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Advertising agencies have been the U.S. media industry's closest collaborators throughout its history; however, scholars have given them little attention. Close analysis of the archival record left by such agencies will help us correct historiographical myths and arrive at new perspectives on what we think we know about media history.

One day, during a visit to the archives at the Hartman Center for Sales, Marketing, and Advertising History at Duke University, I was rifling through boxes of papers from the legal department of the ad agency J. Walter Thompson. I was researching the role of advertising agencies in early radio and television, when they were the primary producers of sponsored programs for their clients, the advertisers. I came upon a folder labeled “Name Check Lists.” As I skimmed through the documents, I realized I had in my hand an actual “blacklist,” a list of over one thousand people who were prevented from appearing on sponsored radio and television programs produced by that ad agency during the 1950s.¹ Until that moment, I had accepted the scholarly consensus that either no such physical documents had existed or that none had survived. In those same archive boxes, I then found dozens of contemporaneous documents—memos, research, cast lists, correspondence—that illuminated how blacklisting was practiced and debated within that advertising agency and among its clients, the sponsors.²

I found these key documents about an important event in media history in the archive of an *advertising agency*. No one had thought to look there before. Too often, as researchers, we look only in the most obvious places. I had previously researched the struggle over blacklisting at a radio program, *Theatre Guild on the Air*.³ But the archives of the Theatre Guild

at the New York Public Library had nothing relevant. The only place I found any mention of blacklisting on that program was in correspondence in the archive of one of the founders of the advertising agency that had overseen that program.⁴

Advertising Agencies in Media History

This is my call to media historians to consult the records of advertising agencies, whatever their topic. Advertising agencies were close collaborators with commercial media companies throughout the twentieth century. Reliance on advertising revenue helped shape print news media and determined how American broadcasting developed. And ad agencies not only funneled revenue to media outlets, they also often served as creators themselves of the content and cultural forms of commercial media. “Soap operas,” for example, were daytime radio serials designed by advertising agencies to keep housewives tuned in daily and regularly exposed to the soap manufacturer’s brand.⁵ In the complex relations between sponsors, media, and audiences, advertising agencies have served as mediators.⁶ They have been at the forefront of media industry debates over content standards, audience interests, and the role of commercial interests in the media system.⁷

But the work of the ad industry in helping to develop media industries has been mostly overlooked. Ad agencies do not get public credit or authorship rights to their work. We hear ad slogans, we watch campaigns to sell products or politicians, without being invited to consider which agency is making these things even in our own time; recovering this information about past ad industry activities can be difficult or impossible. Furthermore, many historians assume the advertising industry is not as important as other media industries. Back in 1954, the historian David Potter noted that: “Students of the radio and of the mass-circulation magazines frequently condemn advertising for its conspicuous role, as if it were a mere interloper in a separate, pre-existing, self-contained aesthetic world of actors, musicians, authors, and script-writers; they hardly recognize that advertising *created* modern American radio and television.”⁸ The same bias has operated ever since. As Michele Hilmes noted in 1990, “Contemporary historians, and analysts of television ... neglect the true originators of most of the broadcast forms still with us: the major advertising agencies.”⁹

Potter’s suggestion that many potential analysts dismiss advertising as an “interloper” may in part derive from assumptions about the corrupting influences of commerce on culture.¹⁰ In many accounts, when not dismissed as simply passive underwriters, advertisers are represented as either trying to control or suppress certain forms of content.¹¹ The professionalization of journalism has, in part, depended on maintaining a

divide between editorial and advertising.¹² In a 1937 speech, *Time* founder Henry Luce noted, “There is one ideal which the American press has sought to maintain through forty years of expanding industry and advertising—the ideal separation of power—separation of the editorial department from the advertising dept in order to avoid the evils of a kept press. And this ideal has been achieved to a remarkable degree.”¹³ This “church/state” separation of power was, perhaps, never as total or complete as Luce claimed. When the goals of commerce have conflicted with those of culture or of journalism, advertisers and content creators have been as likely to be internally conflicted as externally combative. The dynamics are complex and call for thorough, nuanced analysis.

