound enterprises. 45 As one author has noted, some companies

Sour Mash Whiskey Has Increased Sales at Home and Abroad," Business Week Online (11 October 2007).

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> B.G. Yovovich, "Not Fancy, Just Phenomenal," Advertising Age 52 (July 27, 1981): S-34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> R. J. French, "Place-Bound Enterprise," Focus 40 (Winter 1990), 1-5.

that associate their commodities with a place such as Jack Daniel's whiskey with Lynchburg, Tennessee or L.L. Bean's outdoor clothing and equipment company with Freeport, Maine have clearly established a distinct character and image that helps market the product.<sup>46</sup>

One example of an advertisement that used Lynchburg to sell the product was "Talk to an Old Timer in Lynchburg" from a 1992 issue of Time magazine (Figure 15). In the ad, the viewer saw a picture of the Lynchburg Hardware & General Store, a business on the town square that sells a variety of merchandise and memorabilia related to Jack Daniel's. In front of the store, three older gentlemen are sitting on a wooden bench. One of the men appeared to be having a conversation with two people walking down the sidewalk. The conversation was emphasized in the narrative: "Talk to an old timer in Lynchburg, Tennessee and you'll probably hear a story about Jack Daniel's." By showing a landmark building on the town square, the advertisers provided a

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

 $<sup>^{47}\,{}^{\</sup>rm w}{\rm Talk}$  to an Old Timer in Lynchburg," Time April 20, 1992.

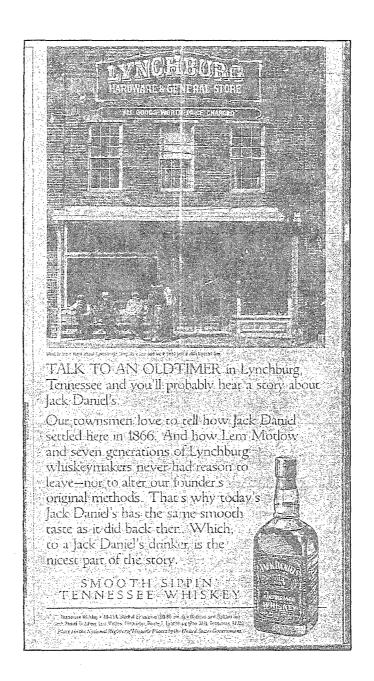


Figure 15. "Talk to an Oldtimer in Lynchburg." From Time, 20 April 1992.

small glimpse of life in the town where the whiskey was made.

From an evocative perspective, the use of a small town general store where people casually sat out on a sidewalk bench seemed to give the reader an insight about the leisurely atmosphere that Lynchburg had, and how in a world of modernization, the town seemed to be frozen in time. This nostalgia for the small town seems to be emphasized even more by the use of black and white imagery that made it appear old, even though it was made recently.

In addition to bringing its Lynchburg roots to the forefront, the advertisement reinforced some of the themes that other Jack Daniel's ads share. For instance, the advertisement indicated that the taste of the whiskey and the way it is produced has not been changed from "the founder's original methods." Through this ad, the reader was informed about the traditions of making the whiskey as well as informing the reader about the distillery's importance in the history of Lynchburg.

The strategy of using its Lynchburg roots became a newsworthy event in the summer of 1980 when Jack Daniel's recognized one of Lynchburg's most notable citizens, Mary

<sup>48</sup> Thid.

Bobo, the proprietor of the Bobo Hotel, a local National Register listed landmark boardinghouse that also serves large mid-day meals to town people and visitors (Figure 16). The advertisement was featured in the June 1980 and July 1980 issues of twenty-two nationally distributed magazines.<sup>49</sup>

In the advertisement, the reader learned about Mary Bobo's significance in the community and how she had been running "the boarding house in town since 1908."<sup>50</sup> In addition to learning about her occupation, the narrative informed the reader that "This year, Miss Mary will be 99 years old. Everyone at the distillery will be sending her a card. If you're a friend of Jack Daniel's we hope you might like to send her one too."<sup>51</sup> As a result of this ad, she received gifts and more than 6,000 cards from a variety of people including some from Germany, Thailand, Alaska, and Hawaii, that celebrated her 99th birthday on July 10,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> " 'Miss Mary,' 99, Gets Cards and Gifts," The Herald Chronicle, July 17, 1980, Mary Bobo Folder, Moore County History Collection, Moore County Library, Lynchburg, TN.

<sup>50 &</sup>quot;Mrs. Mary Bobo is the Most Special Person in Lynchburg, Tennessee," Southern Living, July 1980.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

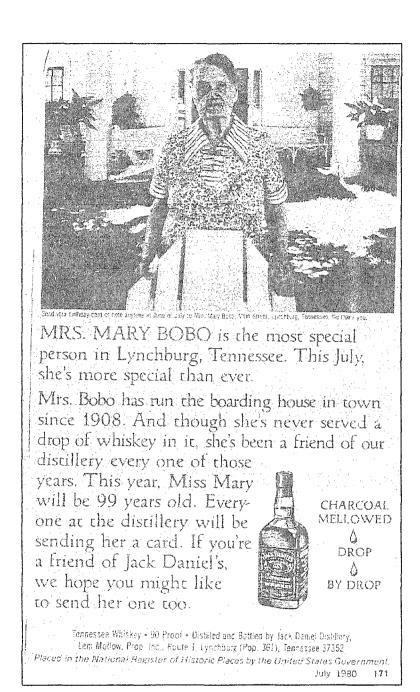


Figure 16. "Mrs. Mary Bobo is the Most Special Person." From Southern Living, July 1980.

1980.<sup>52</sup> Only a few years after the advertisement made her internationally famous, Mary Bobo died at the age of 101 in 1983.<sup>53</sup>

Not only have Jack Daniel's advertisements concentrated on the company's Lynchburg roots, but they have also emphasized the ways they make their whiskey. 54 Although Jack Daniel's uses computerized monitoring and process control systems today to ensure the consistency of the product, many of their advertisements and marketing strategies do not emphasize the technology. 55

One example of an ad that focuses on the time honored tradition of making the whiskey is a 1972 advertisement

<sup>52 &</sup>quot; 'Miss Mary,' 99, Gets Cards and Gifts," The Herald Chronicle, July 17, 1980.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> "A Last Farewell to Miss Mary," June 1983, Mary Bobo Folder, Moore County History Collection, Moore County Library, Lynchburg, TN.

<sup>54</sup> Some advertisements that focus on how the whiskey is made include a 1960 advertisement from Southern Living entitled "Some Folks Say Charcoal Can't Be Made in the Open Air," a 1965 ad entitled "It Stays Pretty Quiet Around Jack Daniel's Hollow," an advertisement from a 1972 issue of Southern Living entitled "Right Here, In This Vat," and an ad entitled "It's Impossible to Photograph Our Charcoal Mellowing Process" from 1984.

<sup>55 &</sup>quot;How Jack Daniel's Eases Bottlenecks." Baseline.com 17 April 2003. Lexis Nexis Academic http://80-web.lexisnexis.com.ezproxy.mtsu.edu/universe/printdoc (11 April 2004).

entitled "Anyone Can Burn a Rick of Wood to Ashes" (Figure 17). In the ad, the viewer sees one of the distillery's employees using a water hose on the burning wood in what appears to be the distillery's rickyard. As the narrative in the advertisement explained, the distillery only uses hard maple that has to be "sawed and stacked just right so the burning charcoal drops inward." Then they control the burn by pointing a water hose to it in "just the right places" to make the whiskey. 57

While the advertisement provided some insights about the way the whiskey was made, it also can be analyzed for its evocative qualities. By showing the image of a rick of maple wood burning to charcoal, the ad seems to convey a sense of purity and naturalness that can be associated with the product. Since many products are made with chemicals and produced with artificial ingredients, the advertisement could have possibly been used to promote the idea that the Jack Daniel's company used only natural ingredients to produce its whiskey.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>"Anyone Can Burn A Rick of Wood To Ashes," Southern Living, September 1972.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup>Ibid.

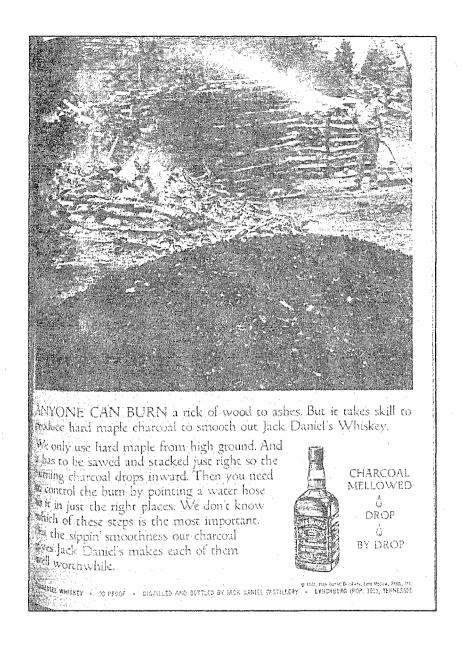


Figure 17. "Anyone Can Burn a Rick of Wood to Ashes." From Southern Living, September 1972.

From a material culture standpoint, the emphasis on pure water reflects the environmental movements of the 1960s and 1970s. During these decades, people began voicing concern over the deterioration and pollution of their environment. In urban areas industrial waste and people's trash polluted water, while in rural areas agricultural chemicals and fertilizers ran off into waterways killing wildlife and fish while also polluting drinking water. As environmental studies scholar, Philip Shabecoff noted, many Americans during the 1970s supported environmentalists' concerns over pollution out of fear for diseases and health problems caused by toxic substances, fear for future generations, and fear that the value of their property would be diminished by pollution and development.<sup>58</sup>

While some of Jack Daniel's advertisements have focused on the way they make their product, others have highlighted

Environmental Movement (Washington D.C.: Island Press, 2003), 109. For more works on the environmental history movement see: Samuel P. Hays, Beauty, Health and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Robert C. Paehlke, Environmentalism and the Future of Progressivism Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); Samuel P. Hays, Explorations in Environmental History (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998); Paul Charles Milazzo, Unlikely Environmentalists: Congress and Clean Water, 1945-1972 (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006).

the company's history to distinguish the whiskey from other similar products. 59 As ad creator Ted Simmons noted, "the role of advertising since the beginning was not to 'sell whiskey' as much as it has been to communicate the story of the brand." 60

One example that reflects the use of history is the "No One in Lynchburg Knew" ad from 1992 (Figure 18). In the advertisement, the reader saw a black and white image of an office with a desk, a wooden swivel chair, and a large framed picture on the wall. From a material culture perspective, the viewer can already infer that the office is historic because the artifacts in the office are not modern pieces of furniture and there are no pieces of modern technology such as computers or other equipment that would probably be used in modern times to do office tasks.

background theme include: an ad entitled "Jack Daniel's Statue," an ad from a March 1968 Southern Living entitled "Mr. Jack Had To Do Some Talking To Get a Different Shaped Bottle," a September 1968 ad from Southern Living entitled "A Visit to Our Bottling House By Mr. Tom Motlow," an October 1975 ad called "A Slight Disturbance," a November 1980 ad called "We Never Dreamed," and a January 1992 ad from Time entitled "In 1907, Jack Daniel's Nephew Said, 'All Goods Worth Price Charged."

 $<sup>^{60}\,\</sup>mathrm{``St.}$  Louis Ad Exec Celebrates  $50^{\mathrm{th}}$  Year of Advertising For American Icon Brand."

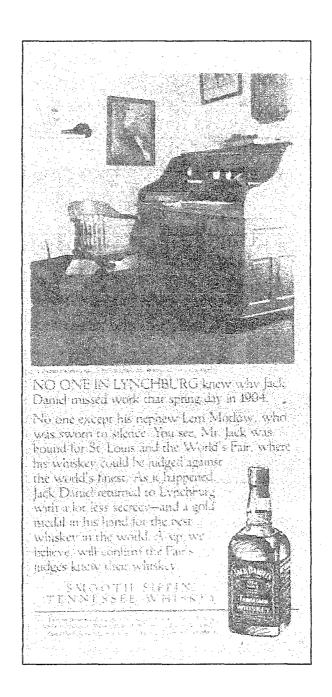


Figure 18. "No One in Lynchburg Knew." From Time, 14 September 1992.

Without any people, the emptiness of the scene provided a stark contrast to other Jack Daniel's advertisements and could have symbolically conveyed to the reader that someone was missing. By reading the text, the reader learned that this office belonged to Jack Daniel, who was missing because he went to St. Louis and the World's Fair where his whiskey could be judged "against the world's finest." 61

Although the advertisement emphasized part of the company's history, it also echoed themes that occur in other Jack Daniel's ads. For example, the narrative reinforced the location of the product by using the phrase "no one in Lynchburg knew why Jack Daniel missed work that spring day in 1904." Furthermore, the slogan "Smooth Sippin' Tennessee Whiskey" made the reader associate the whiskey with a particular place and clearly distinguished the whiskey from other bourbons.

While the ad had some similarities to other Jack Daniel's advertisements, it also indicated the quality of the whiskey by stating that it won the gold medal in 1904 "for the best whiskey in the world." By acknowledging the

<sup>61 &</sup>quot;No One in Lynchburg Knew," Time, 14 September 1992.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

award and honor that the whiskey received at the World's Fair, the advertisement indirectly communicated to the reader that Jack Daniel's brand tasted better than other bourbons and whiskies such as George Dickel and Jim Beam. The strategy of distinguishing the qualities and honors the product has received is important because in a vast commercial market with many similar competing products, it is essential to have a distinct brand identity.

Although Jack Daniel's advertisements do not directly address their competitors in the whiskey market, others such as George Dickel whiskey have directly taken on Jack Daniel's in their marketing campaigns. Since the 1960s, Schenley Industries, the marketers of George Dickel whiskey, have directly competed with Jack Daniel's by addressing the whiskey in their advertisements. 64 For example, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, George Dickel featured advertisements that directly addressed its competitor Jack Daniel's with captions such as "Show us a Jack Daniel's drinker who doesn't like George Dickel and we'll show you a Jack Daniel's drinker who hasn't tried George Dickel." 65 By the

 $<sup>^{64}\,\</sup>text{``Schenley Maps}$  a 17-Brand Drive," New York Times, April 3, 1969.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

1980s, George Dickel's marketers continued its direct competition with Jack Daniel's by challenging people to have a "whiskey tasting duel." 66 Similarly to Pepsi's "Pepsi Challenge" with Coca-Cola, George Dickel's marketers encouraged consumers to taste test George Dickel whiskey against Jack Daniel's whiskey to see which one they preferred. 67

The Jack Daniel's company has had a consistent advertising and marketing strategy for fifty years that focuses on their Lynchburg, Tennessee roots and the unique way they make their whiskey. Despite changing social attitudes toward drinking, the whiskey has retained its appeal and remained unchanged since the first ad appeared in Time magazine on October 18, 1954. The longevity of the campaign is a remarkable achievement for any product, especially in a world where marketers continuously change their advertising approaches and techniques for products to try to appeal to consumers. Perhaps, it is this longevity

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Patricia Winters, "Proof's in the Taste, Dickel Whiskey Duels with Rivals," Advertising Age (20 March 1989): 69.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

that makes the history and advertising of Jack Daniel's whiskey so intriguing.

