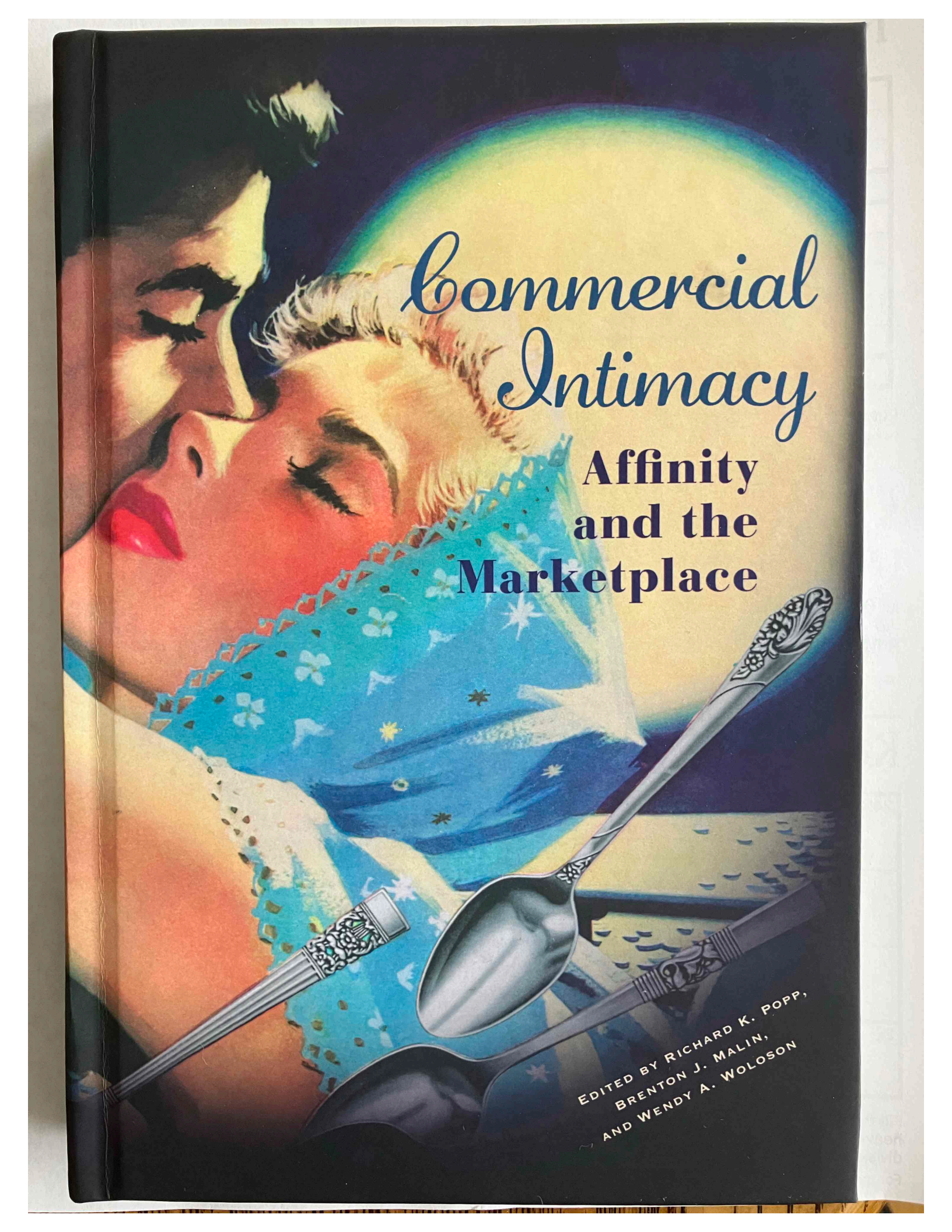


The book cover features a stylized illustration of a man and a woman in a close embrace, their faces nearly touching. The woman, in the foreground, has blonde hair and is wearing a blue lace-trimmed garment. The background is a vibrant, rainbow-hued arc against a dark sky, with a large, ornate silver spoon and a knife crossed in the lower right. The title 'Commercial Intimacy' is written in a large, elegant script, while 'Affinity and the Marketplace' is in a smaller, bold serif font.

Commercial Intimacy

**Affinity
and the
Marketplace**

EDITED BY RICHARD K. POPP,
BRENTON J. MALIN,
AND WENDY A. WOLOSON

COMMERCIAL INTIMACY

Affinity and the Marketplace

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and Wendy A. Woloson

PENN

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CHAPTER 2

“Such a Feeling of Intimacy”: Familial Bonds and Eastman Kodak’s Sponsorship of *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*

Cynthia B. Meyers

In a 1956 episode of the US television sitcom *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, the character Ozzie Nelson is sitting alone in his living room looking pensive.¹ He rises to pick up a framed photograph of his family, smiling as he looks at it. A close-up of the portrait shows a younger Nelson family: Ozzie, his wife Harriet, and their two sons, David and Ricky. Then there is a dissolve; the boys in the photographs are transformed into their older present selves. Ozzie, whose perspective the audience is supposed to share, seems to be reminiscing silently about his children, the passage of time, and the joys of family life. Family photographs, the audience is to conclude, do not just record the past; they also strengthen family bonds. Eastman Kodak, the film and camera manufacturer, had long used the human need for love and family bonds in its advertising; Ozzie Nelson used the same need to attract and retain an audience for the show he produced and directed. From 1956 until 1961, during the period that Eastman Kodak sponsored *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, Kodak and Ozzie Nelson collaborated in representing an idealized, aspirational yet purportedly authentic life of a family. To achieve their commercial goals, to either sell more cameras and film products or attract larger audiences, Ozzie Nelson and his collaborators at Kodak and J. Walter Thompson (JWT), the ad agency, worked to represent familial intimacy through the program’s plot lines, product placements, television commercials, and advertisements.

Eastman Kodak and the Feeling of Intimacy

Long before Kodak sponsored a television program about a family, its advertising had often implied that using its cameras and film products could strengthen familial bonds and deepen emotional intimacy. Photographs could maintain a record of family milestones and provide a permanent record for ephemeral moments and feelings.² In a 1904 ad, "A Christmas Morning," a child in bed clutches a doll, while her mother carefully lines up the shot of the child's Christmas morning by balancing her camera on a stack of books, with the caption "Where there's a child, there should the Kodak be."³ A 1953 ad shows a family in a living room, with the parents sitting on a couch in the background, the mother holding her camera, and the son pointing to a comic strip while the daughter laughs: "Snapshots don't grow up. Each day, those little ones of yours race a bit further away from childhood. A childhood that only snapshots keep."⁴ A 1954 ad (figure 2.1) shows a woman with a camera arranging three generations of a smiling family group on a porch: "Keep the family together—in snapshots. Year by year, those family snaps become more priceless. Get plenty of prints, so all can share."⁵ As Amy Loomis notes, "What Kodak promised was guardianship—not of the images per se, but of the memories they evoked."⁶