Such analysis applies not only to media history generally, but to journalism history specifically. In my 2018 *American Journalism* article I drew extensively on the hitherto unexamined records of an advertising agency to reconsider how broadcast news developed in the early 1930s.¹⁴ The radio program *The March of Time*, although ostensibly produced by *Time* magazine editors, was actually produced by the advertising agency Batten Barton Durstine & Osborn (BBDO). The agency’s key role in developing the program format of re-enacted news stories, performed by actors impersonating actual newsmakers, had been almost entirely overlooked in the existing historiography. Journalism historians largely skim over the program in part because its overt fictionalization of actual events later proved embarrassing to *Time*, in part because the agency’s role was not credited on the air and has remained little known.¹⁵

Back in the 1930s and 1940s, when advertising agencies produced, scripted, and cast many radio programs, they treated the programs as advertising, what we might call “branded content” today.¹⁶ So to claim authorship publicly was to undermine the purpose of the advertising, which was to promote the product, not the agency. NBC’s policy was to prevent ad agencies from claiming on-air credit.¹⁷ Thus, one major scholar of *The March of Time* newsreel never mentions the agency’s central role in the production of the radio program and the newsreel; in fact, he credits the format of the newsreel to a filmmaker who joined the team well after the format for both the radio program and newsreel were established at BBDO, and makes the correctable error of misspelling the name of one of the producers, whom he fails to identify as a BBDO employee.¹⁸ BBDO’s role in the program is documented fully only in their archive.

The archive is a rich source of information about the workings of this seminal program. For example, I discovered in it a memo written by a BBDO executive explaining Henry Luce’s desire to cancel the radio program *The March of Time* in 1932 despite its success. Although all other secondary sources had cited an editorial by Luce claiming that the show was too expensive, the internal BBDO memo noted that actually the

program had raised the magazine's circulation so much that Luce was worried that, in the depths of the Depression, he could not cover the resulting increased printing costs by raising the price of the advertising space in its pages.¹⁹ Canceling the radio program seemed to be the best solution to slowing circulation growth. The ad agency archive brings to light previously hidden information about the economic pressures facing *Time* during the Depression.

Issues in Historiography

Exploring these archives not only forces us to reconsider historical developments we think we already know, it may also help challenge a mythology we might have been led, more or less unconsciously, to embrace. Media industries are full of larger than life personalities who may or may not have done what they later claim credit for. As Carolyn Edy points out, it is too common for media historiography to promulgate myths, repeated from secondary source to secondary source, until such information is received as fact.²⁰ Advertising agency archives may serve as an important corrective.

Of course, we have to approach them with an open mind. Instead of selecting a specific topic and drawing up a proposal or thesis statement or argument based on existing literature or prevalent assumptions, *first* I visit primary sources, specifically archives. To be sure, archival documents are scattered, fragmentary, non-chronological, and decontextualized; but the process of arranging and analyzing them will lead more surely to accurate and interesting results than a "truth" repeated in a dozen secondary sources. Sadly, many of us are required by funding institutions to develop proposals or theses in order to justify our research. I would like to suggest that we start to change this process. As ShawnaKim Lowey-Ball writes in a recent column on the American Historical Association web site, "If a chemist determined the outcome of an experiment *first*, and only *then* looked at experimental data (massaging it as necessary to fit a preordained narrative), we would call that fraud, or at least incompetence."²¹

I am sometimes asked if there are any archival materials about a specific topic. Unfortunately, given the paucity of archival documentation, choosing a topic and then searching for documentation is like buying a lottery ticket and expecting to win. So, I suggest looking at archives first, then choosing a specific topic. I chose to write about *The March of Time* only because I came across a cache of documents in BBDO's archive: if I had been dead set on some other topic, I would never have noticed the implications of those documents. As Lowe-Ball argues, "In fact, it turns out that 'good research technique' is simply setting oneself up for serendipitous historical discovery."²²

Here is another example of how I have used this strategy. While sifting through the 1950s television department records of the J. Walter Thompson agency, I came across dozens of detailed weekly reports about *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*. I had not intended to research the anodyne domestic sitcom, assuming it was a well-tilled field.²³ But I found in these reports a detailed, fascinating story of the struggles among a producer trying to maintain creative control, an advertising agency seeking to manage the producer while withdrawing from actual production control, and a client, Eastman Kodak, whose advertising director is determined on wielding creative control. I was able then to write a case study illuminating the conflicts and tensions within the television and advertising industries as both industries begin to leave the radio era behind and create new forms of programming and advertising.²⁴ I did not enter the archive assuming the story of the decline of sponsor program control could be told through the lens of *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*, but by staying open to possibilities while in the archive, I found documentation for a rich and detailed story that exemplified the tensions I was seeking to understand about a specific moment in television history.