## CHAPTER IV

A "REFRESHING" DRINK FROM ATLANTA: THE HISTORY AND ADVERTISING OF COCA-COLA FROM 1886-1980

On May 29, 1886 an advertisement in the Atlanta Daily Journal appeared that read "Coca-Cola, Delicious!

Refreshing! Exhilarating! Invigorating! The new and popular soda fountain drink containing the tonic properties of the wonderful coca plant and the famous kola nuts. For sale by Willis Venable and Nunnally & Rawson." With these words, the Coca-Cola company initiated one of its first major marketing campaigns that enticed consumers to drink and purchase the product (Figure 19). By emphasizing the pleasure of drinking the beverage, Coca-Cola developed an effective campaign that they would construct in a variety of ways for years to come. In order to understand how the

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Coca-Cola, Delicious! Refreshing! Exhilarating! Invigorating!" Atlanta Daily Journal, 29 May 1886, Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 1, 1886-1905, 00001 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

## GOGA-GOLA.

The New and Popular Soils Louising the North Constitution plant and the famous Columnts. For well by Willis Venable and Sun and Valle & Rewson.

Figure 19. "Coca-Cola, Delicious! Refreshing!" From Atlanta Daily Journal, 29 May 1886, Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 1, 1886-1905, 00001 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

According to the Coca-Cola archives resources, this advertisement was the first one used to market Coca-Cola.

advertising evolved and the ways the advertisers changed their approaches and slogans over time, it is important to examine the history of the company and the figures that played a role in developing and creating the Coca-Cola advertisements.

The product eventually referred to as Coca-Cola was created by John S. Pemberton, a pharmacist from Atlanta, Georgia in 1886.<sup>2</sup> Although Pemberton was the creator of the beverage, he was influenced by the trend of many pharmacists of the time who often created medicines that were mixed with sugar syrup to cover up the bitter taste of the medicines.<sup>3</sup> Pemberton also used ingredients such as the kola nut and the coca leaf that were found in South America and believed at the time to be "miracle plants" that relieved ailments and stimulated the nervous system.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> James Harvey Young, "Three Atlanta Pharmacists," *Pharmacy in History* 31(1) (1989): 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Gyvel Young-Witzel and Michael Karl Witzel, The Sparkling Story of Coca-Cola: An Entertaining History Including Collectibles, Coke Lore and Calendar Girls (Stillwater, MN: Voyageur Press, Inc., 2002), 23-4.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Wonderful Coca, a Plant That Ponce de Leon Should Have Found," Atlanta Constitution, 21 June 1885, 8; Robert Christison, "Observation on the Effects of Cuca, or Coca: The Leaves of Erythroxylon Coca," British Medical Journal, vol. 1, (29 April 1876): 527-31.

In addition, Pemberton even asserted in an interview with a writer from the *Atlanta Constitution* that he believed that the coca plant would relieve addictions to "tobacco and other narcotic stimulants."

Believing that his concoctions could be successful and generate money, Pemberton began searching for investors to help with the marketing and funding of his products. Two men who eventually partnered with Pemberton were Frank Robinson and David Doe who owned a color printing press and who had come to Atlanta to start an advertising agency. In the mid 1880s, the men came to Pemberton's home on Marietta Street hoping to sell some advertising services. By the end of the meeting, Pemberton had convinced the two men to become partners in his business venture, along with his other partner Edward Holland, who was the landlord of Pemberton's headquarters. 6

After some negotiations, the four men agreed that Pemberton would concentrate on manufacturing, developing,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> "Wonderful Coca, a Plant That Ponce de Leon Should Have Found," Atlanta Constitution, 21 June 1885, 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Mark Pendergrast, For God, Country and Coca-Cola: The Unauthorized History of the Great American Soft Drink and the Company That Makes It (New York: Collier Books, 1993), 30.

and improving patent medicines, while Robinson and Doe would spearhead the print advertising campaign. Robinson, who was trained as an accountant, was designated as the bookkeeper. Edward Holland turned over the title to his property in exchange for a share in the business. On January 1, 1886, the Pemberton Chemical Company was formed.

Not long after the company was formed, Pemberton introduced the concept of a coca and kola flavored fountain drink to his partners. Since the drink needed a name before it was introduced to the public, Robinson, Doe, Holland and Pemberton met to discuss a name for their new product.

During the meeting, Robinson developed the idea to call the new concoction "Coca-Cola" because of the two main ingredients of coca for coca leaves and cola for kola nuts. It was decided that the "k" in the kola would be changed to a "c" to provide a balanced and harmonious logo for their beverage.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8 &</sup>quot;A Proud History," Coca-Cola Bottler, 18 no.2 (May 1926): 9, Coca-Cola Bottler Collection, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA; "Packaging's Hall of Fame: Coca-Cola," Coca-Cola Bottler, (November 1951): 28, Coca-Cola Bottler Collection, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

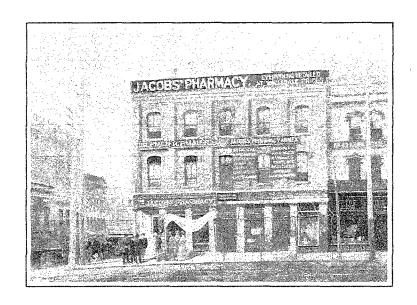
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Frederick Allen, Secret Formula: How Brilliant Marketing and Relentless Salesmanship Made Coca-Cola the

After determining a name for the product, Pemberton decided to try out his new health tonic by taking it to Joseph Jacobs' Pharmacy at Five Points at the center of Atlanta's business district where a soda fountain concession was operated by Willis Venable (Figures 20 & 21). 10 During the late nineteenth century, soda fountains became popular social centers that served carbonated and fruit drinks as well as food. Since many people visited soda fountains, particularly in the warmer seasons, Pemberton realized that a new concoction could be tried by people at the soda fountain to see if they liked it. 11 Always willing to sample new flavors, Venable mixed the syrup with ice-cold carbonated water and passed out free samples to many of the customers. The customers who tried the beverage approved of the drink and it was soon placed on sale for five cents a glass as a soda fountain drink. Not long after, Coca-Cola was promoted in newspapers, such

Best Known Product in the World (New York: Harper Collins, 1994), 18.

<sup>10</sup> Young, "Three Atlanta Pharmacists," 17.

<sup>&</sup>quot;For more on the history of the soda fountain see: Joseph L. Morrison, "The Soda Fountain," American Heritage (August 1962): 10-19.



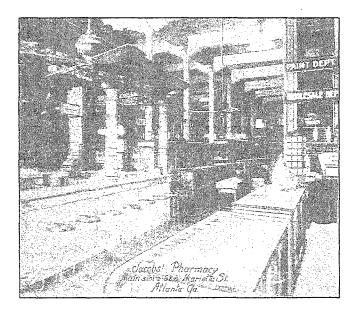


Figure 20. (top) "Exterior view of Jacobs' Pharmacy." From Coca-Cola Photograph Collection, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

Figure 21. (bottom) "Interior view of Jacobs' Pharmacy and soda fountain." Coca-Cola Photograph Collection, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

as the *Atlanta Journal*, inviting thirsty citizens to try "the new and popular soda fountain drink." 12

In addition, Frank Robinson arranged for an oil-cloth sign to be pinned to the awning of Jacobs' drugstore with lettering that read "Drink Coca-Cola 5 cents." Soon, oil cloth signs advertising Coca-Cola appeared on many store awnings that sold soda fountain drinks. 13

As the drink became more popular, the company experienced some setbacks with the sickness of Pemberton and the increasing demand for the product. In 1886, Pemberton fell seriously ill with gastroenteritis and took to his bed. During this time, Robinson and Doe willingly took over the reins of the day-to-day business, and proceeded in manufacturing, advertising and distributing Coca-Cola syrup. However, the demand for the product proved to be more than the two of them could handle and eventually Doe abandoned the business. 14

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Atlanta Daily Journal, 29 May 1886, Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 1, 1886-1905, 00001 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Pendergrast, 33; Lawrence Dietz, Soda Pop: The History, Advertising, Art and Memorabilia of Soft Drinks in America (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Allen, 29.

As Pemberton's health continued to worsen, he wanted to ensure that his family was not left penniless after his death. Since the only thing of value that he owned was the formula to Coca-Cola, he decided to obtain a legal claim to his new popular drink by applying for a trademark patent.

On June 28, 1887, Pemberton's Coca-Cola was patented by the U.S. government.<sup>15</sup>

After obtaining legal rights to the Coca-Cola trademark, Pemberton sold two-thirds interest in the Coca-Cola formula to his friend and patent medicine salesman George Lowndes. 16 Although Lowndes loaned the money to Pemberton, he had no interest in Coca-Cola and so he wanted to find a businessman to help him recoup his money. Eventually, Lowndes partnered with Willis Venable. 17 However, Venable was too busy at the soda fountain and he could not spare the time to promote Coca-Cola or make the product. As a result, Lowndes decided to cut his losses by

<sup>15 &</sup>quot;Coca-Cola Syrup and Extract Patent," 28 June 1887, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> "Chain of Title, Coca-Cola Company" Coca-Cola Company Annual Report, 1922, 13, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Young-Witzel and Witzel, 31.

selling two-thirds of the Coca-Cola formula to Evan Walker,
Pemberton's salesman. 18

In response to Pemberton's decision to sell off some of the rights to the Coca-Cola formula, Robinson confronted Pemberton. Pemberton informed Robinson that in 1887 the government issued the rights for the Coca-Cola syrup to him only and not the Pemberton Chemical Company. Pobinson, who had helped name and develop the Coca-Cola logo, as well as manufacture and promote the product, was surprised by this information. Since Coca-Cola had been created while Pemberton was a partner in the Pemberton Chemical Company, Robinson had assumed that each partner had an interest in the formula. However, to his dismay, he discovered that he had no rights to the formula.

Although Robinson could not do anything about the selling of the Coca-Cola formula, he was determined to make Coca-Cola succeed and he turned to his friend and employer

<sup>18</sup> Pendergrast, 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> "Frank Robinson Testimony, Coca-Cola Company vs. Koke Company of America," Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1920, Coca-Cola Archives and Legal Library, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>20</sup> Pendergrast, 37; "Frank Robinson Testimony."

Asa Candler, Atlanta's wealthiest pharmacist, for assistance. Candler's business empire included a retail pharmacy, a chemical company, a manufacturing branch, and a wholesale department. Some of Candler's successful products were Everlasting cologne, a dentifrice known as Delectalave and a blood purifier called B.B.B. (Botanic Blood Balm).<sup>21</sup>

Although Candler was at first reluctant to invest in Coca-Cola, he began to believe in the product after it cured one of his headaches. In a letter he wrote to his younger brother Warren, Candler expressed how he had tasted the Coca-Cola drink after a friend had suggested that he try it to relieve his headaches. After he discovered that it relieved his ailment, he became determined to find out more about the product. Through his investigation, he learned that it was owned by people who were unable to sell and produce it in mass quantities. 23

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Kathryn W. Kemp, God's Capitalist: Asa Candler of Coca-Cola (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2002), 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Asa Candler to Warren, 10 April 1888, Asa Griggs Candler Collection, Box 1, Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library, Robert Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

Believing that the product was a good investment,

Candler established himself in the syrup business by 1888.

On April 14, 1888 Candler acquired Pemberton's remaining

one-third interest to the Coca-Cola formula. Not long

after, in August of 1888, Dr. Pemberton died.<sup>23</sup> Many

businessmen and residents of Atlanta, including Candler,

paid tribute to him in a memorial service.<sup>24</sup> Pemberton's

remains were taken by train from Atlanta to Columbus,

Georgia where he was buried in the family cemetery.<sup>25</sup>

Only a few weeks after Pemberton's death, Candler, who had been offering to buy Walker out of his shares, secured the remaining shares and became the sole owner of Coca-Cola on August 30, 1888. By 1889, the first newspaper ad appeared in the *Atlanta Journal* declaring Asa Candler as the "Sole Owner of Coca-Cola" (Figure 22).<sup>26</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> "Dr. J. S. Pemberton Dies in Edgewood Last Night," Atlanta Constitution, 17 August 1888, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> "Dr. Pemberton's Death," Atlanta Constitution, 18 August 1888, 5.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> "Asa Candler-Sole Proprietor of Coca-Cola," Atlanta Journal 1 May 1889, Asa Griggs Candler Collection, Box 7, Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library, Robert Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA; and Pat Watters, Coca-Cola: An Illustrated History (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1978), 8.

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Figure 22. "Asa Candler, Sole Proprietor of Coca-Cola." From Atlanta Journal 1 May 1889. Asa Griggs Candler Collection, Box 7, Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library, Robert Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

Under Candler, the Coca-Cola company boomed and became the nation's and the world's first large scale marketer of soft drinks. The company manufactured, sold, and distributed only the syrup, a simple and sound procedure that paid big dividends over the years. In 1894, the first syrup manufacturing plant outside Atlanta was opened in Dallas, Texas. In the following year, other plants were opened in Chicago, Illinois and Los Angeles, California.<sup>27</sup>

During that same year, in Vicksburg, Mississippi,

Joseph A. Biedenharn became so impressed by the growing

demand for Coca-Cola at his soda fountain that he installed

bottling machinery in the rear of his store. Soon after, he

began selling cases of Coca-Cola to farms and lumber camps

up and down the Mississippi River.<sup>28</sup>

Part of the reason for Candler's success was the marketing efforts he used to promote the beverage during the 1890s. As a firm believer in advertising, Candler

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> F. N. Boney, "First Atlanta and Then the World: A Century of Coca-Cola," Georgia Historical Quarterly, 71 (1987): 92.

<sup>28 &</sup>quot;The Candler Era," Coca-Cola Heritage
<http:www2.coca-cola.com/heritage> (25 February 2009);
Wilbur G. Kurtz, Jr., "Joseph A. Biedenharn," Coca-Cola
Bottler (April 1959): 95, Coca-Cola Bottler Collection,
Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

distributed thousands of coupons for a complimentary glass of Coca-Cola at the soda fountain of a specified store. <sup>29</sup> In addition, he promoted the product by distributing souvenir fans, calendars, clocks, drinking glasses, pocket knives, and other novelties that depicted the Coca-Cola trademark. <sup>30</sup> Another step that Candler took to expand the marketing of the product was hiring the Massengale Agency in Atlanta, Georgia in the 1890s to produce print advertisements. The Massengale Agency's first campaign for Coca-Cola featured upper-class ladies and gentlemen drinking Coca-Cola in elegant surroundings. <sup>31</sup>

At first, many of the advertisements the Massengale agency produced were medicinal in tone and often suggested that by drinking Coca-Cola a person could relieve headaches or physical and mental exhaustion. For example, a calendar advertisement from 1891 showed an upper-class woman surrounded by roses with the caption reading "Coca-Cola, a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Charles Howard Candler, *Asa Griggs Candler* (Atlanta, GA: Emory University, 1950), 161.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Susan Strasser, Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 1989), 186.

<sup>31</sup> Candler, 161.

