Films That Sell

Moving Pictures and Advertising

Edited by Bo Florin, Nico de Klerk and Patrick Vonderau

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The Best Thing on TV: 1960s US Television Commercials

Cynthia B. Meyers

The 1960s was a transitional decade for American commercial television and the advertising industry that sustained it. The television industry completed its shift from the radio-era business model of single sponsorship, in which advertisers financed and controlled programming, to the network-era model, in which advertisers purchased interstitial minutes for commercials and ceded programme control almost entirely to networks. At the beginning of the 1960s, advertising executives were worrying about a crisis of creativity and consumer cynicism.[1] By the end of the 1960s, the advertising industry's 'Creative Revolution' had permanently replaced the rational and product-centred hard sell with the emotional and user-centred soft sell. In late 1960s 'hip' advertising, 'the idea became mightier than the marketing'.[2] The advertising industry was reorganised to accommodate this change. Whereas, before the 1960s, account executives often directed copywriters' work and controlled the agency's relationship with advertisers, and copywriting was often shaped by quantitative research, by the end of the 1960s, a 'creative department', staffed by pairs of copywriters and art directors, conceived ideas independently and played a strong role selecting them. Advertising became an intuitive process of finding images and ideas that would resonate with audiences and disarm their resistance.

Consequently, late 1960s 'hip' television commercials differ strikingly from the demonstrations of product attributes that prevailed earlier in the decade. By the 1970s one observer, Jonathan Price, claimed commercials were 'the best thing on TV':

> Financially, commercials represent the pinnacle of our popular culture's artistic expression. More money per second goes into their making, more cash flows from their impact, more business thinking goes into each word than in any movie, opera, stage play, painting, or videotape.[3]

Commercials, as measured by production budgets, were the most elaborately and expensively produced artefacts of mid-century American culture. If not 'art', they had attained a kind of cultural legitimacy unimaginable a decade before.

To contextualise the changing strategies and aesthetics of American television commercials during the 1960s, I begin with an overview of industrial shifts, first in the broadcasting industry and then in the advertising industry. Then I review the debates over the shifting commercial strategies of the period. What, in retrospect, appears to be a clear demarcation between the early and late 1960s is actually, on closer

examination, a conflicted evolution of business models, advertising strategies and aesthetic values. While the outcome – the dominance of the television network business model and the prominence of hip advertising – seems obvious in retrospect, it was not so obvious at the time.

CHANGING RELATIONS AMONG BROADCAST NETWORKS, ADVERTISERS AND ADVERTISING AGENCIES

During the 1930s and 40s the national radio broadcast networks NBC and CBS simply rented a block of airtime to an advertiser, which then produced and paid for the programming. Each advertiser, whether a manufacturer of cars or coffee or soap, hoped that audiences would be inspired by this 'free' entertainment to feel 'gratitude' and 'goodwill', and so buy its products.[4] To help ensure this result, advertisers hired advertising agencies to oversee the entertainment as well as the advertising. With the aim of achieving 'sponsor identification', of associating a brand with a star or a programme, advertising agencies produced most national radio entertainment programmes.[5] As broadcast advertising, 'single sponsorship' had several drawbacks.[6] The advertiser could reach audiences only on its own programme. Moreover, in closely integrating a product with a programme, the advertiser made the product's reputation vulnerable to any flaw in the reputation of the programme or its star. Meanwhile, mass culture critics and consumer advocates attacked single sponsorship as promoting blandness, censorship and blacklisting.[7]

Because of these problems some in the advertising industry proposed broadcasters institute a 'magazine plan' of advertising: the networks, like magazine editors, might select the programming, and then sell interstitial airtime to advertisers.[8] Advertisers would then be able to reach various audiences at various times; they might avoid dangerously close association with one programme or star; and networks could shape the broadcast schedule to serve audiences overall rather than the narrow interests of separate advertisers. Others opposed this plan, on the grounds that broadcast advertising depended on a tight association between a programme and the sponsor. The advent of television, however, forced the issue: the exponentially higher production costs made single-programme sponsorship financially unfeasible for many advertisers.[9]

Throughout much of the 1950s, networks moved aggressively to seize programme control.[10] Programme packagers and Hollywood studios replaced advertising agencies as programme suppliers.[11] To spread costs, networks began selling 'participating' sponsorship, in which more than one advertiser sponsored the programme, and 'alternating' sponsorship, in which two advertisers alternated episodes. The number of single-sponsored programmes on prime time dropped from seventy-five in 1955 to forty in 1959, and to twelve in 1964.[12] The percentage of network programmes sold as 'participating' or 'co-sponsored' increased from about 11 per cent in 1953 to 84 per cent in 1963.[13]

Network control was supposed to improve the quality of television programming because, presumably, programme decisions would be determined by audience demand rather than advertisers' tastes. To measure such demand, networks used ratings, such as Nielsen's audience sample, and they quickly cancelled programmes not meeting ratings expectations, even if those programmes had sponsors willing to pay. Lee Rich, an executive at the agency Benton & Bowles (B&B), noted that 'what bothers tv advertisers so much today is that, while making substantial investments in tv, very few of them are controlling their own destinies. It's all in the hands of the networks.'[14] The networks' separation of programming from advertising 'may be the worst thing that ever happened to tv', according to one ad executive, because the networks favoured programmes with mass audiences, as measured by ratings companies, that would cater to the lowest tastes.[15]

The magazine plan was blamed for creating more 'clutter' and interruptions. During the radio era, commercials were often textually integrated into the programme, sometimes featuring cast members, and usually only one product brand was advertised per programme.[16] On television, the magazine plan featured separate advertisements adjacent to programme content; networks, rather than advertisers or their agencies, selected the position of the commercial within the programme. Advertisers, having abdicated control of programmes, focused on commercials, little caring how they affected programmes.[17] 'Participating' sponsors began to insert two thirty-second commercials for two different products in their sixty-second slots. They defended these 'piggybacks', heavily used by packaged-goods companies advertising multiple brands, as a rational, economic and efficient use of airtime.[18] Thus, the amount of *airtime* devoted to advertising did not increase but the *number of commercials* did.[19]

Advertisers' goal for television advertising gradually shifted: rather than an 'identification' medium, in which audiences make a close association between programme and advertiser, television would be a 'dispersion' medium, in which advertisers try to reach as many homes as possible, their advertising 'scattered' across multiple programmes.[20] Commercials, dispersed among many time slots and programmes, could spread the message with 'volume' instead of 'intensity', or, as one observer put it, advertisers changed their targeting of consumers from a 'William Tell' to a 'Machine Gun Kelly' approach.[21]

At length, as the magazine plan became more settled, the advertising industry reached widespread agreement about its advantages. Television, according to a BBDO executive, had become more efficient at reaching large audiences and more flexible for advertisers, who were not only freed from season-long time buys, but also 'unburdened of program-development risks'.[22] Agencies soon realised the many advantages of ceding programme control: they could blame the network or producer or star if a programme failed; they could claim better objectivity in advising their clients since they were no longer financially and emotionally invested in any particular programme; and they no longer had to risk their own profit margins on programming success.[23]