I consider contemporaneous internal documents, such as correspondence, memos, contracts, meeting minutes, and other work product to be the gold standard for evidence. But sometimes it is difficult or impossible to find such sources. In some cases, however, fragmentary archival documentation can provide a key to reading more available, if less reliable, published sources. Thus, while I came across some correspondence in the papers of Bruce Barton, a founder of BBDO, about blacklisting on the 1940s US Steel-sponsored radio drama anthology, *Theatre Guild on the Air*, I could find no other surviving documents directly relevant to the issue. Barton's correspondence did not mention which actors the agency was blacklisting; however, by sifting through cast lists from the Theater Guild to track who had performed on which dates, and searching for those performers in all the issues of the anticommunist newsletter *Counterattack*, I was able to draw some conclusions. If the actors' appearances on the program ceased after the *Counterattack* mentions, I posited that they may have been blacklisted. I found further that some of them subsequently appeared in *Counterattack* denouncing communism, and that these actors then reappeared on the program. The archives thus led me to a clearer understanding of the published material.²⁵

Evaluating Sources

Sifting through hundreds of primary documents is not an easy way to put together a story, but it will always lead to more reliable results. News coverage may be the proverbial "first draft" of history. Luce, famously,

insisted his reporters (who in the beginning were merely re-writers) consider themselves “historians” in that the stories they selected ought to be the most significant and stand the test of time.²⁶ But even in its first draft, history is subject to inaccuracy. For example, when comparing a news story about a *March of Time* broadcast and the recording of the broadcast, I discovered discrepancies between the news article and the broadcast: lines of dialogue were slightly different, scenes played out in a different way.²⁷ Had the journalist simply reproduced dialogue from scripts that were later changed for broadcast? Or had the journalist heard a different version of the broadcast? Or had the journalist simply invented some of the dialogue? Again, in another archive, I found a memo by a BBDO executive complaining about a recent trade publication article about the agency. Listing the errors in the article, the executive complained about the misinformation.²⁸ In both cases the discrepancies were not of great significance, but both served as a reminder that no non-primary source, however, close to the original, is exempt from error or misrepresentation.

Trade publications, upon which I rely heavily when primary documents are lacking, represent a specific editorial perspective. For example, the advertising trade publication *Printers' Ink*, founded in the era of print media dominance, in the 1920s published plenty of articles skeptical of the new medium of radio.²⁹ This editorial stance was designed to serve its largest constituency, the newspapers and magazines that bought trade ads in its pages. Conversely, the trade publication *Sponsor* published many articles extolling the effectiveness of single sponsorship as an advertising strategy even in the face of sponsorship's decline in the late 1950s and early 1960s.³⁰ Again the editorial stance reflected the interests of the publication's largest advertisers. This does not mean they are not useful, only that any information must be understood as coming from that particular perspective and compared with that in archival sources when possible.

Another source media historians often rely on are participants' reminiscences: interviews, memoirs, and oral histories. Obviously, all information shared after the fact is subject to distortion—whether from the failure of memory, the need for self-justification, or the corrective lens of hindsight. For example, in an oral history interview, former ad executive William Benton claimed to have invented sound effects in radio advertising. He also took credit for the success of the radio program *Amos 'n' Andy*; he claimed he convinced the Lord & Thomas agency to find a sponsor to put it on national network radio after he had heard it blaring from open windows while walking along the streets of Chicago.³¹ Neither of these self-serving claims is remotely plausible. Although Benton is not necessarily lying about his role, he is certainly exaggerating. Many people

in media industries, not just in advertising, have written memoirs in order to document their own importance. And advertising, where public credit for creators is necessarily lacking, is particularly vulnerable to acts of retrospective appropriation.