Delightful Summer or Winter Drink. For Headache or Tired Feeling. Relieves Mental and Physical Exhaustion" (Figure 23).32

By 1895, however, the company decided to change its approach as a result of a suggestion from Frank Robinson. In a meeting with Asa Candler, Robinson revealed that women and other consumers frequently wrote letters to the company to object to the medicinal image of Coca-Cola. As a result of these complaints, Robinson began publishing advertisements that simply said "Drink Coca-Cola. Delicious and Refreshing." Although the company took a new direction in their advertising, they did not completely abandon the medical claims because some advertisements from the period still emphasized the invigorating effects of drinking the beverage. 34

<sup>32 &</sup>quot;Delightful Summer and Winter Beverage-The Ideal Brain Tonic, Coca-Cola," Asa Griggs Candler Collection, Box 7. Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library, Robert Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>33</sup> Pendergrast, 66-67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Tbid. Some examples of advertisements that continued the theme of marketing Coca-Cola's invigorating qualities include: "It Satisfies the Thirsty and Helps the Weary" Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 1, 1905, 00087 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA; "Coca-Cola, Delicious, Refreshing and Necessary-Why?" Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 2, 1906, 00095 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.



Figure 23. "Delightful Summer and Winter Beverage." From Asa Griggs Candler Collection, Box 7. Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library, Robert Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

While Candler and the Coca-Cola company were busy devising ways to promote the beverage, two lawyers from Chattanooga, Tennessee were working to establish the foundation of the Coca-Cola bottling industry. On July 19, 1899, Benjamin Franklin Thomas and Joseph Brown Whitehead approached Asa Candler with the idea of placing Coca-Cola in a bottle. 35 Although Candler was initially reluctant to bottle the drink, Thomas and Whitehead eventually persuaded him that they would take full responsibility for their business venture. Eventually on July 21, 1899, Candler and the two men signed a contract that gave Thomas and Whitehead exclusive rights to bottle Coca-Cola everywhere in the United States except New England and part of Texas and Mississippi where other bottling agreements were being negotiated with other people. 36

With a contract in hand, the two partners realized that they needed to start setting up bottling plants. While Thomas had five thousand dollars to open a factory, Whitehead did not. However, after searching for another

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Franklin M. Garrett, "Founders of the Business of Coca-Cola in Bottles," Coca-Cola Bottler (April 1959): 85-92, Coca-Cola Bottler Collection, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Dietz, 29; Candler, 176-177.

investor and partner, Whitehead found John T. Lupton, who was treasurer of the Chattanooga Medicine Company and vice-president of the First National Bank of Chattanooga, to purchase half of the interest in the bottling company.<sup>37</sup>

The first bottling plant was opened by Thomas in Chattanooga in 1899, and the following year the Whitehead/Lupton plant opened in Atlanta. Although they had two plants, Lupton, Whitehead, and Thomas quickly realized that they needed to create other bottling franchises in order to keep up with the demand for the drink. However, the partners had different ideas on how to manage the enterprise so they decided to divide their interests in the bottling rights.<sup>38</sup>

In April of 1900, the business was split in two, with Thomas taking one part and Whitehead and Lupton sharing the other half. Within their respective territories they granted bottling franchises to local, independent businessmen. Thomas's territory included most of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Ned L. Irwin, "Bottling Gold: Chattanooga's Coca-Cola Fortunes," Tennessee Historical Quarterly 51 (1992): 225-226.

<sup>38</sup> Young-Witzel and Witzel, 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Irwin, 228.

states east of the Mississippi River and from Chattanooga north, including all of Tennessee and the eastern half of North Carolina, while Whitehead's and Lupton's territory was the Deep South and those states west of the Mississippi. As a result of this agreement, two "parent" bottlers emerged. Thomas ran the Coca-Cola Bottling Company and the Whitehead/Lupton team headed the Dixie Coca-Cola Bottling Company. By 1901, the parent companies had granted franchises in Chicago, Illinois; Cincinnati, Ohio; Louisville, Kentucky; Norfolk, Virginia; and Rome, Georgia. 41

In the early 1900s, while the franchises for the bottling company began to grow, the Coca-Cola company also made some changes regarding who managed their advertising. During the early 1900s, Candler promoted his nephew, Sam Dobbs, to sales manager and a power struggle between Dobbs and Frank Robinson developed over who would manage the advertising and promotion of the product. Despite Robinson's significance to the company for many years, Dobbs took over the advertising and sales of the company in 1906. After obtaining this power, Dobbs

<sup>41</sup> Irwin, 228; Dietz, 30-31.

<sup>42</sup> Pendergrast, 106.

made some dramatic changes by dropping the Massengale agency that had been managing the Coca-Cola account. He then hired his personal friend William D'Arcy and his St. Louis agency known as the D'Arcy Advertising company. 43

Dobb's advertising money was put to good use. D'Arcy had a certain flair for recognizing gifted illustrators, and he quickly obtained the talents of artists such as Norman Rockwell and W. C. Wyeth. 44 With a group of talented freelancers and in-house illustrators, D'Arcy set about creating desire for Coca-Cola by linking it to emotion. This marked the first time in the history of Coca-Cola that an advertisement aimed to evoke a particular feeling. 45

D'Arcy was a firm believer that "advertising is selling" and that reaching more people would sell more product. For this reason, newspapers, with their wide coverage and large readership, were his favorite advertising medium. 46 Since men comprised a large part of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ibid., 106-107.

 $<sup>^{44}\,\</sup>mathrm{Young\text{-}Witzel}$  and Witzel, 77-78.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Coca-Cola Bottler, April 1909, Asa Griggs Candler Collection, Box 7, Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library, Robert Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

the nation's newspaper readership, D'Arcy altered his marketing strategy to reach this audience. In 1906, right after he acquired the Coca-Cola account, D'Arcy hired Ty Cobb, a prominent baseball player and much-loved sports hero of the time, to appear in an advertisement. D'Arcy's "athletes praise Coca-Cola" strategy included other well-known baseball players from the Chicago White Sox and Cubs, St. Louis Cardinals, Philadelphia A's and St. Louis Browns. The success of this sports-related campaign made D'Arcy realize the power in marketing Coca-Cola to different groups. To be most successful, he had to create advertisements that appealed to all Americans. The success of the successful appealed to all Americans.

While the company continued to develop new strategies to advertise the product, many bottlers began to believe that Coca-Cola needed a unique bottle design to distinguish the product from its competitors. Since many soft-drinks during the time used straight-sided containers to bottle their beverage, the Coca-Cola bottlers decided to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Some examples that the author found at the Coca-Cola archives that utilized athletes to promote Coca-Cola include: "Ty Cobb at the Bat," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 2, 1906, 00124 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA; "Athletes Praise Coca-Cola," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 2, 1907, 00178A ARS.

<sup>45</sup> Young-Witzel and Witzel, 77-78.

hold a contest that challenged bottle manufacturers to create a distinctive design. 46 The contest winner would hold the patent and receive royalties on all the bottles manufactured, whether the bottles were produced by the company that proposed the design or by another source.

One of the companies that took the challenge was the Root Glass Company from Terre Haute, Indiana, a major supplier of Coca-Cola bottles. To get things started, plant superintendent, Alex Samuelson instructed the company's accountant, T. Clyde Edwards and mold-shop supervisor Earl R. Dean to do research on the kola nut and the coca leaf because he wanted a design that would have something to do with the two most famous ingredients of Coke. After researching, Edwards and Dean returned with an intricate line drawing of what they thought was the coca bean. The picture, however, was actually a cocoa bean. Although Edwards had made a mistake, the Root Glass company decided to develop a prototype of the drawing and Dean created a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>Betty Mussell Lundy, "The Bottle," American Heritage 37(4) (1986): 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>Ibid, 100; "Packaging's Hall of Fame: Coca-Cola," Coca-Cola Bottler, (November 1951): 31, Coca-Cola Bottler Collection, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

green-tinted, curvaceous bottle with longitudinal ridges.

After some slight modifications of the design, the company submitted the bottle. After almost a week of deliberation and thirty bottles to choose from, the bottlers' committee chose the Root Glass Company's design and it soon went into production.<sup>48</sup>

As the company continued to thrive and develop its brand distinctiveness, it experienced a major change with the resignation of Asa Candler in 1916. During that year Candler was persuaded by a group of Atlanta's business community to run for mayor. With the city in poor financial shape, many Atlanta businessmen and politicians believed that Candler's skills could help relieve the city's budget issues. Part of the reason the business community tapped Candler for a leadership role was his involvement in philanthropic investments such as donating money for the establishment of Emory University. In addition, he had previously devised a crop price-support

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Dietz, 58-59; J. C. Louis and Harvey Z. Yazijian, *The Cola Wars* (New York: Everest House Publishers, 1980), 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> "Candler Will Be Formally Notified Today He is Choice of Business Men For Mayor," Atlanta Constitution, 20 July 1916, 1.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

system for the region's depressed economy. In his crop price-support system, Candler proposed to keep cotton off the market by lending small farmers and large growers up to six cents per pound for storing their cotton in one of his warehouses.<sup>51</sup>

After deciding to run for mayor, Candler resigned from his position as the president of the Coca-Cola company and turned it over to his son, Charles Howard Candler. Not long after, Asa was elected to a two-year term as the mayor of Atlanta, Georgia. Candler made his final break from the Coca-Cola company on Christmas Day that same year, dividing his shares of Coca-Cola stock between his wife and his five children and keeping seven shares for himself.

In addition to the loss of Asa Candler, the Coca-Cola company faced another setback with the onset of World War I. During this time, America experienced the obstacle of feeding its own troops while also providing food to its war partners overseas who were facing a shortage in food

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Pendergrast, 127; Louis and Yazijian, 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Coca-Cola Bottler, April 1929, Asa Griggs Candler Collection, Box 7, Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Allen, 91.

supplies.<sup>54</sup> To tackle the problem of meeting the demand for food, President Woodrow Wilson appointed Herbert Hoover as the United States Food Administrator.<sup>55</sup> Under Hoover's leadership, the Food Administration developed food conservation campaigns and propaganda such as films, posters and pledge cards to encourage people to cooperate in conserving food for the war effort.<sup>56</sup>

Like many companies during the time, Coca-Cola promised to abide by the government's regulations in the effort to conserve supplies, such as sugar. During this time, the rationing of sugar made it increasingly difficult for the Coca-Cola company to continue making a large amount of the product and sales of the soft drink plummeted. After World War I was over, the government lifted the sugar rationing restrictions and Coca-Cola resumed its production. 57

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup>Robert H. Zieger, America's Great War: World War I and the American Experience (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000), 73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> David M. Kennedy, Over Here: The First World War and American Society (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 117.

<sup>56</sup>Kennedy, 118; Zieger, 74.

Robert Winship Woodruff Collection, Box 51, Manuscript,

In 1919, after the last restrictions were lifted, the company was able to satisfy a soaring demand that had accumulated during the war years, and sales almost doubled to nearly nineteen million gallons or about two and a half billion servings. According to one source, this amount was enough to provide an average of thirty Cokes a year for every man, woman, and child in the United States.<sup>58</sup>

One of the possible reasons for the improvement of Coca-Cola sales was because of prohibition laws. After decades of fighting for the eradication of alcohol, the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League achieved victory in 1919 with the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting the manufacture and distribution of all alcoholic beverages.<sup>59</sup>

During this time, prohibitionists and supporters of temperance believed that the consumption of alcohol contributed to more crime and destructive behavior, led to a less efficient worker and encouraged other vices such as

Archives and Rare Book Library, Robert Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Allen, 90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Jack S. Blocker, Jr. American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989), 119.

gambling and prostitution. 60 As a result, many people believed that prohibition was necessary for achieving the Christian society they desired to have and believed was possible. 61 Without their beer, wine and other distilled spirits, people turned to soft drinks like Coca-Cola.

Despite the good news for sales, the Coca-Cola company faced other obstacles with the price of sugar soaring.

After the war, the fixed price of sugar at 5 ½ cents a pound was lifted and the company faced a jump in sugar prices such as 10 cents and 12 cents per pound. Since one of the basic ingredients of Coca-Cola was sugar, the company faced the problem of having a high demand for their product but a very expensive sugar price that did not allow them to make a profit. 62

Adding to the problems of the company was a court case against the Koke Company of America. The Coca-Cola company charged the Koke company with infringement on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> John C. Burnham, Bad Habits: Drinking, Smoking, Taking Drugs, Gambling, Sexual Misbehavior, and Swearing in American History (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 26.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Dietz, 60.

copyrights because the Koke company had a similar name and used the color red for its product. 63

With all of these issues that threatened the finances of the company, the Candler family decided to sell the company. In 1919, a group of investment banks led by Ernest Woodruff purchased the Coca-Cola company from the Candler family and other private stockholders for a grand total of \$25 million.<sup>64</sup>

During this same year, Archie Laney Lee, one of the most influential advertising men of Coca-Cola, joined the D'Arcy advertising agency. Fart of the reason for Archie Lee's success in developing advertisements was that he was one of the first advertising men to realize that a product's image was actually more important than the

Goca-Cola Company vs. Koke Company of America, 6 December 1920, Asa Griggs Candler Collection, Box 7, Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library, Robert Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA. Prior to the Koke case, there were thirty other cases before 1929 that alleged infringement upon the trademark of Coca-Cola. For more on these cases see: Coca-Cola: Opinions, Orders, Injunctions and Decrees, vols. 1 and 2, Coca-Cola Company Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup>Coca-Cola Company-A Chronological History, 1886-1967, Robert Winship Woodruff Collection, Box 51. Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library, Robert Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>65</sup> Watters, 128.

product itself. During a beach vacation, Lee noticed that his four-year-old daughter lavished such attention on her Winnie the Pooh bear that other children fought over it, even though other toys appeared more attractive. 69 Lee learned from this experience. "It isn't what a product is," he wrote to Robert Woodruff, "but what it does that interests us" and began to devise plans for Coca-Cola, which he wanted to make as popular and well-loved as the Winnie the Pooh bear. 70

Lee was able to show some of his creativity a few years later when the Coca-Cola company asked him to develop a plan to market the beverage in the winter. During the early 1920s, the Coca-Cola company noticed how there was a dramatic dip in sales in the winter months from the summer. Since they wanted to encourage consumers to purchase the product in the winter, Lee developed the advertising slogan "Thirst Knows No Season." The slogan made its first appearance in a February 1922 issue of Ladies Home

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Pendergrast, 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Archie Lee to Robert Woodruff, 25 August 1931. Robert Winship Woodruff Collection, Box 182. Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library, Robert Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Dietz, 42.