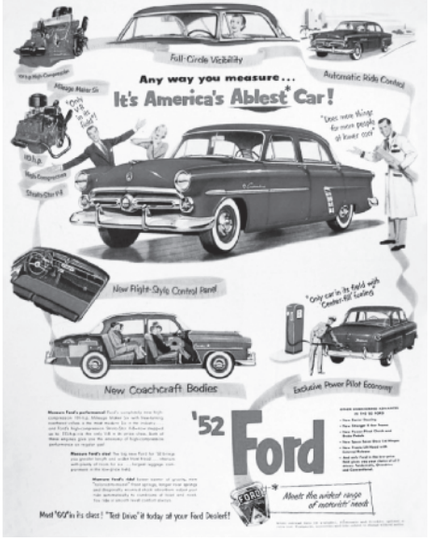
Thus, during the 1960s, advertisers and their agencies almost completely abandoned a once strongly held belief about broadcast advertising. In the early 60s, according to advertising executive Fairfax Cone, 'Sponsor identification was still an important measurement of value, and this held down interest in commercials.' To sponsors, the programmes were more important than the advertising, so 'little thought' was put into commercials.[24] However, by 1969, Cone notes that the situation had reversed: 'Now the commercial became important, and new attention was paid to each one. … Commercials that might appear anywhere there was a time spot for sale had to stand on their own.'[25] Rather than focus on developing programmes with which

to associate their brands, advertisers began focusing instead on creating commercials that would keep audiences attentive.

THE CREATIVE REVOLUTION IN THE ADVERTISING INDUSTRY

While the broadcasting industry was completing its transition away from sponsorship, the advertising industry was itself undergoing a significant change. Ad-makers have tended to identify themselves with one of two schools of thought: the hard sell and the soft sell.[26] On the one hand, early theorists of hard-sell advertising, such as Claude Hopkins and Albert Lasker, conceive it as 'salesmanship in print'.[27] Their ads supply product information and multiple 'reasons why' to buy it. Often they lack faith in their audience's attention or intelligence, and so will describe the product repetitiously, as in the 1952 Ford advertisement that centres on the product: 'Any way you measure, it's America's ablest car!' The product-centred strategy is evident in the descriptions of the automobile's mileage, design, efficiency, engine power and cost. Proponents of the soft sell, on the other hand, following such rival theorists as Theodore MacManus, appeal to the consumers' emotional needs.[28] They juxtapose a soap with an illustration of a woman embraced by her husband, implying that the soap creates the 'skin you love to touch'. They attract the consumer with clever concepts, puns, humour and visually arresting imagery.

During the 1950s, the hard sell reigned and agencies attempted to develop advertising as a set of codified techniques, analysed and confirmed by scientific methods.[29] Social scientists such as Daniel Starch and Ernest Dichter dominated advertising 'research' into consumer behaviour and attitudes, and they were sometimes accused of attempting to manipulate consumers in new devious ways.[30] Meanwhile, account executives, stereotyped and parodied in Hollywood movies as



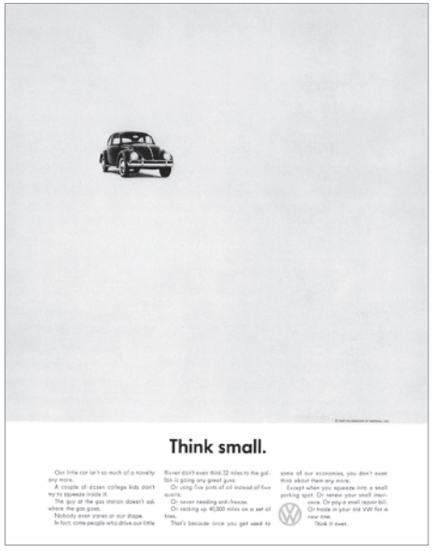
'It's America's ablest car!' (1952)

martini-swilling grey-suited men, tyrannised over the 'creative department' where the advertisements actually got made.[31] They instructed copywriters on the proper copy 'slant'; then gave the copy to art directors to design appropriate visuals; and then chose what to bring to clients for approval.[32] In this traditional system, copywriters, also called 'creatives', were 'cautioned against' being too creative, as copywriter (and then-CEO of BBDO) Charles Brower recalled: 'I remember clients and older men telling me many times that if I were ever pleased with an idea ... I had better start over.'[33] Advertisers suspected the 'creatives' of being more concerned with the aesthetics than the selling power of their advertisements.[34] Copywriters were encouraged to think of their work as a craft practised anonymously in teams and within accepted conventions. As one advertising textbook recommended, 'Like a tennis player, [the copywriter] must ... put the ball inside the court lines; but he may choose his own strokes, he may hit hard or softly, he may play near the net or back court.'[35]

Yet many in the advertising industry worried there was a creativity 'problem' and that dull, repetitive, predictable, hard-sell advertising, along with indistinguishable parity products (such as soaps), were alienating consumers.[36] Hard-sell copy often employed half-truths, implying that a brand provided an exclusive benefit that in actuality all brands provided. One of the top copywriters of the 1950s, Rosser Reeves, an acolyte of Claude Hopkins, boasted thus of his 'Unique Selling Proposition' technique: '[We] gave [Colgate] "cleans your breath while it cleans your teeth". Now, every dentifrice cleans your breath while it cleans your teeth – *but nobody had ever put a breath claim on a toothpaste before*.'[37] If it were true that Colgate could clean breath, it was also true that every other toothpaste brand could clean breath. Since no other brand had made this claim, Reeves argued it was a 'unique selling proposition'. Advertising critics pounced on such sleight-of-hand product claims as evidence of advertising's lack of credibility.

In the late 1950s, the agency Doyle Dane Bernbach (DDB) designed an ad campaign since mythologised as the launch pad for the Creative Revolution.[38] In one print ad, a black-and-white photograph of a Volkswagen Beetle the size of a coin appeared on a page of mostly white space, with the headline 'Think Small'. The ad copy noted the advantages of 'small' insurance and 'small' repair bills and being able to squeeze into 'small' parking spaces, implicitly mocking the excessive blustering of hard-sell claims of 'bigger, better'.[39] In another ad headlined 'Lemon' and featuring a photo of a normal-looking VW, the copy explains that an inspector noted a 'chrome strip' is 'blemished' and must be replaced; 'Chances are you wouldn't have noticed it. Inspector Kurt Kroner did.' Concluding that 'we pluck the lemons, you get the plums', the ad turns an apparent admission of imperfection into a claim for perfection. Designed to counter consumer cynicism with honesty, understatement and tongue-in-cheek humour, DDB's Volkswagen campaign was hailed as an 'artistic innovation' on par with 'pop art or the frug'.[40]

