CHANGING LANES: A REANIMATION OF SHELL OIL'S CAROL LANE

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A dissertation submitted to the faculty at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of American Studies.

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ABSTRACT

Melissa Suzanne Dollman: "Changing Lanes: A Reanimation of Shell Oil's Carol Lane"
(Under the direction of Bernard L. Herman)

This digital dissertation, "Changing Lanes: A Reanimation of Shell Oil's Carol Lane," is a case study of a mid-20th-century public relations (PR) program, sponsored by Shell Oil and Shell Canada, that targeted American and Canadian women motorists. From 1947 to 1974, Carol Lane was Women's Travel Director for Shell Oil Company and the face and voice of the program. Her role was to extol to her audiences of primarily women the joys of touring the country by car safely with family, friends, or alone. She traveled the country lecturing on travel tips for safe, economical, entertaining, and even educational, vacations by automobile. Her primary audiences were women's clubs, before whom she presented live as an invited guest; and while visiting their cities or towns, she appeared on their local radio and television stations. While on the road, Lane also conducted market research, collecting travel tips from women along the way. She even rewarded clubwomen with a Carol Lane Award for initiating successful traffic safety programs in their communities, and entertained the wives of Shell gas station owners at grand luncheons. The Carol Lane program's outreach activities were all intended to indirectly enhance Shell's corporate image as one that was forward-thinking enough to hire a woman for such a high-profile position and honor women as opinion leaders in their respective communities.

Carol Lane, however, was what is called a "living trademark," or a fictional composite of over twenty women (plus dozens more radio-only versions) who portrayed Lane simultaneously while using the pseudonym. This dissertation examines this mainly twentieth-century marketing phenomenon, and exposes an entire network of Lane performers and associated personnel who supported the program, as well as her audiences, her circle of fellow PR living trademarks, spokespeople, and columnists.

Note: This text-only PDF version of the dissertation is submitted here for copyright purposes. For the fully digital dissertation project, please see https://carollaneproject.com/. See also the supplemental .MP4, and .CSV files. A WARC file is available in the Carolina Digital Repository (https://doi.org/10.17615/jahb-6138).

To my husband, Devin Orgeron, whom I married *one week* before my first semester in the doctoral program began. He has been the most loving and understanding partner, as well as my first reader. I look forward to taking *many* more "tourettes" with you.

This dissertation is also dedicated in loving memory of my grandparents, Blanche and Roy Dollman, who – as both my mother and aunt have reminded me – would be so proud.

Lastly, this is dedicated to all the women who portrayed Carol Lane.

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I came to the American Studies program at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, after ten-plus years working in other cultural heritage institutions and freelancing, with a shapeless project about Carol Lane in my pocket. The generosity and guidance of faculty members, fellow graduate students, grant funders, and library staffs – from across the university (and beyond) – have enriched my creative process and scholarship. They have helped make tangible what had been previously a flurry of ideas. Dissertating remotely during a world-wide pandemic has meant I did not have as much time or energy to spend with my committee members, but they have influenced my work in so many ways. I would like to first thank my them, starting with chair, Bernie Herman. Bernie enthusiastically stepped in as my advisor, turned me on to prosopography as a methodology, provided a delightfully rich list of suggested readings, and correctly anticipated I would love David Macaulay's book *Motel of Mysteries*. The course he taught with Wesley Hogan (Duke University), "The Documentary Turn," was exciting and reaffirmed there was ample room to combine creativity and experimentation with humanistic inquiry. Wesley, as a committee member, has furthermore always been ready with reassurances and gentle provocations to keep me thinking about documentary as an ethical and deeply personal practice. Sharon Holland has been a light, a warm and encouraging light. It has been my privilege to have her read my work both as a committee member and as a professor. (I will always remember the day with the horses.) As Director of the Digital Innovation Labor at UNC, Dan Anderson, has invited me to present my work publicly, and facilitated sharing strategies

with the tiny cohort of students at the university who are creating digital dissertations, in part or wholly. He is kind, calm, and direct. Finally, Ryan Shaw from the School of Information and Library Science – after spending a semester theorizing about the ins and outs of actually implementing a prosopography with him, I knew his perspective on how to organize and standardize data and information would be invaluable to my process.

I would also like to extend my thanks to the funders who have made my research possible: Carolina Digital Humanities Initiative (thanks again to Dan Anderson), Carolina Women's Center, Initiative for Minority Excellence, Druscilla French, The Graduate School, and off-campus, the Coachella Valley chapter of P.E.O. Along that same line, I would not have even been accepted to UNC if it were not for letters of support from Snowden Becker, Mark Quigley, and Jan-Christopher Horak. Too, several other people outside my department helped me realize this dissertation with its many moving parts. First, Lorin Bruckner, Data Visualization Librarian in UNC's Davis Library. She was such a joy to work with over a semester when she taught me how to effectively use Esri ArcGIS Story Maps, and made me understand all of the pre-planning that goes into embarking on mapping and data visualization projects. Moreover, working with Lorin led to our collaboration on the "Census Tract Data" tool included under the "Data" tab. I am also so grateful for UNC Institutional Repository Librarian Rebekah Kati's guidance through the process of archiving my dissertation's many parts in the Carolina Digital Repository. In addition, I wish to thank Kristan Shawgo and Stewart Varner (now at University of Pennsylvania) for their early support during my first year at UNC when I was a Carolina Digital Humanities fellow embedded at Davis Library. Never will I forget UNC Libraries' Interlibrary Loan staff members – especially during the pandemic, but very much before too – who

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Off-campus, I want to extend my gratitude to Jason Mittell (Middlebury College) for taking the time over a semester to guide me through the process of creating a work of videographic criticism. My weeks with him culminated with the creation of the video essay "Carol Lane – Introduction." Along that same line, a special shout out to Miriam Posner (UCLA) for her suggested reading list and meeting with me in person to chat DH. Outside of UNC there were others who along the way also encouraged me to fully embrace a digital dissertation project include attendees of the following conferences or symposia: American Studies Association Conference – DH Caucus (2017), Graduate Association for Food Studies Conference (2018), Chicago Colloquium on Digital Humanities and Computer Science (2018), Society for Cinema and Media Studies Conference (2019), DH 2019 Conference, The Association for Computers and the Humanities Conference (2019), and the Research Computing Symposium at Duke University (2020).

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much of my Carol Lane-related copyright clearance. I also really appreciate fellow Flickr.com patrons' willingness to share and share alike: Steve Lundeen, Bill Falk, Steve Hagy, Adam Prince, and Cardboard America Archives (Jordan Smith). To this list I would like to add Charles Tepperman, Dwight Swanson, and Candy Washburn-Strickland for recording video clips that were too time-consuming or expensive for me to capture myself: four Carol Lane lecture venues in Virginia and South Dakota, as well as the Shell Centre in Calgary, Alberta, Canada.

I would be utterly remiss, however, if I were to exclude the library, archives, and digital reproductions staffs from the following repositories who digitized and made available materials (and were just nice): the Internet Archive, Prelinger Collection, David M. Rubenstein Library at Duke University, UCLA Film and Television Archive, Clemons Library at University of Virginia, North Carolina State University Libraries, Arizona Historical Society, Library and Archives Canada/ Bibliothèque et Archives Canada, Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec, Archives de la Ville de Montréal, Digital Commonwealth, University of Manitoba at Winnipeg, Tacoma Public Library, Canadian Heritage Photography Foundation, Houston Public Library, National Register of Historic Places, Bay Area TV Archive, Texas Archive of the Moving Image, Seattle Municipal Archives, Banning Library District Local History Collection, California Revealed, Digital Collections of the Los Angeles Public Library, Kern County Library, Doheny Memorial Library at University of Southern California, California Digital Newspaper Collection at UC Riverside, Newspapers.com, Newspaperarchive.com, and probably a few more I may have missed.

On a more personal note: many thank yours go out to my 2016 cohort, Danielle Dulken, Katherine "KC" Hysmith, and Maxine Vande Vaarst for being so supportive, fun, and just a great group of women with whom to bat around ideas. In particular, I have bent Danielle's ear so

often it may stay that way. I look forward so much to reading all of your dissertations! A special thanks here also to American Studies faculty member Michelle Robinson for her early enthusiasm for my project. Outside of UNC, my friends and colleagues Jennifer Jenkins and Rhiannon Sorrell have both been so understanding when I have recently had to temporarily reduce my hours with the Tribesourcing Southwest Film Project to buckle down and finish this dissertation. They, are also among the over sixty friends and classmates, family members, and strangers who agreed to be recorded, or recorded themselves, saying "Hello, I am Carol Lane" so I could better visualize what Carol Lane might look like today. Lockdown during the pandemic precluded my ability to visit with them all, but as the crowdsourced videos rolled in during 2020 I got to see your smiling faces. Thank you for making the dissertating process a little less lonely.

And last, but in my no way least, I want to recognize those descendants or personal friends of Carol Lane performers – as well as a real-life Lane! – with whom I had the pleasure to chat over the telephone or email. I am especially grateful to Lucia Cucullu (Carol Lane, 1968-1972) who I feel just so honored and lucky to have had a chance to speak with. Her insights into work life on the road, and her tales about the sheer fun she had while traveling in the role, were truly invaluable. Nothing beats hearing a first-hand account. Too, Elizabeth Baker Brandt's (Carol Lane, 1949-1952) daughters, Betsy Brandt-Kreutz and Trish Brandt-Fox, so graciously chatted with me at length about their mother's career before and after Shell Oil, and they generously contributed clippings, photographs, and Lane-related personal correspondences which absolutely informed my research on the inner workings of the program. Chris Conway, son of Beatrice Hansen Conway (Carol Lane, 1952-1954), spoke with me about his mother which provided me with an interesting, second-hand, perspective on her post-Lane life; and Diane Kolberg, neighbor to Marjory Schmid Peacock (Carol Lane, 1958-1964), found me online

to tell me what a kind, organized, and generous person Marjory was, and how she loved to talk about her career with Shell. Happily, Heather Mae Pusztai, who also discovered my work online, regaled me with such loving anecdotes about her grandmother, Caroline Iverson Ackerman (Carol Lane, 1947-1950). Talking with Heather really confirmed what I could only ascertain second-hand from Caroline's personal correspondences and her demeaner as captured on film – just how lovely she was in real life on top of her multiple personal and professional accomplishments.

Thank you all.

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INTRODUCTION

"Tourette"*

> "To help identify – and characterize – these Carol Lane activities, Shell uses a light, carefree art treatment that turns the oil company into a helpful, pleasant and understanding neighbor…" -- F.H. Roberts, Art Director, Shell Oil
>
> "When this invisible work is recovered, a very different network is discovered as well…" – Susan Leigh Star
>
> "I get interested in stuff because I get bothered by stuff." — Errol Morris

Hello, and welcome to "Changing Lanes: A Reanimation of Shell Oil's Carol Lane." This multimedia dissertation is a case study of a mid-20th-century public relations (PR) program, sponsored by Shell Oil and Shell Canada, Ltd., that wooed American and Canadian women motorists. From 1947 to 1974, these two North American subsidiaries of the multinational oil company Royal Dutch Shell chose Carol Lane, Women's Travel Director for Shell Oil Company, to guide and be the face and voice of the program. Lane's public-facing role was to extol to her audiences of primarily women the joys of touring the country by car safely with family, friends, or alone. She traveled the country lecturing on travel tips for safe, economical, entertaining, and even educational, vacations by automobile; and most notoriously, she demonstrated how to pack a suitcase efficiently with as few items as possible. Her primary audiences were women's clubs, before whom she presented live as an invited guest; and while visiting their cities or towns, she appeared on their local radio and television stations. While on the road, Lane also conducted market research, collecting travel tips from women along the way. She even rewarded clubwomen with a Carol Lane Award for initiating successful traffic safety

programs in their communities, and entertained the wives of Shell gas station owners at grand luncheons.

Shell's sponsorship of Carol Lane as women's travel expert and researcher was always acknowledged in press releases and incorporated into her introductions before audiences; and the company's name and logo discreetly appeared on the booklets and maps she gave away to attendees. She was no saleslady, though; and she did not promote Shell products. She was, in a sense, a product herself, one that was meant to raise Shell's profile in the communities she visited. The Carol Lane program's outreach activities – the advice column and publications she authored, films she starred in, and the live talks and media appearances – were all intended to indirectly enhance Shell's corporate image as one that was forward-thinking enough to hire a woman for such a high-profile position and honor women as opinion leaders in their respective communities. An added perk: these women, and/or their husbands, might also be more inclined to buy their gasoline and other oil-derived products.

This digital dissertation, "Changing Lanes: A Reanimation of Shell Oil's Carol Lane," reverse-engineers the deployment of a long-forgotten PR program led by a woman.[1] It examines the Carol Lane program personnel's specific outreach methods, the rhetorical strategies they used to explicitly appeal to women (with the occasional nod to men and girls), and how these

---

*"Tourette" is a term Carol Lane used for short two-day, or weekend, trips by automobile.

Epigraphs:
Errol Morris quoted in *A Wilderness of Error*, "Girl in a Floppy Hat," Hulu video, 0:57, September 25, 2020, https://www.hulu.com/watch/3fd2d89a-6d9e-44e4-9e93-1046b47cce3e (Accessed June 8, 2021); Roberts, F.H. "For Many Publics, Many Approaches," *Art Direction*, February 1957, 79; Shell Global, "Did You Know?" https://www.shell.com/about-us/our-heritage/did-you-know.html (Accessed April 7, 2021); Star, Susan Leigh, "Power, Technology and the Phenomenology of Conventions: On Being Allergic to Onions", in *A Sociology of Monsters: Power, Technology and the Modern World*, edited by J. Law, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991.

[1]Until I made contact with Shell Oil, Shell Canada, and Shell U.K. archives personnel, and Shell Global in The Hague, The Netherlands, none of their respondents had heard of Carol Lane or the PR program. There is now a short, incomplete dedication to her tenure among the many projects listed on the company's historical timeline. See "Did You Know?" on Shell Global's website at https://www.shell.com/about-us/our-heritage/did-you-know.html (Accessed April 7, 2021).

efforts fit into Shell's overall marketing processes. In keeping with the theme of travel and exploration, "Changing Lanes" is a multimedia, interactive guidebook, not for virtually exploring vacation spots, but for nonlinear, critical analysis of the Carol Lane PR program itself. You are invited to explore the project as if it were a physical guidebook.[2] The front matter gives historical context and summaries about to what to expect as one navigates on one's own. There are multiple tabs containing text, maps and graphs, photographs and diversions, inquiries and useful terminology. There is no right or wrong way to navigate this project site. Wander!

For suggestions on a more linear approach and for general assistance, see the first tab on the right, "Contents/User Guide," for a table of contents, helpful "how-to" tips, and information about Shell Oil's history including a brief, curated, timeline of Shell's marketing and commercial undertakings in the U.S. and Canada through the mid-1970s. For those visitors to the site with limited time, consider starting with the following video, "Carol Lane – A Video Introduction" (7:40 min.)[3] It gives a quick overview of Carol Lane's career as a public relations professional, and the program she headed. Watch it now, or proceed down to the full introduction -- or both!

Paraphrasing public relations pioneer Edward L. Bernays, PR historian Stuart Ewen explained succinctly what makes writing about and researching PR campaigns a challenge: the field's experts work "behind the scenes, out of public view."[4] As a way to counteract this subterfuge, "Changing Lanes" is about transparency: the author's, and Shell's. Shell's marketing executives and Carol Lane *very* rarely talked about the inner workings of PR program in public but for the occasional mention in trade journals and in speeches before fellow PR practitioners.

---

[2]The idea to use a guidebook as the framework around which to organize this narrative came to me as I assigned a very similar exercise as a final project for an American Studies course I taught remotely, under lockdown, during the pandemic in Summer 2020 for UNC. The topic of the class was "Travel and American Identity."

[3]Spoiler alert: the video includes a big reveal that unfolds more slowly in the longer introduction.

[4]Ewen, Stuart, *PR!: A Social History of Spin* (New York : Basic Books, 1996), 10.

To put it plainly, this project exposes the PR tactics used by a mid-twentieth-century big oil company's PR department, and documents the professional histories of Shell personnel responsible for its development and implementation and the historical context that informed their programmatic decisions. To that end, it also examines who her audiences were, and works to dispel misconceptions about their homogeneity.

A visitor to this site can *see* and examine primary documents the program's personnel produced. Moreover, many of digitized documents on the site have been transcribed and transformed into data visualizations and maps. In a monograph, references to these documents would be relegated to the footnotes.[5] Now they have moved up from the footnotes to more prominent positions alongside the texts that utilize them.[6] Providing access to proxies of the original sources from which data has been extracted expands conversation beyond their repurposing here as both data and as evidence.[7] Simultaneously, their inclusion exposes the author's argumentation to public scrutiny, and is meant as an act of generosity. Lastly, this dissertation project functions as "an archives" replete with digital copies of newspaper and magazine articles, photographs, original Lane-authored print publications, and films in which she

[5]"Companion Websites | Online Resources," Sage Publishing, https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/companion-websites (Accessed January 12, 2021). I would like to emphasize that this is not a companion website for a monograph. Sage Publishing describes companion websites as "robust online environments featuring an array of tools and resources for review, study and further exploration. The material on the companion websites is integrated with the textbook it accompanies, enhancing the teaching and learning experience for instructors and students." This digital dissertation serves a similar purpose, except it integrates multimedia content – both digitized primary documents and newly created videographic essays and recreations – side-by-side with the textual elements.