To reach the wives and mothers whose "supposed sentimentality" made them an ideal market, Kodak was an early and heavy advertiser in national magazines aimed at women.⁷ Ads directed at mothers also helped Kodak access another important market: children. As early as 1900, Kodak marketed cheap Brownie cameras to children so as to encourage a lifelong picture-taking habit.⁸ In a 1908 ad, a young boy aims his camera at a well-dressed girl: "Let the children Kodak. And then, in turn, Kodak the children. There's pleasure and instruction, there's education in taking the pictures, there's a constantly growing charm in the pictures themselves."⁹ The bonds of friendship among youths are evident in a 1919 ad featuring a group of young women smiling and pointing at a scrapbook: "The Kodak Album: There's joy in every page of the school girl's Kodak book" showing "the pictured story of happy years and enduring friendship."¹⁰

Until 1930, Kodak had created its advertising in-house but at the advent of the Great Depression hired JWT, the top advertising agency, which found in contemporary conditions an opportunity to address consumer concerns about money.¹¹ Unlike professionally produced formal posed portraits, the "snapshot"—a spontaneous, casual, and intimate photograph easily created

Keep the family together -in snapshots

Year by year, those family snaps become more priceless. Got plenty of prints, so all can share.

Remember your boy in the service - with snaps from home

Have your camera with you every where - for that's where great snapshots are. Around home. On that special occasion. On family outings and vacations. Wherever you are, wherever you go. Then you'll save all those wonderful memories instead of wishing you had.

Ever miss a priceless snapshot because the film ran out? With the new, thrifty Duo-Pak, you have 2 rolls of Kodak Film - one for your camera, one for a spare. And there's a nice little saving, too. In the popular 620, 126, and 127 sizes. (All Kodak Films come in single rolls, too.)

First choice of beginners and experts alike - Genuine Kodak Film - in the familiar yellow box

Brownie Hawkeye Camera, simplest, surest Brownie Camera ever made, \$6.95, Federal tax included. Flashholder, \$4.

Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester 4, N. Y.

Figure 2.1. "Keep the Family Together in Snapshots," advertisement in *Life* magazine, September 6, 1954, 53. Collection of the author.

by mothers and children—was inexpensive. The 1930s slogan "Snapshots you'll want tomorrow you must make today" encouraged consumers not to stint on their photography.¹² Also in this period, Kodak's print advertising format shifted from illustrations handmade by painters to photographs created by well-known professional photographers. However, these continued to promote amateur snapshots as a means for family bonding.¹³ A 1934 print advertisement photographed by Edward Steichen depicts a grandfather looking at photographs with his arm around his granddaughter with the caption "You don't know, darling, what this snapshot means to me."¹⁴

Although print magazines were the obvious medium for ads about photography, Kodak also took up its family bonding theme in sponsored programs on early commercial radio. In 1928, a child-development specialist, Angelo Patri, who recommended using photography for building family ties, was featured on *The Kodak Hour* (also known as *On the Front Porch*) between the musical numbers that most sponsors at the time believed to be appropriate

to radio.¹⁵ Kodak went on to sponsor several evening radio programs during 1930–1932: on Thursdays *The Kodak Mid-Week Hour* and on Fridays *The Kodak Weekend Hour*, often featuring such performers as the Countess Olga Albani singing light opera.¹⁶ Of course, this had little to do with photography, but Kodak executives hoped that the music would “get people in the mood for picture-taking on the weekend.”¹⁷ However, Kodak soon ended these programs, possibly because the medium did not fit the message.

When television arrived in American homes at the beginning of the 1950s, many advertisers, Kodak included, hesitated to use it. Kodak had been involved in television's technical development, but its executives did not consider using it for advertising until about 1953.¹⁸ In part this was because early 1950s television did not meet Kodak's standards for high-quality images: television resolution set by the National Television Standards Committee was far lower than that of film, and the national networks insisted on carrying live programs, which were laborious to produce and subject to the errors of live performance. But the telefilm was a way to avoid these problems. Telefilms were produced on film (video was not introduced until 1956) but designed for broadcast rather than theatrical exhibition. Because they were produced with film's higher resolution, they looked clearer on television screens; unlike live broadcasts, telefilms could be edited and perfected.¹⁹ Because advertising agencies since the 1930s had been the primary producers of sponsored broadcast programming, Kodak naturally turned to its ad agency JWT to oversee its sponsored telefilms.²⁰

In 1953 Kodak's new director of advertising, Waldo B. “Pete” Potter, wanted to integrate picture taking into its program using the theme “Send a snapshot in every letter.” He suggested a scene in which a grandson places snapshots in his letter to his grandmother in order to bring “such a feeling of intimacy to families and dear friends you don't see frequently.”²¹ With this directive, JWT hired producer Ken McEldowney to develop a filmed series about an American family on a trip abroad. Not only would family bonding be a featured element, but their travel experiences would also provide plenty of photo opportunities and the use of Kodak products in the program. Kodak had employed travel themes in its advertising at least since 1892, when Robert Peary's Arctic expedition was featured, because travel provided an ideal rationale for taking photographs.²²

In a treatment for this proposed telefilm series, titled *The Kodak Family*, each episode opens with the introduction of the family members. As the actors board a plane one by one, a voice-over narrator announces

This is Billy—Boy Scout, cowboy, and international diplomat. . . . And this is Peggy—a baffling mixture of youthful impetuosity and womanly wisdom and charm. This is Ruth Conway, who can bake an angel food cake or meet a Maharajah with equal ease and enthusiasm. And Jim, the hardworking breadwinner, who loves people, fishing, books, taking snapshots, and his family. This is the Kodak Family—the Conways of Riverdale, Indiana, off on a great adventure—and through the magic of film, we can go with them.²³

The introduction indicates the targeted market and their aspirations: an idealized middle-class midwestern American family of four, each member fulfilling prescribed gender roles in their interests and personalities. The father enjoys both "fishing" and "taking snapshots," while the mother is both a baker of "angel food cake" and a diplomat among foreigners. The "magic of film" allows the rest of us to share their "adventure." By late 1953 four pilot episodes were completed, but Potter rejected them because "photography was given no part in the films as requested."²⁴ Apparently McEldowney had failed to integrate Kodak products into the telefilms.