Bill Bernbach, the creative leader of DDB, sought to elevate the status of 'creatives' in advertising and ease advertisers' suspicions: 'It is ironic that the very thing that is most suspected by business, that intangible thing called artistry, turns out to be the most practical tool available to it.'[41] Bernbach put the copywriters and art directors together in teams, instructing them to collaborate on an ad's conceptual, textual and visual elements. Former DDB art director George Lois claimed that Bernbach 'revolutionized the creative process in advertising by encouraging his artists and writers to work together without



'VW: Think Small' (1959)

account men jamming fortune cookie copy into the blend'.[42] The creatives at DDB rose in status above the account executives. Although Lois claimed Bernbach 'treated advertising as an art',[43] Bernbach believed advertising to be a craft in the service of a specific goal: 'Properly practised creativity *must* result in greater sales more economically achieved.'[44] Bernbach's emphasis on the creative idea ignited a wave of new advertising that, according to Thomas Frank, 'pandered to public distrust of advertising and dislike of admen' through a new style of 'hip' advertisements.[45] Frank describes hip advertising as using minimalist graphics (with sans serif fonts and lots of 'white space'), flippant language about products that mocks consumer culture and references to escape, defiance, rebellion, or nonconformity. Sampling print magazines, Frank finds that this DDB-influenced style became predominant in print ads by about 1965.[46]

The rise of hip advertising pre-dated the explosion of the counterculture, but the counterculture soon influenced agencies, particularly the creative departments.[47] By 1967, the style of youth culture had taken hold in agency creative departments anxious to demonstrate their connection to the zeitgeist: 'Agency Swingers Flourish Their Mini-Skirts', boasts a headline in the venerable trade magazine *Printers' Ink*.[48] Agency head Jerry Della Femina noted that agencies often gave clients tours to show off their eccentric creatives: 'It's like an arms race. … Our nuts are nuttier than anyone else's. We have more madmen per square inch than any other agency. Therefore we are creative.'[49] The countercultural creative abjured market research and social science behaviourism, blaming them for the crisis in advertising creativity.[50] Seeking a more authentic and honest form of advertising, they experimented with humanistic psychologies, such as encounter groups and self-actualisation, and drugs such as hallucinogens and marijuana.[51] Some, such as the 'ad-man head', claimed that using marijuana qualified him to 'talk to the youth market'.[52]

DDB creatives spun off to found their own agencies. Lois boasted that these agencies were 'a hundred creative nonconformists with common roots and a separate language from the oily mainstream of American advertising'.[53] Agencies, such as Papert Koenig Lois, Jack Tinker & Partners and Wells Rich Greene, became known as 'boutique' creative agencies because they did not supply a traditional agency's full range of services. Instead, through word play, humour, appeals to consumers' self-image and direct critiques of the conventional, they aimed to disarm consumers' practised defences to advertising long enough to deliver the advertising message. Copywriter Mary Wells Lawrence's Braniff airlines print campaign features images of flight attendants changing uniforms mid-flight under the headline, 'Introducing the Air Strip'.[54] Art director George Lois's Maypo hot cereal ad features strong male athletes crying like spoiled children, 'I want my Maypo! I want it!'[55] DDB's ad for the whiskey Chivas Regal, under the provocative headline, 'Does Chivas Regal embarrass you?' continues:

> If it does, it's all our fault. … It's possible we left you with the notion that you have to be a special kind of person to be at home with it … You're that kind of person. You want nothing but the best.[56]

The ad copy cleverly shifts from what appears to be frank honesty to shameless flattery. Like most such ads, it is about the consumer, not the product.

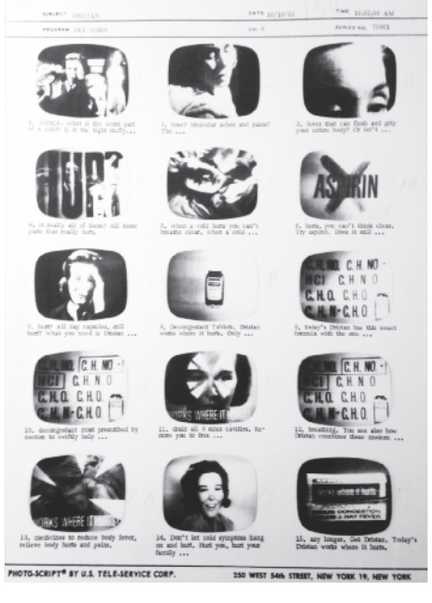
Traditional agencies fought back. An executive at Ogilvy & Mather criticised this 'cult of meaningless advertising called Creativity' as having 'practically nothing to do with consumers'.[57] BBDO CEO Tom Dillon complained, in a speech titled, 'The Triumph of Creativity over Communication', that 'creativity' is a 'Humpty Dumpty word', in other words, meaningless: 'Humpty Dumpty … is the egg who stated that the meaning of a word was whatever he intended it to be – no more nor less.'[58] In 1968 Dillon criticised hip advertising: 'Advertising which has had dramatic form but no content has not proven itself in the marketplace. The problem is an age-old one – it is easy enough to make advertising exciting if you don't say anything.'[59] Arguing that the Creative Revolutionaries misunderstood the aim of advertising, hard-sell proponent Rosser Reeves insisted that 'the agency must make the *product* interesting, and not just the advertisement itself'.[60]And Fairfax Cone, concerned that 'advertisers are going headlong down a primrose path' towards arty advertising that is not 'intelligible insofar as advertising is concerned', insisted that 'Advertising is a business … it is not an art.'[61]

Thomas Frank argues that the rise of hip advertising and the Creative Revolution was not just a response to the youth market or the rise of market segmentation; neither was it an effort to destroy or reject consumer culture. The business world, he argues, shared the counterculture's critiques of mass culture as a system of conformity and therefore welcomed the changes brought by the counterculture as a way to 'revitalize American business and the consumer order generally'.[62] Hip advertising and the Creative Revolution thus solved the crisis of creativity and rejuvenated the ad industry when consumer cynicism, increased regulation and saturated markets had threatened it. The rise of the countercultural creatives and the proliferation of advertising awards for 'creativity' also helped legitimate advertising as a cultural form.[63] Rather than technicians or craftsmen, many advertising creatives viewed themselves as artists.[64] Some would compare themselves to Michelangelo working for his 'client', the Pope, a romantic ideal of patron and artist.[65]

CHANGING TELEVISION COMMERCIAL STRATEGIES

These changes in both the television and advertising industries had a strong impact on how commercials were conceived and produced. In the early 1960s, advertising agencies were still relying on traditional, hard-selling techniques long established in radio and print. Sponsorship and the integration of programme and stars into advertising were still common until the mid-1960s. Continuing their work in radio and live television, many advertising agencies still oversaw the production of television programmes for their clients. B&B oversaw *Ben Casey*, *Gunsmoke* and the Danny Thomas, Andy Griffith and Dick van Dyke programmes.[66] BBDO oversaw sponsored programmes for clients Du Pont, Armstrong Cork, Pepsi, Liberty Mutual and US Steel – many of whom had been active corporate-image sponsors on radio.[67] Young & Rubicam (Y&R) became executive producer for Procter & Gamble's soap opera *Another World* and Gulf Oil's sponsored news specials.[68]