[6]There are fewer than twenty items on this project site that came from those in charge of Shell archival collections. Thankfully, the legal department in the U.S. headquarters (Houston, Texas) provided digitized copies of pamphlets; and archivists in their global headquarters in The Hague emailed a digitized full-sized magazine advertisement. I am grateful for their enthusiasm and support. Please see acknowledgments under the "Methods" tab for more information.

[7]I am paraphrasing a comment about the concept of publishing data as a means to extend a conversation beyond the moment of publication comes. It was made by Katie Rawson, Director of Learning Innovation, Penn Libraries, during a live presentation, circa 2018.

appeared.[8] As such, it is the only comprehensive assembly of documentation and analysis on Carol Lane, or the PR program named after her. **["Carol Lane -- Introduction." Video. See https://carollaneproject.com/]**

"The Tour"

For American and Canadian oil companies, the years just following World War II through the early 1970s, were bookended by significant marketing challenges. The period began with a remarkable – if uneven in terms of equal participation across the socioeconomic spectrum – postwar expansion of mass consumption, and closed with the ushering in of a nearly decade-long energy crisis for both countries due to the 1973-1974 Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) Oil Embargo.[9] While automobile sales rose steeply from 54 percent in 1948 to 82 percent by 1970 in the United States alone, the interval was also marked by recent memories of war-period gas rationing on one end, and a return to national energy conservation efforts on the other. How did these companies' internal marketing departments, or advertising firms with whom they collaborated, attempt to distract consumers away from their World War II- and 1970s-era rationing mindsets? They filled the public's field of vision with print or television advertisements, or their ears with radio jingles. Shell Oil certainly used those same promotional

[8]"Archives," Dictionary of Archives Terminology, https://dictionary.archivists.org/entry/archives.html (Accessed July 5, 2021). I use the term "archives" in the sense the Society of American Archivists' Dictionary of Archives Terminology describes here: "A selection of digital records or digital surrogates of records made available as a curated online collection."

[9]For two sources on postwar consumption in the U.S. and Canada, respectively, see: Cohen, Lizabeth, *A Consumers' Republic : the Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar* America. New York: Knopf, 2003.; Parr, Joy, *Domestic Goods: The Material, the Moral, and the Economic in the Postwar Years*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999. Cohen lays out in great detail how Jim Crow laws and redlining effected African Americans' – particularly returning WWII veterans' – participation in the postwar housing boom in the U.S., as well as their fight for more equitable consumer rights. For more on the oil embargo, see "Oil Embargo, 1973–1974," United States Office of The Historian, n.d., https://history.state.gov/milestones/1969-1976/oil-embargo (Accessed December 16, 2020). Regarding automobile sales: see Rugh, Susan Sessions, *Are We There Yet?: The Golden Age of American Family Vacations* (Lawrence, Kansas : University Press of Kansas, 2008), 18-19.

tactics. However, Shell's American divisions, and soon after its sibling to the north, Shell Canada, responded to the challenge of attracting customers with a scheme that had not been successfully attempted before.[10]

During this same midcentury period, the multinational oil company initiated and implemented a unified, transnational, multimedia public relations (PR) program that marketed predominantly to women the joys of taking road trips and touring the country. Shell was the first oil company in North America to create such a PR program specifically to engage with women, and the first to hire a woman as the public spokesperson for such an initiative. It was also one of the longer PR programs the U.S. affiliate funded during the 20th Century. The spokesperson and public face of the program was Carol Lane, Women's Travel Director for the Shell Touring Service, and later simply for the Shell Oil Company/Shell Canada. She, along with her PR departmental managers and other associated personnel, strategized to rouse brand loyalty in American and Canadian women motorists because they were an increasingly powerful demographic of motorists and consumers by the late 1940s, particularly in the United States. Lane's particular role was to foster a passion for automobile travel in these motorists while she provided techniques and tips for doing so safely, economically, and with an eye on touring's educational value.[11] Furthermore, the program was committed to rewarding civically-minded

[10]Shell Canada during the early part of the program was called Shell Canada Limited/Limitée. Except in cases where it may be necessary to differentiate Lane's activities in Canada from those in the U.S., throughout this project site, I tend to use "Shell" as shorthand for both.

[11]Thompson, Dorothy, "Occupation – Housewife," *Ladies Home Journal*, March 1949, 11.; "Women Drivers Closing the Mileage Gap," University of Michigan Transportation Research Institute, May 11, 2015, https://web.archive.org/web/20150515021613/https://umtri.umich.edu/what-were-doing/news/women-drivers-closing-mileage-gap (Accessed December 15, 2020.); *Women Mean Business!* (Shell Oil Company, 1950). Estimates of American drivers who were women during this period under study vary. According to Shell Oil's own reporting, about one-third of all licensed drivers were women circa 1949-1950. Michael Spivak, a research professor at University of Michigan's Transportation Research Institute, in 2015 found this number to be forty percent by 1963. By the mid-1960s, women would make up forty-five percent of all motorists on the road. Regarding their numbers as consumers, in 1949 *Ladies Home Journal* estimated that housewives were responsible for spending eighty percent of the household budget.

women for their efforts to implement traffic and driver safety initiatives in their own communities.

Carol Lane was neither in sales, nor was she in advertising. Her job was to be "a model vacationer for women to pattern themselves after," and to help create positive perceptions of Shell Oil, by diverting the public conversation away from the company's oil exploration activities and their environmental impacts, for instance, to touring one's country by automobile.[12] She conducted travel-related research and attempted to forge relationships with women during live presentations and luncheons that often accompanied the events, or even at a distance via hundreds of media outlets. The steady stream of media appearances, films, multiple publications, and in-person lectures, produced in the name of making connections and sharing information, hid what were irrefutably *the main* benefits of these exchanges to a multinational oil company such as Shell: credibility and selling more product. Carol Lane's job was to make inroads with a market demographic that would amount to hundreds of thousands of women drivers and consumers over the course of the program's twenty-seven years. These women lived in communities where the company wanted to do business, or was already doing so and wished to continue. Lane, functioning as a go-between, helped the company ingratiate itself.

Carol Lane and Shell's PR department enticed hundreds of media outlets – newspapers and magazines, local and syndicated radio and television stations – to publicize Carol Lane. Lane herself penned a syndicated newspaper column, as well as a travel advice book and many helpful pamphlets published by Shell Oil. They covered topics such as traveling with children by car, packing a suitcase and travel fashions, automobile maintenance, camping, and more. She also starred in short Shell-sponsored films, and appeared on radio and television. Most notably,

[12]Popp, Richard K., "Domesticating Vacations: Gender, Travel, and Consumption in Post-War Magazines," *Journalism History* 36:3 (Fall 2010), 133.

however, Lane traveled tens of thousands of miles each year to lecture along a circuit of primarily women's groups, and also on occasion, journalism- or tourism-centered events. On these tours, she presented in-person before audiences of American and Canadian clubwomen, professional women, gas station owners' wives, sororities and university women, church goers, high schoolers, and the occasional state fair crowd or members of men-only advertising clubs.[13] Personal time off aside, these public-speaking tours required she stay on the road three weeks out of every month. During those trips she also conducted research to help make vacation travel by car seem less challenging, more affordable, and more family-friendly.

So how did one woman, even with the support of the Shell Touring Service "girls" and secretaries, along with her managers in the PR department, maintain such a grueling schedule? The answer is – *one* didn't. Carol Lane was a "living trademark," or a real person who is a spokesperson or mascot for a company's brand or services. What makes living trademarks unique, however, is how their performers literally embody and make flesh a company's brand or services as a fictional character, and also its purported ethics, ideals, and reputation. In Carol Lane's case, she was a fictional character embodied by multiple women *simultaneously* as if each were a real person. Beginning a little over a year into the program, at least two, and quickly thereafter three or more, different women performed as Carol Lane in the United States, roughly splitting the country down the middle, while one performed in Canada. Furthermore, for a brief period during 1949 to at least 1950, there were dozens of disembodied, radio-only Carol Lane performers.[14] This unknowable number of radio Lanes aside, over time, at least twenty-four

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[13]Baker, Stephen R., "Touring vs. Traveling," *Journal of Tourism & Hospitality* 3, no 3 (2014), https://www.longdom.org/open-access/touring-vs-traveling-2167-0269.1000132.pdf (Accessed July 5, 2021). To the north, Shell operated as Shell Canada, and later, Shell Canada Limited. The Touring Service was alternately referred to as the Touring Bureau.

[14]Carol Lane had two short-lived radio features, actually, but I have yet to discover an extant copy of either. In 1949, Caroline Iverson Ackerman mentions a trial run of sorts whereby the program got several radio stations around the

women performed as Carol Lane and shared her duties. Many, but not yet all, have been identified.[15] During their individual employment with Shell, these performers' biographical details infused Lane's singular, but evolving, corporate profile over the years. Details of their personal lives were woven by the PR team's personnel into press releases announcing forthcoming visits by Lane, and journalists included them in profiles focusing on Lane's professional career as a travel expert. And while each of Lane's corporate bios was tailored to a given performer's academic or professional achievements, each also took credit, so to speak, for the whole of Lane's collective accomplishments: the numbers of audience members reached, or tens of thousands of miles driven, the national publications in which she was featured, or number of publications authored, and so on. When any particular Carol Lane claimed authorship of her newspaper column or travel guide, signed her trade name to a receipt for a hotel stay, or introduced herself as Lane to a clubwoman with whom she was shaking hands, she was for that moment, for that person, *the only* Carol Lane. Seldom did a performer assert her real identity as Caroline Iverson or Dorothy Wendel eventually did, and only in a handful of instances did one mention sharing the workload with a fellow Lane.[16]

Noted sociologist and information scientist, Susan Leigh Star, suggests in her essay, "Power, Technology and the Phenomenology of Conventions: On Being Allergic to Onions,"

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country, over Memorial Day and Fourth of July weekends, to run radio feature "The Voice of Miss Carol Lane." In this particular scenario, young women all over the United States played Carol Lane on their respective radio stations. In 1950, Elizabeth Baker (Carol Lane, 1949-1952) seems to have initiated the weekly, syndicated, weekly program, "Travel Tips."

[15]On occasion, journalists revealed her true identity. Whether it was due to a performer's prompting, or a journalist acting on the need for transparency, these revelations were inconsistent and far between. [In the "Profiles" subsections under the "Carol Lane(s)" tab one can read personal interviews and professional profiles of individual Lane performers.]

[16]Honestly, thank goodness these Carol Lane performers could not, or would not, keep their true identities hidden for the entirety of their tenures in the role. Whether they revealed these personal details by accident, or on purpose, had they not, the narrative about Lane, and the reach of this whole multifaceted PR program really, could not have been as richly told. Too, the performers' contributions to the history of women in the PR field would have remained lost.

that when "invisible work is recovered, a very different network is discovered as well…" Star's use of the phrase "invisible work" is a reference to how technologies and the sciences (and their intersections) are cultural productions made at the hands – virtual or not – of real people. Thus, any conventions – again created by people – put in place to standardize data or categorize people, enables specific forms of subjectivity. The twenty-plus women who portrayed Carol Lane gave her a voice, a face, talents, and an educational and work history that evolved both with the times and with each new portrayal. However, once more using motion picture-making as an analogy, the goal of this dissertation is to recognize the contributions of a whole network of people "below the line" (versus above the line, or performers) whose labor produced amalgamated, fictional Lane. Dozens, and often hundreds, of workers, from script supervisor to director (not to mention caterers and lawyers and set builders), are instrumental to the production of a major motion picture. In many instances, however, only the director or the on-screen talent, sometimes the writer, will get public recognition for what was a giant group effort.

"Changing Lanes" recovers a network of people who made subjective decisions about what might appeal to women in groups, while it also exposes Shell's marketing infrastructure and actual PR tactics used throughout a widespread and decades-long program. It reincorporates biographical sketches of these individuals' educational paths and work histories – including the periods before and after their tenure with Shell – into a *collective* biography of Lane as a fictional character. Separating out and reattributing Lane's achievements and personal details to the actual people to whom they correspond discloses what each woman brought to role, and may help to determine the level of agency she had in tailoring it. Most importantly, it exposes their hidden labor. This group biography also includes select members of the PR program's management team and other company personnel with whom the Lanes worked (and on whose

creative talents they relied). Together, they conducted a program that set upon targeting women motorists as key components in strengthening Shell's overall reputation in the U.S. and Canada, and of crafting an image of the company, as Shell Art Director F.H. Roberts would remark in *Art Direction* in February 1957, as "*a helpful, pleasant and understanding neighbor*."

As a living trademark, Carol Lane was part of a small cohort. Her particular subset of spokespeople, including Mary Gordon for Trans World Airlines, specifically represented a PR program of services. However, the most conspicuous and well known members of her contemporaneous living trademarks represented brands or specific products such as Aunt Jemima – until 2021 the face of pancake mix and syrup for Quaker Oats – and Betty Crocker, the image behind cake mixes, flour, and other products for General Mills.[17] Like Lane, these multiple women played both characters for live events and/or media appearances, and their names were associated with publications such as pamphlets and books (of the cooking variety). The most significant difference between Lane and they, however, is that she herself was not a brand, per se. She did not unabashedly promote Shell products, but was instead representative of Shell's commitment to women motorists' interests. For obvious reasons to do the changing nature of Lane's image, her face was never emblazoned upon packaging or featured in commercials or print advertisements except those in the public service category. There was a generic, blond, cartoon version used in publications on occasion in lieu of a particular performer's image as well. [See the "Who Was Carol Lane?" tab for more about her fellow living trademarks.]

[17]Vigdor, Neil, "Aunt Jemima Has a New Name After 131 Years: The Pearl Milling Company," *The New York Times*, February 9, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/09/business/aunt-jemima-renamed-pearl-milling-company.html (Accessed April 8, 2021).; "Brand Origins," Aunt Jemima.com, https://www.auntjemima.com/our-history (Accessed April 7, 2021).

The level of sublimation of self that Lane performers faced, however, may seem to modern eyes excessive and maybe even suspect. The women who agreed to play this fictional character – whose backstory included some of their own personal traits and successes – may have made peace with, or even found comfort in, the partial anonymity of playing someone else.[18] The yearly income was generous, and they earned paid vacations on top of their scheduled domestic travel for Shell.[19] Regardless of how excited or resigned they were to embody a character in such a way, Shell's programmatic requirement for anonymity quite literally disguised their labor. Their unique contributions to the team effort were attributed to a *composite* Carol Lane.

This project, however, is not just about Carol Lane or even the multiple Carol Lanes. It is also about the "neighbors" (to use F.H. Robert's apt phrasing) that engineered her, the clubwomen and others with whom Lane made contact in person, over the radio, or as the subject of a print-based interview, on Shell's behalf. First, their numbers are not inconsequential – she spoke before hundreds of thousands at least, excluding radio listeners and film and television viewers. This dissertation project chronicles their social and professional participation too. Their needs, habits, and aspirations influenced Lane's topics of discussion, and their invitations to speak determined her monthly work schedules. Shell's PR team, the performers, and women's and society page journalists who took a special interest in Lane, all pitched and propagated an image of Lane as a white, single, childless, woman-on-the-go with a fun job (and expense account), the expert traveler, a fashionable lady, and on rare occasion, a professional PR practitioner. In turn, Lane also seems to have tried to mirror back who her audiences were

[18]In fact, one Carol Lane performer I spoke with, Lucia Cucullu (Carol Lane 1968-1972), said of the experience that it was the most fun she had ever had professionally.

[19]The first three Lane performers earned between $5,000 and $9,600 a year plus clothing allowance and travel and living expenses. That equates to between $59,761 and $114,741 a year in today's (2020) dollars.

perceived to be, to reflect their values and interests, and to come off as more relatable. One such attempt to understand their needs and aspirations was her series of research trips during which she investigated how to travel or camp with children, family units, and pets. In fact, she often pronounced that some of the travel tips and advice she passed along she learned from mothers and professional single women whom she met along the way, or from those who sent in suggestions through the mail. Moreover, in her column, Lane played the good ally by combatting negative stereotypes about women drivers on their behalf; while Shell responded to their public concerns about traffic safety by creating, in collaboration with the National Safety Council, a traffic safety award in Lane's name.

Situated Knowledge: The Backstory

Following a tradition in the social sciences, I will for the rest of this introduction switch modes temporarily to a Scholarly Personal Narrative (SPN). SPN is defined as a constructivist (meaning learners construct knowledge rather than just passively take in information) research methodology that recognizes the researcher's personal experience as a valid object of study.[20] Feminist philosopher Donna Haraway also argues that all knowledge is situated, meaning the views expressed herein do not come from nowhere, but from somewhere.[21] They are dependent on my own "particular set of circumstances and motivations," and thus maps and data

[20]"Constructivism," University of Buffalo Center for Educational Innovation, http://www.buffalo.edu/ubcei/enhance/learning/constructivism.html (Accessed March 31, 2021); Heidelberger, Cory Allen and Uecker, Tobias W., "Scholarly Personal Narrative as Information Systems Research Methodology"(2009). *MWAIS 2009 Proceedings*, 22.