Journal. 68 Perhaps, Coca-Cola's advertising in women's magazines reflected a growing trend in the advertising and marketing of products towards women. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, women began to be seen as an important consumer group to reach because statistics showed that women did the bulk of the nation's retail buying. 69 Since women were seen as the main consumers and purchasers of products, many advertisers began to gear their advertisements directly toward them. 70

In the "Thirst Knows No Season" ad, the viewer saw a snowy landscape and hill with a woman skiing down the steep slope (Figure 24). At the bottom of the hill were three other skiers who appeared to be watching the skier as she came down. Above the wintry scene, a large hand hovered

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> "Thirst Knows No Season," Ladies Home Journal,
February 1922, 00652 ARS, Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook,
Vol. 6, 1920-1923, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA. Some
other winter time advertisements during the 1920s that the
author found that use the slogan include: "Thirst Knows No
Season," 9 December 1922, 00653 ARS, Vol. 6, 1920-1923,
Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA; "Thirst Knows No Season,"
February 1923, 006999 ARS, Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook,
Vol. 6, 1920-1923, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Roland Marchand, Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 66.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Ellen Gruber Garvey, The Adman in the Parlor: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 174.



Figure 24. "Thirst Knows No Season." From Ladies Home Journal, February 1922, 00652 ARS, Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 6, 1920-1923, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

over holding a glass of Coca-Cola. Beside the glass read the caption "Thirst Knows No Season" and seemed to indicate that even in the cold winter time, people still could and should enjoy the "delicious and refreshing" Coca-Cola beverage. 71

By 1923, Ernest asked his son Robert to take the reins of the company. On April 28, 1923, an article in the Atlanta Journal declared that Robert Winship Woodruff was elected the President of the Coca-Cola company. Woodruff succeeded Charles Howard Candler, who resigned to accept the chairmanship of the newly created advisory committee. Before joining the soft-drink firm, Woodruff had served as vice president and general manager of White Motor Company in Cleveland, Ohio.<sup>72</sup>

Not long after he became the new president of the company, Woodruff began to place an emphasis on the product's quality. To encourage high quality, Woodruff established a "Quality Drink" campaign that used a staff of

<sup>71</sup> Thid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> "Robert W. Woodruff is Named to Head Coca-Cola Company," Atlanta Journal, 28 April 1923. Robert Winship Woodruff Collection, Box 55. Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library, Robert Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

highly trained service people to assist fountain drink outlets in correctly serving and standardizing the taste of Coca-Cola. Since Woodruff knew from experience that the drink's quality varied considerably from place to place, depending on the water carbonation level, ratio of syrup to soda, and cleanliness, he decided to establish a Fountain Training School in the 1920s. The school, sales personnel learned exactly how to mix the perfect drink, the ways to check the carbonation levels, and the importance of selling Coca-Cola ice-cold. Woodruff believed that Coca-Cola did not taste good if it was not thoroughly chilled. The school of the carbonation is the company chilled.

In addition to standardizing the taste of Coca-Cola, Woodruff also established standards for the bottling companies. Since he was concerned about the hygienic conditions of the different bottling plants, Woodruff visited many of the 1,200 plants and observed the operations and cleanliness of the facilities. The taste of the facilities of the same concerned about the operations and cleanliness of the facilities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Charles Elliott, "Mr. Anonymous": Robert W. Woodruff of Coca-Cola (Atlanta, GA: Cherokee Publishing Company, 1982), 125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Pendergrast, 169.

<sup>&</sup>quot;A Man Named Woodruff," Coca-Cola Heritage
<http://www2.coca-cola.com/heritage> (25 February 2009).

bottlers did not comply with his preferences, he made sure that the Coca-Cola company provided less money to those plants to support advertising. In addition, Woodruff often bought out the bottlers who failed to meet the company's standards. 76

While Woodruff focused on the product's quality, he also helped create new merchandising tactics for the product. During the 1920s, Woodruff and the company pioneered the innovative six-bottle cardboard carton that made it easier for the consumer to take Coca-Cola home. Advertisements such as a 1924 ad even promoted the carton by showing a woman purchasing a carton of Coca-Cola from a store and the caption reads Take home a six bottle carton-It's easy to carry! Take home a six bottle carton, the advertisement, like many Coca-Cola ads from the time period, reminded the reader to Refresh Yourself by quenching his or her thirst with a bottle of Coca-Cola.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Developing a Home Business on Coca-Cola Through the Six Bottle Carton," Coca-Cola Bottler (August 1929): 13-18, Coca-Cola Bottler Collection, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> "Refresh Yourself," American Memory: Coca-Cola Advertising <a href="http://memory.loc.gov">http://memory.loc.gov</a> (16 May 2008).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> "Refresh Yourself," American Memory: Coca-Cola Advertising <a href="http://memory.loc.gov">http://memory.loc.gov</a> (16 May 2008) and "A

In 1929, the carton was joined by another revolutionary advance, the metal, open-top cooler, which made it possible for Coca-Cola to be served ice-cold in retail outlets. The cooler was designed by John C. Staton, who worked in the Coca-Cola engineering department. Bo The cooler was shiny red with green trim and on all four sides was the Coca-Cola logo. Inside the cooler were bottles of Coca-Cola encased in ice. The cooler proved to be a success; within the first year more than double the estimated fifteen thousand coolers were sold. The cooler was later improved through mechanical refrigeration and automatic coin control. Factories, offices and many other institutions soon became outlets for on-the-spot refreshment.

During the same year that the open top-cooler was created, Archie Lee and the D'Arcy advertising agency debuted an advertisement that had one of the most famous slogans in advertising history. On July 27, 1929 in an

Man Named Woodruff, "Coca-Cola Heritage <a href="http://www2.coca-cola.com/heritage">http://www2.coca-cola.com/heritage</a> (25 February 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Watters, 130.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, 144-146.

<sup>82</sup> Pendergrast, 183.

issue of the Saturday Evening Post, readers were introduced to the popular slogan "the pause that refreshes" (Figure 25). In the advertisement, the reader sees an athlete sitting down reclining and enjoying a glass of Coca-Cola. The narrative seems to reinforce the pleasure that drinking Coca-Cola brings by stating how the drink "serves an ace to thirst and brings a cool, tingling after-sense of refreshment, a feeling of readiness for a fresh start." The caption then mentions how "good it is know the pause that refreshes."

While the company continued to emphasize the pleasure of the drink in the 1930s, company executives also began to develop more strategies to entice consumers to buy the product in the winter as well as in the summer months. One of the ideas that Archie Lee from D'Arcy advertising agency developed was to create fantasy portraits of Santa Claus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Watters, 129; "The Pause That Refreshes," Saturday Evening Post, 27 July 1929, 01045 ARS, Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 8, 1927-1932, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>84 &</sup>quot;The Pause That Refreshes," Saturday Evening Post, 27 July 1929. 01045 ARS, Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 8, 1927-1932, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

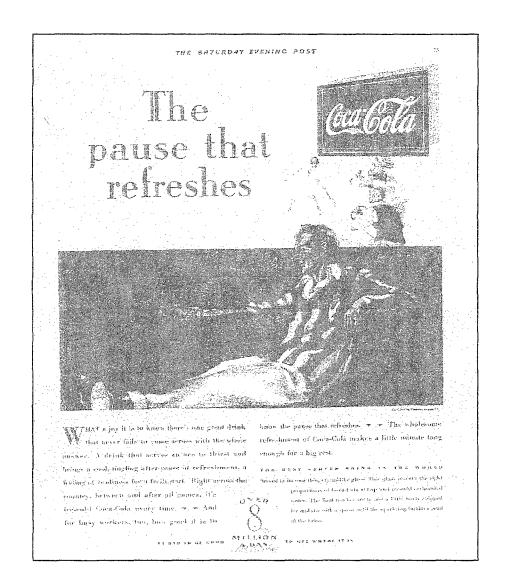


Figure 25. "The Pause That Refreshes." From Saturday Evening Post, 27 July 1929, 01045 ARS, Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 8, 1927-1932, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

enjoying Coca-Cola on the job. To help create this vision of Santa, the Coca-Cola executives commissioned Michigan-born illustrator Haddon Sundblom. Prior to working with Coca-Cola, Sundblom developed illustrations for Quaker Oats and helped create the Quaker man and Aunt Jemima characters. 90

For inspiration, Sundblom turned to Clement Clark Moore's 1822 poem "A Visit From St. Nicholas." Moore's description of the man as "chubby and plump, a right old elf" led to an image of Santa that was warm, friendly, and human. Through Sundblom's illustrations, he captured Lee's idea by depicting Santa as a jolly, rotund man who wore a Coca-Cola red suit and who loved to drink Coca-Cola while delivering presents from the North Pole. 92

One example of a Santa Claus and Coca-Cola advertisement comes from the *Saturday Evening Post* in December of 1931. In the ad, the reader sees a rotund, jolly Santa lifting up a glass of Coca-Cola as if he is making a toast at a celebration (Figure 26). The large

<sup>90 &</sup>quot;Haddon Sundblom," Advertising Age, 22 March 1976, 68.

<sup>91 &</sup>quot;Coca-Cola and Santa Claus," Coca-Cola Heritage <a href="http://www2.coca-cola.com/heritage">http://www2.coca-cola.com/heritage</a> (18 March 2009).

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.



Figure 26. "My Hat's Off to the Pause That Refreshes." From Saturday Evening Post, 26 December 1931, Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 8, 01107 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

caption reinforces this idea by stating "My Hat's off to the pause that refreshes." Then the smaller narrative explained that even "Old Santa" the busiest man in the world "takes time out for the pause that refreshes with ice-cold Coca-Cola." As the narrative continued, it asserted that the reader can experience the pleasure of drinking the soft drink like Santa by going shopping in a store that has a soda fountain that serves Coca-Cola. 90

The image that Sundblom created influenced the way people began to envision and think of Santa. Prior to the Sundblom illustrations, the Christmas saint had been portrayed wearing blue, yellow, green, or red. 91 He was also depicted in different ways such as a pixie, an elf and a gnome. 92 However, through the Coca-Cola advertisements,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> "My Hat's Off to the Pause That Refreshes," Saturday Evening Post, 26 December 1931, Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 8, 01107 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Pendergrast, 181.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> "Coca-Cola Santa Celebrates 75<sup>th</sup> Anniversary," Coca-Cola Press Center, 31 October 2006, http://www.thecoca-colacompany.com/presscenter (2 September 2008).

people began to think of Santa as a rotund, jolly man with a red suit. 93

While the company's marketers continued to develop new strategies for advertising its product, the repeal of prohibition during the early 1930s created anxiety for the company. Before the repeal of the Volstead Act, many people believed that consumers would cut back on drinking Coca-Cola once they could buy beer and liquor again legally. On Wall Street, rumors shot through the financial community that Coca-Cola's earnings were falling off, and soon the company's stock prices began to drop. 94

Despite the negative feelings of many, some people, such as advertising agent, Archie Lee, believed that the legalization of liquor would not hurt Coca-Cola's sales. In a letter that he wrote to Robert Woodruff, Lee argued that once the novelty of having liquor products wore off, Coca-Cola would have even greater success. 95 After prohibition was repealed, the company discovered that it

<sup>93</sup> Allen, 208.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Archie Lee to Robert Woodruff, 10 April 1933. Robert Winship Woodruff Collection, Box 182. Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library, Robert Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

did not affect the sales and they were able to survive.

Discovering their fears were groundless, investors began a

two-year run of heavily buying Coca-Cola stock. 96

As the 1940s and World War II began, the Coca-Cola company participated in the war effort by supplying armed forces in combat areas around the world with Coca-Cola. As a result of a 1941 order by Robert Woodruff to "see that every man in uniform gets a bottle of Coca-Cola for five cents wherever he is and whatever it costs," the company began distributing the soft drink to combat areas. 97 During the course of World War II, more than five billion bottles of Coke went to service men and women in addition to that served through dispensers and self-contained equipment in battle areas. Furthermore, a total of sixty-four bottling plants were shipped abroad during the war and set up as close as possible to combat areas. 98

<sup>96</sup> Allen, 210.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> H. W. Brands, "Coca-Cola Goes to War," American History 34(3) (1999): 30-36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Coca-Cola Company-A Chronological History, 1886-1967, Robert Winship Woodruff Collection, Box 51. Manuscript, Archives and Rare Book Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

While the company was supplying Coke to soldiers overseas, advertisers, like Coca-Cola and the D'Arcy Advertising Agency began to appeal to consumers' feelings in a different way. During the 1940s, Coca-Cola, like many companies at the time, began selling goods with a war angle. Advertisers and marketers believed that by appealing to consumer patriotism they would foster consumer loyalty during the strenuous war years.<sup>99</sup>

Throughout the 1940s, Coca-Cola created many print advertisements that associated the beverage with patriotic and war themes. For example, in a 1945 ad entitled "La moda Americana (The American Way) . . . Have a Coke" (Figure 27) the viewer sees an image of American soldiers in what appears to be a village in Italy. On the left hand corner of the image, one of the American soldiers is offering a Coca-Cola bottle to a little Italian girl, while some of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Jordan Braverman, To Hasten the Homecoming: How Americans Fought World War II Through the Media (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1996), 239. For more on patriotic themes in advertising see: John Blum, V Was For Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976).

<sup>100 &</sup>quot;La Moda Americana (The American Way) . . . Have A Coke," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 15, 1945, 08000 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.



Figure 27. "La Moda Americana (The American Way)." From Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 15, 1945, 08000 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

his comrades are sitting on a jeep smiling and enjoying drinking Coca-Cola themselves. Underneath the image, the narrative explains that when American soldiers come overseas, they impress the local residents by their friendliness. According to the narrative, one of the ways that the Americans express their kindness is by bringing their customs and home ways to others and sharing products like Coca-Cola.<sup>101</sup>

As the war was coming to a close, advertisers such as the Coca-Cola company, continued to associate their products with war themes. In the 1945 Coca-Cola advertisement "Everybody's happy . . . Have a Coke," the reader saw a group of service men and women who were on a train talking, smiling, playing music and relaxing while drinking Coca-Cola (Figure 28). Underneath the image, the narrative explained that ice-cold Coca-Cola was a familiar product that brought soldiers "a touch of home [and] a glow of friendliness" during their time overseas. The

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102 &</sup>quot;Everybody's Happy . . . Have a Coke," Advertisement Series, Vickie L. Riggan World War II Collection, Albert Gore, Sr. Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, TN.



Figure 28. "Everybody's Happy . . . Have a Coke." From the Vickie L. Riggan World War II Collection, Box 8, Albert Gore, Sr. Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee.

advertisement then indicated that now the soldiers were celebrating with Coke once again as they headed back home.