Many advertisers assumed that television's great advantage over radio or print was its ability to demonstrate products, so initially they conceived commercials as a form of 'show and tell', most famously in live demonstrations of Westinghouse appliances.[69] As in radio, announcers, either on screen or in voiceover, would instruct and explain the product. In a 1962 BBDO commercial for Dristan, a cold medicine, over close-ups of a woman suffering from congestion, an announcer describes cold symptoms before explaining, 'What you need is Dristan ... Today's Dristan has this exact formula with the one decongestant most prescribed by doctors to swiftly help ... restore you to free breathing.' Graphic triangle shapes point to the location of the woman's sinuses, before the announcer concludes, 'Don't let cold symptoms hang on and hurt. ... Get Dristan. Today's Dristan works where it hurts.'[70] The commercial makes its point in



'Dristan: Say When' (1962)

Joy dishwasing liquid (no date)

the copy rather than in the visuals, which were added afterward to illustrate the words. Industrial film producers, specialists in instructional film-making for corporate clients, often shot such commercials, which 'sounded like a print ad being read aloud'.[71]

Early 1960s commercials also often used traditional hard-sell strategies such as presenting the product as the solution to a problem, like dirty laundry or bad breath. In a 1963 Y&R commercial for Excedrin pain reliever, a housewife is 'overheard' on a 'hidden camera' describing her headaches, which she learns can be eliminated by using Excedrin.[72] Either an announcer would then instruct audiences in these solutions or the housewife herself would encounter them in 'slice of life' scenes about making better coffee or washing whiter laundry. Folger's coffee, for example, ran a series of commercials featuring 'Mrs Olson', a motherly expert in coffee preparation, whose advice to housewives would placate unhappy husbands and resolve marital tensions.[73] The 'slice of life' was occasionally enlivened by the fantastic, as when a white knight, representing Ajax laundry detergent, rides a horse down a suburban street to zap laundry whiter with his lance,[74] or when a housewife encounters miniature versions of herself on supermarket shelves explaining the advantages of Joy dishwashing liquid.[75]

Another hard-sell advertising approach popular in early 1960s commercials was the testimonial by either a typical member of the targeted audience or a well-known 'personality' admired by that audience. For example, in a 1962 Y&R commercial for Cheer laundry detergent, an actress playing a housewife testifies to Cheer's superiority: when asked to choose between two piles of laundered towels, she settles on the 'Whiter, a lot brighter' pile, concluding, 'I'll have to try Cheer'[76] The talk show 'personalities' Arthur Godfrey, Art Linkletter and Garry Moore endorsed products during their talk shows. A BBDO executive explained that such a personality 'has 1,000 – perhaps 1,000,000 – times more contact with the consumer than . . . any individual salesman' and so had an outsize impact on brand image.[77] Advertisers believed that the effectiveness of the personality endorsement was predicated on audiences believing that he or she actually used the product.[78] Media personalities, then, could only endorse products they could reasonably be assumed to use and had to avoid publicly using competing brands. Godfrey, whose improvised kidding of products was quite popular with audiences, screened the products of potential sponsors and rejected

any he did not like; publicising this likely helped maintain a perception of his integrity.[79]

Stars and celebrities endorsed products in commercials.[80] BBDO had its own casting department, run by Nan Marquand, in which both 'name' and 'no name' talent were booked for BBDO commercials. BBDO hired Jim Backus for General Electric, Fred Gwynne for Armstrong Cork, Celeste Holm for US Steel and Hermione Gingold for Philco.[81] Film stars Claudette Colbert, Edward G. Robinson and Barbara Stanwyck were paid up to $100,000 to appear in Maxwell House coffee commercials.[82] Marquand explained that stars who once avoided such appearances were now attracted by 'more sophisticated' commercials and high pay, which helped replace income lost from the decline of live television.[83] Stars had to consider the problem of overexposure and credibility; some actors insisted that too strong an association with an advertiser would prevent their working for other advertisers and preclude acting opportunities.[84]

Some advertisers believed that cast commercials, in which actors appeared in character, would help reduce audience annoyance at commercial interruption. This strategy had been used on 1930s radio when *Show Boat* cast members sipped Maxwell House coffee during 'intermissions' and on 1950s television when Molly Goldberg chatted confidentially about Sanka decaffeinated coffee during *The Goldbergs*.[85] In the early 1960s Y&R produced cast commercials for Jell-O in the *Andy Griffith Show*.[86] The casts of *Dennis the Menace*, *The Beverly Hillbillies* and *My Favorite Martian* appeared in commercials for Kellogg's cereals.[87] Buddy Ebsen, the lead actor of *The Beverly Hillbillies*, admitted he felt a 'twinge' when he started doing cast commercials, but that 'as the money started coming in, the twinge eased'.[88]

The Beverly Hillbillies cast also appeared in commercials for Winston cigarettes; in one, Ebsen's character 'Jed' offers the character 'Granny' an alternative to her corn cob pipe, Winston cigarettes.[89] As Granny, a country rube unaccustomed to city habits, puts the cigarette into her pipe, she inhales and exclaims, 'By thunder, Jed, that *is* good smoking!' Jed suggests she try smoking the cigarette by inhaling it directly, and Granny exclaims, 'Tastes even better!' She goes on to say she 'may even put away my corn cob'. Jed notes, 'There just ain't no way of saying just how good a Winston is, you gotta smoke one to find out.' Granny replies, 'Well, I can say this, Winston tastes mighty good,' and Jed concludes, 'Like a cigarette should.' During the first take of one Winston

Winston cigarettes cast commercial on *Beverly Hillbillies* (ca. 1965–6)

commercial, Ebsen didn't inhale because inhaled smoke made him dizzy. According to Ebsen, 'the ad agency man was frantic and said we would have to do retakes'. Because advertisers expected celebrity endorsers to use their products, Ebsen realised that 'The agencyman feared he would lose his job as a result of the commercial I did.' A month later, however, the 'agencyman' informed Ebsen that Winston was happy with the commercial because it opened up a new market for smokers who did not inhale.[90]

One of the most elaborate cast commercials was a five-minute long Chevrolet commercial in 1964 employing the casts of two different programmes: *Bonanza*, a Western drama, and *Bewitched*, a sitcom about an ad-man and his wife who has magical powers. *Bonanza* cast members introduce different Chevrolet models as they parade down the centre of the *Bonanza* set, or as one character describes it, 'Virginia City, or I guess what we should call Chevrolet City'. Cast members show features of various Chevrolet models, and then stars of *Bewitched* appear to announce that 'part of our new job for Chevrolet this fall is to be very bewitching'; then they 'magically' make a *Bonanza* character and then a Chevrolet appear.[91] These cast commercials were the last gasps of the integration strategy common in the single sponsorship era. By the late 1960s they had largely disappeared. Advertisers had given up on maintaining a tight association with programmes and stars, and some market research had indicated that cast commercials might not be very effective.[92]