[21]Haraway, Donna, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3. (Autumn, 1988): 581.

visualizations and all curatorial choices are naturally subjective.[22] There is much more on this subject under the "Methods" section. Switching to first-person pronouns at this juncture will help situate *my* personal perspective as the originator of arguments and curator of archival materials throughout this project site. In other words, the SPN "is intended to *locate* the researcher [me] so that examiners [you] can see how the researcher's actual life and/or work experience might influence the research, for better or worse. The narrative enacts the epistemological [relating to the study of the nature, origin, and limits of human knowledge] position that no research is neutral and all research is written from somewhere, and where matters. Of course, understanding something about the researchers' experiences can raise questions for examiners about potential blank and blind spots and the need for researcher reflexivity."[23]

I have often been asked how I became interested in Carol Lane as a subject. In the mid-2000s, I first encountered Shell Oil's Carol Lane in the four-minute film from the mid-1950s called *How to Pack a Suitcase* (original Shell title, *How to Pack a Bag*). My film collector friend Skip Elsheimer had found this 16mm film, which is in the public domain, and then digitized and distributed it on a DVD compilation. However, my research questions about Carol Lane as the head of a PR program started with a blog post written by a co-worker in 2012. The author, Stacey Flatt, had recently completed processing a manuscript collection called the Caroline

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[22]Feinberg, Melanie. *CSCW '17: Proceedings of the 2017 ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work and Social Computing*, February 2017): 605.

[23]Nash, Robert. *Liberating Scholarly Writing : The Power of Personal Narrative* (Information Age Publishing, Incorporated, 2019), 55; Thompson, Pat, "The Personal Narrative in the Thesis Introduction," patthomson.net, https://patthomson.net/2016/02/22/the-personal-narrative-in-the-thesis-introduction/ (Accessed March 31, 2021). Robert Nash explains the importance of SPN thusly: "First, this is a work that actually enlarges the notion of 'serious scholarship' to include the most important voice in writing: the author's. In SPN, the writer is as much the message as the message itself. How can the two ever be separated? Who was it who said that it's not only the song that matters, it's the singer. It's not just the words, it's the music. It's not just the writer's text, it's the writer's context, pretext, and subtext. By the way, this last sentence, though not as lyrical as the sentences that precede it, is mine. It's my postmodern way of making music. SPN writing, when it works well, is one way for you to find your own special music to do the 'serious scholarship' that is so important to all of us in the academy."

Iverson Ackerman Papers, that is held by the Schlesinger Library at Harvard University. She and I worked there at the time as Manuscript Cataloger, and Audiovisual Materials Cataloger/Archivist, respectively. In her post, Stacey wrote a joyous description of the collection and summarization of Caroline Iverson Ackerman's biography, with two images and a link to the Papers' finding aid.[24] As I looked at the images and read the text, I noticed that the face associated with a *pseudonym*, Carol Lane, Women's Travel Director for Shell Oil, was not the Carol Lane, Women's Travel Director for Shell Oil, *I knew*.

So, what was going on? I decided to probe further. First, I was not aware "Carol Lane" was a pseudonym; but more puzzling were her face and hair. Skip's Lane had blond hair coiffed in a 1950s-era hairdo, and she dressed in home economics instructor-style uniform. She stood on a set resembling a hotel room, and on top of the bed, she demonstrated how to efficiently pack a suitcase for a short trip. I had actually screened a digital copy of *How to Pack* only two years prior at the library for its monthly public movie nights. *Stacey's* Lane was a brunette who also demonstrated how to pack a suitcase, but dressed in late-1940s-era women's business suit. In another set of images, she wore a summer dress while picnicking and sightseeing with a travel partner. Both women claimed to be Carol Lane, and yet there was no mistaking one woman for the other.

To paraphrase documentary filmmaker and author, Errol Morris, whose quote opens this essay, I became interested in investigating why these two women shared a professional identity, because I was bothered by it. Why were two or more different women using the same exact

[24]Caroline Iverson Ackerman Papers, 1927-2004; item description, dates. MC 572, folder #. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. https://id.lib.harvard.edu/ead/sch01206/catalog (Accessed December 10, 2020); Flatt, Stacey, "Summer Vacation," Radcliffe Institute For Advanced Study, Schlesinger Library, Harvard University, August 21, 2012, via the Wayback Machine https://web.archive.org/web/20200812104032/https://www.radcliffe.harvard.edu/schlesinger-library/blog/summer-vacation (Accessed May 5, 2021).

pseudonym and professional title less than ten years apart? It immediately raised questions about a sublimation of identity, gender representation, women and work, and PR and the oil industry. How many Lanes might there be?? After performing a preliminary investigation of Ackerman's papers, I discovered headshots of yet *two more* unidentified women, one of whom was referred to as "West Coast Carol Lane." I then proceeded with online database and Internet searches using any combination of relevant phrases I could think of, and I came to discover that there was little in the way of publicly accessible information online about Lane outside of newspaper articles from her period of activity.

The Ackerman papers at the Schlesinger and Stacey's blog post popped up first among search results, as did a few references in recent published works on mid-20th-century family road-tripping and the domestication of vacationing.[25] The Hagley Museum & Library offered an online copy of one of Lane's publications.[26] There was also a nine-minute short, *Her Words Took Wing: Caroline Iverson Ackerman* (she had been an aviatrix and aviation editor for *Life* magazine before working for Shell) produced by filmmaker Tim Frakes for the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America in 1995.[27] Little else, but for a few articles about, and syndicated obituary for, Ackerman. When my search led me to on Newspapers.com in 2013, some months after the site launched in 2012, my curiosity became a research project. Because of the hard work of its team members who scanned newspapers and converted with optical character recognition (OCR) hundreds of millions of texts, my search in their database surfaced around three thousand

[25]Popp, "Domesticating Vacations: Gender, Travel, and Consumption in Post-War Magazines," 131; Rugh, 18-19.

[26][Carol Lane's *Vacation Dress-O-Graph: How to Plan Your Travel Wardrobe*, 1953], Pam 2010.030, Published Collections Department, Hagley Museum and Library, Wilmington, DE 19807. Note: the metadata for this pamphlet is incorrect as of December 11, 2020. Caroline Iverson Ackerman was gone by 1953 and her maiden name was Iverson, not Engval. They are correct that Madeline B. Brown was indeed a Carol Lane, from 1952-1953.

[27]Frakes, Tim, dir. *Her Words Took Wing: Caroline Iverson Ackerman*. Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, 1995. Video.

newspapers articles and photographs with captions. It was in this new plethora of resources where I identified yet six more, and then nine more, and then eventually at least twenty-four Carol Lanes in all.

After spending some time with my subject, I started to consider the work of other personnel involved with the Carol Lane program, and to speculate about who her audiences might have been beyond the midcentury stereotypical suburbanites I anticipated. It was at that point I knew for certain I also wanted to acknowledge as many people as I could whose mental and physical labor underpinned this dissertation. Like the Lane performers, my work was also reliant upon a network of vendor and library reproduction services staffs, faculty in my department (especially my chair and committee) librarians and archivist, theorists and historians, fellow classmates, friends, colleagues, and my husband. You can see their names in a section under the “Methods” tab.

CAROL LANE(S)

Caroline Iverson (Ackerman) | *Carol Lane*, 1947-1950

"Did you know that Carol Lane...[28]

- travels 50,000 miles a year as women's travel director of the Shell Oil Touring Service?
- has driven every make of car and can change a tire in 20 minutes?
- has shown how to pack a suitcase to 10,150 women in [the] past nine months and has packed the same bag 147 times in demonstrations?
- holds two "firsts" for women aviators? -- First woman to make a round trip to Alaska in a two-seater plane, and first to fly a small airplane over the mountains into Mexico City.
- is a former aviation editor of a well-known picture magazine -- and on that job tested problems of hot and cold weather travel during trips to the Yucatan Peninsula and to Labrador and Greenland.
- is a journalism graduate of the University of Wisconsin?
- is a member of:
  - New York League of Business and Professional Women

[28]"Caroline Iverson's corporate biography as Carol Lane." Press releases, 1949. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study; "Travel Speaker to Be B.&P.W. Guest Tuesday," *The Winona Daily News*, April 8, 1948, 7.

- “99’s” -- Licensed Women Pilots Association
- American Association of University Women
- New York Alumna chapter of Theta Sigma Phi -- honorary journalism fraternity for women. She was president in 1938.
- American Association for the United Nations

Caroline Iverson developed and publicized the trademarked character, Carol Lane, while employed by Shell Oil Company. She was also the first woman to play her publicly. Carol’s company has had her name changed professionally to Carol Lane, figuring that one day she will marry and they would like to keep the name for company use.

Biographical Information

- Caroline Emilie Iverson (Ackerman) was born on March 6, 1918 in Wauwatosa, WI, to Jacob Engval (an immigrant from Norway) and Ella Dorothea (Schmidt) Iverson. Ackerman’s father was a layout editor for the *Milwaukee Journal*, and her mother taught short story/feature writing at Wauwatosa High School Adult Education Program. She was also publicity editor for the Milwaukee Athletic Club. Iverson had a sister, Dorothy.
- She graduated from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, in 1939 with a B.A. degree in journalism and education. She belonged to Theta Sigma Phi, national honorary journalism sorority.
- Her first job was a six-month stint at the Janesville Daily Gazette-WCLO radio as a shopper’s reporter, and later as a advertising and business feature writer, and was in ad sales, for the *Milwaukee Journal*, where, as mentioned above, her father also worked.

- During this period Iverson worked in public relations for a Milwaukee airport, possibly Lawrence J. Timmerman Airport.
- She earned her pilot's license in the fall of 1940 from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

Early Career

- Iverson taught evening courses at the University of Wisconsin Extension in Milwaukee, Carroll College, and the Milwaukee School of Engineering in aviation, navigation, meteorology, theory of flight, engines, and civil air regulations for the Civilian Pilot Training Program.
- In 1941, she and one of her students, Gene Damrow, flew to Alaska, a first in a small, 65-horsepower, two-seater airplane.
- In the spring of 1942, *Life* magazine recruited Iverson to be an aviation researcher, developing aviation-related picture stories, and writing captions.
- In June 1944, she and Jean Speiser, a photographer and editorial assistant at *Life* magazine, flew in a two-seater plane to Mexico alone. During the trip a 14-year-old boy, Jose de Jesus Jiménez, was struck by the plane's propeller upon take-off after an emergency landing in a rural area. Iverson escorted the boy to the hospital where he later died.
- For another *Life* piece in 1944, Iverson and photographer Margaret Bourke-White traveled nearly 10,000 miles over the United States, with Ackerman doing the background research and Bourke-White photographing every part of the country from the air for a special issue ("A Letter to the GIs") for soldiers as a reminder of home.

- Later that year, the Air Transport Command invited Ackerman and eleven other journalists and radio notables (she was the only woman) to participate in a two-week tour of little-known American bases in Newfoundland, Greenland, and Iceland.
- In 1946, Sally Elizabeth Knapp dedicated a chapter to Iverson in her book, *New Wings for Women* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1946).
- She was let go from Life in 1947 to make way for returning GIs after the end of WWII.

Profile

Profiles are primarily compiled from newspaper articles in which a journalist often identifies the woman behind the Carol Lane persona. In other cases, I have discovered their identity through triangulating evidence. **[*Reader: This wording repeats for every performer's "Profile" subsection and will not be repeated below.*]**

The first recorded use of the name "Carol Lane" for commercial purposes was September 15, 1947, as per information the company supplied upon applying for its trademark in 1952. No supporting documentation has been found yet which specifies that 1947 date. The trademark was granted in 1955.[29] In February 1948, Iverson began to tour the country lecturing under her own name. By May 1948, Iverson appeared as Lane for the first time. Regarding the name change, at first Iverson had a rightful aversion to Shell's proposition that they trademark her personal name. In a May 2, 1948 letter, however, she mentioned to a family friend, "Well, we compromised on my contract with Shell…instead of sewing up my name for five years after the contract is

[29]"Carol Lane," The United States Patent and Trademark Office, https://tsdr.uspto.gov/#caseNumber=71638318&caseType=SERIAL_NO&searchType=statusSearch (Accessed January 13, 2021).

terminated, Shell has selected a professional name that I will use and which will remain perpetually the property of Shell."[30]

Future Visits/Visits

This section features newspaper press releases, articles, and locations of forthcoming or recent in-person visits by this particular Carol Lane. Note: this represents about one quarter of the data collected to-date. Click on the map markers for additional information such as individual articles on the performer's in-person visits and demonstrations as Lane, as well as notification of future visits. [*Reader: This wording repeats for every performer's "Future Visits/Visits" subsection and will not be repeated below.*]

After Carol Lane

> "When asked if she intended to make her job her permanent career she smiled her attractive smile and said, 'Well--I'm in love right now--but I'm a hard girl to marry--I'm never around!'"[31]

Post-Carol Lane section(s):

This section contains information about the performer's activities after leaving their position with Shell.

- Iverson, now Ackerman, quit working for Shell Oil circa June 1950, and she and Les moved to Warwick, RI. There she continued as a freelance writer, mostly gratis publicity

[30]Agreement with Ackerman to become "Carol Lane"; announcements and memos re: "Carol Lane" to be Women's Travel Director of Shell Touring Bureau, 1948. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.9.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

[31] Wells, Helen, "Don't Wear Shorts When Touring Alone, Women Drivers Told," *The Miami News*, November 22,1948, 16.

work, for organizations such as the Girl Scouts, Parent Teacher Association (PTA), Cub Scouts, American Association of University Women (AAUW), etc.

- She and Les had three children.
- In 1965, the family moved to South Natick, MA.
- Iverson/Ackerman returned to school at Boston University, and received her M.S. in journalism in 1969.
- Between 1971 and 1978 she was a journalism professor at Northeastern University.
- After retirement, she assisted with communications development within the New England Synod and on a national level. She also wrote for, and eventually became editor of, the New England Lutheran until 1992.
- Ackerman was also New England correspondent for *The Lutheran (*now *Living Lutheran*), the church's national publication.
- For more information on Ackerman's Lutheran faith, career, 1941 Alaska flight and 1944 flight to Mexico, including an interview with her, see *Her Words Took Wing: Caroline Iverson Ackerman* a short film (9 min.) by Tim Frakes for a 1995 volume of *Mosaic*, the video magazine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. *The Billings Gazette* also interviewed her in 2005.
- Leslie died in 2001.
- Caroline Iverson Ackerman died on September 23, 2012, in Billings, Montana.

Muriel Diversi (Cuddy) | *Carol Lane*, ca.1949

Muriel Diversi (Cuddy) was a "radio" Carol Lane.[32]

[32]"Muriel D. Cuddy," *The Concord Monitor*, circa May 2007.

Biographical Information

- Muriel Diversi was born March 20, 1928, in Concord, New Hampshire, the daughter of Alfred and Ethel (Edmonds) Diversi.
- She attended Concord High School and Lasell Junior College.
- In 1949, she married Jeffrey A. Cuddy Jr.
- Somewhere around this time she went to work for radio station WMUR in Manchester, New Hampshire.

Public Profile

- Following graduation, she was a receptionist and radio personality (as Carol Lane) at WMUR radio, having two daily radio programs a week designed for women listeners.
- Note: this profile is her obituary from 2007. I have yet to find anything else about Diversi's performances or recordings of her voice, however it's likely that she was the voice talent for Carol Lane in a program called "Tips on Touring" or something called "The Voice of Carol Lane" which played over the 1949 Memorial Day weekend and/or the July 4th weekend of the same year.

Elizabeth Baker (Brandt) | *Carol Lane*, 1949-1952

> "Miss Elizabeth Baker motors 50,000 miles a year in her job as travel director of an international oil company. Her professional name is Carol Lane. She is one of two "Carol Lanes" who visit cities all over America to speak to women's groups on the "pleasantries" of traveling by auto. A single girl, Miss Baker "borrows" children and tours the country with them, "to experience the problems of families on the road..."[33]
>
> "Each summer, Elizabeth Baker, an unreservedly happy young lady in her middle twenties, packs her bags with about five hundred dollars' worth of clothing she has selected from the better New York stores, and sets off on a

[33]"Business Women Sponsor Dinner," *The Atlantic Constitution*, December 5, 1951, 21.

> junket that takes her all through the northern, mountainous areas of the country, where the nights are cool. Each winter, Miss Baker packs another, altogether different set of clothes, chosen at the same proud establishments and costing approximately the same amount of money, and embarks on a trip that carries her through the southern and western parts of the United States, where the days are warm."[34]

Biographical Information | Before Carol Lane

- Elizabeth Baker was born on April 26, 1925 to Dr. and Mrs. E. Baker, and grew up in Larned, KS.
- She attended and graduated from the University of Kansas, where she studied Journalism, in 1945. She was an editorial associate for the University of Kansas *Daily Kansan* in 1944. While there, she was a member of Theta Sigma Phi honorary journalism fraternity, Mortar Board, Chi Omega Sorority.
- While there she elected governor of the fourth annual [American Legion Auxiliary Sunflower] Girls' State in 1942, and in 1943 was on the International Studies Association Council.
- At some point during this period, Baker met her future husband Bert Brandt who was an alumnus.
- Between college and working for Shell Oil, Baker was a cub reporter/obituary writer at the *New York Post*. She was also an assistant director for Jay Thorpe (exclusive women's clothier), and was a celebrity coordinator for the Martha Deane radio program (WOR-Radio). [Side note: Baker very well may have booked Carol Lane -- then embodied by Caroline Iverson -- on the August 17, 1948 episode of Deane's show!]
- Before January 9, 1949, Shell Oil hired Elizabeth Baker.

[34]Goldman, Hyman, "A Trip a Week," *Cosmopolitan*, December 1951, 1.