After the war ended and the 1950s began, the Coca-Cola company experienced a devastating loss with the death of ad creators, William D'Arcy and Archie Lee. 103 Without Lee's creative marketing talents that had popularized Coca-Cola and developed successful campaigns such as the "Pause that Refreshes," Coca-Cola faced a challenging time with developing new and innovative ways to market its product. 104

Although Coca-Cola maintained its relationship with the D'Arcy agency for several more years, by the mid 1950s, company executives decided to transfer their advertising account to the McCann-Erickson agency based in New York. 105 In making the change, Coca-Cola executives hoped to integrate the company's international and domestic

<sup>103 &</sup>quot;A.L. Lee, Pioneer Coke Advertiser and D'Arcy Head Dies," Advertising Age, 1 January 1951; "Long Illness Proves Fatal To William Cheever D'Arcy," Coca-Cola Bottler, (August, 1948): 43, Coca-Cola Bottler Collection, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA; "Archie Lee, D'Arcy Chairman, Dies After a Brief Illness," Coca-Cola Bottler, (January 1951): 41, Coca-Cola Bottler Collection, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105 &</sup>quot;Change for Coke," Time, 24 October 1955, 100.

advertising because McCann-Erickson had already been working with the company in international markets. While integration of marketing may have been one motivation, another reason may have been that Coca-Cola was experiencing a drop in earnings, while competitors such as Pepsi saw a boost in earnings. 106 On April 2, 1956, D'Arcy officially ended its fifty year relationship with Coca-Cola by featuring a print advertisement in the Wall Street Journal. 107 In the advertisement, the image showed a hand giving a Coca-Cola bottle to another hand with the caption "We hand it on With Pride." 108

Under the McCann-Erickson agency, Coca-Cola's advertising continued the theme of focusing on the refreshing quality of the product while also continuing to expand the marketing internationally. Over the last three years of the 1950s, McCann-Erickson developed slogans such as "Sign of Good Taste" for 1957, "The Cold, Crisp

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107 &</sup>quot;We Hand it On with Pride," Wall Street Journal, 2 April 1956; "Highlights in the History of Coca-Cola Advertising, American Memory Library of Congress, http://memory/loc.gov (31 January 2009).

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

Taste of Coke" for 1958, and "Be Really Refreshed" in 1959. 109

In addition to hiring a different advertising agency, Coca-Cola executives also broadened its product lines and packaging during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Prior to this time, consumers could only purchase Coca-Cola in 6.5 ounce bottles, but as a result of competitors, like Pepsi, selling different and larger sizes, Coca-Cola expanded into 10 and 12 ounce containers as well as aluminum cans. 110 While the company leadership developed new ways to package their product, they also expanded their beverage lines by introducing Sprite as a lemon-lime alternative to 7-Up and they purchased Minute Maid fruit drinks. 111

After developing several slogans for Coca-Cola, the McCann-Erickson agency and its creative director Bill Backer finally created one of its most successful campaigns in 1963 with the slogan "Things Go Better with Coke." 112

<sup>109 &</sup>quot;Coke 'Ads' Life," Beverage World, 22 September 1993.

 $<sup>^{110}\,\</sup>mbox{``Coke}$  Tries New Ways to Refresh," Business Week, 24 August 1963.

<sup>111</sup> Pendergrast, 278.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Highlights in the History of Coca-Cola Advertising," American Memory, Library of Congress <a href="http://memory.loc.gov">http://memory.loc.gov</a> (31 January 2009).

With this message, Coca-Cola was able to go beyond the taste and quality of the product to emphasize that drinking Coca-Cola was appropriate with many social activities. As a result of its popularity, the "Things Go Better With Coke" campaign lasted throughout the 1960s. 114

As the 1970s approached, Coca-Cola's leaders decided to "refresh" their image and marketing once again by revamping their graphics and signage. Since executives such as Ira Herbert, believed that the variety of different designs and colors promoting Coca-Cola did not create a distinct, visible Coke sign, he encouraged his peers to come up with a standardized logo. One of the changes was a new graphic image that featured a flowing white ribbon underscoring the Coca-Cola trademarks. Coca-Cola marketers also implemented a standardization of all the Coca-Cola signs by limiting them to two colors, red and white. As a result of these changes, Coca-Cola bottlers had to repaint their trucks and replace the over two million

<sup>113 &</sup>quot;Coke Tries New Ways to Refresh," Business Week, 24 August 1963.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Coke 'Ads' Life," Beverage World, 22 September 1993.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Coke's Formula: Keep the Image Fresh," Business Week, 25 April 1970.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

Coca-Cola signs that were seen on billboards and buildings. 117

During the 1970s, Coca-Cola experienced increased pressure from its competitor Pepsi in the soft drink market. Although the beverages had been competing against each other since the 1930s, Pepsi began to show growth during the 1970s. Although Coca-Cola maintained a strong lead in the soft drink market, Pepsi raised its U.S. shares of market from 15% to 22% from 1973 to 1978, while Coca-Cola's shares remained flat. 118 In addition, Pepsi developed the campaign known as the "Pepsi Challenge" that made consumers take a blind taste test of Pepsi and Coca-Cola and asked them which one they preferred. 119 The strategy, as business writer, Michael Norkus noted, was a departure from Pepsi's traditional marketing of differentiating itself by its lower price or marketing slogans. 120 Instead, Pepsi was directly asserting that its product was as good if not

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118 &</sup>quot;Pepsi Takes on Champ," Business Week (12 June 1978): 88.

<sup>119</sup> Louis and Yazijian, 250.

<sup>120</sup> Michael Norkus, "Soft Drink Wars: A Lot More Than Just Good Taste," Wall Street Journal 8 July 1985.

better than Coca-Cola. 121 With each of these taste tests, a majority preferred Pepsi over Coca-Cola and as a result Pepsi increased market percentages in places such as Dallas, Texas, where it had low sales. 122

Despite the concern over the growth of Pepsi, CocaCola maintained its lead and responded indirectly with
its advertising slogan "It's the Real Thing." As some CocaCola marketers revealed, the new slogan was indirectly
addressing its competitors such as Pepsi and Rite-Cola
by stating that Coca-Cola was the first and real soft drink
while its competitors were imitations. 123

As the 1970s drew to a close, Coca-Cola marketers launched another marketing slogan with the "Have A Coke and a Smile" campaign in 1979. As one author noted, the campaign "suggested the pleasant human exchange that sharing a Coke could mean:"124 While the campaign was used

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Richard S. Tedlow, New and Improved: The Story of Mass Marketing in America (Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press, 1996), 105.

 $<sup>^{123}\,\</sup>text{``Coke's Formula:}$  Keep the Image Fresh," Business Week, 25 April 1970.

<sup>124</sup> Anne Hoy, Coca-Cola: The First Hundred Years (Atlanta, GA: Coca-Cola Company, 1986), 138.

in a variety of mediums such as print advertisements, billboards and television, the slogan was best remembered for a television commercial that starred football defensive lineman, Mean Joe Green of the Pittsburg Steelers who was given a Coca-Cola to drink by a little boy who wanted to share his drink with his idol after the game. 125

Throughout its history, Coca-Cola has had many influential figures that have transformed the company from a regional soda fountain drink into an international, iconic beverage. From its creator John Pemberton, to visionary leaders such as Asa Candler and Robert Woodruff, each has played a part in making Coca-Cola grow in the commercial market. In addition, the creative marketers such as Sam Dobbs, William D'Arcy, Archie Lee and the advertisers of McCann-Erickson agency, have developed memorable slogans and marketing strategies that have helped propel Coca-Cola's brand name recognition worldwide and shaped how consumers perceive the product. In order to understand how Coca-Cola executives have used print advertising to create a corporate identity, the next

<sup>125 &</sup>quot;Coke 'Ads" Life," Beverage World, 22 September 1993 and "Highlights in the History of Coca-Cola Advertising," American Memory, Library of Congress <a href="http://memory.loc.gov">http://memory.loc.gov</a> (31 January 2009).

chapter will explore some of the advertising campaigns that have been used over the years.

## CHAPTER V

## VISUALIZING THE "PAUSE THAT REFRESHES": AN ANALYSIS OF COCA-COLA ADVERTISEMENTS

In a July 27, 1929 issue of Saturday Evening Post, an advertisement caption read, "What a joy it is to know there's one great drink that never fails to come across with the whole answer. A drink that serves an ace to thirst and brings a cool, tingling after-sense of refreshment, a feeling of readiness for a fresh start . . . how good it is to know the pause that refreshes" (Figure 29). With famous phrases such as the "pause that refreshes," Coca-Cola's marketers have created advertising campaigns that have encouraged consumers to purchase the beverage. Since Coca-Cola uses print advertisements to create a corporate

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "The Pause That Refreshes," Saturday Evening Post, 27 July 1929, 01045 ARS, Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 8, 1927-1932, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.



Figure 29. "The Pause That Refreshes." From Saturday Evening Post, 27 July 1929, 01045 ARS, Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 8, 1927-1932, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

identity, it is important to examine some of the advertisements that have been developed over the years.

While Coca-Cola executives and marketers have changed their approach in promoting the product, the advertisements do have the consistent theme of presenting and depicting the pleasurable experiences people have when drinking the beverage. Since Coca-Cola has generated countless print advertisements throughout its history, the following discussion and analysis offers some selected representative examples of advertisements from the Coca-Cola archives and offers some historic contextual insights about the different approaches that have been used.

As urban areas grew and farming and rural life declined during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many people had more time for leisure activities such as attending the circus, viewing vaudeville shows and participating in spectator sports. In addition, people gained an enthusiasm for physical exercise and companies began to manufacture and market standardized products for games and team sports.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Michael Kammen, American Culture, American Tastes: Social Change and the Twentieth Century (New York: Knopf, 1999), 30. Other works that address the development of leisure activities in America include: Donna R. Braden, Leisure and Entertainment in America (Dearborn, MI: Henry Ford Museum & Greenfield Village, 1988); Steven A. Reiss,

As a result of the popularity of leisure activities, Coca-Cola utilized sports stars to endorse the beverage. The stars of the popular baseball player to the star of the star

City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989); Richard Butsch, ed. For Fun and Profit: The Transformation of Leisure into Consumption (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1990); Kathryn Grover, ed., Hard at Play: Leisure in America, 1840-1940 (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Some examples of Coca-Cola advertising using athletes to promote the beverage in the 1900s include: "Jack Prince, Champion Bicyclist," Atlanta Journal, Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 1, 1903, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA; "Athletes Praise Coca-Cola," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 2, 1907, 00178A ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Ty Cobb at the Bat," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 2, 1906, 00124 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

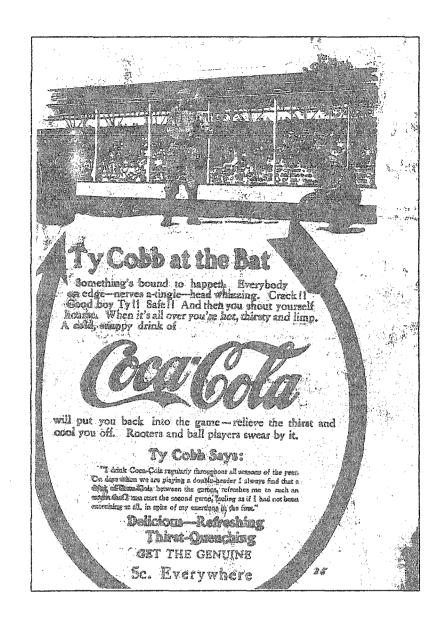


Figure 30. "Ty Cobb at the Bat." From Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 2, 1906, 00124 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

during a double-header to refresh himself before the second game. 5

While Coca-Cola's advertisements reflected the popular leisure activities of the early 1900s, the advertisements also offered insights into the social movements of the time period such as the temperance movement. Since the nineteenth century, activist groups such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League had advocated for liquor prohibition arguing that the abuse of alcohol led to mental and physical impairments. By the early twentieth century, progressive ideals towards reform led many to believe that prohibition of alcohol would be a beneficial way to improve society from crime and other vices.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid.

For more on the temperance and prohibition movements in American history see: Jack S. Blocker, Jr., ed. Alcohol, Reform and Society: The Liquor Issue in Social Context (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979); Ruth Birgitta Anderson Bordin, Woman and Temperance: Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981); Richard F. Hamm, Shaping the Eighteenth Amendment: Temperance Reform, Legal Culture, and the Polity, 1880-1920 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Steven Mintz, Moralists and Modernizers: America's Pre-Civil War Reformers (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1995); Catherine Gilbert Murdock, Domesticating Drink: Women, Men and Alcohol in America, 1870-1940 (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1998).

In response to these reactions against alcoholic beverages, Coca-Cola capitalized on the temperance movement by promoting itself briefly as the "Great Temperance Beverage" during the early 1900s. For example in a 1906 advertisement, Coca-Cola used the slogan to attract consumers who were concerned about society's concerns over liquor (Figure 31).7

In addition to reflecting the temperance movement, the advertisement also offers insights into the pure food and drug movement of the 1900s. As a result of the Progressive movement, many citizens turned to the U.S. government to protect the people from the dangers of contaminated food

<sup>&</sup>quot;The Great National Temperance Beverage," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 2, 1906, 00117 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>\*</sup>For more on the concerns and regulations over pure food during the 1900s see: Oscar E. Anderson, Jr., The Health of a Nation: Harvey W. Wiley and the Fight for Pure Food (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958); Robert H. Weibe, The Search for Order, 1877-1920 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967); Donna J. Wood, "The Strategic Use of Public Policy: Business Support for the 1906 Food and Drug Act," Business History Review 59 (Autumn 1985): 403-433; James Harvey Young, Pure Food: Securing the Federal Food and Drug Acts of 1906 (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989); Clayton A. Coppin and Jack High, "Umpires at Bat: Setting Food Standards By Government Regulation," Business & Economic History 21(1992): 109-118; Marc T. Law, "The Origins of State Pure Food Regulation," Journal of Economic History 63(4) (December 2003): 1103-1130.

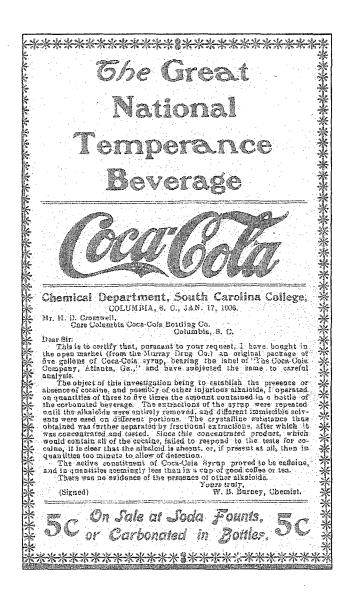


Figure 31. "The Great National Temperance Beverage." From Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 2, 1906, 00117 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

and fraudulent product labeling. The reformers were very concerned about truthful product labeling because without regulations, manufacturers were substituting products like colored and flavored cane sugar for maple sugar and extending flour, mustard, and coffee with cheap fillers like chalk and sawdust. In addition, manufacturers promoted the development of chemical preservatives to make their products have a longer shelf life. However, these artificial flavors and colors were not tested for their safety. As a result of these public concerns, President Theodore Roosevelt enacted the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 to place restrictions on the manufacturing and preparation of foods as well as to protect people from harmful or mislabeled goods.