Kodak executives tried again. In 1955 JWT suggested that Kodak sponsor *Norby*, a comedy-drama telefilm series about a "homey banker" and his family based on "real life incidentals."²⁵ Kodak executives insisted that "the program had to have 'natural situations' in which picture-taking could be part of the script. It had to be a family program, because photography is a family hobby."²⁶ *Norby*, however, also failed. By March 1955 *Norby* had lost half its viewership; soon after, it was canceled.²⁷ For a telefilm, *Norby* was expensive because Kodak had insisted that it be filmed in color so that Kodak could promote its color film products. But few viewers in 1955 had color television sets; the struggle over color television standards would delay the diffusion of color television into US homes until the late 1960s.²⁸

Anxious to keep their client on television, in mid-1955 JWT executives proposed that Kodak sponsor a television version of a long-running radio dramatic anthology program featuring famous Hollywood directors and stars: *Screen Directors Playhouse*, which was overseen by famous Hollywood producer Hal Roach. However, this too failed to fulfill Kodak's advertising goals. The program was not family-oriented, nor was it able to provide pretexts for photography. According to a Kodak executive, *Screen Directors Playhouse* pandered to the sensational with stories about "divorce, drinking, murder, [and] gunplay."²⁹ In mid-1956, Kodak executives instructed JWT executives

to find another program, one that would “promote amateur picture-taking” by using the appeal of “sentiment and emotion—family, friends, places visited, events to be remembered.”³⁰ Kodak advertising director Potter hoped to “reach all the members of the family at once”; he explained that “our program must therefore be in good taste, be discriminating, and be admired for the skills, the professionalism with which it is put together.”³¹

The following year, JWT executives finally found a suitable vehicle for Kodak’s advertising strategy. From 1956 to 1961 *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* was Kodak’s sponsored program to “reach all the members of the family at once.”³² Remembered today as an anodyne situation comedy of a middle-class suburban family, the program was produced and directed by Ozzie Nelson and performed by actual members of his family: wife Harriet and sons David and Ricky, ostensibly playing themselves in scripted scenes that were supposed to be based on their real lives and filmed on a set modeled on their suburban home. Ozzie pitched the program as an authentic, if aspirational, representation of postwar white middle-class family life. The plot devices are purposefully quotidian: the boys dread a school dance, Harriet gets a new hair style, David writes for the school newspaper, and Ozzie and his sons debate the amount of their allowance. As one of the best-known examples of the “least objectionable programming” strategy television networks pursued in the 1950s and 1960s, the show intentionally avoided the controversial, the divisive, and the socially unacceptable. Audiences basked in easygoing scenes of low-stakes shenanigans leading to soothing bromides. When JWT executives suggested that Kodak sponsor *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, which had been on radio since 1944 and on television since 1952 under other sponsorship, Potter was receptive: “This basic formula is precisely to our thinking—The Nelson family is ideal for us.”³³

Ozzie Nelson: Entertainment Mogul

Although Ozzie designed his fictional eponymous character on *Ozzie and Harriet* as a lovably bumbling, often confused and incompetent patriarch, the real Ozzie was a canny producer and writer who exerted tight control over his productions and his family. Having begun his show business career in the early 1930s, he parlayed a minor musical talent into an entertainment career producing live performances, musical recordings, movies, and radio and television programs. Ozzie started out as a bandleader in 1930; at that time,

big bands toured dance venues all over the country, playing their versions of musical standards and recent hits. To add sex appeal to his band, Ozzie hired a "girl singer," Harriet Hilliard, an experienced vaudevillian who had grown up in a theatrical family, and soon married her.³⁴ Recognizing he was not as musically talented as some other bandleaders, Ozzie began adding "boy and girl" duets with interstitial comedic patter with Harriet about their relationship, thereby, as Ozzie writes in his memoir, "unconsciously establishing a pattern of integrating our personal lives with our professional lives."³⁵

Sharing personal stories would prove to be Ozzie's primary strategy for pleasing audiences; he would go on to develop his family's entertainment careers around the "pattern" of integrating their "personal lives" with their "professional lives." During the 1930s and 1940s radio performances were key promotional opportunities for the Nelsons; Ozzie and Harriet carried their duets and patter to several musical variety radio programs. By structuring their live radio performances as a husband-and-wife act, a familiar format in vaudeville comedy seen in acts such as George Burns and Gracie Allen's, Ozzie hoped to make their characters more accessible and appealing. Ozzie claimed that radio audiences perceived them as "friends as well as entertainers" and that their broadcasts were like "visiting people in their homes."³⁶ Building this type of intimacy with audiences was Ozzie's key strategy for success, but it was a parasocial bond. While the audience may have felt that they were getting to know the Nelsons, the Nelsons were not getting to know the audience.

Wanting to leave the sketch comedy format common in musical variety programs, in 1944 Ozzie decided to write and produce his own radio situation comedy program, the premise of which is that after having children, he and Harriet leave the touring musician's life of travel and hotels and must adjust to life in the suburbs, where they have no idea what to do. Titled, with tongue firmly in cheek, *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, it premiered on the CBS radio network in October 1944. It was sponsored by the International Silver Company until 1949 and was broadcast live until 1954, for a total of 402 radio episodes.³⁷ The Nelsons' change of circumstance was intended to provide "fish out of water" situations for comedic "adventures" in suburbia. The first episode opens with the couple returning to their new suburban home from a long tour. As Ozzie says that it "feels good to be off the road and in our own home," Harriet rattles off a list of home repair issues: the sink, the water heater, the fuses. She mentions that she is "so used to living in hotels, I start packing our grips [suitcases] every afternoon around four o'clock." As

Ozzie agrees that it will take time to get used to not living in hotels, Harriet responds, "Try to remember that this is our own home and stop putting towels in your suitcase."³⁸

To build parasocial bonds with the audience, Ozzie claimed that his scripts were based on actual events: Ricky winning a school prize, the family having Christmas at home, and the family visiting a haunted house.³⁹ To make the show sound more true to life, in 1949 Ozzie replaced the professional actors playing his sons with his actual sons David and Ricky (then aged twelve and eight) and claimed that he wrote dialogue based on how his sons actually spoke. Despite working as the executive producer, director, and head scriptwriter, Ozzie played a character who was a "good natured, somewhat childish naïve breadwinner."⁴⁰ Ozzie never assigned his character a specific job outside the home because that would conflict with his known history as a bandleader and seem inauthentic to the audience. Harriet, similarly, performed the role of a full-time wife and mother, devotedly preparing food and tending house. The audience did not learn, for example, that she had a full domestic staff at home.⁴¹ The few musical interludes disappeared by 1946; gradually, according to Ozzie, "the public and our fellow performers no longer thought of us as a bandleader and vocalist."⁴²

Having succeeded on radio, an audio medium, Ozzie sought to transition into film and television. In 1952 he produced a film, *Here Come the Nelsons*, released through Universal, as a kind of screen test for his family. After the film's success, in August 1952 Ozzie began production for the television version of *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*. Produced simultaneously with the weekly live radio program (until June 1954) but with different scripts, the television program was a telefilm produced at General Service Studios, Los Angeles, a few blocks from his sons' schools. For the set, the front exterior of their actual house was replicated, but the interior, while similar, was modified to suit filming needs.⁴³ Nonetheless, Ozzie could claim that the film set was so realistic that during fourteen years of filming "it was difficult to figure out which was our real home." Although Ozzie's claim was likely hyperbolic, his point was that his representation of his family's life was authentic. The set was just like home, and so the family behaved as if they were at home.