Profile

Public Profile:

Elizabeth Baker notes on her post-Carol Lane resume that she originated a "Travel Tips" radio column, wrote the syndicated newspaper column "Tips on Touring." She notes that she "addressed 300 outstanding women's organizations, including state conventions from Maine to Texas; national and state safety conferences; parent-teacher associations; larger dealer wives' luncheons." Baker was also "guest star on 240 [radio and television] shows in every section of the country [and] toured 273,000 miles to research accommodations, points of interest and develop new travel ideas. Made experimental trips with such varied subjects as preschool children, teenagers and dogs. Covered 48 states, Hawai'i, Canada and Cuba."[35]

She also had two assistants (club coordinator and publicity representative) under her direct supervision. She was also members of the following professional organizations: New York League of Business and Professional Women, National Association of Travel Officials, the American Legion Auxiliary, and the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Future Visits/Visits [See above.]

Baker Family Personal Collection

Thanks to a wonderful and fruitful correspondence with Elizabeth's daughters, Betsy Brandt-Kreutz and Trisha Brandt-Fox, the following photographs and other ephemera represent a selection of souvenirs Elizabeth Baker collected from her time as Carol Lane. All material in this section are courtesy of Betsy and Trisha.

[35]"Elizabeth Baker Brandt resume." Circa. 1952-1953. Personal collection of Betsy Brandt-Kreutz and Trisha Brandt-Fox.

After Carol Lane

- Elizabeth Baker married NEA-Acme WWII combat photographer Bert Brandt on June 28, 1952, in Larned, KS, or New York City. (Accounts differ.)
- As part of their honeymoon, the Brandts covered the 1952 GOP convention for United Press.
- In 1953, the couple moved to Houston, and by 1954, Baker, now Brandt, sometimes referred to as "Liz," also began to do daily weather reports on the KTRK-Channel 13 evening news. In doing so she was Texas's first "weather girl."
- Also in 1954, Baker became the host of her own weekly, hour-long television program on KGUL-TV in Galveston, called *The Light Touch*. The program was marketed as a mix of interviews, style shows, and homemaking hints" and was sponsored by Houston Light and Power Company.
- In 1957, Associated Press Managing Editors Association honored Baker with an honorable mention for her story about "jetcasts" on her weather show. Pilots of the 111th Fighter Interceptor Squadron of the Air National Guard had reported Texas weather conditions directly to Baker during their jet flights.
- By 1958, Baker had begun working at the *Houston Chronicle* as society editor for the women's page. She worked in that role until at least 1962.
- By the 1960s, Elizabeth had joined her husband in his commercial photography business; and they worked together until his death in 1975. Together they raised three children.
- In a 1978 interview in *National Petroleum News*, Baker mentions that she was in real estate.
- Elizabeth Brandt died on February 20, 2005 in LaPorte, TX.

Beatrice Brady (Carpenter) | *Carol Lane*, 1949-1950

Did you know that Carol Lane:

- travels 50,000 miles a year as women's travel director of the West Coast for Shell Oil Company?
- has taken trips in everything from a trailer to a Cadillac?
- is a well-known fashion expert and lecturer who recently helped produce the West's most lavish fashion show at San Francisco?
- can pack a suitcase in ten minutes with 43 items needed for a weekend trip?
- has worked in radio and studied for the concert stage?
- has driven every make of care and can change a tire in 20 minutes?
- attended the University of Minnesota?
- is well known for her charity work, having served as a volunteer for the Los Angeles Community Chest, Birmingham General Hospital and many others?

Biographical Information

- Beatrice Gertrude Brady was born July 18, 1921 in Kimball, Brule County, South Dakota.[36]
- By at least 1930, she and her family were living in nearby Mitchell, SD.
- At some point, the Brady family moved to Minneapolis, MN, where she attended Central High School.
- As a teenager she worked at a five and dime store, at the Lyric Theater, as a demonstrator for Norris Creamery, worked in a bakery selling beer, taught dancing at the

[36]Carpenter was born about 50 miles from where I was, and grew up about 35 miles from my mom.

Knickerbocker Dance School at the Orpheum Theater, and was a hat check girl at several hotels.

- Circa August 1938, Beatrice Brady married a Howard G. Carpenter on the West Coast.

Before Carol Lane

- By at least 1946, Brady (now Carpenter) joined Jack Rourke Productions, Hollywood, CA, as an account executive, and by 1947, Dick Fishell Publicity Services as public relations director.
- By 1948, she worked for Caroline Leonetti's "charm" school/modeling agency in Hollywood, booking models. Apparently during this period she met frequently with former actress and newspaper gossip columnist Hedda Hopper.
- Carpenter was the public relations director of Death Valley '49ers, Inc., a non-profit organization that seeking to expand public awareness of Death Valley, and at unspecified times she was PR director for the Hollywood area of the Los Angeles Community Chest and a station relations director for the Warner Brothers radio station, KFWB. In this latter position she likely sold 15-minute radio packaged shows.

Profile

Public Profile:

In an October 5, 1960, *Ventura County Star-Free Press* article, Bea Carpenter reflects back on her short-lived career as Carol Lane.[37] In it she claims that she interviewed in California ca. 1949/1950 interview for the east coast Carol Lane position which ultimately went to Elizabeth Baker. According to her account of the process, she "sold her card, netted $400, and

[37]Hoyt, Audrey, "BPW Speaker –Hard Work, Ambition Go Into 'Glamour' Job." *Ventura County Star-Free Press*, October 5, 1960, 10.

flew to New York and company headquarters. The ensuing discouragements included the news that no final commitment would be made for four months, a mounting hotel bill and not funds to pay it, and the conviction of friends that she was 'foolish.'" When the situation was at its most fraught, she was given a final interview [...] and offered a five-year contract [...] She asked for, and got, a three-year contract. She also asked for, and got, a badly-needed advance in salary. Carol Lane, in the person of Bea Linville [actually Carpenter in 1949 - MD], retired on the birth of a daughter."

- According to an October 16, 1950 *The Mirror* newspaper article, Bea Carpenter started working for Shell Oil during late 1949. She worked out of the New York headquarters and lived in the Barbizon Hotel before returning to the West Coast. Caroline Iverson introduced her to dealers in the Sacramento, California, on February 23, 1950.
- She was featured in a September 1950 *Look* magazine photo spread.

Future Visits/Visits [See above.]

After Carol Lane

- On December 30, 1950, Beatrice Brady (Carpenter) married Rodolfo Dutrie in Sausalito, CA, with whom she had a daughter in September of 1951.
- On March 3, 1952 while living in Santa Monica, CA, Carpenter's obtained an annulment for her marriage to Dutrie (AKA John A. Pollaro and Albert Danell) because he married her under false pretenses, claiming to be the owner of biggest film studio in South America. He also committed bigamy by not waiting a full one year to marry her according to California law at the time. In a statement, she claims to have left a job to

marry him and move to California. That position may well be the Shell Oil, and she claimed it paid her $800-a-month plus expenses.

- Wanda Henderson announced in her February 28, 1953, *Citizen News* column "Names in the News..." that Bea Carpenter had taken over as public relations director for the Balboa Bay Club.
- Within a few years, it appears she continued in related publicity and public relations roles through at least March 1961 for the Richfield Oil Company (public relations representative in the conservation department). She toured in this role as well, lecturing to women's groups like Business and Professional Women's Club and The National Secretaries Association.
- In April. 1955, she married Robert Linville.
- Beatrice remarried again to a Mertin Hatch on November 28, 1963, and they lived in La Canada, CA. She seems to have gone by Linville still much of the time, occasionally including Hatch.
- From the late 1950s through at least 1980, she fulfilled many other paid or volunteer roles for the Memorial Hospital of Glendale, the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce--Women's Division and Idyllwild Institute Fiesta Federated Committee of the California Federation of Women's Clubs (public relations chairman for both, for the latter in 1960 she was also state delegate to the national convention), and the Soroptimist Club of Los Angeles (program chairman). Bea was associate producer for a Father Patrick Peyton Family Theater documentary *A Matter of Faith* (1969) by Metromedia Producers Corporation. She was appointed national director of public relations for Father Peyton's

Family Theater and Crusade For Family Prayer in 1962. She was also California Senator Lou Cusanovich's administrative assistant through at least May 1973.

- She died on November 30, 1996 in Los Angeles.

Audrea Lear (Costigan) | *Canadian Carol Lane*, ca.1952-ca.1959 (Shell, ca.1943-1973)

Imagine spending your time touring Canada in your own car, visiting famous vacation spots and historical sites. Imagine constantly buying and trying out new vacation clothes and fabrics, new kinds of luggage and travel conveniences. And getting paid for it! A job unique in Canada is the one held by Miss Carol Lane of Toronto, a chic brunette who has made a career out of travelling. As women's travel director for a major oil company, Miss Lane travels more than 50,000 miles every year, testing and developing new ideas for helping women to travel more comfortably.

Biographical Information

Still under research. She was born Audrea Ethel Lear to Mr. and Mrs. Ashley Sidney Lear of Port Credit, Ontario circa late 1910s - 1920. She was the first Canadian Carol Lane, and spent the greatest number of years with Shell Canada.

Profile

Public profile:

Audrea Lear headed the first Canadian Shell Touring Office in Toronto, in 1943, and was the first Canadian Carol Lane. She worked out of the Toronto, Ontario offices. Lear was the Touring Office's manager through at least 1961. Lear seems to have taken on the role of Carol

Lane after June 1950. Caroline Iverson made no referenced to a Canadian counterpart in her personal papers before she Shell Oil that year. She is pictured in this photo, in Toronto, circa 1951. Courtesy of Betsy Brandt-Kreutz and Trisha Brandt-Fox.

Future Visits/Visits [See above.]

After Carol Lane

- In June 1959, while still working for Shell Oil, Lear married James Costigan and the couple moved to Milton, Ontario, where it appears Lear-Costigan remained for many years.
- Lear-Costigan was a member of the Milton Curling Club!
- Circa 1973, Lear retired from Shell Canada as their travel director and representative on Travel Industry Association of Canada‘s board of directors. It is unclear if she continued as Carol Lane until this time. The character wasn’t retired until 1974. She at this time a member of the speaker’s bureau for the Explore Canada Council.
- Through at least 1977 Lear was working as a “travel instructor.”
- Her husband, James, died before 1973.
- Circa 1976-1979 Lear-Costigan was the Public Relations Chairman for the Toronto area Zonta Club.
- Starting in the 1980s, Lear-Costigan was working (or volunteering?) with the Milton Historical Society.
- By the late 1990s, she was active with the Arthritis Society of Ottawa.
- In 1998 she published a book called *P.L. Inventor of the Robertson Screw*.
- On April 21, 2005, Lear-Costigan received a lifetime Milton Chamber of Commerce Community Achievement Award from the Canadian House of Commons.

- According to a 2010 St. Paul's United Church annual report, Lear-Costigan was in poor health and was perhaps living in Bracebridge, ON.
- Her status at present is unknown.

Irma Cunha | *Carol Lane*, 1951-1953 (Shell 1950-1953)

> "Miss Irma Cunha, born a Honolulan, went to the mainland several years ago and became Carol Lane. When she first wrote this astonishing news to her parents, Mrs. and Mrs. Frank Cunha of Kaneohe Bay drive, they thought she was changing her name and were relieved to find it was merely an 'alias' inherited with her job. She is a women's travel director for Shell Oil Co. which really means a sort of female Duncan Hines who doesn't stop at food and lodging..."[38]

> "Says Irma, Carol Lanes never die--they just mate away."[39]

Biographical Information | Early Years

- Born in Irma Jeannette Cunha on November 23, 1923, in Honolulu, Hawai'i to Frank and Albertina Cunha.
- Her last name is Portuguese, but she was likely also of Hawaiian descent as she was referred to as "wahine," which means someone of Maori or Polynesian (especially Hawaiian) descent, in her high school yearbook.
- She received a Model A Ford from her father on her fifteenth birthday.
- She attended Punahou High School in Honolulu circa 1938-1941. There in 1939 she founded the Rally Committee, was sales manager for the theater department, and debated. The following was said about her in the 1941 yearbook:

[38]Connell, Nicki, "Touring Carol Lane Travels Home, *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, September 17, 1951, 13.

[39]"Ahwahnee News," *Yosemite Sentinel*, January 11, 1952, n.p.

> "Magnetic. If you want to hitch your wagon to a star, here is one. In every class there's a boy or girl who starts things and carries them through by keeping the class morale high; ours is Coon. That's only one of the reasons why she wins friends and influences other people; in everything. Coon has remained a good sport. How can you help liking a wahine who gets a kick out of living and tries to help everyone else get it too!"

Stanford University Years

- Cunha attended Stanford University from circa 1941-1946. From the finding aid for her student papers in the university archives: "Irma Cunha earned her AB at Stanford University in 1944 and her MA in 1946. During her senior year as editor of the student newspaper, *The Stanford Daily*, she often had contact with Stanford's president, Donald B. Tresidder. When she returned to pursue her MA, the Tresidders offered her the opportunity of living in their campus home." She started as a reporter for the student paper in 1942.

Before Carol Lane

- In 1944-1945, before performing as Carol Lane, Cunha worked for *The Honolulu Star Bulletin*.
- Circa 1946-1947, in San Francisco, she worked in publicity for the UNESCO. In 1947, she also managed Territorial Surveys, a market research organization.
- She later joined the staff at Ahwahnee Hotel in Yosemite National Park (seen here) as a hostess in 1948 and worked there at least through 1949. You can read the entire 1948 Yosemite Sentinel here and the 1949 edition here. Her obituary states she worked for the Yosemite Park and Curry Company during this phase.

- Between working in Yosemite and 1950, Cunha moved to New York City where she worked directly for Elmo Roper of Roper Research Associates (mistakenly referred to as "The Roper Company" in her obituary). There she reportedly learned to do market research and conduct polling. It was also in New York where she met her future business partner and long-time close friend, Norma "Mike" Michaels.
- Interestingly, she started working for Shell Oil in 1950, probably in New York, before performing in the role herself. In Elizabeth Baker's personal papers she wrote to Irma Cunha for assistance in 1950 regarding ideas a forthcoming survey and other extensive details about her adventures on the road with Bea Carpenter. Her title may have been "publicity representative" according to Baker's post-Shell resume.

Profile

What is interesting about Irma Cunha is that the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* had been writing about her for years (and she later worked there), so obscuring her identity likely would have likely seemed unseemly and disingenuous. Cunha is also the first Carol Lane to visit and lecture before an audience in what was then called the Territory of Hawai'i. The United States did not grant the Territory statehood status until 1959. The article from Yosemite (CA) indicates that Cunha is introducing a new Carol Lane, who was most likely Elizabeth Baker. In her personal papers, Baker mentions a return visit later in the summer, in Irma's absence, during which she was remembered fondly. In the North Adams (MA) article, Cunha is identified as Carol Lane's assistant. She is likely training Beatrice Hansen. By 1953 Cunha was on her way out. Although Irma Cunha was a West Coast Carol Lane, her home office was most likely the corporate headquarters in New York City. Her status as a native Hawaiian, and subsequent work visits as Lane, may have been a strategic move on Shell Oil's part. Her period of activity -- both as a

secretary of sorts for Elizabeth Baker (see below) and as a Lane performer -- predates the territory's admission as the fiftieth state in the union. Shell Oil had been doing business in Hawai'i since the 1920s.

Future Visits/Visits [See above.]

After Carol Lane

- Irma Cunha returned to Hawai'i after 1953 as a reporter for *Honolulu's Star Bulletin*.
- In 1954, Cunha worked for the ABAR employment agency in San Francisco.
- By 1955, she and Mike Michaels had founded the Empire Employment Service with locations in San Francisco and Honolulu.
- She returned to Hawai'i permanently in the 1970s.
- She seems to have lived and worked with Mike for decades until her death in 1998.
- Cunha died on July 17, 2007 at age 83.

Madeline Bravata (Brown) | *Carol Lane*, ca. 1952-1953

> "She worked for Shell Oil Co. as "Miss Carol Lane" traveling the country..."[40]

Biography and Early Career/Pre-Carol Lane

- Madeline Bravata was born in 1931 in Haskell, NJ, and raised in Brooklyn, NY.
- She attended Washington Irving School for Girls and Traphagen School of Fashion, both located in Manhattan.

[40]"Madeline B. Brown," *Asbury Park Press*, December 25, 2013, A12.

- In March 1953, the Bravata family announced Madeline's engagement, for an April wedding, to a Shell Oil Co. employee Alfred Carlyle Barnett. Another announcement followed in October stating Madeline was to marry a William Jay Brown, which she did on November 28, 1953.
- Madeline's obituary states she worked for Shell Oil Co. as "Miss Carol Lane," but does not specify when she started and if she continued to work there after marriage. While I am still researching, my best guess would be she worked out of the New York City office circa 1952-1953.
- At some point, either before or after marriage, Madeline worked for Charms Candy, possibly the one located in Asbury Park, NJ.
- Madeline Bravata Brown died December 25, 2013 in Neptune City, NJ, where she moved with her husband after marriage and where they raised two children.

Beatrice Hansen (Conway) | *Carol Lane*, 1952-1954

> "Miss Lane travels 50,000 miles each year, testing her ideas on making traveling easier and more rewarding. She is now working with the American Museum of Natural History and a committee of eight educators, scientists, and historians to develop a plan to bring the child's schoolbooks to life through vacation travel.
>
> Miss Lane started her career at 16 by writing a fashion column for teenagers. She later took a sales job with an airline and at 25 was director of the airline's woman's division."[41]

Biographical Information

- Beatrice Hansen (Conway) was born in June 15, 1923, in Elizabeth, NJ, one of five children, to parents who immigrated from Norway.[42]

[41]"Travel Expert Will Speak At P-TA Coffee," *Abilene Reporter-News*, January 4, 1953, 39.

[42]Fun aside: my birthday is also June 15th.