Since people were concerned with the quality of the products they bought and consumed, Asa Candler used scientific testing by a chemist at South Carolina College in Columbia, South Carolina to negate the rumors that Coca-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> William Leach, Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 177.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Susan Strasser, Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 1989), 255-256.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

Cola contained harmful ingredients such as cocaine and other "injurious alkaloids." While the use of scientific experts reflected concerns about the manufacturing and production of foods and drugs, the advertisement also followed a similar pattern of other advertisements from the time period. As historian Rob Schorman has shown, advertisers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century often combined their cultural values of Victorian principles such as sincerity and sophisticated prestige with a modern emphasis on expertise and science. 13

During the 1920s, Coca-Cola modified its approach again to appeal to the time period. While Archie Lee developed new approaches for advertising Coca-Cola in the winter months with the "Thirst Knows No Season" campaign, he also continued to create advertisements that emphasized the popular soda fountain as a "Cool and Cheerful Place"

<sup>12 &</sup>quot;The Great National Temperance Beverage," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 2, 1906, 00117 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA. For a more in-depth discussion on Coca-Cola's struggles with the Pure Food and Drug Act and its ingredients see: James Harvey Young, "Three Southern Food and Drug Cases," Journal of Southern History 49 (February 1983): 3-36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Rob Schorman, "The Truth About Good Goods: Clothing, Advertising, and the Representation of Cultural Values at the End of the Nineteenth Century," American Studies 37, no. 1 (1996): 26.

where people could relax, socialize and enjoy a glass of Coca-Cola. 14 For example, an August 1924 advertisement showed a woman seated at a table smiling and holding a glass of Coca-Cola (Figure 32). 15 Behind the woman was a man at a soda fountain preparing more glasses of Coca-Cola to serve to customers who were in the background. The caption reminded the reader about the soda fountain with the phrase "there is no more restful and refreshing moment than to stop at a cool and cheerful soda fountain and enjoy Coca-Cola." 16

While the advertisement reflected the popularity of the soda fountain of the 1920s, the woman's appearance and style of clothing with the big brimmed hat, bobbed hair, and a short sleeved dress instead of the long-sleeved,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Some examples of Coca-Cola advertisements that emphasized the soda fountain in the 1920s include: "Refresh Yourself," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 7, July 1924, 00789 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA; "Goodness What a Nickel Will Buy!" Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 7, August 1924, 00796 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA; "At A Cool and Cheerful Place," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 7, 1925, 00840 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> "Refresh Yourself," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 7, August 1924, 00799 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.



Figure 32. "Refresh Yourself." From Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 7, August 1924, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

multi-layered outfits of the Victorian period, showed material culture evidence of the time period. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, women began to assert more independence by rejecting their traditional roles as homemakers. They asserted their rights through the suffrage movement and by lobbying for progressive reform such as prohibition and child labor laws. 17 In addition, as historian Lynn Dumenil noted, women rejected "bulky, restrictive Victorian garments" in favor of shorter skirts and sleeves. 18 Although the depiction of the upper-class woman drinking soda did not reflect all aspects of society, perhaps, as advertising scholar Roland Marchand suggested, the use of beautiful people in desirable scenes appealed to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Lynn Dumenil, The Modern Temper: American Culture and Society in the 1920s (New York: Hill & Wang, 1995), 99.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. Some other works that address women in American society during the 1920s include: William Henry Chafe, American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920-1970 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); Lois Scharf and Joan M. Jensen, eds., Decades of Discontent: The Women's Movement, 1920-1940 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983); Nancy F. Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); Dorothy M. Brown, Setting a Course: American Women in the 1920s (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987); Ronald Allen Goldberg, America in the Twenties (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003).

consumers who aspired to be like the people depicted in the advertisements. 19

For Coca-Cola's advertisers and marketers in the 1920s, it was important to appeal to as many people as possible with their advertising. As advertiser, William D'Arcy revealed, executives at Coca-Cola were eager to encourage thirsty consumers to drink their product and so their goal was to not segment the market with their advertising. To persuade people to drink and buy Coca-Cola, company executives such as Harrison Jones, who was vice president and director of sales at the time, continued mass advertising of Coca-Cola by placing the product on signs, in magazines, and in newspapers. Jones also encouraged the bottlers to distribute Coca-Cola at a variety of retail stores and other places "to make it impossible for the consumer to escape Coca-Cola."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Roland Marchand, Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 166-167.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>William C. D'Arcy, "Publication and Co-Operative Advertising for 1923," in Report of Sales and Advertising Conference of the Bottlers of Coca-Cola, Atlanta, March 7-8, 1923, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Harrison Jones, "Blazing the Trail," in Report of Sales and Advertising Conference of the Bottlers of Coca-Cola, Atlanta, March 7-8,1923, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

During the 1930s, America experienced a devastating economic crisis known as the Great Depression. Although people experienced many hardships, they often participated in leisure and recreational activities to take their minds away from their unpleasant reality. 22 One of the most popular leisure activities of the 1930s was going to the movie theaters. 23 Coca-Cola capitalized on the popularity of movies by coordinating with Hollywood studios to feature popular movie stars of the time promoting the beverage in print advertisements. 24 For example, in an October 1933 advertisement, the viewer saw popular movie actress Joan

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Susan Currell, The March of Spare Time: The Problem and Promise of Leisure in the Great Depression (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 2. For more on popular culture and leisure activities during the 1930s see: Steven M. Gelber, "A Job You Can't Lose: Work and Hobbies in the Great Depression," Journal of Social History, 1991 24(4): 741-766; Gary Dean Best, The Nickel and Dime Decade: American Popular Culture During the 1930s (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1993),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Currell, 125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> "Coca-Cola Film Tie-Up," Printers Ink Vol. 28 (March 8, 1934): 52. Some examples of print advertisements that featured movie stars include: "An All Star Rebound to Normal Between Camera Shots of Dinner at Eight," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 9, Sept. 1933, 01155 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA; "Refreshed for the Camera," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 9, November 1933, 001158 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

Crawford smiling and holding up a glass of Coca-Cola (Figure 33). 25 The large caption stated that "You must feel a smile to act one" and then informed the reader that the woman in the advertisement was Joan Crawford, "Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer star" in the movie "The Dancing Lady." 26 While Coca-Cola's advertisers were utilizing a movie star's fame to sell the soft drink, the advertisement also offered a good example of cross-promotion for the movie studio as well. By promoting a film and movie star, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer was also utilizing Coca-Cola's popularity to sell a movie such as the "Dancing Lady" to consumers.

Underneath the image of the advertisement, a smaller caption highlighted some acting terms with phrases such as "Pause in the part you play in a busy day for a sparkling, ice-cold Coca-Cola." The narrative continued by stating "Watch the fade-out of a tired, thirsty face as good cheer appears." 28

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> "You Must Feel a Smile to Act One," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 9, October 1933, 01157 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.



Figure 33. "You Must Feel a Smile to Act One." From Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 9, October 1933, 01157 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

While Coca-Cola's advertisement offered a crosspromotion for a movie and the soft drink, it also had some
evocative qualities that can be recognized. By using a
beautiful, famous person enjoying Coca-Cola, the imagery
may have been also used to symbolically convey to the
consumer that by purchasing and drinking Coca-Cola people
could feel like they had something in common with the
glamorous lifestyle of celebrities. In addition, the text
seemed to indicate that by consuming Coca-Cola a person
could feel refreshed and rejuvenated from their tired,
thirsty feelings.

During the 1940s, Coca-Cola and other companies began marketing their products with a military emphasis to reflect the times. 29 The print advertisements of the 1940s offered a variety of wartime themes. Some advertisements encouraged patriotism, while other advertisements reminded the reader that the limits on products were a result of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Some examples of Coca-Cola advertisements that reflected war themes include: "Have a Coca-Cola, or Greeting Friends at Home and Abroad," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 14, June 1944, 01862 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA; "La Moda Americana (The American Way) . . . Have A Coke," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 15, March 1945, 08000 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA; "Christmas Together, Welcoming a Fighting Man Home from the Wars," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 15, December 1945, 01981 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

helping the war effort. In addition, some advertisements stressed the importance of conserving food and urged Americans to grow their own vegetables in victory gardens.<sup>30</sup>

One example of a Coca-Cola advertisement from the 1940s that displayed the war time theme was an August 1944 ad entitled "Have a Coke, Soldier, Refresh Yourself" (Figure 34). In the ad, the viewer saw a group of soldiers surrounding a Post Exchange at a camp. Some of the soldiers appeared to be talking to each other while others ate food and drank Coca-Cola. In the center of the image, a soldier stood with an ax in one hand while he drank a bottle of Coca-Cola with the other hand. The caption stated that "From southern camps with their moss-hung cypresses to camps near the north woods, there's one place soldiers can relax-the Post Exchange. Have a Coke, they say. Coca-Cola

<sup>30</sup> For works offering insights into advertising and propaganda during World War II see: John Blum, V was for Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanich, 1976); Maurean Honey, Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender and Propaganda During World War II (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984); Jackson Lears, Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America (New York: Basic Books, 1994); Jordan Braverman, To Hasten the Homecoming: How Americans Fought World War II Through the Media (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1996); Amy Bentley, Eating For Victory: Food Rationing and the Politics of Domesticity (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1998).



Figure 34. "Have a Coke, Soldier, Refresh Yourself." From Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 14, 1944, 01865 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

is a refreshing reminder of what they left behind."<sup>31</sup> In addition to the main image and caption, the advertisement reminded the reader that "Even with war, Coca-Cola . . . is bottled right on the spot in over 35 allied and neutral nations."<sup>32</sup>

From an evocative standpoint, the image seemed to show a gloomy, unpleasant atmosphere, as if to symbolically convey to the reader that the soldiers' experiences were not desirable. Through the text, the reader learned that despite these unpleasant circumstances, the soldiers could still have some enjoyable moments at the campsite by having time to have a conversation, eat, and drink "refreshing" beverages like Coca-Cola.

In the postwar World War II years, American society experienced a remarkable prosperity. Since many Americans postponed purchases of consumable items such as automobiles, houses, and other material goods for the war effort, people began to spend their money after the war ended. In addition, the GI Bill provided money for veterans

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> "Have a Coke, Soldier, Refresh Yourself," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 14, 1944, 01865 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

to buy new homes and to seek a college education, which often led to better jobs and higher salaries. As a result of these different factors, America saw the development of consumption on a massive scale and the rise of new suburbs for those who did not want to live in the downtown districts.

While Americans in the 1950s saw a boom in consumerism, they also witnessed the growth in the popularity of television. With many people watching television, Coca-Cola, like many other products, capitalized on the new medium by starting to market the beverage on it. 35 Although the company spent money to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Lizabeth Cohen, A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America (New York: Vintage Books, 2003), 122, 137-141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> For more on American consumerism in the post World War II years see: Kenneth T. Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); David Halberstam, The Fifties (New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1993); Andrew Hurley, Diners, Bowling Alleys, and Trailer Parks: Chasing the American Dream in Postwar Consumer Culture (New York: Basic Books, 2001).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> For more on television and television advertising during the postwar years see: Erik Barnouw, Tube of Plenty: The Evolution of American Television (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Karal Ann Marling, As Seen on TV: the Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994); Lawrence R. Samuel, Brought To You By: Postwar Television

advertise on television, they did not abandon the print advertising that appeared in mass circulation magazines. The 1950s advertisements focused on the taste and pleasurable experiences people could have when drinking Coca-Cola with the slogan "Sign of Good Taste." The slogan was chosen as a way for consumers to identify Coca-Cola with a specific benefit and slogan. With its double meaning of referring to the pleasant sensory experience of drinking Coca-Cola as well as indicating the sophistication of the consumers who drank the beverage, the marketers were able to achieve their goals. 37

One example that shows material culture evidence of the 1950s is a January 1957 advertisement entitled "More

Advertising and the American Dream (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Some examples of advertisements in the 1950s that also use the slogan "Sign of Good Taste" include: "Fun That All the Family Shares," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 27, 1957, 03603 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA; "Enjoy the Party More with the Good Taste of Coke," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 27, 1957, 03613 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA; "Be Really Refreshed With Sparkling Coke!" Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 29, 1959, 03882 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> "Coke Refreshes Ads to Regain Profit Norm," *Printers' Ink* (13 February 1959): 44, 48.

Time to Enjoy Your Friends" (Figure 35). 38 In the ad, the viewer saw four people in a living room smiling, drinking Coca-Cola, and watching television. The captions emphasized the pleasurable experiences that the people were having by stating "more time to enjoy your friends, more ways to enjoy your leisure . . . and you put a lift in living when you live with good taste." 39

While the advertisement reflects the way in which television became a popular form of entertainment during the 1950s, the viewer can also gain a better understanding of the popular fashions and hairstyles of the time period through the people that are depicted in the advertisement. Perhaps, by having the women wear fancy dresses with pearl necklaces and the men wear ties and suits, the advertisers symbolically communicated that upscale people with "taste" preferred to drink Coca-Cola when relaxing and having fun. In addition, the decorations and objects in the room such as the modern technology of television could have been used to show that Coca-Cola was a drink that modern, upscale people drink.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> "More Time to Enjoy Your Friends," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 27, January 1957, 03589 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.



Figure 35. "More Time to Enjoy Your Friends." From Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 27, January 1957, 03589 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

In the 1960s, the McCann-Erickson advertising agency and ad creator Bill Backer developed a new strategy for advertising Coca-Cola. Over the years, Coca-Cola's advertisements had focused primarily on the refreshing qualities of the beverage. The new slogan of "Things Go Better with Coke," that was introduced in 1963 emphasized the social activities that accompanied drinking the soda. 40 As Deloney Sledge, director of advertising for Coca-Cola at the time, revealed, marketing research indicated that people felt that refreshment meant "not only physical satisfaction, such as quenching thirst, but psychological benefits related to ease of participation in social activities." 41

One example that used the "Things Go Better with Coke" slogan is an advertisement that appeared in October of 1963 (Figure 36). 42 In the ad, the viewer saw four African-Americans around a piano smiling and having fun while

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> "Coke Tries New Ways to Refresh," Business Week, 24 August 1963; "Marketing and Selling: Pepsi vs. Coke, Time 18 October 1963.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> "Coke Tries New Ways to Refresh," Business Week, 24 August 1963.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> "Things Go Better with Coke," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 33, 1963, 04231 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.



Figure 36. "Things Go Better with Coke." From Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 33, 1963, 04231 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

enjoying Coca-Cola. The caption emphasized the image with "Words, music, fun, friends-all go better refreshed. Coca-Cola, never too sweet, gives that special zing . . .

. . . refreshes best. Things Go Better with Coke."43

While the advertisement provides an example of the use of the popular slogan of the 1960s "Things Go Better with Coke," the use and positive portrayal of African-Americans in print advertisements reflects a response to the civil rights movements of the 1960s. Prior to the civil rights movement, African-Americans did not frequently appear in mass circulation advertisements and if they did they were often portrayed in a stereotypical way such as a servant or a mammy character like Aunt Jemima. However, as a result of the civil rights movement in the 1960s, ad makers began to respond to their environment by creating new advertisements that reflected their culture and new social movements. For example, during the 1960s, the image of Aunt

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Some of the works that address the portrayals of African Americans in mass consumer culture include: Marilyn Kern-Foxworth, Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, and Rastus: Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow (Westport, CT: Praegar Publishing, 1994); Patricia A. Turner, Ceramic Uncles & Celluloid Mammies: Black Images & Their Influence on Culture (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994); Tom Pendergast, Creating the Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture, 1900-1950. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000).