Even contemporaneous interviews can be self-serving. When I researched the blacklisting of actors and writers in 1940s radio and 1950s television, I found that most secondary accounts rely on information gathered for the *Report on Blacklisting II* by John Cogley, in which blacklisters were granted anonymity in interviews about how they vetted talent.³² When I read them in the context of a cache of contemporaneous documents at the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency, I found that some of those interviews were less than honest. The head of their legal department noted in a memo that he had been interviewed for the project and provided the page number on which his answers appeared anonymously.³³ Consulting that page, I found that he had lied outright about what the agency was doing. Only the contemporaneous archival documents told the actual story; only they provided trustworthy evidence of what the agency did *when* they did it rather than after the fact.³⁴

These documents did more than just expose the lies in a published interview; they gave me a clear sense of the complexities of the ongoing process in which the agency and its client were enmeshed. When I put the documents in chronological order, I could track the evolution of the debates among the head of the radio-television department, the head of the legal department, and their clients about who to blacklist and why. No ex post facto source could have so clearly illuminated the agency's shifting rationales, justifications, and conflicts. The agency executives believed blacklisting was wrong, but they also assumed it was unavoidable. Only in the documents themselves can we find the fascinating story of their alternate assertion and violation of their core values as they struggled desperately to serve irreconcilable imperatives, to reconcile institutional interests with their sense of right and wrong, and of the public good.

Even where self-aggrandizement and self-protection are not an issue, personal testimonies, whether contemporaneous or ex post facto, can be untrustworthy. The lens of hindsight can distort memories. For example, during the 1940s, while network radio enjoyed peak revenues and audiences, many in the industry simply could not imagine radio would shortly be replaced by television as the central commercial mass medium. Carroll Carroll, a writer for J. Walter Thompson's *Kraft Music Hall*, wrote in 1944 that, "television will never be the world force radio is, because television will leave little or nothing to the imagination."³⁵ A few decades later, after television had become the world force radio had been, Carroll noted in his 1970 memoir that in the 1940s, "People working in radio

chose, ostrichlike, to consider TV a flash in the pan.”³⁶ Carroll can imagine his old strongly held view only as belonging to ostrich-like people.

Advertising Archives

Where can media historians find these primary materials? The John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising, and Marketing at Duke University is the single largest archive of advertising industry records.³⁷ It holds over three million items from advertising agencies such as J. Walter Thompson; D’Arcy Masius Benton & Bowles; Wells Rich Greene; Ted Bates; and Wunderman. The Hartman Center holds the papers of many individuals, including Douglas Alligood, an African-American advertising executive, and Rena Bartos, a prominent market researcher. The Hartman Center offers travel grants to scholars.³⁸ The Wisconsin Historical Society holds the papers of top advertising executives, including Pat Weaver, Bruce Barton, and Rosser Reeves. These executives were involved in politics (Barton was a congressman), major corporations and nonprofit organizations, and corresponded with prominent people in many fields. The NBC Records include fascinating material on the Camel-sponsored *News Caravan* (1949–1956). Wisconsin also holds the papers of journalists such as H. V. Kaltenborn, David Brinkley, and Howard K. Smith.³⁹

The Hagley Library in Delaware, which also offers travel grants to scholars, includes the archives of corporations such as DuPont, RCA, and Bethlehem Steel; trade organizations such as National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce; the papers of numerous individuals; and audiovisual materials, such as industrial films.⁴⁰ Most important, Hagley has just acquired the hitherto privately held records of one of the most important American advertising agencies, BBDO, ranging from the 1890s up to the present.⁴¹ The role of BBDO in twentieth-century American media, culture, and politics deserves far more attention. For historians of print media, the documents from the agency’s first decades as the George Batten agency indicate how crucial the agency was in developing advertiser demand for ad space in print media. By the 1930s and 1940s, BBDO was involved in the advertising and public relations efforts of major corporations such as General Electric, General Motors, DuPont, and US Steel, and its work included producing radio/television programs and industrial films, as well as defending its clients against governmental regulation and negative press.⁴² BBDO oversaw the campaigns promoting the gasoline additive Ethyl, which added lead to fuel and was probably one of the most significant contributions to public health issues in the twentieth century. In the 1940s and 1950s, BBDO was one of the few ad agencies that appointed

women and African-Americans to executive positions. During the 1950s, BBDO was the key ad agency for many Republican political campaigns, including Eisenhower's. One of its founders, Bruce Barton, was not only a Republican congressman but also a well-known author who helped promulgate the views of the corporate elite. The collection includes decades of issues of the house organ, or weekly in-house newsletter, including issues from World War II in which BBDO employees serving overseas sent in descriptions of their war experiences.