- She graduated from high school circa 1941 and did not attend university.
- Her brother, Chet Hansen, was a noted WWII diarist and aide to General Omar N. Bradley and journalist. More here on Chet Hansen.
- According to Chris Conway, her son whom I interviewed, she and her sister were active, he believes, stateside in various war relief efforts.

Pre-Carol Lane Years

- Hansen began working for United Airlines sometime in the late 1940s, according to her son, first at ticket counters in at least Newark, Chicago, and Denver.
- In 1947, Hansen took time off to travel to Europe.
- By 1950, she began working as Director of United Air Lines Women's Division, traveling at least the New York and New Jersey areas as a lecturer on women and aviation.

Profile

Public Profile:

To date, I have yet to find a written/published reference to Beatrice Hansen by name in association with "Shell Oil" or "Carol Lane" except for her obituary and confirmation in interview with one of her children. She worked out of the New York office and the PR program began to announce her impending visits to women's clubs by September of 1952, and began making visits by at least October of that year.

Future Visits/Visits [See above.]

After Carol Lane

> ”She was, in fact, excellent at packing a suitcase.” - Chris Conway, Beatrice Hansen’s son[43]

- Beatrice Hansen met Frances E. Conway, also employed at United Air Lines, whom she married in 1954. She quit her job as Carol Lane upon marrying Conway. They raised five children.
- Circa the 1960s/1970s, she moved to the Chicago area with her husband, where she lived for more than 50 years, most of that time in Palatine.
- She devoted her life to her family and volunteered with the Cub Scouts, PTA (including being president), and other school activities; she and her husband held fundraisers for liberal Democrat candidates, and she also was active with Confraternity of Christian Doctrine for a local Catholic parish.
- She also traveled extensively around the world and later in life worked part-time at a temp agency.
- Beatrice H. Conway died on August 14, 2010 in Arlington Heights, IL.
- On May 27, 2007, the *New York Times* published an article by Chris Conway, Beatrice’s son and senior editor at the *Times*, on a Carol Lane-penned book, *Traveling By Car* (1954).

Carol Lane #7 | *Carol Lane*, 1954-1957

> “Miss Lane, a slender, poised, blonde, was born in California and moved with her family, to Montana, where she spent her childhood and was educated. Eight years ago, feeling the urge to travel, she decided to wend her way east via a series of brief visits to relatives in states en route. She arrived in New York at the time of the World’s Fair and there she remained.

[43] Email from Chris Conway, March 26, 2018.

> Enchanted with her brief taste of traveling, she gravitated quite naturally to any position which would assure her a chance to see more of the country, and she accepted the position of women's travel director in the Shell Oil Company, finally to become recognized as America's foremost travel authority [...]
>
> Miss Lane's favorite audience is the one composed of members of Home Demonstration Clubs of the nation, whose interest in self-development and domestic improvement makes them especially attentive."[44]

Biographical Information

"Carol Lane #5" is a pseudo-pseudonym and used as a place holder for her real name once discovered. I am currently investigating the accuracy of the above opening quote regarding her having arrived in New York eight years earlier. The New York World's Fair was 1939/1940, not 1946 as suggested.

Profile

Public Profile:

Carol #7, her label until I can identify her, did work out of the New York office.

Future Visits/Visits [See above.]

Sherry Baker | *Carol Lane*, 1953-1958

> "Carol Lane, a woman who knows more about travel than most men..."[45]
>
> "Carol Lane, New York City, leading authority on automobile travel..."[46]

Biographical Information

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[44]"'Just For The Ladies' DR Class Gets Travel Tips," *Anderson Herald*, December 5, 1954, 15.

[45]"Travel Expert Will Speak At Auxiliary's Luncheon," *The Press Democrat*, March 3, 1957, 18.

[46]"Travel Expert To Speak," *News-Journal*, December 5, 1957, 25.

- Sherry Baker was born Shirley Baker on November 6, 1922, in Washington, DC, to Dr. Margarete Darvas (Austrian, d. 1939) and Major Willis Power Baker, who was also a doctor. She had two siblings.
- She grew up in Santa Ana, California, and attended Frances E. Willard Junior High School and Santa Ana High School from which she graduated in 1939. She was on the Honor Roll.
- She and her sister hosted a lot of parties at the home, before and after starting university. She was a member of the Girls' Ebell Society of Santa Ana, at least in 1938.
- She attended College of William and Mary in Virginia, where she studied art, and pledged the Kappa Alpha Theta sorority through 1940. She was listed as class of 1943 in the 1941 Colonial Echo yearbook.
- By 1941, she had transferred, and was a junior at the University of California, Los Angeles, but she is not listed in its yearbooks for 1941-1943. According to a May 13, 1953 Idaho Daily Statesman article which appeared early on in her tenure as Lane, she "lived in some ten different states before she was old enough to go to college... which she did in Switzerland." I have yet to find evidence that she went to college abroad. It is not included in her obituary either. However, two references in the *Santa Ana Register* from June and August 1939 indicate she likely did visit Switzerland with a group led by the Cooperative Educational Tours, including faculty from the local Santa Ana Junior College, upon her graduation from high school.
- By at least March 1949, she worked as a "fashion expert" for Macy's Union Square department store in San Francisco. It's unclear when she started using the name "Sherry."

- Before taking a job with Shell, she claimed to have also worked in “New York fashion publicity” and “California resort hotel publicity.”

Profile

Public Profile:

I’ve found no articles to date that identify Sherry Baker, off-script, as a Carol Lane performer. However, in an interview in the *San Francisco Examiner*, her replacement, Marjory Schmid mentions her by name. That tidbit of information led to discovery of many more details about Baker. Although Sherry Baker was a West Coast Carol Lane, her home office was the corporate headquarters in New York City.

Future Visits/Visits [See above.]

After Carol Lane

After she left Shell Oil Company and her role as Carol Lane, Sherry Baker continued to work in publicity and public relations among other pursuits.

- In 1960, Baker was hired as Executive Director of Hilton Inn’s International Club at San Francisco International Airport.
- In 1959 Baker wrote at least one article for *The San Francisco Examiner*, and in 1961 helped publicize the paper’s $kil-Word contest by driving around one of its prizes, a Ford Falcon.
- In July 1964 Baker presented to the San Francisco Bay Area Publicity Club, and was elected its secretary later that year.

- She worked from circa 1964 through at least May 1966 for the St. Francis Hotel in San Francisco. In June 1966 *The San Francisco Examiner* notes she has vacated the position and will start her own public relations office.
- In 1965 she won a $100 second-place award for her and the Presbyterian Medical Center women's board promotion of San Francisco's first Debutante Ball.
- She was an artist in the media of collage, découpage and ceramics. Her work was awarded a one-person show at Robert Mondavi Winery in Napa Valley, CA, and in showrooms in San Francisco including Jack Byrd and Associates.
- Circa 1970s or '80s, she was the public relations director for the International Gourmet Products Shows in San Francisco.
- By 1982, she became head of publicity for Showplace Square, organizing two annual market weeks of lectures, tours, etc.
- At some point she moved to Sonoma, CA where she volunteered at the Sonoma Valley Museum of Art, and was the publisher of *National Needlepoint News*.
- In 1988 she published a book called *The Maxi Muffin Book* [which you can read here], and in 1989, *Maxi Muffin II*.
- Baker died at age 88 on January 8, 2011 in Sonoma from a brain aneurysm.

Denise Laporte | *Carol Lane*, 1954-1957

> "Denise Laporte, an attractive Montréaler who can converse as easily in English as in her native French, is used to unusual and interesting jobs. She's been an airline stewardess and a social director at a resort hotel in Nassau. But she considers her latest job, as woman's travel director for the Shell Oil Company of Canada, unique. First of all, the vivacious brunette has to get used to answering to a new name. Shell's woman travel directors -- Miss Laporte is the second --

> are known as Carol Lane. The name, soon to be patented, is used in the United States as well."[47]

Profile

Public Profile:

Denise Laporte was based, presumably, of the Montréal office. She was previously a stewardess and social director at a resort in Nassau. If my research is correct, her birthday is June 30th and she was born in the early-mid 1930s. Her biographical and professional details are still under research.

Future Visits/Visits [See above.]

After Carol Lane

I am still researching if this is for certain Denise Laporte, but I think so! In this article, she's living in Chilliwack, BC, in 2002, and perhaps in or near Prevost, QC, in 2008. Her current status is unknown.

Dorothy Wendel (Foley) | *Carol Lane*, 1955-1957

> "Miss Carol Lane, who spends most of her time traveling about the country gathering material for her column "Tips on Touring", is often asked by mothers, "How can my daughter prepare for an interesting career like yours?" The woman's travel director for Shell Oil Co... tells them they must have a natural desire for travel and an natural liking for people. In addition, Miss Lane's major in speech at the University of Wisconsin, where she was graduated, and her two years' experience as an airline stewardess along with some writing have given her a background for her present work. Her friendly smile and manner and her well-groomed, attractive appearance also help to make her the envy of would-be-careerists."[48]

[47]"Brunette Travels For A Living," *The Gazette*, March 12, 1957, 10.

[48]Sutherd, Mildred, "Travel Tip Writer in Decatur," *The Decatur Daily Review*, February 6, 1957, 19.

Biographical Information

- Dorothy Wendel (Foley) was born circa 1926, in Marinette, Wisconsin, where her family lived at least through the 1970s.
- She attended Sacred Heart Elementary in Marinette, WI, and, then, Marinette High School, graduating circa 1942 or 1943.
- Until circa 1944 at least she attended Carroll College in Waukesha, WI.
- Wendel then transferred to and graduated from University of Wisconsin-Madison (Speech, French) circa 1949.

Career Before Carol Lane

- Circa 1950, Wendel was copy chief at WMAM 570AM, in Marinette.
- She then wrote for the radio program Fun Factory on WENR-AM (ABC), circa 1951, Chicago, and the radio program Illusion on WTTH, Fort Huron, Michigan. At WENR, she was senior staff writer and wrote copy for teenage and adult radio shows, fine arts, and interviewed national and international celebrities, such as Raymond Burr.
- Wendel worked as a flight attendant for Pan American World Airways, circa 1953-1955.

Profile

Public Profile:

Dorothy Wendel began working for Shell Oil Company as Carol Lane circa 1955 out of the New York Office.

Future Visits/Visits [See above.]

After Carol Lane

- Dorothy Wendel, while on the job as Carol Lane, met a Shell Oil sales representative, Robert Stephan Foley, in Birmingham, AL. They married on July 8, 1957, and had two daughters.
- She next worked as a news staffer for *Birmingham News*.
- Subsequent relocations until 1970 include Mobile, AL, then Oklahoma City, OK, and Tulsa, OK. During this period she worked in advertising for Young & Rubicam, McCann-Erickson, the YWCA, Leather Industries of America.
- She also joined the American Association of University Women (AAUW) and pursued post-graduate study.
- Between 1970-1976 she was a news staffer at the Marinette Eagle Star in Marinette, WI. She also and served on the board of directors of the Salvation Army while in Marinette.
- Later relocations include Orlando, FL, and Oak Ridge, TN, and Seattle, WA. While in Florida she was a professional technical writer/editor in the aerospace industry, working for Martin Marietta in both Florida and Tennessee, a position from which she retired in 1994.
- In Washington she volunteered with the Bellevue Public Library, the Seattle Symphony and Pacific Northwest Ballet. She also served on the board of directors of the Seattle Opera Guild as well as publishing and editing their newsletter, *L'Aria*.
- Dorothy Wendel Foley died at 87 in 2012, in Kirkland, Washington

Carol Lane #5 | *Carol Lane*, 1957-1960

"Carol Lane #5" is a pseudo-pseudonym and used as a place holder for her real name once discovered. Her biographical and professional details are still under research. She appeared in this television news program segment titled, "Women's Travel Director for Shell Oil Company Carol Lane Will Speak to the Rokeva Club on Travel Safety." (c.1958)

Future Visits/Visits [See above.]

Carol Lane #5 seems to have worked the Eastern part of the United States through about mid-1960. Analysis of her route/timeline forthcoming.

Marjory Schmid (Peacock) | *Carol Lane*, 1958-1964

> "Miss Lane, a trim, gregarious brunette with gesturing hands and dancing dark blue eyes..."[49]
>
> "Now called Carol Lane in her new position, her name was been copyrighted for publicity purposes by Shell. She estimates she travels about 60,000 miles per year doing research on what places to see and how to do it most comfortably. "Tips on Traveling" is a newspaper column which she writes and she does radio comments for a group of stations. She now is making approximately 100 talks annually before women's groups related to travel."[50]

Biographical Information

- Marjory Anne Schmid (Peacock) was born April 20, 1922, in Los Angeles, California. Her family originally hailed from Vermont, and her ancestral line included two former generals: General John Strong, Sr., of the Continental Army, and General John Strong, Jr., of the Union Army during the Civil War.

[49]Schroeder, Mildred, "Travel With Kids...and Enjoy It," *The San Francisco Examiner*, February 18, 1962, 109.

[50]"Travel Director Former Employe [sic] Of Altus Station," *The Lawton Constitution And Morning Press*, June 1, 1958, 25.

- Schmid attended Los Angeles High School, graduating circa 1940 (she's identified as Margie).
- Between circa 1940 to 1944, Schmid attended the University of California, Los Angeles, majored in English, education, and geography, and graduated in 1944.
- While there she was a member of Phi Sigma Sigma sorority.
- Schmid also attended the UCLA - NBC Radio Institute, and I would conjecture during the program's inaugural period of 1943-1944.

Before Carol Lane

Marjory (AKA Marge) Schmid worked in radio, television, public relations for years before taking the role of Carol Lane.

- For a short stint, was a junior clerk/story writer for Walt Disney Studios. Her departure, late 1946, coincides loosely with the end of the strike at the studio.
- From circa 1948-1949? She worked at a radio station KWHW in Altus, OK. During this time, she also worked at KLPR in Oklahoma City.
- From circa 1949-1955 she worked for WKY radio and later was known as television personality for WKY-TV in Oklahoma City. First, she wrote for its earliest children's program called the *Gizmo Goodkin Show* (started in 1949).
- Circa 1953-1954 Schmid was, however, better known for her on-screen presence demonstrating Do-It-Yourself techniques on a program called *Easy Street* and was given her own program called *Here's How*.

- She also worked for the Oklahoma Publishing Company during this period, and in 1954 was the director of a vacation give-away contest, “Holiday”, supported by Oklahoma City retailers.
- In summer 1955, Schmid left for California with her Oklahoma City roommate, Zane Ivey. There she would direct (according to a newspaper account from August 25, 1955 in *The Daily Oklahoman*), the “Holiday” program events in San Francisco, Sacramento, San Jose, San Diego and other places from Los Angeles.
- On November 14, 1955 Schmid returned to Walt Disney Studios. One of her special projects was promotion of the Mouseketeers/Mickey Mouse Club. She worked there until mid-1957.
- It is unclear if this was prior to returning to Los Angeles, or if she worked remotely, but she did publicity for the Semicentennial Exposition of Oklahoma of 1957.

Other Accomplishments

- In 1953, C.R. Anthony Co. department stores sponsored and distributed two children’s books Schmid wrote: *Joe the Crow* and *Joe the Crow at the Zoo* (both 1953).
- In 1955, she participated, as a damsel in distress, in a live performance for charity by The Cisco Kid. The western-style show was in conjunction with a polo game booked for the Oklahoma City fairgrounds.

Profile

Public Profile:

Although Marjory Schmid was a West Coast Carol Lane, her home office was the corporate headquarters in New York City. She was in the role of Carol Lane for approximately eight years.

Future Visits/Visits [See above.]

After Carol Lane

- At age 43, Marjory A. Schmid married George C. Peacock in Santa Clara, CA on May 31, 1966.
- In the 1970s she and George lived in Montana, and later moved to Utah.
- Peacock made the paper for her bowling skills in the 1990s.
- You could still find her giving advice about travel in a St. George, UT, newspaper in 2003.
- Marjory died on February 25, 2005, possibly in St. George. George died in 2009 in San Jose, CA.

Canadian Carol Lane #1 | *Canadian Carol Lane*, 1958-1963

"Canadian Carol Lane #1" is a pseudo-pseudonym and used as a place holder for her real name once discovered. Her biographical and professional details are still under research.

Future Visits/Visits [See above.]

Carol Lane #11 | *Carol Lane*, 1960-1961

"Carol Lane #11" is a pseudo-pseudonym and used as a place holder for her real name once discovered. Her biographical and professional details are still under research.

Future Visits/Visits [See above.]

Barbara Brooks | *Carol Lane,* 1960-1961

Barbara Brooks likely played Carol Lane for a limited time, for by1962 had transitioned into the role of Director of Women's Activities for the Shell Oil Foundation specifically focusing on the traffic safety campaign. She worked out of the New York Office. Her biographical and professional details are still under research.

Future Visits/Visits [See above.]

Jeanette King (Kutak) | *Carol Lane,* 1961-1967

> "Miss Carol Lane, who travels more than 60,000 miles a year urging other people to travel by automobile, is a lady who takes her own advice when on vacation. She takes motor trips, either to places she has never been or return visits to places "spotted" on the company's time. Actually, Miss Carol Lane is a fictitious person whose job is woman's travel director for the Shell Oil Company.
>
> The "Carol" who covers all of the nation east of the Rockies, however, is Miss Jeannette King, an attractive red-head..."[51]

Biographical Information

- Her biographical details are still under research still. With a high level of certainty, I offer the following biographical sketch...[52]
- Jeannette Alice King was born November 23, 1923, likely in Lyndhurst, New Jersey, to William King, Jr., and Jeannette King (nee Jantje Postma). William King's parents were Scottish by birth and her mother Jeannette was born in Holland.