Certain advertisers were particularly interested in authentic representations of domestic life, and Ozzie was willing to help them reach his audience. He had worked with sponsors since the early 1930s when, as a bandleader, he performed on radio shows such as *The Baker's Broadcast*, produced by JWT for Standard Brands to promote Fleischmann's Yeast.⁴⁴ During the 1930s

and 1940s the content of single-sponsored radio programs was assumed, by advertisers and audiences alike, to be largely controlled by its sponsor and ad agency, and at first this carried over into television.⁴⁵ Radio programs were often named after a brand, such as *Kraft Music Hall*, a musical variety hour sponsored by Kraft cheese; *Lux Radio Theatre*, a dramatic anthology sponsored by a soap brand owned by Lever Brothers; and *The Chase & Sanborn Hour*, a comedy variety hour sponsored by a coffee brand owned by Standard Brands. All of these were produced by JWT for its clients. JWT agency personnel produced, directed, scripted, and cast these programs, not only creating commercial interludes for the sponsoring brand but also, more important, exercising oversight to ensure that the entertainment gave the brand a positive halo effect. If a listener liked Bing Crosby, the longtime host of *Kraft Music Hall*, perhaps she would buy Kraft cheese products.

Ozzie was accustomed to catering to his sponsors' needs by integrating brands directly into his scripted program content. He claimed that he was able to attract the appliance manufacturer Hotpoint, a General Electric company, to sponsor the television version of *Ozzie and Harriet* because he could "give them a great deal of subliminal advertising in addition to their paid commercial blurbs."⁴⁶ The kitchen set was furnished with Hotpoint appliances, "and if we had a choice of where to play a scene we'd move it into the kitchen where Harriet could be cooking dinner or putting dishes in the dishwasher or taking clothes out of the dryer." The banality of housework offered promotional and product demonstration opportunities for Hotpoint and a veneer of authenticity for the Nelsons' fictionalized domestic intimacy.

Eastman Kodak and *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*

For Kodak's television sponsorship, JWT executive Dan Seymour later explained why the agency had recommended *Ozzie and Harriet*: "Using their own family life as a springboard for program ideas, they have consistently produced a series combining humor and warmth. This has obviously resulted in universal audience acceptance and identification."⁴⁷ In May 1956 Kodak's director of advertising, Pete Potter, announced, "Our aim in television advertising of popular still and movie products has been to find a program vehicle that will reach the whole family, including teen-agers. Ozzie, his wife Harriet and their sons, David and Ricky, are known to be popular with the family audience."⁴⁸ Kodak agreed to take over sponsorship of *Ozzie and*

Harriet from Hotpoint for thirty-nine episodes; Kodak and Ozzie “agreed that the series should be motivated more by photography and photographic effects.”⁴⁹ Behind the scenes Potter made demands to alter the program for Kodak’s purposes, among them to rename the program with Kodak’s brand name, create “new surroundings” with on-location episodes, and introduce “unusual characters” such as “a hermit, an artist, a magician, a hobo” in a bid to reduce talent costs by avoiding well-known “Hollywood talent.”⁵⁰

Despite the fact that Ozzie exercised artistic control, ensured by his ABC network contract, Potter assumed that like most radio sponsors Kodak could shape the program as it pleased to suit the promotion of its brand. One of Potter’s earliest concerns, long before the episodes went into production, was Ozzie’s fictional character. After noting that “we don’t want Ozzie to think that we are meddling with his scripts,” and praising the scripts for their “family interest,” Potter asserted that he wanted “Ozzie to be a respected and talented man of the house, not taking pratfalls, not being what he termed himself, ‘the laughing stock of the evening.’”⁵¹ In a September 1956 memo a month before the program first aired as a Kodak show, he complained to his colleague Edouard P. “Ted” Genock, Kodak’s manager of television programming, that Kodak was promised a program that would “bring out a series of family experiences . . . translatable into the lives of the average American family” but that “Ozzie is continuously portrayed as a stupid, absent-minded individual. He is a man of poor judgment, reasoning things out with the mind of a juvenile. He not only shows lack of leadership in the family, but is inept in practically everything he does—knocks over a display while on TV, tips over coffee tables, pokes pictures off the wall. . . . Maybe this can be made to be funny, but it is basically stupid, unbelievable and impolite.”⁵² Believing that vaudevillian pratfalls were inappropriate for Kodak’s brand, Potter could not grasp Nelson’s strategy of disarming his audience through self-deprecation. Potter also complained that too many scenes took place in the kitchen, thereby giving unpaid “plugs” to the previous sponsor Hotpoint, the kitchen appliance manufacturer. Ozzie explained that *Ozzie and Harriet* was a sitcom that centered on the intimacies of private family life, and “it is in the dining room and kitchen that most families spend their time together.”⁵³ After several meetings, JWT executives reported to Potter that they expected Nelson to reduce the number of kitchen and dining room scenes in the future but that “we will not be able to completely eliminate them.”

Kodak used *Ozzie and Harriet* as an advertising vehicle in several ways: first, by framing the program as a Kodak program in opening and closing

"billboards" (a graphic with the brand name) even though it was entirely produced by Ozzie; second, by featuring the Nelsons in print advertisements and in cast commercials during the program (commercials performed by the cast were a common device during the radio era); and third, by requiring that picture taking, photographs, and locations providing photo opportunities be integrated into the program plot lines. Ozzie agreed to include the tag line "The Nelsons make and save snapshots, why don't you?" during an opening commercial featuring the family.⁵⁴ The opening titles begin with "Eastman Kodak Presents," then each family member appears one by one in the doorway of the family home to be introduced to the audience. As per Potter's instructions, "one male member of the family, preferably David, should be wearing a camera, Pony 135, in a carrying case with the case closed."⁵⁵ Once the family is gathered together into a group, the shot is transformed into a family snapshot with a white border. Although this character-by-character introduction at the top of the episode was not unique to *Ozzie and Harriet* (it was common in 1930s Hollywood films), it also resembled the opening of *The Kodak Family* program, Kodak's failed effort to sponsor a family-centric telefilm in which each family member was introduced as a potential market segment for Kodak products.

As part of their agreement with Kodak, the Nelsons also appeared in print advertisements that illustrate how the apparent closeness of the Nelson family was enhanced by their use of Kodak products and services. In a 1959 print ad (figure 2.2), Harriet appears at the top left holding a camera; the other images are supposed to be snapshots she has taken of her family: "Taking snapshots with Kodacolor Film," says Harriet Nelson, "is as easy as making toast. Just press the button! I guess every mother loves good color snaps of her family. I sure do. And now I take them with my Brownie Camera."⁵⁶ To the right of Harriet we see a photo of Ozzie, David, and Ricky neck-deep in blue water. Harriet's caption explains they are in "our pool," a signifier of an upper-middle-class lifestyle. Beneath, we see a shot of David and Ricky by a horse. Harriet remarks, "These shots are nice to have now, and I'm sure they'll mean a lot to us later on." Then, under a shot of Ozzie working on a script, Harriet explains, "Ozzie makes sure our TV scripts are as true to life as possible—like the color in our Kodacolor snapshots!" And finally, under a photo of Rick playing a guitar, Harriet explains, "Like me, he likes to save what he can in Kodacolor snaps." No doubt the photographs were actually taken by professional photographers and all of Harriet's quotations were scripted by copywriters at JWT. But the overall effect is to connect the Nelsons, a group

Harriet Nelson says: "All you do is press the button ... and look at the Kodacolor snapshots you get!"

This weekend, get pictures that show your family at its natural best. Just use the camera you have now ... and wonderful Kodacolor Film!