By the mid-1960s, some were calling for commercials to be interesting interludes rather than instructional interruptions. An executive from the Television Bureau of Advertising exhorted advertisers to think of television as an 'idea medium', rather than a demonstration tool.[93] Pointing to a Xerox commercial in which a monkey runs a copier to show its ease of use, and to a Hertz commercial, 'Let Hertz put you in the driver's seat', in which actors descend, flying magically through the air, to land in an empty speeding car's driver's seat, he argued television could plant the 'idea' for buying through clever concepts rather than product information or demonstrations.[94]

New aesthetic strategies emerged for commercials that could hold audience attention on their own without integration into a surrounding programme. Hard-sell advertisers had been worried that sixty seconds of airtime gave them fewer opportunities to describe products than a full page of a print ad and so had often insisted on commercials consisting of 'fifty-eight seconds of spoken copy delivered with the staccato accent of a machine gun'.[95] In a reaction to this, and inspired by DDB's approach to print advertising, most famously the Volkswagen ads, some began to use more 'white space' in commercials as well.[96] Agencies began using sound in a more naturalistic way. In one pioneering Cracker Jack snack commercial, no voiceover accompanies shots of a father who searches the family home until he finally finds his son's hidden supply of Cracker Jack snacks.[97]'Showing' supplanted 'showing and telling'. Well-known audio artist Tony Schwartz specialised in creating what he called 'sound photos' for commercials: instead of having an announcer describe a food as 'delicious', Schwartz simply recorded a consumer enjoying it. Schwartz claimed this naturalistic sound and action projected 'a strong feeling of delicious without using the word'.[98]

Probably the most notable aesthetic shift in the mid- to late 1960s was towards a more cinematic visual style, sometimes referred to as the 'New York school of film'. Gordon Webber of B&B described this 'New York Look' as a 'synthesis of intimate, fluid movement and dynamic editing that eventually would find its way into feature

film-making'.[99] Agencies began hiring directors who hoped to break into Hollywood film-making, replacing the industrial film-makers trained in didactic techniques, and they showed an increasing interest in close-ups, long shots, location shooting, faster editing and shorter shots. Directors were often allowed some latitude to try shots not included on a storyboard, and eventually became key collaborators in commercial production.[100] By 1969, Foote, Cone & Belding, traditionally a hard-sell agency, was experimenting with sudden edits, shots of less than a second in length, naturalistic soundtracks and minimal dialogue.[101] Some of this style came from documentary film-makers, like the Maysles brothers, well-known documentarians who made commercials for Jell-O and for Champion Spark Plugs. As with their documentaries, the Maysles followed subjects around and filmed them for days to get one clip of spontaneous natural dialogue for the commercial.[102] Their handheld camerawork and emphasis on spontaneity signalled authenticity, a kind of authenticity that was necessary for hip commercials to resonate with cynical consumers. At B&B, an interest in cinematic techniques 'became the passion, the religion of the new generation', recalls Webber, such that there were weekly screenings of animated, experimental and avant-garde films – even the account executives began attending the screenings.[103]

This new focus on aesthetics led to a drastic increase in production costs by the late 1960s. In one estimate, such costs increased 72 per cent between 1963 and 1967.[104] As commercials evolved, agencies hired more specialists, such as sound consultants for 'sound logos', music composers for original music, famous photographers such as Irving Penn and commercial actors who received residual payments; raising production quality required more location shoots, more elaborate lighting and special effects.[105] Airtime costs also rose, as networks charged higher prices for larger audiences. By 1965, all the networks broadcast colour programmes; by 1966, nearly 70 per cent of commercials were also filmed in colour, an additional expense.[106]

Advertising agencies began reorganising their employees to manage the increasing workload of producing commercials. The intensely collaborative process of commercial production led to conflicts over who exactly was in charge. Art directors, who had hitherto only executed copywriters' ideas by drawing storyboards to sell clients on the commercial idea, began to take a larger role in the conceptualisation of commercials.[107]A television art director, 'part director, writer, diplomat and general overseer of the entire commercial project', began to replace the copywriter altogether.[108] These television art directors, as one B&B executive noted, 'dreamed up concepts that sent production budgets soaring like the Red Balloon', as in a United Airlines commercial that cost over $100,000 to produce and looked like a mini Broadway musical, complete with Busby Berkeley-style shots of dancers from above.[109] To contain these costs, agencies began to hire production companies on a cost plus fixed fee basis or they demanded competitive bidding with detailed budgets.[110] Some criticised the trend towards high-budget commercials. One executive noted that 'Commercials can be so loaded with frills that the message becomes buried under the glitter and glamour of a tiny motion picture epic.'[111]

All these changes helped elevate the cultural prestige of the television commercial. Some called the late 1960s 'the golden age of arty commercials'.[112] Advertising, once defended as a rational business practise based on scientific research, was now an art, a cultural form on a par with other cultural forms.[113] The new creatives argued that no idea is too wild: all ideas could be considered, like a party when 'everyone [is] in the pool'.[114] Tony Schwartz advised commercial makers to leave behind not only the hard sell, but the soft sell as well, and turn to the 'deep sell'. Instead of 'teaching' the consumer 'the name of the product and hoping he will remember it when he goes to the store', Schwartz suggested commercials create a 'deep attachment to the product in the commercial' so that 'there is no need to depend on their remembering the name of the product' because the sound and imagery would 'resonate with the experiences a person has in relation to a product'.[115] The idea that advertising should be a form of experience that aligns the product with the consumers' emotions would soon become conventional wisdom.

Commercials also began to reflect a critique of traditional advertising from within the ad industry, or what Thomas Frank calls 'anti-advertising': a 'style which harnessed public mistrust of consumerism'.[116] Ad-makers began to view the consumer as well armed to resist the direct advertising message. As one boutique creative agency claimed, the consumer, 'like an insect that builds up resistance to DDT, is getting harder to fool'.[117] To get past this resistance, hip commercials make product claims visually rather than verbally. For example, a famous 1964 DDB Volkswagen commercial opens with a close up of a man's boots crunching through snow, close-ups of headlights lighting up as he starts a car, followed by artfully composed shots of the VW Beetle driving through a snowy rural landscape, headlights cutting through the gloom, with only the natural sounds of crunching snow and engine noise, until a voice-over asks, 'Have you ever wondered how the man who drives the snowplough drives *to* the snowplough? This one drives a Volkswagen. So you can stop wondering.'[118] The product claim is implied, while overtly our attention is directed to the cinematic camera angles that ensured this commercial's place in the canon of the Creative Revolution.[119]