[51]"'Carol Lane' Urges Travel By Auto," *The Indianapolis Star*, September 29, 1963, 35.

[52]Note: Jeannette's name is sometimes spelled "Jeanette," including on her grave marker.

- According to interviews with her, King attended Northfield School for Girls in Gill, MA, as well as junior colleges in New York, where she studied business administration.
- By the 1940 U.S. Census, Jeannette King's mother was already widowed. She died in 1959 in Jackson Heights, a neighborhood in the Queens borough of New York City, where Jeannette Alice was also living at the time.
- Prior to acting as Carol Lane, King was employed by Shell Oil Company as an executive secretary.

Profile

Public Profile:

> "We really confused the hotels," laughed Carol Lane from New York, who spoke yesterday to Ft. Lauderdale Woman's Club. "It's the trade name we both use. I'm Jeannette King, but I really do come from New York."[53]

Future Visits/Visits [See above.]

After Carol Lane

- Although in this article below King says she'll marry in February 1968, I am able to confirm that in March 1968 in Collier County, FL, she seems to have married a lawyer and widower named Frank R. Kutak. They lived in Wilton and Westport, CT, as well as Florida and Long Island.
- Frank died in 1997 in Naples, FL.
- At age 75, Jeannette died May 14, 1999, possibly in Naples, FL, although she's buried with Frank at the Long Island National Cemetery.

[53]"'Carol Lane' Urges Travel By Auto," *The Indianapolis Star*, September 29, 1963, 35.

Canadian Carol Lane #2 | *Canadian Carol Lane*, 1963-1966

> "While one aspect of her job requires publicizing Canada, another part requires complete secrecy. She probably smiles at television programs and magazine stories that make much of the amnesia victim in search of his name, for she finds herself in the reverse situation. The woman known as Carol Lane is under instructions not to reveal her real name to the general public. She said "Carol Lane" is a trademark of the company, and during her tenure of the directorship, her own name is not published...Miss Lane planned to leave Wednesday for a tour of eastern Canada. Among topics she discusses are wardrobe, selection and effective suitcase packing. For her own 2-1/2-month tour, she packs all her clothes in one 26-inch suitcase. Her wardrobe includes two suits, two dresses, three shirts, a skirt, two sweaters, a fur jacket, and accessories. The only major change she plans is to exchange a light overcoat for a winter one."[54]

Biographical Information

"Canadian Carol Lane #2" is a pseudo-pseudonym and used as a place holder for her real name once discovered. Her biographical and professional details are still under research.

- Canadian Carol Lane #2 was born circa 1936 in Québec.
- She completed courses at Macdonald and Sir George Williams Colleges and McGill University.
- She worked as a fashion buyer and in market research before taking her present position; she also taught handicrafts.

Profile

Public Profile:

Canadian Carol Lane #2's biographical and professional details are still under research. She worked out the Montréal office, and according to an interview with her in an Oct. 28, 1965 edition of *Winnipeg Free Press*, she spoke both French and English fluently.

Future Visits/Visits [See above.]

[54]"Mlle Carol Lane,'" *Le Seigneurie*, January 31, 1966, 9.

Mary-Jane Webster | *Canadian Carol Lane*, 1965-1968

> "For most people the word "holiday" brings up visions of traveling [unclear] places or leisurely [unclear] the sun at the lake or holiday resort. For Mary-Jane Webster, who is Shell Canada Ltd.'s fifth Carol Lane, a holiday is a few weeks that she can spend at home in Toronto. She spends 10 months of the year travelling from Coast to Coast speaking to organizations on the most efficient ways to pack for car travel or how to travel with children among other things. She also presents Carol Lane safety awards... Mary-Jane has filled the Carol Lane role for two years now and confessed that she nearly didn't get the job because they feared she was too young. However, she is bilingual and that was a big point in her favor. She graduated from the University of Toronto in 1965 and joined Shell as a customer service representative, a job she held for six months."[55]

Biographical Information

- Mary-Jane Webster attended the University of Toronto, graduating in 1965.
- Worked for Shell as a customer service representative for six months before taking the role of Carol Lane.

Profile

Public Profile:

Webster was the fifth Carol Lane in Canada, lived in Toronto, and worked out of the Montréal office. Her biographical and professional details are still under research.

Jane Small (Vesy) | *Carol Lane*, 1965-1971

> "Woman's travel director for a major petroleum company, Miss Lane travels more than 60,000 miles annually, speaking to various groups throughout [the] country about ways of making travel more pleasant. A former newspaper columnist and political public relations agent, Miss Lane began her travel lectures for Shell Oil Co. five years ago. She still writes numerous travel articles. Her "home base" is Los Angeles, Calif., where she stops every three weeks for a one-week "breather," during which she does her office work. Mapping her own travel itinerary, she plans each trip at least a year in advance.

[55]"At-home Holidays Please Her Best," *Winnipeg Tribune*, 1967, n.p.

> In a 14-pound suitcase, including wardrobes, she takes with her more than 20 different ensembles and 200 articles."[56]

Biographical Information

- Jane Small (Vesy) was born Jane Evelyn Mann to George and Angeline Mann on February 15, 1926 in Cook County, Illinois.
- She grew up in Westfield, New Jersey. She went to Camp Eagle on the Metedeconk River at least twice.
- In Westfield she attended Theodore Roosevelt Junior High and Westfield High School, graduating from the latter in 1944.
- On Christmas Eve of 1943, the first semester of her senior year of high school, Jane Mann married (Private First Class) John Stephen Small in a post chapel at Camp Mackall, Hoffman, NC, where he was stationed.
- In fall of 1944, Jane began attending Webber College for Women, a business school in Babson Park, FL.

I have not discovered, yet, very much information about Jane Small from between the years at Webber College through working for Shell Oil. So far, it seems:

- She belonged to the Woman's Club in Westfield, with whom she helped host local GOP candidates running for office. Here is one such meeting in 1951. The club also co-hosted dinners for foreign students studying at Columbia and Rutgers Universities. One such event took place at Jane's parents' Westfield house in 1962.

[56]Noll, Gayle, "Says Travel Director: Plan Trips With 'Spirit of Adventure,'" *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, January 25, 1967, 6.

- Jane moved to New Jersey from Omaha, Nebraska, in 1960. For the next she worked in public relations for an investment firm, writing a newspaper column. At some point between 1960-1963 she was elected to the executive board of the Westfield Women's Republican Club and was publicity director of the Westfield March of Dimes campaign, as well as being active with the Girl Scouts and volunteering for the Red Cross.
- In 1963, Small ran as a Republican "Conservative Action" candidate for the New Jersey State Assembly.
- In 1964, Small volunteered at a tea for a "Truth Squads" planning event thrown by Martha Rountree, an area reporter, TV personality, and Barry Goldwater supporter.

Profile

Public Profile:

Because Jane Small was a West Coast Carol Lane, her home office was likely in Los Angeles, as she states. By the late 1950s, to obtain booklets, for instance, Shell had also begun referring readers to their West Sixth Street address in Los Angeles proper, and Bush Street offices in San Francisco.

> "I don't know much about all those things under the hood of a car or gas and oil. However, I pack a pretty good suitcase, picnic basket and know what to wear on a trip. I don't think I ever influenced anyone to buy Shell gasoline, that's not my job. I just help provide services for the pubic, to give Shell a good image."[57]

- According to this 1968 article, Small referred to herself as "Mrs." and mentions she has a daughter and two grandchildren. It is unclear whether she is still married, despite using the moniker "Mrs.", during this period.

[57]"Carol Lane: She Loves Being A Leisure-time Cook," *The Arizona Republic*, November 24, 1968, 116.

- Jane Small designed Carol Lane's published poncho and various other sewing patterns.
- She also penned the 1970 booklet *What's a Nice Girl Like You Doing Under the Hood of Your Car? -- or Please Lady, I'd Rather Do It Myself*.

Future Visits/Visits [See above.]

After Carol Lane

- Jane Small remarried in 1972 to a Cecil Vesy in Reno, NV. The couple moved to Rocklin, CA, then in the nearby Sunset Whitney Ranch area.
- In the 1970s, she continued to lecture on travel to Christian Women's clubs in places such as Reno, Marin County, CA, and Auburn, CA.
- By 1983 the couple seem to have relocated to Sun City, AZ, and were appointed co-chairmen of the Sun Cities Art Museum's capital fund-raising drive.
- Jane Small's husband Cecil Vesy died in 2000 (and her first, John Stephen Small, died in 2008.)
- Jane Small Vesy seems to have stayed, perhaps, in Arizona. She married again in 2001, this time to Ralph W. Colrud, and was still residing in Sun City West in 2010.
- It appears that Jane Vesy Colrud in Arizona may still be living. In their January/February 2020 newsletter, the Crown of Life Lutheran Church in Sun City West, AZ, listed a Jane Colrud under their list of current birthdays. During the Covid-19 pandemic, I have not pursued contact since February 2020. Her husband, Ralph, died in November 2020, and she is listed as a living member of his family in his obituary.

Lucia Cucullu | *Carol Lane*, 1968-1972

> "Pretty blonde Carol Lane is a traveling woman and loves it... Does she like being on the road three weeks out of four? she answered with an enthusiastic "yes" and by the time she winds up the fourth week in the New York office typing up the ends, completing paperwork and organizing her next trip she is ready for the highways.
>
> Her employer is the Shell Oil Co.; her title -- women's travel director. What does her job entail? Traveling over 70,000 miles a year lecturing to more than 30,000 club women, many outdoor groups and occasionally men's clubs. Her talks are geared to travel, clothes to take along and how to pack them, and planning a trip to insure the maximum enjoyment with the minimum of money and trouble. Miss Lane, whose soft Southern drawl, giver her origin away, says originally she is from Virginia... [Do] her talks push Shell products? Definitely not. 'I am simply providing a public service to promote travel by car to make it easier, more comfortable, more interesting,' she says."[58]

Biographical Information | Before Carol Lane

I had the distinct pleasure of interviewing Lucia Cucullu on September 8, 2017 over the telephone.

- Lucia Preston Cucullu was born on August 8, 1937 in Lynchburg, Virginia, and was adopted by Allen and Mary Cucullu.
- She lived in Statesville, North Carolina, as a toddler, but grew up in Lynchville, VA.
- Cucullu attended St. Catherine's School at least as a freshman in 1953.
- She lived in Lynchburg and attended Majorie Webster Junior College in Washington, DC, for two years during until around 1956.
- For two years during this period she attended The Neighborhood Playhouse School of the Theatre.

[58]Goguen, Pat, "This Pretty Blonde 'Hits The Road' Often And Loves It," *Fitchburg Sentinel*, March 12, 1970, 8.

- She was, also, possible the Lucia Cucullu listed in, and signed, a playbill of the 1966 Lakes Region Playhouse (New Hampshire) run of the play The Deadly Game by James Yaffe.
- Lucia worked for Braniff International Airways in New York, "on the ground," for seven years before Shell Oil Company.
- She was living in Manhattan, when Lucia's aunt was fundraising and met Jane Small's parents. They mentioned what Small did for a living and Lucia reached out to Shell Oil's headquarters in New York City.

Profile

Public Profile:

- Cucullu interviewed with Shell and a few months later, as Jeannette King was leaving, they interviewed her again ("all the way up to the Vice President of PR"). She then began on-the-job training with Jane Small on the West Coast and Texas.
- She initially worked out the New York City headquarters, but by 1969 had transferred with Shell to its new location in Houston.

Future Visits/Visits [See above.]

After Carol Lane

- While once engaged, Lucia Cucullu never married. After working as Carol Lane she continued to work for many years in Manhattan.
- Circa 1972-1973 (at least) she worked for the American Management Association.
- As of September 8, 2017, when I interviewed her over the telephone, she was living in East Hampton, NY.

Lyn Johnson (Dysart) | *Carol Lane*, 1971-1974

> "Carol Lane, women's travel director for Shell Oil Company, logs some 70,000 miles each year meeting with women from clubs and civic organizations to offer travel tips and document the work of the people who are revitalizing their environments. Women are involved in a major way in all aspects of conservation--from recycling cans to preserving animal species."[59]
>
> "Carol is based in Houston, Texas. The pretty bubbly 28-year-old comes from a newspaper family, her father having been the managing editor of the *Springfield Newspapers*, Inc. for many years."[60]
>
> "The Carol Lane program, with which she was identified for two years, has been abandoned because of the recent oil shortage but more than likely will be revived within the next year or so..."[61]

Biographical Information

- Lyn Johnson was born Jan. 9, 1944, and grew up in Springfield, Missouri. Her farther, C.W. Johnson, was an editor for *The Springfield News-Leader/Springfield Leader* and Press, and her young life is, thus, somewhat well documented in their newspaper.
- By 1957, she had published a book review in the *News-Leader*, and in 1960 attended a publications workshop at the University of Missouri.
- She played gulf as a youth and won a City Park Board championship trophy in 1960. That year she was also elected president of the Missouri Interscholastic Press Association at its annual convention, and was on her high school's Hi-Y library board in 1961.
- Johnson graduated from Parkview High School in 1962.
- She then graduated from the University of Missouri in 1966, majoring in Journalism. While there she was a student guest editor assisting the production of the *Tri-County News* during April 1965. She was affiliated with Pi Beta Phi sorority, Kappa Tau Alpha,

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[59]"Women Fight for Environment," *Grand Prairie Daily News*, July 16, 1972, 6.

[60]Lindsey, Polly, "Miss Lane Talks About Environment," *Petersburg Progress*, Sept. 20, 1972, 5.

[61]Johnson, C.W., "A Postscript," *Springfield Leader and Press*, June 16, 1974, 40.

scholastic honorary journalism fraternity, a member of Theta Sigma Phi, national women's journalism fraternity, and Lambda Alpha Lambda. At MU she was a laboratory instructor in copy editing. In 1962 she was a finalist in the Savitar Queen contest at the university, its representative in the American Royal Queen Contest in Kansas City, and in '64 a member of the Homecoming queen's court. The same year she was named to the freshman girls' golf team.

Career Before Carol Lane

- For about six months after graduation, Johnson worked on the editorial staff of the *New York Daily News*.
- In 1967, Johnson married Dorsey Dysart, and they lived in Metairie, Louisiana.
- Throughout 1967-1970, she, as Lyn Johnson Dysart or Lyn Dysart, was a staff writer for *Louisiana Conservationist*, *The Times-Picayune*, and occasionally wrote pieces for the *Springfield Leader and Press.*
- In the early 1970s Johnson was also a co-host and producer on *The Morning Show* on WWL-TV, New Orleans.

Profile

Public Profile:

In 1969, Shell Oil moved its headquarters to Houston, TX, and that's where Lyn Johnson was based.

Future Visits/Visits [See above.]

After Carol Lane

- After the phasing out of the Carol Lane character, Johnson was transferred from Houston to the Chicago regional office circa 1973-1974 where she joined the public relations team in a less public role, and then seems to have returned to Houston in 1974 as a public relations representative in the News and Information group. She worked for Shell Oil until at least 1983, when her father mentioned in the *Springfield Leader and Pres*s that was the executive assistant to John F. Bookout, president and chief executive of Shell Oil Co. I haven't yet found the issue, but she was mentioned in a circa early 1983 *Forbes* magazine article.
- At some point after 1986, Johnson married Robert J. Hermann. They lived in Texas and Scottsdale, AZ.
- No precise proof, but I believe I have found Lyn working for the Houston Host Committee of the Republican Convention of 1992.

Identifications in Progress | *Carol Lane(s)*, 1952-1966

These Carol Lanes are still under research as well as Carols #5, #7 and #11 above, and Canadian Carol Lanes #1 and #2. If you can identify these or others, see this form or see the "Help Identify" tab above.

Claire Hoffman | *Proto-Carol Lane*, 1947 to 1948

> "Claire Hoffman, one of the nation's leading women authorities on travel by automobile... For 17 years manager of Shell Oil Company's Touring Bureau with headquarters in New York City, Miss Hoffman is visiting in 30 states from the Eastern Seaboard to the Rocky Mountains. By means of voice recording equipment, she transcribed data obtained en route during her research trips.

> Miss Hoffman was born in New York City and attended Mount St. Ursula Academy, Tremont Business School, and Columbia University. Her father at one time operated a service station, where she used to work after school."[62]

Profile

Public Profile:

Claire E. Hoffman began working for the Shell Touring Service/Bureau at the New York headquarters, circa 1930-1931, as a typist.[63] Prior to 1947 she transitioned into the role of the Bureau's manager, and oversaw a staff of 35 "mapmeticians" who prepared touring routes and answered requests from tourists. She reportedly had already helped thousands of families plan motoring vacations (66,000 in 1946 alone).[64] Caroline Iverson was hired by Shell to develop a woman-focused public relations program with Hoffman as the spokeswoman, or as she wrote in a letter to a family friend in 1947, "a travel-authority personality."[65] At first Iverson also seems to have worked as a liaison between Hoffman and the lead PR department in New York City. They initially split their duties as such:

Miss Hoffman will:

- To be available to address women's clubs.

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[62]"Claire Hoffman, 'Touring Expert,' Will Speak For Club Au Courant Tea," *The Kilgore News*, January 18, 1948, 4; "Travel Hints are Announced," *The Charlotte News*, January 14, 1947, 12.

[63]"Claire Hoffman, 'Touring Expert,'" 4.