"Taking snapshots with Kodacolor Film," says Harriet Nelson. "It is so easy to make good ones. Just press the button! I even every member of my family got a color snapshot of her family. I love this. And now I can share with my friends. Thanks." The Kodacolor Film can be purchased locally in small stores or by Super-Automatic order.

"The boys ride on weekends and I often take color pictures. Time alone is, they're here now, and I can save them. It's really a lot of fun to have them."

"Our producer-director writes, too. Great snapshots are a help in his work. He has a lot of color snapshots of his family and friends."

"Rick uses Kodacolor in his many appearances. He has a lot of color snapshots of his family and friends."

EASTMAN KODAK COMPANY, Rochester 4, N.Y.

Figure 2.2. "Harriet Nelson Says," August 1959, Kodakiana Collection, box 10. John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History, Duke University.

of professional performers, with aspirational and normative ideals of a close-knit family enjoying appropriate camera-friendly family activities together. The two references to their professional careers are used to connect Kodak products with domestic normalcy: Ozzie does work on scripts but only to keep them "true to life," and Rick plays guitar (and at this time was a successful pop star, thanks to his regular musical performances on *Ozzie and Harriet*) but also apparently cares about homely snapshots. Addressing the reader, whose status as a mother is assumed, the ad copy exhorts, "This weekend, get pictures that show your family at its natural best." The reader too can be just like the Nelsons who, despite their wealth and celebrity, are just a normal American family.

The Nelsons also provided something else valuable to Kodak: their cooperation. As one JWT executive pointed out to Kodak in 1957, "Probably nowhere in show business could a sponsor find more compatible stars than the Nelsons. They have cooperated in every way with the requests by the

company for assistance in product marketing plans. Their personal endorsement of the Eastman products and their availability for advertising in other media has been very valuable during the year."⁵⁷ By this time, many other entertainers were resisting the expectation, common during the "golden age of radio," that they endorse sponsors' products. For example, in a 1962 Bing Crosby television special (a onetime broadcast), a JWT executive was forced to explain to Kodak executives the refusal of the star to promote the products: "Unfortunately, despite our vehement protests, Bing would not mention picture-taking nor would he handle a camera."⁵⁸ Ozzie, on the other hand, believed that the family's relationship with their sponsors was mutually beneficial: the Nelsons promoted Kodak, and Kodak promoted the Nelsons.

During the 1958 season, the Nelsons appeared in ten different cast commercials featuring the Brownie movie camera, photographic Christmas cards, and "picture taking."⁵⁹ Harriet's fictional role was designed to appeal to the targeted housewife market, so she appeared often in the cast commercials. One of these followed the narrator's opening of the program with the slogan "good times are picture times."⁶⁰ As Harriet explains while we watch Ricky and a young woman throwing darts, "On days like these your family and friends are often indoors together, and these are ideal times to take pictures." Harriet holds the camera to demonstrate its ease of use, then continues: "It's all so easy too when you have an up-to-date camera like my Brownie Star Flex. It lets you see your picture before you snap it, right in the big window on top." As she rotates the camera, we see Ricky and his dart-playing friend appear in a lens window and then transform into a snapshot. "So you can catch the fun just the way you want to enjoy it, again and again." Harriet concludes, "No wonder so many people are saving so much family fun with Star Flex cameras. Get one this week, won't you?" The visual effects in this commercial make literal Kodak's claim that its cameras capture family fun.

In another cast commercial Harriet, dressed formally in hat and pearls, enters the foyer through the front door of the Nelsons' home set.⁶¹ She speaks directly to the audience, introducing the Kodak Medallion 8 as a home movie camera: it's "easy to carry, it's very good looking, and it's easy to use." Harriet continues: "Now, I'm no expert, but watch," she says, as she opens the camera and demonstrates how to load the film cartridge without having to thread it. The small camera makes "wonderful movies," and so "We've taken lots of movies of David and Ricky over the years. It's a movie record of our family, and it's one of the nicest things we own." Then Ozzie enters the frame. "Pardon me, Harriet," he says, taking the camera. "Uh, men, buy your wife a

Medallion 8. It's ideal to borrow for fishing, camping, football." And then Harriet, taking back the camera, says, "Well, in between, I enjoy my Medallion very much. I think you will too." This was typical of the interaction between fictional Ozzie and Harriet. Harriet acts the devoted mother, performing the rituals of family preservation by taking home movies while reassuring the putatively incompetent feminine viewer that the camera is so "easy" that even a mother who is "no expert" can use it, while Ozzie longs for masculine activities, such as fishing and football. Harriet, when she takes back the camera, acknowledges the family hierarchy by conceding that she shoots family movies only "in between" Ozzie's manly forays. This scene echoes many of their fictional scenes in which their gentle bickering reveals Harriet as the wiser or more insightful spouse.

But Kodak's demand to integrate cameras and photography into episode plot lines was sometimes a challenge. Potter wanted on-location shooting of outdoor activities that would provide good photo opportunities.⁶² Ozzie wanted to keep his production budget low by shooting on a sound stage.⁶³ So, Ozzie sought to integrate photography in ways that kept on-location shoots to a minimum. For example, in one episode Ozzie tries to fake a photograph of a UFO. In another, a pony visits the Nelson's backyard.⁶⁴ A neighborhood child asks for a camera, and Harriet goes to a drawer in the kitchen and pulls out a Kodak Brownie and hangs it around his neck. Then the child returns and asks Ozzie to take their picture; when Ozzie points out that the child could take the picture himself, the child replies that he wants to be in it too. The next several shots show Ozzie with a group of children around a pony posing for a group shot.⁶⁵ JWT executives kept track of the appearance of Kodak products, reporting the "use of product or photography in script": in ten 1956 episodes, three included a "display of product," four included a "use of product," and one mentioned "photographic Christmas cards."⁶⁶ Ozzie argued that "Kodak should keep their message in the commercials," in view of his participation in which "it is asking an awful lot to expect picture taking activities to be featured as part of the entertainment."⁶⁷ For the episode "Ricky Is Micky," in which Potter had wanted Harriet to pick up some film at the grocery store, a JWT executive reported that Ozzie had refused because film products were not usually sold in grocery stores. Concerned that there might be too much product placement, a JWT executive explained that "Ozzie is plugging photographic equipment to the point where if we go further it will appear contrived, the very thing you are trying to avoid."⁶⁸ The integrated product mentions that had been common on sponsored radio programs were

appearing "contrived" on television and therefore less effective. Perhaps the visual medium made the product placement more obvious, or perhaps the consensus in the advertising industry was moving away from product integration as effective advertising.⁶⁹

JWT executives believed that *Ozzie and Harriet* had more than met their expectations for Kodak. Estimated viewership had steadily increased from about six million homes in 1956 to as many as eleven million homes in early 1958.⁷⁰ Kodak was paying about \$45,000 in production costs and an estimated \$54,000 in "time" costs per episode (payments to the network for the airtime).⁷¹ For this investment, JWT executives claimed that *Ozzie and Harriet* "produced an average total of 15.165 million one-minute commercial impressions per week for Kodak products throughout the country."⁷² More important than audience "quantity," however, was audience "quality." *Ozzie and Harriet* reached "young families, families with children, more prosperous families and families in urban markets—exactly the kind of people who take most pictures." By June 1959, a JWT executive could reassure Kodak executives that Ozzie's cooperation with Kodak was exemplary: out of the sixty-six episodes produced since Kodak's sponsorship began, "45 have used cameras and/or picture taking references within the body of the show."⁷³ Thus, over half of the episodes sponsored by Kodak fulfilled their executives' demand for product integration, and JWT's research could claim that the cast commercials had been "very effective."