Other commercials satirised advertising itself. Like hip print ads, these hip commercials directly critiqued traditional product-centred hard-sell commercials without losing the selling message, appealing to intelligent consumers who could congratulate themselves for getting the joke. In one example, DDB's 1969 commercial for Alka-Seltzer, an indigestion medication, the problem/solution paradigm –

Benson & Hedges 100s (no date)

indigestion solved by Alka-Seltzer – is disguised by satire. The commercial shows an actor at a table, taking bites from a plate of pasta, and repeatedly messing up his line for a putative commercial: 'Mama mia, that's a spicy meatball.' As the unseen director calls 'cut' after every error, we see the actor struggle to repeat the action and line, until 'take 59', when 'Jack' the actor is unable to take another bite. The voiceover explains that 'Sometimes you eat more than you should, and when it's spicy besides, mama mia, do you need Alka-Seltzer.' Revived by Alka-Seltzer, the actor happily performs his part, and then a prop crashes on the set and the unseen director calls 'cut'.[120] Other commercials satirised hard-sell product claims by humorously claiming product disadvantages. Wells Rich Greene made headlines with commercials for Benson & Hedges, an extra-long cigarette, showing vignettes of cigarettes broken by closing elevator doors, helmet visors, juicers, pigeons landing on the cigarette and opening car trunks.[121]

Other commercials overtly incorporated countercultural imagery and language. The J. Walter Thompson agency produced a 1968 campaign for the 7UP soft drink that features animated psychedelic imagery in the style of graphic artist Peter Max and the Beatles' *Yellow Submarine*: 'You can do your own thing' with 'the UnCola, 7UP'.[122] BBDO, one of the most conservative agencies, oversaw commercials for Dodge automobiles that open with a vignette of someone, such as a bullfighter, worrying about how to complete a task when 'Dodge Fever' is around and 'there's just no resisting it'.[123] After an attractive young woman in a mod white miniskirt delineates the car's 'wild new taillights' and other features, the bullfighter is distracted by a passing Dodge and the bull knocks him out because 'Dodge Fever' is 'more forceful than ever'. The commercial encourages viewers to give in to a feverish impulse and purchase a new stylish car.

Hip commercials won awards at the increasing number of advertising awards shows, but traditional agencies, such as BBDO, which produced about 500 commercials a year, remained sceptical.[124] B&B executives worried that hip advertising was trying to become 'as entertaining as the programming' and invented the slogan, 'It's not creative unless it sells.'[125] Another B&B executive attacked 'Filmic fireworks and award winning commercials that didn't sell'.[126] Claimed another contrarian executive, 'If too much of our selling time is devoted to humour just to attract attention, we may not attract the attention we need for the selling message.'[127] The recession of 1970

7UP the UnCola (ca. 1968)

brought a backlash: advertisers began demanding more 'pre-testing' of commercials, anathema to the hip creatives. A trend of 'back to basics', including more product information, ensued and a B&B executive was able to claim, 'The hippie fashionable advertising of the past wasted a tremendous amount of money.'[128] Agencies like B&B rejoiced at emerging at last from the Creative Revolution, 'when all too often the medium was the message, and form dominated content'.[129]

Yet the backlash was temporary; even B&B soon shared the enlarged sense of advertising's mission. In 1972 B&B produced a fifteen-minute documentary, *Stalking the Wild Cranberry*, 'a behind the scenes look' at how commercials are made, designed to improve the public's attitude towards advertising.[130] Showing every step in the making of a Grape-Nuts cereal commercial that featured the celebrity naturalist Euell Gibbons, the film includes re-enactments of the creative process. Hiply dressed ad-men gather in space-age meeting rooms, redesigned to reflect the agency's 'commitment to creative work'.[131] In a creative department meeting, one executive explains that this is a chance to do something 'really fresh and original in the cereal category'. They discuss how their trip to the cereal factory helped them understand how Grape-Nuts is made from natural ingredients, and then the creative partners, the art director and copywriter, sit in front of the Peter Max poster of Bob Dylan, a clear signifier they are members of the Creative Revolution, to discuss potential spokesmen, from bakers to wheat farmers, before settling on Euell Gibbons, author of a book on natural foods including cranberries. One creative cogitates:

> Perhaps we could base our commercial on something like wild cranberries? What if we had a scene in the snow, and he says something like 'I'm gathering part of my breakfast,' and you don't see anything but snow until you get to a close-up of the cranberries. Then we could go to an inside scene where he's putting the cranberries on the Grape-Nuts.

Subsequent scenes show the making of the storyboards, the client meetings and the production of the commercial in a snowy mountainous location, where technical challenges are laboriously surmounted in multiple takes. The editing process and the

Grape-Nuts: *Stalking the Wild Cranberrry* (1972)

screening of the commercial film for approval by the creative director is the 'moment of truth'. The creative director wants a closer zoom in on the cranberry bush; fortunately, they have such a take, so after re-editing and client approval, the commercial runs. The narrator concludes, 'Finally, an idea that began life in an art director's office more than two months before is transformed by a small army of specialists, a long chain of events, into a television commercial.' This Grape-Nuts commercial then, despite its use of such traditional strategies as a testimonial by a celebrity, product claims ('made from natural ingredients, wholesome wheat and barley') and the half-truth of Gibbons picking cranberries that likely grow better in summer bogs than winter snow, is presented as an authored creative text, its cinematic documentation legitimating the commercial as a cultural form rather than an irritating interruption of the viewers' pleasure.

CONCLUSION

In this brief overview of television and advertising during the 1960s, I have summarised some of the tremendous changes that reshaped both industries. The television industry in the early 60s was still in transition away from sponsorship and advertiser control of programming and towards separable, mobile commercials textually distinct from programmes. As programme control shifted from sponsors to networks, advertising strategies likewise had to change, away from radio strategies such as cast commercials and product demonstrations and towards the development of new aesthetic styles. The advertising industry, having suffered as the target of many mass-culture critiques, also transitioned from the old hard sell to an updated soft-sell, user-centred, associative approach, culminating in what became known as the Creative Revolution. The 'creative' advertising workers, art directors and copywriters enjoyed a newly elevated status, replacing the account executives as the glamorous representatives of the advertising industry. The Creative Revolution, while fiercely resisted by many in the ad industry at the time, reshaped basic assumptions and strategies in ways still evident decades later. Advertisers' view of consumers changed: rather than masses receptive to direct education about products, consumers became sophisticated members of segmented markets that needed to be wooed and disarmed. Advertising agencies sought to counter consumer cynicism and revive consumer attention by producing visually, aurally and conceptually interesting commercials. Breaking from the low resolution and static camera angles of live television predominant in the 1950s, commercials incorporated more cinematic aesthetics, such as a wider variety of shot compositions and faster editing styles. Commercial directing became a stepping-stone to Hollywood careers for some, helping to legitimate television commercials as a proto-cinematic form.[132] As hip commercials critiqued traditional hard-sell advertising, observers could call television commercials the 'best thing on television' without sarcasm. By the 1970s, the new order was established: both traditional and boutique creative agencies had reordered creative work processes to emphasise the cultural relevance and salience of their advertising; and both the networks and the advertising agencies began to enjoy several decades of fat profit margins delivering commercial exposure to audiences accustomed to trading their time for free programming.