[64]"Letter to Mrs. Stanley Perry, President, WAUW Arad Woman's Club, June 23, 1947." Public appearance-related memos, correspondence, reports, and engagement forms, 1947-1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.6-12.8.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

[65]"Letter to Mr. Larkin." Public appearance-related memos, correspondence, reports, and engagement forms, 1947-1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.6-12.8.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

- To attend teas, luncheons, and any other social functions in connection with speaking engagements.
- To be available for newspaper interviews.
- To be available for radio interviews.
- To be responsible for a suitable wardrobe.
- To prepare any speeches with research material obtained from her own sources and also Miss Iverson's.
- To keep up to date with all aspects of touring, in order to be a confident authority on discussing the subject with anyone she meets. [Note: This can be accomplished by study of travel periodicals like *Holiday* and *Traveltime*, or book series like *Look at America*.]
- Consider the advisability of research trips from time to time.
- Set herself up as the representative of the Shell Oil Company and an outstanding, leading woman authority on touring.
- Contact, as frequently as necessary, Miss Suzanne McKay, who will act as an advisor on speech delivery.
- Supply information for touring handbook.
- Check all articles and speech releases before released.

Miss Iverson will:

- Supply ideas and research for talks.
- Handle bookings with women's clubs.
- Handle all publicity in connection with women's clubs, both advance and after talks.
- Originate ghost articles on touring for Claire Hoffman's byline.

- Work with Mrs. Pearson's group in supplying news and feature information about Miss Hoffman's travel discoveries for distribution and syndication.
- Accompany Miss Hoffman on speaking tours when necessary.
- Arrange radio appearances in local towns where she speaks.
- Work with press to handle on-the-spot news and picture coverage.
- During luncheons and dinners, sit at press table or the club's publicity chairman.
- Keep Miss Hoffman informed on all correspondence, reports, bookings, etc., pertaining to speeches, tours and publicity.
- To coordinate preparation of suitable proofs to be used for speeches.[66]

Iverson communicated reports on Hoffman's performance to the PR department heads H.L. Curtis and G.G. Biggar, and others throughout 1947. Hoffman seems to have moved on from actively lecturing by around April 1948, not long after the last discovered announcement that she, as representative of Shell's Touring Bureau (another name used for the Service), was to give a talk on March 9th before the Federation Department of the East Chicago Woman's Club.[67] It is unclear if Hoffman remained with Shell Oil's touring service beyond 1948. By 1951, the *Daily News* identified a Mr. R.H. Davis as the manager of the touring service.

Hoffman is referred to as a "Proto-Carol Lane" because when Caroline Iverson came on board to publicize her, she often used the same language and phrases later to promote Lane ---

[66]"Clarification of Duties -- Women's Activities." Public appearance-related memos, correspondence, reports, and engagement forms, 1947-1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.6-12.8.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

[67]Mahey, Roger, "Shell Touring Service Logs Routes for Vacationers," *Daily News*, August 17, 1951, 12.

down to the titles or subjects of Hoffman's talks (e.g. "Touring Gets a Woman's Touch" and "tourettes"), and the number of miles she traveled each year to conduct surveys.[68]

[68]"Around The Borough," *Brooklyn Eagle*, November 20, 1947, 20.

PART I: AUDIENCES

> "A few months later, there was a State Women's Club luncheon, and Carol Lane talked–you know, the trade name of the Shell Oil Company travel lady who would go around and talk. She was showing how to pack efficiently, quickly, and what to take and what not to take; and among other things she said, 'Now, your costume jewelry you can pack into a soap dish and that will protect it, and it will tuck in anywhere in your luggage, or else you can pack it in a little bag that you can tuck in the toe of a shoe.' Later, Mrs. [Earl] Warren told me that after the luncheon she had said to Carol Lane, 'I have something even better than a soap dish or a chamois bag. I have this quilted jewel holder that is soft and packs anywhere and keeps anything safe,' and then she said, 'Oh, Betty, you gave it to me. Oh, I use it all the time.' And that made me feel very good because I had found something that she could really use.'" – Betty Foot Anderson, friend and biographer of ex-California Governor and Supreme Court Judge Earl Warren, 1976[69]

> "If you plan and try to find a coincidence between your desires and the public's, you may find your future assured, as you want it." – Edward L. Bernays, 1947[70]

Introduction

Shell Oil financially backed a twenty-seven-year public relations (PR) program to gain the attention and loyalty of women motorists. To attract audiences of women that would ultimately number in the tens of thousands, Carol Lane and numerous personnel in Shell's PR department specifically pinpointed women who socialized or worked together, or were civic leaders in their spheres of influence. This targeted demographic was comprised overwhelmingly of clubwomen. Women's social and religious clubs and professional associations, such as local

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[69]Earl Warren's Friend and Biographer: Betty Foot Henderson," Earl Warren Oral History Project. *The Warrens: Four Personal Views*. Copyright ©1976 by The Regents of the University of California, 55, http://content.cdlib.org/view?docId=kt2v19n5qh&brand=calisphere&doc.view=entire_text (Accessed September 2, 2020).

[70]Bernays, Edward L., "More Power to Art Directors -- A Challenge to the Profession." In *26 - Annual of Advertising Art: The Art Directors Club of New York*, edited by The Art Directors Club of New York. New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, Inc., 1947, viii.

chapters of the Business and Professional Women's Clubs and National Federation of Women's Clubs, most frequently booked Lane to speak; but so too did sororities and secretaries. Shell entertained service station owners', executives' and other employees' wives at dinners starring Lane. Women's associations and clubs were not her only targeted audiences, however, they outnumber men's and mixed gendered groups severalfold. Schoolgirls on occasion, along with their teachers, also listened in auditoriums in school auditoriums or at a YWCA. Very occasionally both men's and women's advertising clubs would invite her to regale them with the inside scoop on how the program worked. There were also countless women (and presumably men) who listened to her on radio and watched her on television at home, or came across Lane in a publication.

Whether Shell's PR department at least attempted to nurture mobility and wanderlust in a wider swath of society is a question this section attempts to answer. In contemporaneous accounts and in more recent scholarship on Carol Lane, authors and correspondents perpetuated the idea that her various audiences were a rather monolithic group comprised of American women tourists or motorists, or in more general terms such as "readers." They are assumed to be unmistakably white, often family-oriented (or aspiring to be), and presumed to be upwardly mobile enough to afford an automobile and free time: essentially an idealized customer base. Due to Jim Crow-era discriminatory practices that coincided with much of the period under study in this project, those assumptions are understandable. However, they are not one-hundred percent accurate, and the suppositions need further investigation.

The truth is Carol Lane's audiences were geographically dispersed – the campaign, for instance, actively cultivated a Canadian audience, both English- and French-speaking. They ranged in age (like Lane), and were overwhelmingly female and white; however, they also

consisted, although in far fewer numbers, of African-Americans, American Indians, and Jewish-Americans whom the program attempted to reach in newspapers dedicated to their specific readerships. As well, there were unquantifiable intersections thereof who watched television and listened to radio. This Audiences section attempts to mark the overwhelming whiteness of her audiences visually, and quantify it in part by teasing out proof of two demographics who Carol Lane addressed very infrequently – African-Americans and American Indians.

The Changing Lanes: A Reanimation of Shell Oil's Carol Lane project treats the fictionalized spokeswoman *as a network* of persons engaged in the creation of a single fictional character who would function as a kind of idealized stand-in for midcentury American womanhood. Rather than positioning her on one side of what public relations pioneer Ivy Lee (first publicist for Shell's competitor Standard Oil) characterized as a "two-way street" between a company and its customers, this project situates Lane as part of a much larger conversation that unfolded between three parties: the PR department personnel invented her, the over twenty Lane performers who brought this composite character to life, and the countless audience members who encountered her in some way.[71] Each party contributed to Carol Lane's persona as creators, performers, and witnesses. Each contributed to culturally specific messaging about gender and femininity, women and professionalism, wanderlust, patriotism, consumerism, and technologies, that served as connective tissues between nodes in that network. Yet, highly mediated documentation of their public disclosures in newspaper and magazine articles, photos, scripts, and digitized films tend to only account for two sides of the exchange: what Carol Lane communicated to her audiences, and what Shell's PR team and Lane performers collectively said on record about the program in trade journals and period profiles on Lane. Moreover, personal

[71]Goldman, Eric Frederick, *Two-Way Street, The Emergence of the Public Relations Counsel*. (Boston: Bellman Publishing Company, 1948), 9.

papers of the first two Carol Lane performers furthermore provide vital additional insight on the program's initial commitment to connect with women, and what was privately communicated between them and their bosses and support staff.

For the purposes of manageability, this network of thousands has been wrangled metaphorically into a triangle shape, with audiences, the PR team, and Carol Lane performers anchoring each angle – and at the center is the singular fictional Lane. Each angle has its own dedicated section of the project. The "Carol Lane(s)" section of this project provides biographies for each Lane performer's personal and professional lives. The "PR: Other Personnel" section also includes sketches of a host of personnel connected to Shell's PR department, as well as a more thorough examination of their processes. Audiences were the greatest in number and yet they are the parties about whom so little is known. This section examines who they were demographically and as self-defined or amorphous groups, but not at the individual level. That level of granularity is beyond the scope of this project. Furthermore, implementing visual prosopography as the driving hybrid methodology has been instrumental in curtailing assumptions and conclusions about exactly who and where her audiences were during the discovery phase. As a method it facilitates a consideration of audiences' makeup both quantitatively (at different scales) and qualitatively. This examination is based on data visualizations and mapping – including, crucially, procedures for gathering and organizing the data – and works in tandem with close reading of print resources accessible throughout the project site. Mapping and visualizing data about audiences also exposes precisely where Shell did business; and the prosopographical method applies to all of the various multiplicities this project focuses on (the creators, the subjects, and the audiences).

This “Audiences” section is split into three parts. This subsection, “Part I: Audiences,” brings together close reading of publications about and by Carol Lane, as well as the personal papers of Caroline Iverson (Carol Lane, 1947-1950) who invented the character and other primary sources. These materials have shed some insight as to why the Carol Lane program centered on women. These narratives recount PR managers’ or women’s activities staff members’ explanations as to specifically *why* Lane cultivated relationships with women drivers and tourists, clubwomen, professional career women, the wives of Shell dealers, and others. It also touches briefly on Shell’s woman-oriented marketing generally. A more comprehensive analysis of *how* the PR department collectively conducted their outreach efforts is covered under the “PR: Strategies” tab in the project site.

The following subsections “Part II: Details” delves more deeply into Carol Lane’s audiences by *select* category: “Detail: Wives of Shell gas station owners or corporate execs; mixed Shell Oil Company audience,” “Detail: Men’s club, association, or other audience,” “Detail: African American and American Indian Audiences,” “Detail: Business and Professional Associations,” and “Radio Listening & Television Viewers and Radio Listener.” It also includes “Connecting with Women’s Groups,” which briefly discusses the kinds of materials the Carol Lane program distributed to women’s clubs. [Note: Appendix III offers mini audience group case studies which showcase collocated data derived using tools under the “Data” tab.]

Impact

A study of her audiences begins first with a speculative hypothesis on how authentically Lane may have appeared to audiences in her role as touring expert, in light of Shell’s consistent touting of her as one. Regarding those unknowable multitudes who took Carol Lane at her word,

one can only speculate whether audience members knew or even cared if she was, in fact, in part an act. Was Carol Lane perceived as an authentic authority or educator, a celebrity or an afternoon's entertainment? All of the above? How they decoded Carol Lane's messaging, within their particular social contexts as American and Canadian women of this period, may remain unknowable but is ripe for speculation. There is little extant documentation of how her suggestions and instructions – disseminated through booklets, DIY crafting and sewing patterns, lectures and media appearances – resonated, or were used by women during the program period and after. (Those materials are in place throughout the project site in case they are, in fact, valuable to today's drivers and tourists!) Without their responses, what exists is evidence of to whom Shell's PR department collectively *thought* they were appealing.

A concomitant stumbling block has been a lack of first-hand accounts of audiences' implementation of Carol Lane's ideas about budgeting, or her crafting techniques. Did women actually make a hat or poncho using the sewing patterns she reportedly designed? [See *Making the Carol Lane Travel Hat* in a subsection below.] They have been exceedingly hard to find. The next phase of this project will include a more widespread outreach campaign to find previous audience members who remember Carol Lane. As of 2021, the year of this writing, the working assumption is that outside of the children and teenagers who saw Lane live in the late 1960s or 1970s, her living audience members are now mostly aging senior citizens or are deceased. Recording their first-hand accounts remains a challenge.[72] Until contacts are found and interviewed, it will be nearly impossible to ascertain to what extent audiences – other than members of professional associations schooled in the ins and outs of advertising or public relations – understood that Carol Lane was a fictional construct and part of a program in

[72]This discovery phase of the project during which time I would have recorded first-hand accounts was delayed also in part due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

corporate goodwill building. This section teases out what there is to discover at the intersection of speculation and evidence.

It is also debatable whether the Carol Lane program had a long-lasting impact on her audiences' lives. Did women tour the country or camp more after listening to her or reading one of her booklets? If Shell conducted any surveys after the program's demise on its overall effectiveness in obtaining women customers' loyalty, none yet have been found. However, if post-1974 name recognition is any indication of her general impact, both journalists and audiences stopped discussing Carol Lane in the media soon after the program petered out.[73] Except for a few spare articles about ex-Lane performers later in life, post-1974 the "Carol Lane" construct is really only mentioned in the obituaries of the performers who embodied her, or in association with the Carol Lane Award recipients. Sometimes her name is repeated in decades-old highlights compilations – called "Glimpses of Yesteryear" or "Do You Remember?" – newspaper editors pulled together as filler content under television listings and Ann Landers advice columns. Otherwise, she has been pretty much forgotten in the public imagination but for a handful of scholars, for whom she has been sidelined as almost a kitschy figure, and special collections librarians.[74] However, there is one meaningful exception – a reference to Lane recorded in an oral history with Betty Foot Henderson, friend and biographer of ex-California Governor and Supreme Court Judge Earl Warren. The opening epigraph, a quote about an event Henderson and his wife Nina Warren attended, is the only reference to an in-person encounter with Lane discovered to date. In it, we find the sort of exchange of ideas between audience

[73]This assertion is based on keyword searches in Newspapers.com and Newspaperarchive.com. I discuss her disappearance in public discourse in the "Who Was Carol Lane?" section.

[74]Flatt, "Summer Vacation." When this author was still employed at the Schlesinger Library at Harvard University, the library staff wrote a blog post in August 2012 about the recently processed collection of Caroline Iverson Ackerman's personal papers.

members and herself, the kind Lane purportedly encouraged and then utilized in her own distributed advice.

Not a Saleslady

Shell's PR department managers did not rely upon a unidirectional print ad campaign or television commercials to elicit loyalty from women drivers. Instead, they engineered consent by backing a heredity line of Carol Lanes to talk them into it. Her public role was that of an authentic authority and educator on travel. G.G. Biggar, manager of public relations in Shell's New York City headquarters and Carol Lane's direct supervisor, explained the necessity of Carol Lane's function in a rare public rationalization of the Carol Lane program. In a November 1, 1965, lecture before Pace College Graduate School of Business Administration, Biggar stated that Carol Lane's role, along with the General Federation of Women's Clubs educational program which eventually replaced the Carol Lane Award for traffic safety campaign, created a "favorable atmosphere" among the women in a municipality in which Shell wanted to do business. Her lectures, booklets, sewing patterns and television appearances were meant to make the public feel kindlier towards a new service station permit or "easier to lease land, obtain rights-of-way, deal with municipal governments."[75] Other Shell PR department managers were forthright, too, in their discussions about modes of persuasion in trade journals and industry-related books.[76] For instance, E.A. Cunningham, manager of PR in the San Francisco office

[75]Biggar, G. Gordon, "Relationships Between the Public Relations Officer and Management: A Lecture Before Course on Corporate Decision and Public Relations," (lecture, Pace College Graduate School of Business Administration, New York, New York, November 1, 1965), 8.

[76]Because I go into much greater detail about how Shell's public relations departments were structured in the "PR: Other Personnel" section of the project, I simply use the singular form of "department' as a catch-all for regionally dispersed efforts. At the beginning of the Carol Lane program, Shell centralized many of its activities under the auspices of the New York City headquarters.

whose team would have already helped introduce the West Coast Carol Lane to Northern California audiences, inferred in the 1949 book, *Public Relations in Management*, that her professional role was to help the company interpret itself to its "social, political and economic environment."[77] And his inference connoted an ideal PR precept: two-way communication between Shell and women motorists enabled feedback with which to create a more conducive atmosphere of compatibility. Facilitating this feedback loop was one of Lane's roles. Carol Lane was an intermediary between the company and the women whose long-lasting brand loyalty Shell hoped to capture. That reciprocal relationship entailed, as was the case with Mrs. Nina Warren, collecting tips from women with whom she made contact in one geographical area and passing them along, she claimed, to others throughout the country. In fact, Lane's first booklet, *Travel à la Car* (1949) indicates she and her staff corresponded with women via the U.S. mail. Moreover, the advertising agency J. Walter Thompson (J.W.T.) surveyed subscribers to *Good Housekeeping* magazine in 1939, on Shell's behalf, to get a sense of women's buying habits and brand loyalty; and although they do not seem to have mentioned Lane by name, Shell's Touring Service conducted surveys to which seven hundred women responded to one, and over three hundred another in 1949. (A reference Caroline Ackerman made in a monthly report to her managers in October 1949 suggests the survey may have been yearly. It appears to have continued through at least 1959.)[78] The results and actual questionnaire to which seven hundred

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[77]Wright, J. Handly and Byron H. Christian, *Public Relations in Management* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1949), 1.