Eventually, however, the relationship between Ozzie and Kodak deteriorated as Kodak explored other sponsorship options. In 1957 Kodak expanded its television sponsorship to include the daytime game show *Beat the Clock* and alternated sponsorship of weekly broadcasts of the prime-time live variety show *The Ed Sullivan Show*.⁷⁴ JWT had pointed out to Kodak that *Ed Sullivan* reached forty-six million viewers, an audience much larger than *Ozzie and Harriet's*.⁷⁵ Kodak's Genock argued that *Ed Sullivan* would "offer a great opportunity for strong overall brand identification and the developing of a prestige 'corporate image' or 'institutional' impact."⁷⁶ JWT executives praised Sullivan's role as brand ambassador: "In Ed Sullivan we have a personal salesman with great sincerity and believability."⁷⁷ By 1958 Kodak dealers reported that customers were requesting items that "Ed Sullivan talked about on his program."⁷⁸ In an agency memo, JWT executives noted that this "dynamic reaction" to Sullivan had "overshadowed the 'Ozzie and Harriet' show at Kodak. We are bending every effort to be sure that the Kodak Company does not lose sight of the important part which its sponsorship of the

'Ozzie and Harriet' show should play in its over-all advertising program." Kodak's investment in *Ed Sullivan* may have suggested to Ozzie that his sponsor was somehow losing faith in *Ozzie and Harriet* as its ideal advertising vehicle. While *Ozzie and Harriet* provided Kodak with an ideal representation of familial intimacy, it did not provide enough opportunities for photography, being limited for the most part to the domestic sphere. Sullivan, on the other hand, had a much larger audience and had proven himself an effective promoter for other brands, such as Ford-Mercury. In 1958, Kodak reduced its full sponsorship of *Ozzie and Harriet* to an alternating sponsorship of weekly broadcasts with Quaker Oats, a brand more suited to the kitchen scenes.⁷⁹

Contributing to the tension was Ricky Nelson's burgeoning career as a pop star. Music had been a common activity on the program, with family members performing at school dances, charity events, and the like. In a 1957 episode, "Ricky the Drummer," Ricky sings a cover of the Fats Domino song "I'm Walkin'" that subsequently became a hit.⁸⁰ After that, *Ozzie and Harriet* featured his musical performances as well as his music recordings, as in a 1960 episode that closed with Harriet recommending Ricky's latest album, "More Songs by Ricky."⁸¹ Ozzie's promotion of his son as a pop star was a logical next step in his efforts to build a family entertainment empire, and Ozzie was deeply involved in managing Ricky's music career. However, Ozzie's efforts may have clashed with his sponsors' desire to use the show to promote their products. While Kodak and Quaker Oats were hoping that consumers would want to be more like the Nelsons and buy more cameras, film, and oatmeal, Ozzie was hoping their teen audiences would buy Ricky's latest album. As Ricky's celebrity increased—JWT reported that he had ten thousand fan clubs in early 1958—he was also being asked to endorse other brands and make live appearances, much to the discomfiture of the Kodak executives.⁸²

Ozzie's emphasis on Ricky's music career threatened the relationship with Kodak. JWT reported that *Ozzie and Harriet*'s higher ratings in the 1958 fall season may have reflected "Ricky Nelson's emergence as a singer,"⁸³ but some at Kodak argued in March 1959 for ending their sponsorship.⁸⁴ Kodak commissioned JWT to research "viewers' feelings about the Nelsons as presenters for Kodak."⁸⁵ Kodak executives were culturally conservative enough that they may have been concerned that viewers would not approve of the presence of rock 'n' roll music on their sponsored program. A scene in which Ricky impersonated Elvis Presley worried the JWT executive charged with monitoring production, Philippe de Lacy. Ozzie had assured him that "at no time

will he permit anything to get into one of his shows that might be construed as bad taste by anyone."⁸⁶ But when de Lacy saw the footage, he reported to JWT executives in New York that "I was upset over the 'bump' that Ricky does at the completion of his eight bar rendition of 'Love Me Tender,'" a clear reference to Presley's sexy hip swivels that had outraged some viewers on Sullivan's program. De Lacy explained that he was unable to get the scene changed, and he insisted that "if there are repercussions on this, a good deal of the burden should be born [*sic*] by Ozzie" and not by JWT.⁸⁷ Fortunately for de Lacy, Kodak executives did not object to the "bump."⁸⁸ In the fall of 1959, Kodak decided, despite Ricky's pop star status, to continue its cosponsorship of *Ozzie and Harriet*. Kodak's Genock claimed that it was successful at appealing to "the housewife under 40, to interest her in taking pictures of her family and broaden the base of photograph."⁸⁹

Conclusion

Kodak's television advertising strategy changed along with the changes in the television and advertising industries. In the early 1960s the television networks took control of programming, financing and scheduling programs themselves rather than relying on sponsors or ad agencies to produce programs. Live broadcasts were replaced by prerecorded and filmed programs such as Westerns, often produced by Hollywood film studios.⁹⁰ And single sponsorship, the format in which one advertiser controlled a time slot, programmed it, and promoted one product throughout the program, declined rapidly as both the networks and the advertising industry turned to the "magazine concept," in which separate commercials, unrelated to program content, interrupted the program like ad pages inserted among magazine articles.⁹¹ This system spread a program's costs among several advertisers, and the separation of the commercials from the program content may have also helped deflect growing audience cynicism about stars such as Ozzie shilling products. By 1961, Kodak dropped sponsorship of *Ozzie and Harriet* as well as *The Ed Sullivan Show*.⁹² By 1963, having reached annual sales of about \$1 billion and profits of about \$140 million, Kodak shifted most of its television spending to spot time buying (local rather than national) and also bought time on the color television program *Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color*, one of the few color programs at the time.⁹³ Rather than integrating products into the program content, JWT and Kodak created commercials designed to stand

out from the program. One noteworthy color commercial featured a skydiver loading a film cartridge into a Kodak Instamatic camera and shooting pictures during a sky dive, a depiction of adventurous picture taking that was far removed from the cozy domestic scenes of *Ozzie and Harriet*.⁹⁴ After Potter's retirement in 1964, JWT helped Kodak shift away from single sponsorship altogether.⁹⁵ By late 1965, Kodak was purchasing interstitial sixty-second slots on a variety of network programs, including *What's My Line*, *Lassie*, *Perry Mason*, *Secret Agent*, *Today*, and *Tonight*.⁹⁶ Because commercials were no longer associated with the program content, it was no longer possible to forge a connection such as the one between the depictions of the Nelsons' familial intimacy and the Kodak ad campaigns that promised picture taking as a way to build family bonds.