Jemima changed from a headband wearing "mammy" to a contemporary woman with pearl earrings and a lace collar because of objections from African Americans about the stereotypical "mammy" character. 45

Following a similar pattern, Coca-Cola began segmenting their marketing specifically to African-Americans in the 1950s and 1960s. 46 One of the ways they marketed towards African Americans was by featuring African Americans enjoying Coca-Cola in popular magazines aimed at an African-American audience such as *Ebony* and *Sepia*. 47

In 1969, Coca-Cola decided to "refresh" their image and marketing once again. According to one of the McCann-Erickson executives, one of the reasons they decided to change the advertising message was because "there was a wave of discontent running through America. People were changing; they were starting to think that maybe things weren't better. The mood changed, and people wanted what was real and natural. Those words kept coming up in our

<sup>45</sup> Kern-Foxworth, 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> "Coca-Cola Company and the Bottlers Cultivate the Negro Market," Coca-Cola Bottler (August 1954), Coca-Cola Bottler Collection, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> According to the Coca-Cola advertising scrapbooks Vol. 33 and Vol. 34 at the Coca-Cola Archives, these were some of the most common African-American geared magazines where Coca-Cola advertisements appeared.

research, and so the campaign was changed to meet the times." $^{48}$ 

While the campaign may have been changed to appeal to the times, the new slogan also indirectly addressed the soft drink company's competition such as Pepsi and Royal Crown Cola. Since Coca-Cola was the first to become a big, popular soft drink, many company executives felt that other soft drinks were only imitations. 49 In fact, Richard D. Harvey, vice-president for marketing at the time, acknowledged that with the new "It's the Real Thing" slogan they were "being mean." 50 He believed, however, that the marketing reflected the dominance of Coca-Cola in the soft drink industry. 51

One example of the "It's the Real Thing" slogan is an advertisement entitled "Only Coke is Coca-Cola" (Figure 37). In the advertisement, the viewer saw a big glass of

<sup>48 &</sup>quot;Coke 'Ads' Life," Beverage World, 22 September 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> "Coke's Formula: Keep the Image Fresh," Business Week, 25 April 1970.

<sup>50</sup> Thid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Ibid. For more on the competition of Coca-Cola with other soft drinks on the market see: J.C. Louis and Harvey Z. Yazijian, *The Cola Wars* (New York: Everest House Publishers, 1980); Michael Norkus, "Soft Drink Wars: A Lot More Than Just Good Taste," *Wall Street Journal*, 8 July 1985.

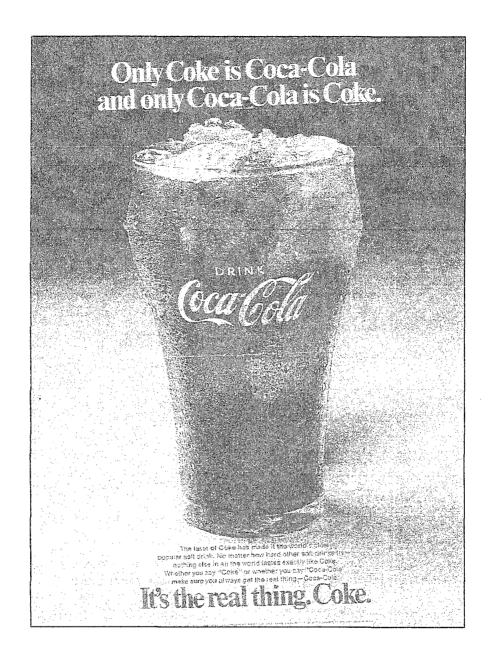


Figure 37. "Only Coke is Coca-Cola." From Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 39, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

Coca-Cola that was filled with ice cubes and beaded with water condensation. From an evocative perspective, the image of the ice chilled glass seems to symbolically convey to the reader that Coca-Cola was a thirst-quenching and refreshing drink. The image is also a stark contrast from other Coca-Cola advertisements because it does not feature people enjoying the beverage. Instead, the focus of the advertisement is on the drink and the name brand recognition.

Underneath the glass, the caption read, "The taste of Coke has made it the world's most popular soft drink. No matter how hard other soft drinks try-nothing else in all the world tastes exactly like Coke. Whether you say 'Coke' or whether you say 'Coca-Cola' make sure you always get the real thing, Coca-Cola." The "Real Thing" campaign was so successful that it lasted five years and appeared not only in print advertisements but also on television and billboards. 53

In 1974 and 1975, Coca-Cola introduced another campaign slogan to appeal to the times. As a result of the political uncertainty in America during the 1970s with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> "Only Coke is Coca-Cola," Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 39, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>53 &</sup>quot;Coke 'Ads' Life," Beverage World, 22 September 1993.

Watergate and the resignation of President Richard Nixon, Coca-Cola was challenged to continue its positive approach. When asked why the company chose a new slogan, Coca-Cola executive, Don Keough replied we went through a great political trauma in our society. It struck the creative team involved with Coca-Cola that there was almost a yearning among a large segment of the population to hear something good about our country. America campaign. America campaign.

For example, a 1974 advertisement and calendar depicted a Coca-Cola bottle surrounded by different scenes of America such as mountains and an eagle soaring in the sky. In addition the viewer saw ocean water cascading on the rocks as well as people bicycling near the Golden Gate Bridge (Figure 38). The text emphasized the positive spirit

American Memory, Library of Congress <a href="http://memory.loc.gov">http://memory.loc.gov</a> (31 January 2009). For more on the political turmoil and Watergate scandal of the 1970s see: Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, All the President's Men (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974); Stanley Kutler, The Wars of Watergate: The Last Crisis of Richard Nixon (New York: Knopf, 1990); Keith W. Olson, Watergate: The Presidential Scandal That Shook America (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> "Keough Named Adman of the Year," Advertising Age, 16 December 1974.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

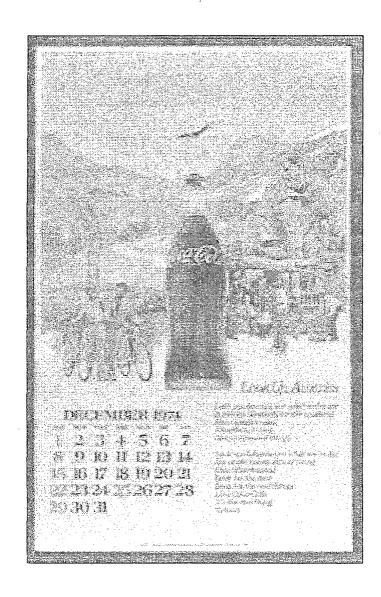


Figure 38. "Look Up America." From Coca-Cola Archives Internal Computer Database, December, 1974, W7261, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

"Look up America, see what we've got, a million blessings for the counting." The text then reminded the reader to "live life refreshed" by looking for the best and the "real things" like Coca-Cola. 58

Although it is uncertain how effective the campaigns were in increasing the consumption of the product, the advertising of Coca-Cola does provide an interesting case study of how a company can create and develop a favorable perception of a product. Despite changing social and cultural conditions over time, the soft drink continues to retain its appeal and has become an iconic brand name that is recognized worldwide. Part of the reason for this brand name recognition has been the creative advertisements used to promote the soft drink. While the marketers and advertising agencies changed their approaches and techniques for the product, they continued to convey the consistent theme of promoting the refreshing and pleasurable experience that people have when drinking Coca-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> "Look Up America," Coca-Cola Archives Internal Computer Database, December, 1974, W7261, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

Cola. Perhaps, it is this theme that makes the history and advertising of Coca-Cola so intriguing.

## CHAPTER VI

## VISUAL LITERACY AND THE ADVERTISING OF JACK DANIEL'S AND COCA-COLA

In a 1938 issue of American Archivist, governmental archivist, Oliver W. Holmes wrote:

The historian who seeks to interpret our contemporary life without taking into account the shaping forces of modern business will not touch the fringe of his subject. For more than a generation, people have spoken of two capitals, Washington and Wall Street. The relations between these giant concentrations of power are of immense significance to the people. We are careful to preserve the records of one capital but have sadly neglected the records of the other. i

Although this passage was created at a time when businesses were first recognizing the importance of keeping their records, I think that this narrative continues to be relevant because it speaks to the importance of preserving and keeping resources such as print advertisements that have been generated by corporations such as Jack Daniel's and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Oliver W. Holmes, "The Evaluation and Preservation of Business Archives," American Archivist 1 (October 1938): 171-85.

Coca-Cola over the years. Despite the significance of print advertisements, archivists at corporate archives as well as other repositories have been challenged with determining what resources are necessary to keep in an age of an abundance of records.

While this study provides historical insights and material culture evidence about the advertising and history of Jack Daniel's and Coca-Cola and how they have created a corporate identity to market themselves to consumers, the study and analysis of both companies' advertisements also can be viewed from an archival perspective. By understanding and researching the historical context of images and crossing disciplines to see what other scholars have said about advertising and marketing, archivists can gain a better understanding of the evocative values of advertisements and other images in their repository. This approach can be applied to all visual media in a repository such as photographs, cartoons, portraits, advertisements, and maps and enable archivists to improve their approaches for appraisal.

Traditionally, archivists have only looked for the informational and evidential values of images, but they must

recognize that a third dimension is the evocative and emotional qualities that images have.<sup>2</sup> Since advertising is intended and designed to be evocative to appeal to consumers, having this understanding provides some insights of the ad makers perspective. As archivist and visual scholar, Diane Vogt-O'Connor has noted, evidential value provides documentation of the activities and functions of the creator or organization, while informational value goes beyond the original functions of the image and recognizes the visual clues that visual resources can offer about a particular time period, event, place or person.<sup>3</sup>

In an age of an abundance of visual resources, archivists need to learn how to interpret the evocative

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Some of the literature that addresses the importance of an archivist having a better understanding and approach to interpreting and appreciating visual materials include Walter Rundell, Jr., "Photographs as Historical Evidence: Early Texas Oil," American Archivist 41, no. 4 (October, 1978): 378-91; Hugh Taylor, "Documentary Art and the Role of the Archivist," American Archivist 42, no. 4 (October, 1979): 417-28; Elizabeth Kaplan and Jeffrey Mifflin, " 'Mind and Sight': Visual Literacy and the Archivist," Archival Issues 21, no.2 (1996): 107-27; Mary Lynn Ritzenthaler, et al., Photographs: Archival Care and Management (Chicago, IL: Society of American Archivists, 2006).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Diane Vogt-O'Connor, "Appraisal and Acquisitions" in *Photographs: Archival Care and Management*, ed. Mary Ritzenthaler (Chicago, IL: Society of American Archivists, 2006), 96, 102.

values of images such as advertisements even more. By having an approach on how to think about the images on different levels, archivists can appreciate and evaluate why they are important to retain.

As archivist Gerald Ham discusses in "The Archival Edge," archivists must learn to develop new approaches and techniques when appraising the records in their care. In fact, he argues that archivists must not be passive or uninformed or take a limited view of what constitutes the archival record. Instead, he suggests that archivists need to collect records that mirror society and that help people understand the world they live in. Since visual items such

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For many years archivists have struggled and debated over appraisal and selection issues. Some of the works related to this topic include: T.R. Schellenberg, "The Appraisal of Modern Public Records," National Archives Bulletin 8 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, 1956); Maynard J. Brichford, Archives and Manuscripts: Appraisal & Accessioning (Chicago, IL: Society of American Archivists, 1977); Nancy E. Peace, ed. Archival Choices: Managing the Historical Record in an Age of Abundance (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1984); Helen Samuels, "Who Controls the Past?" American Archivist 49 (1986): 109-24; Terry Cook, "Mind Over Matter: Toward a New Theory of Archival Appraisal," in The Canadian Archival Imagination: Essays in Honor of Hugh A. Taylor, ed. Barbara L. Craig, 38-70 (Ottawa, Canada: Association of Canadian Archivists, 1992); and Frank Boles, Selecting & Appraising Archives and Manuscripts (Chicago, IL: Society of American Archivists, 2005).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> F. Gerald Ham, "The Archival Edge," The American Archivist 38 (January 1975): 5-13.

as photographs, advertisements, mail-order catalogs, videos, and maps are part of our culture and provide valuable visual insights about the past, archivists must be able to skillfully determine and evaluate what visual resources are important to keep to record the memories of the past.

Having skills at determining what resources are useful for researchers and that adequately document the social and cultural aspects of society has become increasingly important for archivists and archival appraisal theory. As archivist Francis X. Blouin, Jr. has shown in "Archivists, Mediation, and Constructs of Social Memory," archives are viewed by society as places that protect and keep the memories of the past, however, archivists are realizing that some aspects of society are not well documented in their repositories. 6 As a result, archivists are not only challenged with the overabundance of materials, but they also face the obstacle of selecting resources that provide insights into topics that move beyond the dominant culture and offer some diversity for researchers who want to study race, gender, class, and other aspects of culture that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>Francis X. Blouin, Jr., "Archivists, Mediation, and Constructs of Social Memory," Archival Issues 24(2) (1999): 104.

are not fully represented. In addition, archivists struggle with serving as selectors who shape the historical record by deciding what is essential to keep and preserve to adequately reflect the historical memory of society.

In order to make informed decisions on what to keep and preserve, archivists have to develop better strategies to help with appraisal. Part of this understanding comes from being aware of the nature of records and the roles that they have played and continue to play in society. While archivists have recognized the informational and evidential value of records, some are not aware of other levels to consider. One of the roles that archivist James M. O'Toole has noted that archivists need to recognize with their appraisal of records is their symbolic meaning. In the article, "The Symbolic Significance of Archives," O'Toole shows that some records that are generated such as diplomas do not really have much practical information, however, they do have an emotional connection that serves as a symbol of achievement in society.9

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Blouin, 104.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 108.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> James M. O'Toole, "The Symbolic Significance of Archives," in American Archival Studies: Readings in Theory

In addition to personal documents, O'Toole shows that some records have been transformed into symbolic resources over time. For example records such as the Declaration of Independence and the Doomsday Book that were once used to declare ideas and information, have now become revered as "symbolic objects" that are protected and exhibited more for their symbolic, traditional qualities rather than the information that they contain. 10

O'Toole also discusses how the form and style of documents take on a symbolic meaning. For example, gold lettering and large impressed seals on royal documents had a practical purpose of preventing forgery and adding legitimacy to the records. However, the color, style, and form of the documents also conveyed authority and had a memorable appearance for people.<sup>11</sup>

Similarly, advertisements with their designs, colors, and images can be interpreted in different ways. First,

and Practice, ed. Randall C. Jimerson (Chicago, IL: The Society of American Archivists, 2000), 53.

<sup>10</sup> O'Toole, "Symbolic Significance of Archives," 65. For more on the symbolic nature of records see: M. T. Clanchy, From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979); and Michael G. Kammen, Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture (New York: Knopf, 1991).

<sup>&</sup>quot;O'Toole, "Symbolic Significance of Archives," 56, 58.

advertisements simply provide evidence of how a particular product was marketed at a certain time. Secondly, advertisements have symbolic or evocative qualities. Like the impressive seal or colored lettering on royal manuscripts, advertisements are intended to also have a lasting impression for the consumers' minds that encourages them to purchase a particular product.

While having skills to interpret visual items is important for collections management purposes, it is also essential to understand and appreciate the resources from the user's point of view. Since user studies have shown that visual media is one of the most popular and heavily used resources in archives, archivists must recognize the importance of retaining these items for patrons to use in exhibits, documentaries, research, and publications. By keeping and promoting these frequently used items, archivists may also attract more visitors to their repository.