Even more accessible to scholars than these physical archives are the "Truth Tobacco Industry Documents," an online depository of millions of documents from the tobacco companies and their advertising agencies that were produced for various tobacco litigation suits.⁴³ These documents, directly accessible online in PDF format, are a treasure trove for researchers interested not only in tobacco advertising but also in how the various public relations and news media campaigns helped cover up tobacco's ill effects. The Society of American Archivists has compiled a list of corporate archives that can provide material on a wide range of political, cultural, and economic issues.⁴⁴ Even if archives do not include private internal documents, they often include materials created by public relations departments, including press releases, internal newsletters and house organs, house ads, and credentials, as well as SEC filings, investor information, and other materials that can help tell a story.

To be sure, the primary documents and archival records of the advertising industry are limited. Although some has been preserved, a great deal more has been lost or destroyed. Young & Rubicam, for example, was one of the most significant midcentury advertising agencies, innovating advertising strategies and producing dozens of radio and television programs. Their work is central to twentieth-century media history. However, its records may not be found in any extant archives, private or public.

But such archives as we have are crucial to our understanding of the history of American media. The advertising industry has had a central role in shaping all American commercial media. Understanding that role, hidden by the industry itself and neglected by historical scholars, is crucial to understanding our history. And the only reliable source of that understanding is in the industry's surviving archives, which can overturn the myths we unquestionably accept and provide new perspectives on what we think we know if we approach them with an open mind.

Endnotes

1. "Master List: All Inclusive up to April 23, 1954," box 87, Edward G. Wilson Papers, J. Walter Thompson Company, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, N.C.

2. For the finished article, see Cynthia B. Meyers, "Inside a Broadcasting Blacklist: *Kraft Television Theatre*, 1951–55," *Journal of American History* 105, no. 3 (December 2018): 589–616.
3. Cynthia B. Meyers, "Advertising, the Red Scare, and the Blacklist: BBDO, US Steel, and *Theatre Guild on the Air*, 1945–52," *Cinema Journal* 55, no. 4 (2016): 55–83.
4. Bruce Barton Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.
5. Cynthia B. Meyers, "Frank and Anne Hummert's Soap Opera Empire: 'Reason-Why' Advertising Strategies in Early Radio Programming," *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 16, no. 2 (1997): 113–32.
6. Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 41.
7. 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): 355–372.
8. David M. Potter, *People of Plenty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), 167.
9. Michele Hilmes, *Hollywood and Broadcasting* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 81. Nonetheless, there have been some major scholarly works that address the role of the ad industry in American media history. See for example Stephen Fox, *The Mirror Makers* (New York: William Morrow, 1985); Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*; Pamela Walker Laird, *Advertising Progress* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); Charles McGovern, *Sold American* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina University Press, 2006); Cynthia Meyers, *A Word from Our Sponsor* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014); Daniel Pope, *The Making of Modern Advertising* (New York: Basic Books, 1983); Michael Schudson, *The Uneasy Persuasion* (New York: Basic Books, 1984).
10. For example, Inger Stole, *Advertising on Trial* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006); Erik Barnouw, *The Sponsor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 50.
11. Tyler Cowen, *In Praise of Commercial Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).
12. Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News* (New York: Basic Books, 1978).
13. Henry Luce, ed. by John K. Jessup, *The Ideas of Henry Luce* (New York: Atheneum, 1969), 37.
14. Cynthia B. Meyers, "The March of Time Radio Docudrama: *Time Magazine*, BBDO, and Radio Sponsors, 1931–39," *American Journalism* 35, no. 4 (2018): 420–43.
15. For example, Robert Herzstein, *Henry R. Luce: A Political Portrait of the Man Who Created the American Century* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1994).
16. Meyers, *A Word from Our Sponsor*.
17. "Agency Air Credit Gets NBC 'No' as CBS Tries It Out," *Variety*, July 25, 1933, 37.
18. Raymond Fielding, *The March of Time: 1935–1951* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 12. BBDO personnel were also involved in the filmed newsreel *March of Time*; see Ruth Woodbury Sedgwick, "Time Goes Marching On – The Screen," *Stage Magazine*, February 1935.