NOTES

1. Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 22.
2. Ted Morgan, 'New! Improved! Advertising! A Close-up Look at a Successful Agency', in John Wright (ed.), *The Commercial Connection* (New York: Dell, 1979), p. 299.
3. Jonathan Price, *The Best Thing on TV: Commercials* (New York: Penguin, 1978), p. 2.
4. Edgar H. Felix, 'Broadcasting's Place in the Advertising Spectrum', *Advertising & Selling*, 15 December 1926, p. 19.
5. For more, see Cynthia B. Meyers, *A Word from Our Sponsor: Admen, Advertising, and the Golden Age of Radio* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014).
6. For more on non-network broadcast advertising in this era, see Alexander Russo, *Points on the Dial* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).
7. See Kathy M. Newman, *Radio Active* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); James L. Baughman, *Same Time, Same Station* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), chapter 8; William Boddy, *Fifties Television* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), chapter 6; and Erik Barnouw, *The Sponsor: Notes on a Modern Potentate* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).
8. Cynthia B. Meyers, 'The Problems with Sponsorship in Broadcasting, 1930s–50s: Perspectives from the Advertising Industry', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* vol. 31 no. 3 (September 2011), pp. 355–72.
9. Michael Mashon, 'NBC, J. Walter Thompson, and the Evolution of Prime-Time Television Programming and Sponsorship, 1946–58' (PhD dissertation, University of Maryland College Park, 1996).
10. Ibid.; William Boddy, 'Operation Frontal Lobes versus the Living Room Toy: The Battle over Programme Control in Early Television', *Media, Culture and Society* vol. 9 (1987), pp. 347–68.
11. Christopher Anderson, *Hollywood TV* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994).
12. Boddy, *Fifties Television*, p. 159.
13. 'Co-Sponsorship Stages Strong Network Comeback', *Sponsor*, 1 June 1964, p. 42.
14. 'The Spiral's Got to Stop', *Sponsor*, 1 June 1964, p. 29.
15. John E. McMillin, 'TV's New Non-Influentials', *Sponsor*, 25 September 1961, p. 42.
16. Companies that made multiple brands, like Procter & Gamble or Lever Bros., sponsored multiple programmes, each advertising a separate brand.
17. Les Brown, *Television* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971), p. 65.
18. '30–30 or Fight, Agencies Defend Piggybacks', *Sponsor*, 3 February 1964, p. 34.
19. Brown, *Television*, p. 350.
20. 'Net TV – Where Is It Headed?' *Sponsor*, 11 September 1961, pp. 25–8, 46–50.
21. Bob Shanks, 'Network Television: Advertising Agencies and Sponsors', Wright (ed.), *The Commercial Connection*, p. 98.
22. 'As Good a Buy as Ever', *Sponsor*, 1 June 1964, p. 30.
23. Shanks, 'Network Television', p. 98.
24. Fairfax Cone, *With All Its Faults* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), p. 298.
25. Ibid., p. 299.
26. Stephen Fox, *The Mirror Makers* (New York: William Morrow, 1984).
27. Claude Hopkins, *Scientific Advertising* (Lincolnwood, IL: NTC Business Books, reprinted 1966); Albert Lasker, *The Lasker Story* (Chicago: Advertising, 1963).
28. Fox, *Mirror Makers*, pp. 71–5.

29. Fox argues that the advertising industry swung between the hard and soft sell decade by decade. See also Martin Mayer, *Madison Avenue USA* (Lincolnwood, IL: NTC Business Books, 1992 [1958]).
30. Vance Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders* (New York: David McKay Co., 1957).
31. For example, *The Hucksters* (1947), starring Clark Gable, and *Will Success Spoil Rock Hunter?* (1957), starring Tony Randall.
32. 'Copy' refers to the text in the ad as opposed to the illustrations and layout.
33. Charles Brower, 'Who's Having Any Fun?' *Advertising Agency and Advertising & Selling*, June 1954, p. 38.
34. Mayer, *Madison Ave USA*, p. 29.
35. Mark Wiseman, *Advertisements* (New York: Moore-Robbins, 1949), p. 3.
36. Fox, *Mirror Makers*, p. 180.
37. Quoted in Mayer, *Madison Avenue USA*, p. 49.
38. Larry Dobrow, *When Advertising Tried Harder* (New York: Friendly Press, 1984).
39. Frank Rowsome, Jr, *Think Small* (New York: Ballantine, 1970).
40. Stephen Baker, 'The Cultural Significance of Doyle Dane Bernbach', *Advertising Age*, 1 November 1965, p. 99.
41. Bob Levenson, *Bill Bernbach's Book* (New York: Villard Books, 1987), p. 113.
42. George Lois, with Bill Pitts, *George, Be Careful* (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1972), p. 50.
43. Ibid., p. 64.
44. Levenson, *Bill Bernbach's Book*, p. 25.
45. Frank, *Conquest of Cool*, p. 54.
46. Ibid., p. 238.
47. Ibid., p. 133.
48. 'Agency Swingers Flourish Their Mini-Skirts', *Printers' Ink*, 11 August 1967, p. 12.
49. Jerry Della Femina, *From Those Wonderful Folks Who Gave You Pearl Harbor* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970), p. 233.
50. Bernbach argued advertising was not a science. Levenson, *Bill Bernbach's Book*, p. 115.
51. Robin Nelson, 'Harper's Happy Hippies', *Marketing/Communications*, October 1967, pp. 51–8; 'The Touch-Touch Bang-Bang School of Creativity', *Marketing/Communications*, February 1969, pp. 32–4; 'Chat with an Ad-Man Head', *Marketing/Communications*, January 1968, pp. 63–5; Cynthia B. Meyers, 'Psychedelics and the Advertising Man: The 1960s Countercultural Creative on Madison Avenue', *Columbia Journal of American Studies* vol. 4 no. 1 (2000), pp. 114–27.
52. 'Chat with an Ad-Man Head', p. 64.
53. Lois, *George, Be Careful*, p. 226.
54. Mary Wells Lawrence, *A Big Life in Advertising* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2002).
55. 'George Lois: Maypo', available from http://www.georgelois.com/pages/milestones/mile.maypo.html, accessed 11 March 2014.
56. Levenson, *Bill Bernbach's Book*, p. 71.
57. John S. Straiton, 'The Fey Cult of Cutie-Pie Creativity', *Marketing/Communications*, November 1969, p. 64.
58. Tom Dillon, 'The Triumph of Creativity over Communication', speech at Ad Age Creative Workshop, 23 July 1974, BBDO Records, New York.
59. Tom Dillon, 'Remarks', *c*. 1968, BBDO Records.
60. Quoted in Fox, *Mirror Makers*, p. 271. Italics in original.
61. Fairfax Cone, *The Blue Streak* (Chicago: Crain Communications, 1973), pp. 193, 189.
62. Frank, *Conquest of Cool*, p. 9. For an analysis of 1960s television programming influenced by counterculture style, see Aniko Brodoghkozy, *Groove Tube* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).
63. Advertising awards include the Clios, the Golden Lions and the Addys. Michael Z. Newman and Elana Levine note that the identification of an 'author' of a cultural text, such as a television programme, is a step towards 'cultural legitimation'. *Legitimating Television* (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 9, 45.
64. Howard Luck Gossage, *Is There Any Hope for Advertising?* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), p. 87.
65. This comparison appears elsewhere, but one later example is Aimee Stern, 'Selling Yourself on Madison Ave', *The New York Times,* 1 October 1989, p. F4.
66. Gordon Webber, *Our Kind of People: The Story of the First 50 Years at Benton & Bowles* (New York: Benton & Bowles, 1979), p. 124.
67. Ed Roberts, 'Television', unpublished manuscript, *c*. 1966, BBDO Records.
68. *Y&R and Broadcasting: Growing up Together* (New York: Museum of Broadcasting, 1988), p. 32.
69. Webber, *Our Kind of People*, p. 87; Lawrence Samuels, *Brought to You By* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), p. 105.
70. 'Say When', Dristan commercial photoscript, 16 October 1962, BBDO Records.
71. Price, *Best Thing on TV*, p. 2.
72. *Y&R and Broadcasting*, p. 61.
73. Benton & Bowles commercial for Folger's coffee, 'Mrs Olson Saves a Hostess', available from https://archive.org/details/dmbb46710, accessed 11 March 2014.
74. Ajax commercial, available from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R4trEWzghZM, accessed 11 March 2014.
75. Benton & Bowles commercial for Joy detergent, available from https://archive.org/details/dmbb47038, accessed 11 March 2014.
76. *Y&R and Broadcasting*, p. 60.
77. Arthur Bellaire, *TV Advertising* (New York: Harper, 1959), p. 194.
78. Charles Anthony Wainwright, *The Television Copywriter: How to Create Successful TV Commercials* (New York: Hastings House, 1966), p. 255.
79. Susan Murray, *Hitch Your Antenna to the Stars* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 123.
80. Ibid., chapter 5.
81. Wainwright, *Television Copywriter*, p. 195.
82. 'Specialists on Commercials Mean Cost Increases for Advertisers', *Sponsor*, 15 June 1964, p. 34.
83. Wainwright, *Television Copywriter*, p. 194.
84. 'Should Stars Plug Products?' *Sponsor*, 13 January 1964, pp. 30–5.
85. An example from *Show Boat* available from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dUbvRVcY6qI&feature=youtu.be, accessed 11 March 2014. An example of a commercial from *The Goldbergs* available from https://archive.org/details/theGoldbergs-12September1949, accessed 11 March 2014.
86. *Y&R and Broadcasting*, p. 37.
87. Wainwright, *Television Copywriter*, p. 256.
88. 'Should Stars Plug Products?', p. 32.