<sup>12</sup> For more on the user studies and visual media see:
Ann S. Gordon, Using the Nation's Documentary Heritage: The Report of the Historical Documents Study (Washington, D.C.:
National Historical Publications and Records Commission,
1992); Helen R. Tibbo, "Primarily History in America: How
U. S. Historians Search for Primary Materials," The American
Archivist 65 (Spring/Summer 2003): 9-50.

Visual resources are particularly important for historical research. As historians Marsha Peters and Bernard Mergen have shown, images have played an essential role in studying topics that are not documented very well in traditional written sources. For example, the types of clothing worn during a certain time period or architectural styles of a particular era are better understood through visual images rather than written description. 13

Advertisements, photographs, and other visual resources are also important because they can serve as evocative examples for exhibit and outreach purposes. Jack Daniel's and Coca-Cola have both established visitor centers that serve as good examples for archivists on how visual documents and other resources can be utilized to educate, market the institution or product, and entertain visitors. 14

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Marsha Peters and Bernard Mergen, "'Doing the Rest': The Uses of Photographs in American Studies," American Quarterly 29 (1977): 288. Other works that address the importance of using visual resources for historical research include: Thomas J. Schlereth, Artifacts and the American Past (Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History, 1980); Peter Burke, Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001).

<sup>14</sup> For more on corporations connecting with the past through archives, exhibits, and corporate museums see: Victor J. Danilov, A Planning Guide for Corporate Museums, Galleries, and Visitor Centers (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992); Arnita A. Jones and Philip L. Cantelon eds.,

For any historical institution, it is important to develop public programming projects that connect people with history and make it relevant for their lives. As the authors of History Outreach: Programs for Museums, Historical Organizations, and Academic History Departments show, some of the public programming projects that historical institutions do is create exhibits and provide educational programs that appeal to a wide variety of audiences and encourages people to come to the place. 15

Through historic attractions and exhibits, Jack

Daniel's and Coca-Cola appeal to a wide variety of audiences

and in an important way they educate their visitors on the

Corporate Archives and History: Making the Past Work (Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 1993); James M. O'Toole, ed., The Records of American Business (Chicago, IL: The Society of American Archivists, 1997); Amanda Kraus, "Insider Information: Emergence of the Corporate Museum," Museum News (July/August 2000): 40-45, 66.

of educational outreach programs that historical organizations can provide see: J. D. Britton and Diane F. Britton, eds. History Outreach: Programs for Museums, Historical Organizations, and Academic History Departments (Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 1994). Other resources regarding outreach include: John J. Grabowski, "Keepers, Users, and Funders: Building an Awareness of Archival Value," American Archivist 55 (Summer 1992): 464-72; Elsie T. Freeman Finch, Advocating Archives: An Introduction to Public Relations for Archivists (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 1994).

history of their companies. For many people, visitor centers, museums, and historic sites serve as a more appealing outlet to learn about history without having to read it in a book or learn it in a classroom. 16

Perhaps the reason that museums and historic sites appeal to people is because they can engage with the material culture and records of the past. As archivist John Fleckner has noted, historic sites and history museums capitalize on the evocative power of records and places to connect with the visitor. By adding archival records to exhibits, things and places are able to "speak" with greater authenticity, specificity, and provide richer context for understanding history. By having archival records such as photographs, advertisements, posters, and other images, Coca-Cola's and Jack Daniel's visitor centers make history come "alive" and people have a better connection with the past.

<sup>16</sup> Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg, eds., Knowing, Teaching & Learning History: National and International Perspectives (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 276.

<sup>17</sup> John A. Fleckner, "Reaching the Mass Audience: Business History as Popular History," ed. James M. O'Toole in *The Records of American Business* (Chicago, IL: The Society of American Archivists, 1997), 331-332.

While society seems to connect with visual resources and continues to create more visual resources such as print advertisements, many archivists are not trained to think visually. In fact, archivist and visual materials scholar Joan M. Schwartz suggests that because of the absence of required courses on visual thinking and visual communication in most archival studies programs, archivists need to develop new and different strategies to understand and appreciate the role of visual materials in society. 18

Since this approach extrapolates ideas from other disciplines such as advertising and marketing literature, it goes beyond the contents of the visual item and considers the evocative qualities that images such as Jack Daniel's and Coca-Cola's advertisements have, a value that archivists do not have an approach or method for implementing. Through my exploration of the Jack Daniel's and Coca-Cola advertisements, I developed some criteria that archivists can use to determine the evocative power of images. The qualities that archivists need to look for when evaluating the evocative power of images are: the color or colors of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Joan M. Schwartz, "Negotiating the Visual Turn: New Perspectives on Images and Archives," The American Archivist 67 (Spring/Summer 2004): 109.

the image, the symbols that are used to convey a certain association, and the style of the image.

One criterion to look for is the color of the image.

Jack Daniel's advertisements use the black and white imagery to evoke a certain nostalgic feeling about the product. This black and white coloring makes the viewer feel as if they are looking at something old, even if the advertisement was made recently. Since technology has made color photographs an option to use when creating visual images in the late twentieth century, archivists must consider that the creator of the image decided to use black and white instead of color images to elicit a certain response or emotion for his or her audience (Figure 39).

While many of Jack Daniel's advertisements use black and white imagery to elicit a certain emotion, Coca-Cola's advertisements have evolved with the times. However, the use of color in its advertisements can also be seen as an evocative quality that may attract the consumers' eyes. In its early years, Coca-Cola often used black and white printing mainly because there was not another option. However, with the introduction of color ink and mass production of publications and advertisements, Coca-Cola began using colored print advertisements. By using color,

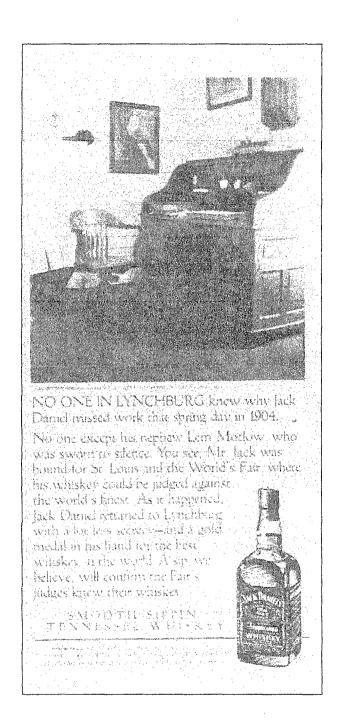


Figure 39. "No One in Lynchburg Knew." From *Time*, 14 September 1992.

Coca-Cola could symbolically convey that they were a modern drink that was able to provide a refreshing, pleasurable experience anytime and anywhere. In addition, by using color, Coca-Cola's vivid red logo and white lettering stands out and catches the eye of magazine readers (Figure 40).

Archivists also need to notice the details in the images because they can serve as clues and symbols that can create certain associations and feelings. One type of symbol that Jack Daniel's advertisements use is natural imagery to explain the quality and the ingredients of the product. For example, some of the Jack Daniel's ads show maple wood burning to charcoal (Figure 41), while other advertisements have images of the natural spring water cascading over rocks. Both advertisements are intended to evoke a sense of purity and naturalness about the whiskey.

The use of symbolic words and imagery can also be seen in Coca-Cola's advertisements. Although Coca-Cola executives and advertising agents have changed their slogans and strategies that they use in their print advertisements over the years, one common theme that reoccurs is the emphasis on the "refreshing" experience of drinking the beverage. By viewing advertisements that depict people quenching their thirst with Coca-Cola at the soda fountain, at home, or



Figure 40. "My Hat's Off to the Pause That Refreshes." From Saturday Evening Post, 26 December 1931, Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 8, 01107 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

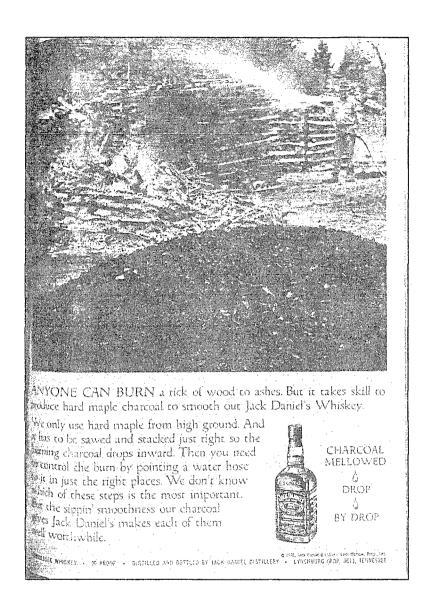


Figure 41. "Anyone Can Burn a Rick of Wood to Ashes." From Southern Living, September 1972.

doing recreational activities, the Coca-Cola company seems to effectively communicate a symbolic message of its beverage as a satisfying, delicious, and thirst-quenching refreshment (Figure 42).

Another type of symbol in the Jack Daniel's advertisements is the clothing that the people wear. For example, when people appear in the Jack Daniel's advertisements they are not wearing tuxedos or designer fashions. Instead, the men are wearing overalls, plaid shirts, jeans, and boots, while the women are wearing flowered or denim dresses. Even the workers and people associated with the company such as Jimmy Bedford, the former master distiller, are wearing rural outfits. Through the use of clothing, the Jack Daniel's advertisements seem to convey a "down-home" approach that they want the viewer to associate with the whiskey (Figure 43).

While Jack Daniel's advertisements use clothing to convey certain symbolic associations, Coca-Cola's advertisements also display similar evidence. However, unlike Jack Daniel's that maintains its rural "down-home" approach, Coca-Cola's advertisements often reflect the time period when they were created. For example, Coca-Cola ad

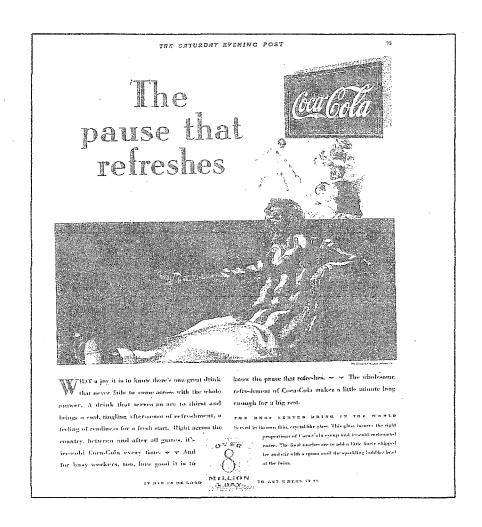


Figure 42. "The Pause That Refreshes." From Saturday Evening Post, 27 July 1929. 01045 ARS, Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 8, 1927-1932, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

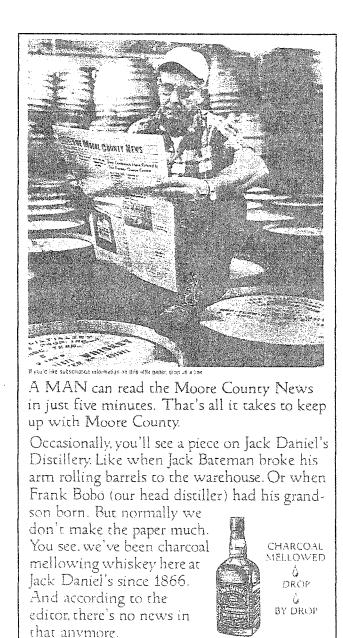


Figure 43. "A Man Can Read the Moore County News." From Southern Living, February 1972.

makers used images of girls dressed as flappers that were popular in the 1920s and showcased the company's patriotism with people dressed in uniform during the World War II years (Figure 44). With each of these advertisements, Coca-Cola's ads consciously reflected the times and evoked feelings of being a beverage that continued to be a pleasurable drink regardless of the era.

A third criteria for gauging the evocative power of images is to notice the style. With the Jack Daniel's advertisements, the images evoke the company's nineteenth-century roots as well as the slow-paced life of Lynchburg, Tennessee where the whiskey is made. For example, the Jack Daniel's advertisements portray the whiskey as being made in a nostalgic, rural atmosphere through their use of images that show people hauling whiskey barrels and stopping to talk on the side of the road, people relaxing in rocking chairs on front porches and in front of Lynchburg stores, or showing peaceful, rural places such as the barrel houses in Lynchburg (Figure 45).

While Jack Daniel's continues to use its rural, nineteenth-century imagery, Coca-Cola's advertisements emphasize the pleasurable experience people have when



Figure 44. "La Moda Americana (The American Way)." From Coca-Cola Advertising Scrapbook, Vol. 15, 1945, 08000 ARS, Coca-Cola Archives, Atlanta, GA.

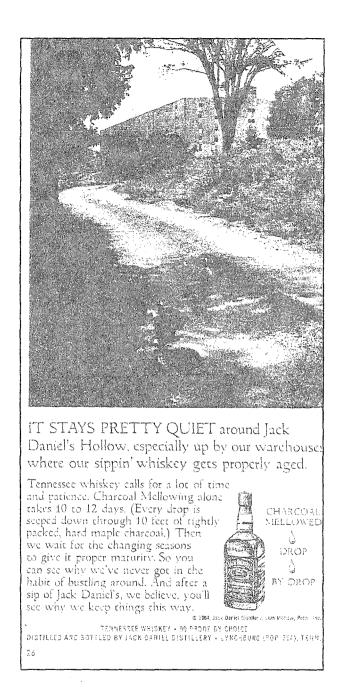


Figure 45. "It Stays Pretty Quiet." From the Moore County History Collection, Jack Daniel Ads Folder, Moore County Library, Lynchburg, TN.

drinking the beverage. Whether it is in winter skiing, pausing from busy workloads as Santa Claus did in the 1930s, or celebrating after World War II ended, Coca-Cola is depicted as a pleasurable drink that adds to the fun experiences of life (Figure 46).

By using these criteria for understanding the evocative power and values of images, archivists can improve their visual literacy skills and be able to appreciate the ways images can offer valuable historical insights that written sources cannot provide. Hopefully, by learning how to think about images from many different viewpoints, archivists can have a better appreciation of the visual media in their care and be able to appraise and describe these visual items. Although archivists cannot possibly take time to do an indepth research with all their images, having a visual literacy perspective and methodology to help appraise the evocative qualities of the visual images in their care will certainly provide some insight on how to deal with images for the present and the future.

As this study of two iconic brands has shown, there are many similarities and differences when comparing and contrasting Coca-Cola and Jack Daniels. By generating print advertisements to market their products, Jack Daniel's and



Figure 46. "Everybody's Happy . . . Have a Coke." From the Vickie L. Riggan World War II Collection, Coca-Cola Ads Folder, Albert Gore Sr. Research Center, Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, TN.

Coca-Cola have created records that have enduring value because they serve as material culture evidence of the role corporations and consumerism play in society. While each company takes different approaches in the ways they market their product, the print advertisements offer great examples of the evocative qualities that advertisements contain and how those techniques capture the readers' attention to make people associate certain attributes to a particular product and company. Without these pieces of material culture, we would sadly lose some of our connections with the past and for me it shows the value of keeping and studying visual materials such as print advertisements. Perhaps, it is these different aspects that make the study of Jack Daniel's and Coca-Cola so intriguing.

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