Ozzie and Harriet found other sponsors, such as Coca-Cola, Keds shoes, and the trade organizations American Gas Association and American Dairy Association.⁹⁷ As the sons grew up, their wives and families became characters too. The show continued on ABC until the spring of 1966. Although Ozzie's contract with ABC lasted until 1970 and he tried several other program ideas, including a short-lived syndicated series *Ozzie's Girls* (1973), in which he and Harriet take in two young women college students as roomers, none of his later program concepts proved successful. In his memoir Ozzie concedes that his strategy of blending his fictional and actual lives limited his options. He boasted that audiences were so convinced of *Ozzie and Harriet's* verisimilitude that many assumed that because David's character went to law school, the actual David must be a lawyer: "This, of course, is understandable, since that was the only facet of our show that didn't have a basis in fact."⁹⁸ But the effect of this was that the Nelsons could not stop being Nelsons. While actors such as Robert Young could transition from being one kind of character on *Father Knows Best* to a different kind of character on *Marcus Welby, MD*, Ozzie conceded that "we were not sure that the public could adjust to our playing characters other than ourselves."⁹⁹

During its sponsorship of *Ozzie and Harriet*, JWT executives could assure Kodak executives that *Ozzie and Harriet* was the "most compatible vehicle for the Eastman sales message."¹⁰⁰ Throughout much of the twentieth century, Kodak print advertising utilized imagery of familial intimacy, linking the use of cameras and film to emotional bonding. Likewise, Ozzie Nelson's entertainment career was predicated on carefully constructed images of familial intimacy, from the interstitial banter with his wife during their big band touring days to their gently anodyne situation comedy on radio and television.

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Ozzie and Harriet integrated Kodak's products into episode narratives, and its cast appeared in character during cast commercials and in print advertising, smoothing over any disjunctions between the fictionalized family narratives and the marketing messages. Kodak executives hoped that audience acceptance of the fictionalized Nelsons would rub off onto the Kodak brand. More specifically, Kodak hoped that the depictions of a "feeling of intimacy" would convince viewers that they could build warm family bonds, just like the Nelsons, by documenting their families with Kodak products.

Notes

1. "The Day after Christmas," season 5, episode 13, *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, originally broadcast December 25, 1956, on ABC-TV. Most episodes can be found on YouTube, although URLs change over time.

2. See also Nancy Martha West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000); Douglas Collins, *The Story of Kodak* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990); Marita Sturken, "Advertising and the Rise of Amateur Photography: From Kodak and Polaroid to the Digital Image," *Advertising and Society Quarterly* 18, no. 3 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.1353/asr.2017.0021>; and Amy Loomis, "Kodak Women: Domestic Contexts and the Commercial Culture of Photography, 1800s–1900s" (Ph.D. diss., University of Massachusetts, 1994).

3. "A Christmas Morning," advertisement, *Country Life in America*, 1904, Ellis Collection of Kodakiana (1886–1923) in the Emergence of Advertising in America, 1850–1920, Digital Collection, John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History, Duke University (hereafter Kodakiana Collection), <https://idn.duke.edu/ark:/87924/r41r6pr9q>.

4. "Snapshots Don't Grow up," advertisement, *Envisioning the American Dream*, n.p. [ca. 1953], <https://envisioningtheamericandream.files.wordpress.com/2016/02/camera-kodak-53-swscan02001.jpg>.

5. "Keep the Family Together—in Snapshots," advertisement, *Life*, September 6, 1954, 53.

6. Loomis, "Kodak Women," 39.

7. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 32.

8. Collins, *The Story of Kodak*, 97. Like Gillette, which promoted low-priced shaving equipment in order to sell razor blades in perpetuity, Kodak promoted inexpensive cameras in order to encourage repeated purchases of film and processing services.

9. "Let the Children Kodak," advertisement, *Youth's Companion*, 1908, Kodakiana Collection, <https://idn.duke.edu/ark:/87924/r4736nv0m>.

10. "The Kodak Album," advertisement, *Ladies' Home Journal*, 1919, Kodakiana Collection, <https://idn.duke.edu/ark:/87924/r4639mz68>.

11. *The JWT News*, June 28, 1948, 1, J. Walter Thompson Newsletters Digital Collection, John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History, Duke University (hereafter JWT Newsletters Collection), <https://idn.duke.edu/ark:/87924/r3nc5tn2s>.

12. Collins, *Story of Kodak*, 222.

13. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 35.

14. Patricia Johnston, *Real Fantasies: Edward Steichen's Advertising Photography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 101.
15. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 25.
16. Collins, *Story of Kodak*, 187; *The Photo Finisher* 5, no. 6 (1931): 5; and "Kodak Week-End Hour," *What's on the Air*, June 1930, 38.
17. John Brummett, *History of Kodak*, unpublished manuscript, November 1959, Eastman Kodak archives, Rochester, New York, quoted in West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 25.
18. Collins, *Story of Kodak*, 268, 270; and "Report to Sponsors," *Sponsor*, April 6, 1953, 1.
19. The difference in resolution and visual clarity of *I Love Lucy*, shot on film, and *The Honeymooners*, recorded on kinescope (a film of a television screen during a live broadcast), is obvious.
20. Cynthia B. Meyers, *A Word from Our Sponsor: Admen, Advertising, and the Golden Age of Radio* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014). For more on JWT's radio program production, see 201–24.
21. "New Kodak Ad Director," *Sponsor*, April 27, 1964, 33; and Pete Potter to Charles Rheinstrom, March 27, 1953, box 61, Edward G. Wilson Papers, J. Walter Thompson Company, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University (hereafter EGW Papers).
22. West, *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*, 25.
23. Charles Rheinstrom to John Reber, August 26, 1953, box 62, EGW Papers.
24. "Conference Report: Eastman Kodak Company," April 21, 1954, box 62, EGW Papers.
25. *J. Walter Thompson Company News*, January 3, 1955, 3, JWT Newsletters Digital Collection, <https://idn.duke.edu/ark:/87924/r3542km8f>.
26. *J. Walter Thompson Company News*, January 3, 1955, 3.
27. Norby's audience share dropped from 33.3 percent in January 1955 to only 14 percent in March 1955. "Are Sponsors Dropping the Axe Too Fast?," *Sponsor*, August 22, 1955, 44.
28. For more on color television, see Susan Murray, *Bright Signals: A History of Color Television* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2018).
29. Ted Genock to Dan Seymour, January 24, 1956, box 3, John F. Devine Papers, J. Walter Thompson Company, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University (hereafter JFD Papers).
30. Pete Potter, "What Kodak Expects of TV," May 1, 1956, box 27, Dan Seymour Papers, J. Walter Thompson Company, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University (hereafter DS Papers).
31. Potter, "What Kodak Expects of TV."
32. Potter, "What Kodak Expects of TV."
33. Potter, "What Kodak Expects of TV." *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* was nationally broadcast from 1944 to 1954 on the ABC radio network and from 1952 to 1966 on the ABC television network, for a total run of twenty-two years.
34. Ozzie Nelson, *Ozzie* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1973), 90.
35. Nelson, *Ozzie*, 97.
36. Nelson, 138–39.
37. The program moved to NBC in the fall of 1948 and then back to CBS in the spring of 1949. A sponsor and its agency often switched networks as better time slots or airtime prices became available. "The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet," *Old Time Radio Downloads*, n.d., <https://www.oldtimeradiodownloads.com/comedy/the-adventures-of-ozzie-and-harriet/>.
38. Nelson, *Ozzie*, 182–83.