19. An example of a secondary source is Robert T. Elson, *Time Inc.: The Intimate History of a Publishing Enterprise, 1923–1941* (New York: Atheneum, 1968), 183. F. R. Feland to William Johns, March 1, 1932, BBDO Records (private archive).
20. Carolyn Edy, “Trust but Verify: Myths and Misinformation in the History of Women War Correspondents,” *American Journalism* 36, no. 2 (2019): 242–51.
21. ShawnaKim Lowey-Ball, “History by Text and Thing,” Perspectives on History, American Historical Association, February 26, 2020, <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/march-2020/history-by-text-and-thing> (accessed February 29, 2020).
22. Lowey-Ball, “History by Text and Thing.”
23. For example, Tinky “Dakota” Weisblat, “What Ozzie Did for a Living,” *Velvet Light Trap* 33 (Spring 1994): 14–23; Jennifer Gillan, “From Ozzie Nelson to Ozzy Osbourne: The Genesis and Development of the Reality (Star) Sitcom,” in *Understanding Reality Television*, edited by Su Holmes and Deborah Jermyn (New York: Routledge, 2004), 54–70; Laura R. Linder, “From Ozzie to Ozzy: The Reassuring Nonevolution of the Sitcom Family,” in *The Sitcom Reader: America Viewed and Skewed*, edited by Mary M. Dalton and Laura R. Linder (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2005); Gerard Jones, *Honey I’m Home! Sitcoms: Selling the American Dream* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1992), 92; Nina Liebman, *Living Room Lectures: The Fifties Family in Film and Television* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995).
24. This is a chapter of my current book project, tentatively titled *Sell-e-vision: Madison Avenue and Television in the 1950s and 1960s*.
25. Meyers, “Advertising, the Red Scare, and the Blacklist”.
26. Elson, *Time Inc.*, 93.
27. Hilda Cole, “Time Marches On,” *Detroit Free Press*, November 18, 1934, 80; *The March of Time*, original broadcast, October 4, 1935.
28. F. R. Feland to B. Duffy, memo, May 23, 1950, BBDO Records.
29. For example, “Radio an Objectionable Advertising Medium,” *Printers’ Ink*, February 8, 1923, 175–6.
30. For example, “The Magazine Concept! Who’s For It Today?” *Sponsor*, March 19, 1962, 27.
31. William Benton, interview, July 25, 1968, Oral History Research Office, Columbia University, 73.
32. John Cogley, *Report on Blacklisting II: Radio-Television* (N.p.: The Fund for the Republic, Inc., 1956).
33. Edward Wilson admitted that “some but by no means all of the statements” on pages 118–120 of Cogley’s *Report on Blacklisting II* “could have come from me.” Wilson to S. A. Armstrong, July 20, 1956, box 88, Edward Wilson Papers.
34. Meyers, “Inside a Broadcasting Blacklist: *Kraft Television Theatre*, 1951–55.”
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36. Carroll Carroll, *None of Your Business* (New York: Cowles, 1970), 235.
37. Duke University, “John W. Hartman Center,” <https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/hartman>.

38. Duke University, “Hartman Center Travel Grants and Fellowships,” <https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/hartman/travel-grants>.
39. Wisconsin Historical Society, “Mass Communications History Collection,” <https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Article/CS4017>.
40. Hagley, “About the Center,” <https://www.hagley.org/research/center>.
41. As of this writing, the collection should be available to researchers by 2022. This is the private collection I used for my 2018 *American Journalism* article.
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43. UCSF, “Truth Tobacco Industry Documents,” <https://www.industrydocuments.ucsf.edu/tobacco/>.
44. Society of American Archivists, <https://www2.archivists.org/groups/business-archives-section/directory-of-corporate-archives-in-the-united-states-and-canada-introduction>. See also Roland Marchand, “Cultural History from Corporate Archives,” *Public Relations Review* 16, no. 3 (1990): 105–14.

Notes on Contributor

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