89. Winston commercial, available from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xEx44ETP8Ac, accessed 11 March 2014.
90. 'Should Stars Plug Products?', p. 32.
91. Chevrolet commercial, available from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_FjPgj_U0gY, accessed 15 January 2016.
92. Samuel, *Brought to You By*, p. 172.
93. W. B. Colvin, 'More than Meets the Eye', *Sponsor,* 23 September 1963, pp. 30–2.
94. Xerox commercial, available from http://www.georgelois.com/pages/milestones/mile.xerox.html#, accessed 11 March 2014. Hertz commercial, available from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M30XXrrK3lY, accessed 11 March 2014.
95. G. D. Gudebrod, 'Look Dad, No Words', *Sponsor*, 17 June 1963, p. 18.
96. 'Commercials as Art', *Sponsor*, 23 September 1963, p. 18.
97. Gudebrod, 'Look Dad, No Words', p. 18.
98. 'Sound Shouldn't Be an Afterthought', *Sponsor*, 9 March 1964, p. 51.
99. Webber, *Our Kind of People*, p. 130.
100. Wainwright, *Television Copywriter*, p. 50.
101. Cone, *With All Its Faults*, p. 319.
102. Price, *Best Thing on TV*, pp. 96–7.
103. Webber, *Our Kind of People*, p. 130.
104. Ibid., p. 131.
105. 'Specialists on Commercials', pp. 34ff.
106. Christopher Sterling and John Kittross, *Stay Tuned* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1978), pp. 398–9.
107. Wainwright, *Television Copywriter*, p. 46.
108. Ibid., p. 16; 'The Ad-Producer – A New Breed', *Sponsor*, 4 May 1964, p. 48.
109. Webber, *Our Kind of People*, p. 131. United Airlines commercial, available from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uzwPsFbhSqY, accessed 11 March 2014.
110. Webber, *Our Kind of People*, p. 132; Price, *Best Thing on TV*, p. 110.
111. Quoted in Wainwright, *Television Copywriter*, p. 90.
112. Price, *Best Thing on TV*, p. 4.
113. Wainwright, *Television Copywriter*, p. 17. See Lynn Spigel, *TV by Design* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), chapter 6.
114. Morgan, 'New! Improved!', p. 299.
115. Tony Schwartz, *The Responsive Chord* (New York: Doubleday, 1973), pp. 71, 79.
116. Frank, *Conquest of Cool*, p. 55.
117. Morgan, 'New! Improved!', p. 294.
118. 'Snowplow', 1964 DDB Volkswagen commercial, available from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ABcckOTVqao, accessed 15 January 2016.
119. This commercial was inducted into the Clio Hall of Fame in 2013.
120. 'Mama Mia', Alka-Seltzer commercial, available from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NQhwNtY3N2k, accessed 11 March 2014.
121. Benson & Hedges commercial, available from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UEUHV20kH9g, accessed 11 March 2014. More are available at https://archive.org/details/tobacco_rja84e00, accessed 11 March 2014.
122. 7UP commercial, available from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m8-eLMuCdfI, accessed 11 March 2014.
123. 'Dodge Fever' commercial, available from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tHLsrnBif3o, accessed 11 March 2014.
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126. Ibid., p. 135.
127. Earle Ludgin, quoted in Wainwright, *Television Copywriter*, p. 105.
128. Price, *Best Thing on TV*, pp. 5-6.
129. Al Goldman, quoted in Webber, *Our Kind of People*, p. 135.
130. 'Stalking the Wild Cranberry', George Gage Productions (1972), available from https://archive.org/details/stalking_the_wild_cranberry_1972, accessed 11 March 2014.
131. Webber, *Our Kind of People*, p. 149.
132. For example, famed Hollywood directors Ridley Scott, Tony Scott and George Romero began as directors of commercials.