39. Some of the radio episodes are available at "Ozzie Nelson," *Old Time Radio Downloads*, <https://www.oldtimeradiodownloads.com/actors/ozzie-nelson>.
40. Thomas M. Pryor, "Ozzie and Harriet: Life with the Nelsons Is Now on Video," *New York Times*, November 23, 1952, X15.
41. Nelson, *Ozzie*, 121.
42. Nelson, 196–97.
43. Nelson, 216.
44. Nelson, 94–95.
45. For a detailed account, see Meyers, *A Word from Our Sponsor*.
46. Nelson, *Ozzie*, 241.
47. Dan Seymour, "Television Presentation at Kodak Sales Meetings," ca. summer 1957, box 27, DS Papers.
48. Press release, May 15, 1956, box 3, JFD Papers.
49. John F. Devine to Edward G. Wilson, May 9, 1956, box 3, JFD Papers.
50. Potter, "What Kodak Expects of TV."
51. Attachment, Potter to Seymour, July 27, 1956, box 27, DS Papers.
52. Potter to Genock, September 14, 1956, box 27, DS Papers.
53. Seymour to Potter, November 15, 1956, box 3, JFD Papers.
54. Patrick Kelly to D. A. Werblin, July 27, 1956, box 27, DS Papers.
55. William D. Hocker to Philippe de Lacy, August 7, 1956, box 27, DS Papers.
56. "Harriet Nelson Says," advertisement, August 1959, box 10, Kodakiana Collection.
57. Seymour, "Television Presentation at Kodak Sales Meetings."
58. W. F. Benoit to E. Genock, May 4, 1962, box 26, DS Papers.
59. William Hocker, "Eastman Kodak Company Television Program Report #1, 1958–59 Season," September 18, 1958, box 8, JFD Papers.
60. "The Newspaper Interview," *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, season 7, episode 20, originally broadcast February 25, 1959, ABC-TV.
61. Kodak commercial, ca. 1957, YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eNSfmg3Z0w8>.
62. Devine to Wilson, May 9, 1956, box 3, JFD Papers.
63. Philippe De Lacy, memorandum of October 16, 1956, meeting, box 3, JFD Papers.
64. "The Pony," *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, season 7, episode 4, originally broadcast October 22, 1958, ABC-TV.
65. De Lacy to Benoit, "Ozzie and Harriet, Daily Report," June 3, 1958, box 8, JFD Papers.
66. "Ozzie and Harriet Weekly Production Status Report #11," December 21, 1956, box 3, JFD Papers.
67. De Lacy to Benoit, "Ozzie and Harriet, Daily Report," March 25, 1958, box 8, JFD Papers.
68. Seymour to Potter, November 15, 1956, 4, box 3, JFD Papers.
69. See Cynthia B. Meyers, "The Best Thing on TV: 1960s US Television Commercials," in *Films That Sell: Moving Pictures and Advertising*, edited by Nico de Klerk, Bo Florin, and Patrick Vonderau, 173–93 (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).
70. Dan Seymour and John F. Devine, "Television-Radio Department Annual Report, 1957," March 15, 1958, box 1, JFD Papers.
71. "Production Costs," *Television Magazine*, March 1958, 45; and "Spot TV Wins New \$300,000 Camera," *Sponsor*, July 10, 1959, 40.
72. Seymour, "Television Presentation at Kodak Sales Meetings."

73. "Call Report," June 19, 1959, box 15, Radio Television Department Records, J. Walter Thompson Company, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University (hereafter RTD Records).
74. Genock to Potter, June 20, 1957, box 27, DS Papers. Another JWT client, Ford/Mercury, was the other sponsor of *The Ed Sullivan Show*.
75. Seymour, "Television Presentation at Kodak Sales Meetings."
76. Genock to Potter, June 20, 1957. "Institutional" advertising was that which promoted the company's image, and the term "corporate image" advertising soon replaced it.
77. Seymour, "Television Presentation at Kodak Sales Meetings."
78. Seymour and Devine, "Television-Radio Department Annual Report, 1957."
79. De Lacy to Benoit, "Ozzie and Harriet, Daily Report," May 1, 1958, box 8, JFD Papers.
80. "Ricky the Drummer," season 5, episode 28, *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, originally broadcast April 10, 1957, ABC-TV.
81. "Forgotten Promise," season 8, episode 29, *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, originally broadcast May 18, 1960, ABC-TV. Songs Ricky Nelson performed on the program included, among others, "Poor Little Fool," "The Christmas Song," "Hello Mary Lou," "It's Up to You," "Lonesome Town," and "You Tear Me Up."
82. De Lacy to Benoit, "Ozzie and Harriet, Weekly Summary #1," February 7, 1958, box 8, JFD Papers.
83. W. K. Heron to Potter et al., January 19, 1959, box 15, RTD Records.
84. Jack Willem to Seymour, March 17, 1959, box 15, RTD Records.
85. Jack Gold, "Research Proposal," January 23, 1959, box 15, RTD Records.
86. Storrs Haynes, "Ozzie and Harriet Weekly Report #24," December 26, 1956, box 3, JFD Papers.
87. De Lacy to Haynes, "Ozzie and Harriet Daily Report," December 28, 1956, box 3, JFD Papers.
88. Haynes, "Ozzie and Harriet Weekly Report #25," December 31, 1956, box 3, JFD Papers.
89. Quoted in "Kodak Promotional Blitz on TV Sells Photography in 5-Day Campaign," *Photographic Trade News*, May 25, 1959, 28.
90. Chris Anderson, *Hollywood TV: The Studio System in the Fifties* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994).
91. Cynthia B. Meyers, "The Problems with Sponsorship in Broadcasting, 1930s-50s: Perspectives from the Advertising Industry," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 31, no. 3 (2011): 355-72.
92. "Sponsor-Scope," *Sponsor*, January 23, 1961, 21; and "Kodak Exits ABC, CBS," *Broadcasting*, March 6, 1961, 44.
93. "Why Half of Kodak's Budget Goes to Video," *Sponsor*, June 3, 1963, 36, 37, 49.
94. "Why Half of Kodak's Budget Goes to Video," 49.
95. "New Kodak Ad Director," *Sponsor*, April 27, 1964, 33.
96. "Eastman Kodak Company: Network Scatter Plan," March 31, 1966, box EK3, Account Files, J. Walter Thompson Company, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.
97. "Network Sales Set Record Pace," *Broadcasting*, February 25, 1963, 30.
98. Nelson, *Ozzie*, 270.
99. Nelson, 300.
100. Seymour, "Television Presentation at Kodak Sales Meetings."