[78]"Mailer sent from Automotive Research Bureau to *Good Housekeeping* subscribers in 1939." [Reels 98-101], J. Walter Thompson Company. 35mm Microfilm Proofs, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University; "Monthly Report for October 1949." Budget reports; listings for local news and radio affiliates; lists of "tips" used for different towns; notes, and publicity reports, 1948-1949. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.13. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.; "The Woman Behind the Wheel," *The Clarks News*, January 21, 1960, 3. Caroline Iverson refers, in a November 1, 1949, letter to her managers, that these

women responded are in her personal papers. [Their market surveys and the PR personnel are discussed in greater detail in their subsection under the "PR Strategies" and "PR: Other Personnel" tab.]

Carol Lane was no saleslady.[79] She was exempt from directly advertising Shell products, such as the company's X-100 Motor Oil. Shaping her into a relatable authority figure meant she purposefully did not engage in such undertakings because doing so would have gone against some basic public relations principles. In its place, she appeared in public service-style advertisements that raised awareness of traffic safety; or, on occasion, she could be seen in ads for events at which she was appearing. Other than that, what Lane provided was instructional entertainment, or "edutainment" such as her well-received and oft-requested suitcase packing demonstration, or advice about travel fashion. She was a roving home economist of sorts, with budgeting advice and tips on efficiently preparing picnic baskets or laundering clothing while traveling. She discussed gadgetry and maps and basic automobile maintenance. Talking about fashion and DIY projects created an opportunity to introduce her sewing pattern for a packable travel hat and "Quiet Book" for entertaining children on road trips. She also showed films and used audiovisual aids to capture and keep attendees' attention. As Iverson's manager in the PR department, G.G. Biggar, would put it in a correspondence to a colleague in 1948 about her type of audience – "women's clubs shy clear of commercial ventures."[80]

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surveys by the Touring Service were yearly and conducted in the fall. Thus far, however, I have only found direct reference to one.

[79]Although, ironically, in Carol Lane's first film, *Women Mean Business* (1950), she is referred to as "Shell's Traveling Saleslady." The film was for internal use only and was initially shown to Shell station owners to introduce them to her ideas about women drivers and the importance of clean restrooms. Caroline Iverson played Carol Lane in the film, but her true identity is not revealed in the dialog or credits.

[80]"Copy of November 9, 1948 letter from G.G. Biggar to P.C. Thomas." Public appearance-related memos, correspondence, reports, and engagement forms, 1947-1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.6-12.8. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in

This separation between commercial advertising, salesmanship, and goodwill building was a core aspect of the program, and best practices for corporate PR generally. As early twentieth-century public relations pioneer and "father of spin," Edward L. Bernays, would famously complain in his essay, "The Engineering of Consent": "Many more millions are spent in engineering consent for products than in creating favorable attitudes toward the companies which make them."[81] Bernays' philosophies and history of successful PR campaigns stretched back to the 1920s. It is reasonable to imagine that the company's PR specialists, including Caroline Iverson and outside ad agency execs they hired, integrated his theories about what defined a successful public relations program.[82] They may have already been turning to Bernays' philosophies on how to influence the public in other ways, especially his views on the impact of organized women.[83] The most significant indication was Shell's idea to send Lane out as the "engineer," to work with group leaders and opinion molders within a particular subset of society: clubwomen. The PR department, particularly at Iverson's prompting, chose clubwomen broadly conceived as those opinion shapers, or what are today called "influencers."

Being perceived, or promoted as a saleslady (or perhaps worse – a woman playing a saleslady) would certainly have run counter to Carol Lane's professed public role as a helpful travel expert whose job it was to efficiently and entertainingly give women the tools they needed to ease trip taking into their or their families' busy lives. She gave, not sold, them the tools to

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America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.; Tye, Larry, *Father of Spin, the: Edward L. Bernays & the Birth of Public Relations*. New York: Henry Holt & Company Inc, 2006.

[81]Packard, Vance, *The Hidden Persuaders* (New York: D. McKay Co, 1957), 216.

[82]Henry, Susan, *Anonymous in Their Own Names: Doris E. Fleischman, Ruth Hale, and Jane Grant* (Nashville : Vanderbilt University Press, 2012), 76. Caroline Iverson, later Ackerman, knew Bernays through her activities with Women in Communications Inc. (WICI) in Boston. She was also friendly with his wife, Doris Fleischman when she lived and taught in the Boston area.

[83]Bernays, Edward L., *Propaganda*. [Place of publication not identified] : Desert Books, 2018 (original date: 1928).

plan it; and along with the whole PR team, she created newsworthy content that warranted audiences' attentions.[84] In published interviews (and once in conversation with this author), various Lane performers reaffirmed that her the role was only that of a well-traveled expert and fun-loving traveler. For example, in a March 12, 1970, *Fitchburg Sentinel* article entitled, "This Pretty Blonde 'Hits The Road' Often And Loves It," Lucia Cucullu (Carol Lane, 1968-1972) proclaimed in response to a question asking whether she hawked Shell products during her presentation: "I am simply providing a public service to promote travel by car to make it easier, more comfortable, more interesting."[85] She emphatically denied she was in sales in conversation with the author as well, and even took issue with the term, "campaign" saying that term was reserved for advertising. What Carol Lane headed was a public relations "program."[86] Likewise, in *The Kansas City Star* on February 5, 1952, the author of a personal profile on Elizabeth Baker (Carol Lane, 1949-1952) as a career woman took pains to mention that "Miss Baker doesn't advertise or sell any Shell products. Her job is part of the company's public relations program."[87] Overwhelmingly, journalists – whether they knew of or cared about a particular Carol Lane's true identity or not – kept the ruse going. In an October 14, 1962, *The Odessa American* article on Marjory Schmid (Carol Lane, 1958-1964) as Lane, the author played with the concept of a saleslady with his headline, "Shell's Personable Travel Editor 'Selling' America," but he then clarified his intent. Ed Hayes Wilson ("American Oil Writer") refined the headline's verbiage by adding, "A personable woman from California is flitting hither and yon over the United States in an effort to 'sell' this nation to its citizens, and from that way she views it, the selling comes

[84]Lee, Ivy, *Publicity: Some of the Things It Is and Is Not* (New York: Industries Publishing Company, 1925), 13.

[85]Goguen, 8.

[86]Goguen, 8.

[87]"At 26 She Earns Living by Taking One Vacation After Another," *The Kansas City Star*, February 5, 1952, 14.

hard."[88] Another journalist helped to clarify Lane's role to her readers, in 1967. Gayle Noll in *The Lubbock Avalanche-Journal* said of Jane Small (Carol Lane, 1965-1971), "She could be called a travelling saleswoman, promoting a product designed for the whole family. Yet, no cost is involved. Miss Carol Lane simply aims at 'selling' families on travelling more, and enjoying themselves more on each trip."[89] Sales, when and if it came up in public discourses, meant selling tips, and *herself* as an expert to her audiences of predominantly women.

Why Women?

Attracting the attention of women motorists was the modus operandi of the Carol Lane public relations program, and Shell was quite frank in its messaging about it. In fact, in 1950 the company claimed to have been the first and only oil company to have made "an all-out effort to capture this business" by conducting a survey and subsequent report "on just how to get women motorist to think favorably about Shell."[90] The survey in question was likely one conducted by Shell Touring Service. The PR department promoted the results of the survey and this new idea of actively engaging with women customers in the first sponsored film introducing Carol Lane to Shell service station dealers, *Women Mean Business!* (1950). In it, the male voice-over actor extolled the value of married women and mothers as key participants in a healthy local economy. He explains:

> "After the husband has been dropped off at the office, and the children packed off to school, women have the car to themselves for the rest of the day. And they really get around. Women spend eighty percent of the family budget, so when a

[88]Wilson, Ed Hayes, "Shell's Personable Travel Editor 'Selling' America," *The Odessa American*, October 14, 1962, 66.

[89]Noll, Gayle, "Plan Trips with 'Spirit of Adventure,'" 6.

[90]*Women Mean Business!*

> woman gets behind the wheel, she really means business to the grocer, the butcher, the baker, to department stores, and to the service station dealer… One-third of all licensed drivers are women. Think of it, there are 15 million women drivers in the United States; and that's an average of about 750 women customers for every Shell station — a tremendous profit potential in anybody's league. And remember, day in and day out, it is the woman who does the driving and buying in your town. She has the car most of the time during the normal weekday while her husband is away working. And even when that happy day, vacation time, rolls around and 70 million Americans take vacation trips in their family cars, it is the woman who plans four out of five of these trips."[91]

The narrator does not cite from where Shell got these statistics that reach beyond the scope of the survey, but the estimate that housewives were responsible for spending eighty percent of the household budget is one that was reiterated in other publications such as *Ladies' Home Journal* in March 1949.[92] Moreover, the assertion that one-third of licensed drivers are women seems within reason because over the next fifteen years the ratio of men to women possessing drivers' licenses would reach 60:40.[93] By 1967, women would make up forty-five percent of all motorists for a total of forty-seven million – a leap from 1955's estimate of twenty-six million.[94] Census tract data from the era, too, confirms that automobile ownership had been on the rise again during this same postwar period. According to Susan Session Rugh's estimation in *Are We There Yet?: The Golden Age of American Family Vacations*, it rose from 54 percent in 1948 to 77

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[91]*Women Mean Business!*

[92]Thompson, 11.

[93]Parkin, Katherine J., *Women at the Wheel: A Century of Buying, Driving, and Fixing Cars* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania : University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), xviii.

[94]Lamm, Michael, "Powder Puffery: A Saga of Filling Stations, Feminine Mystique and Increased Gasoline Sales," *Car Life*, October 1967, 83.

percent in 1960 to 82 percent by 1970 nationwide.[95] Significantly, when the Census Bureau began asking questions about automobile ownership in 1960, the percentage of single-family homes with at least one automobile was over fifty in nearly all counties where the Carol Lane program located its outreach efforts.[96] As for women who worked outside the home, Shell does not directly address their daily routines in the film's rhetoric. By 1950, however, 29.6 percent of the workforce overall in the U.S. were women.[97] According to census tract information for the counties Carol Lane reached, those percentages are a tad lower, ranging between 8.5 percent on the lower end to 29 to 34 percentage at the higher, with many counties hovering in the teens.[98] By 1960, the number of women working increased to the lower tens to middling 20s or higher, and it rose still again by the 1970s census from 29.4 percent to as high as fifty-five.[99] Whether women spent their driving hours traveling to and from work in an auto, or around town buying necessities for domestic responsibilities at home, women motorists were a market demographic Shell began in earnest to expend financial resources on courting them for the next twenty-four years.

To date, this project has tracked and accounted for a subset of those millions of women drivers, essentially the tens of thousands with whom the Carol Lane program made contact. Again, the "PR Strategies" tab on the project provides much richer detail about techniques the various actors used to enact the program, and *how* audiences of women were brought into the

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[95]Rugh, 18-19.

[96]This 1950 data is based on the "Census Tract Data (Select)" tool on this project site under the "Data" tab.

[97]Geiger, A.W. and Kim Parker, "For Women's History Month, a look at gender gains – and gaps – in the U.S.," FactTank: News In The Numbers, March 15, 2018, https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/03/15/for-womens-history-month-a-look-at-gender-gains-and-gaps-in-the-u-s/ (Accessed October 9, 2020).

[98]Census Tract Data (Select) data for 1950.

[99]Census Tract Data (Select) data for 1960 and 1970.

fold. W*hy* women fit into the larger Shell Oil and Shell Canada public relations strategies is the point of this section. Luckily, the "why" has been rather well documented in both public discourses and private correspondences. Articulations on record about the inner workings of Shell's PR department appeared in editorial (or puff) pieces in trade journals. Authors in business and "oil news" sections of newspapers documented their approaches. Shell Oil also sat "for its portrait and paid the painter's fee," in an 815-page company history written by their New York manager of public affairs in public relations, Kendall Beaton. (Talk about a PR feat!) His 1957 *Enterprise in Oil: A History of Shell in the United States* was essentially sponsored by company, but it also includes useful background about their pre-Carol Lane marketing strategies.[100] Beaton's opus provides some scaffolding, subject to further scrutiny, upon which to construct some hypotheses about Shell's overall PR approach. (Poignantly, Beaton does not mention the Carol Lane program by name, only obliquely in passing. Perhaps to not let the cat out of the bag?) Furthermore, unpublished accounts in the personal papers of key personnel have provided pivotal insider accounts about the origins of the program, their motivations, and other strategic information. They include the papers of Caroline Iverson, who created and first embodied the role of Carol Lane, her manager G.G. Biggar (one fine documented speech Shell Oil provided), and former employees of J.W.T. advertising agency who had Shell as a client in the United States.

As Beaton explained in *Enterprise*, "Before the war, [Shell's marketing departments] had considered it ample for their purposes if the public had a good impression of Shell's products. This change in attitude had been in the making for some ten years." In the postwar period, however, "division and district managers were concerned that the public should have a good

[100]Beaton, Kendall, *Enterprise in Oil: A History of Shell in the United States* (New York : Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1957).

opinion not only of their products but the company that made them and, beyond the company, an understanding and appreciation of the whole oil industry…it was worth a businessman's time to keep the public on his side."[101] G.G. Biggar echoed this sentiment a handful of years later in his speech to Pace College graduate students –- the public's opinions about Shell Oil, especially those of clubwomen and women motorists generally, mattered and overt advertising marketed directly at women was not the path forward.[102] Still, because the PR team well under the umbrella of Shell's overall marketing agenda, it has been fruitful to sift through samples of what typified Shell's more traditional ad campaigns that also depicted women in some fashion. By perusing Shell's print advertisements one can get a sense of how the company unidirectionally tried to appeal to women consumers. Advertisements, are products of their time. Thus, they both depict what was perceived to be culturally acceptable or expected at the time in terms of roles for women (often depicted with domestic overtones), and they could denote how Shell marketing personnel incorporated or rejected ideas about women's positions in society that were afloat in public discourse. Either way, the company's advertisements, created in collaboration with J.W.T., and public relations programs publicity attempts, handled mostly in-house, often overlapped in media format, even if their intentions were quite different: the hard sell versus goodwill building.

Beaton's history covers Shell's marketing strategies in relative detail for the period before and contemporaneous to the Carol Lane program's first decade, but ads featuring women – or frankly images of women at all – did not make the cut for final publication. Therefore, the following review and contextualization of select print advertisements draws from extant

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[101]Beaton, Kendall, *Enterprise in Oil: A History of Shell in the United States* (New York : Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1957), 674.

[102]Biggar, "Relationships Between the Public Relations Officer and Management: A Lecture Before Course on Corporate Decision and Public Relations," 8.

magazines and newspapers available elsewhere such as on commercial auction sites, and from cultural heritages repositories. Of particular utility was the microfilmed client files in J. Walter Thompson collections in the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Duke University. Ads represented below date from between 1938 and 1957, so from just before, throughout, and after World War II; and they extend through the first ten years of the Carol Lane program. Advertisements from years before the program arguably could have helped to shape Lane audiences' buying habits in favor of Shell before they encountered Lane. Moreover, they follow trends in depicting women in ads for general audiences (*Life* magazine, for example) and could have influenced art direction for the Carol Lane program. [For more on in-house styles for Carol Lane programmatic art direction, see the essay in the "Tourettes" subsection and visual examples in both the "Publications & Columns" and "Advertisements and Public Service Announcements" subsections under the "PR: Strategies" tab on the project.]

What factors may have influenced Shell's take on women? Lizabeth Cohen, in *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumerism in Postwar America*, describes advertising trends that predate the Carol Lane project and coincide with its first ten years. In 1920s and 1930s, she remarks, "women were conceptualized by ad agencies as 'purchasing agents' for their families – an extension of their newfound status as household experts – assumed to be responsible for about 85 percent of total consumer spending. World War II only reinforced the authority of female consumers on the home front."[103] By the late 1940s and 1950s, she points out, advertising trends reversed. Men were now the "head of the spending unit" or part of "husband-wife dyad" with their own areas of expertise.[104] An industry trade journal, *Printers'*

[103]Cohen, 313.

[104]Cohen, 313.

Ink, noted a decline by about half in women-oriented advertising during this period.[105] Shell's marketing strategies mirrored this gradual nationwide trend towards market segmentation, too. An obvious example was the creation of the Carol Lane program, but their advertisements occasionally acknowledged women were a sector to court. They also rode the public-opinion measurement, or market research, trend that was burgeoning as a field in the 1920s and 1930s and continued throughout the period under study.[106] Case in point, in 1939 J.W.T. conducted a market survey of women consumers on their buying habits and automobile usage for Shell. Ten years later in Summer 1949, Shell's Touring Service also conducted a survey of 1000 of its female customers (700 responded) in which they asked questions about childcare while touring and travel clothing from a woman's perspective.[107] (Interestingly, Irma Cunha [Carol Lane, 1951-1953] would work directly for Elmo Roper, of the market research firm, The Roper Company, before working for Shell.) Dating back to at least the late 1930s, however, Shell used the resulting data to hone their marketing appeals to women both couched domestic terms, and seemingly in recognition of their work both inside and outside the home. Shell's advertisements follow the pattern Cohen outlines. Starting with the 1930s and moving towards the mid-1950s, it is clear how closely aligned they were.

What issues did Shell's marketing team collectively estimate were of most interest to potential women motorists during the prewar period? The topic of sanitary restrooms was a

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[105]Cohen, 313.

[106]Ewen, Stuart, *PR!: A Social History of Spin* (New York: Basic Books, 1996), 182.

[107]"Monthly Report, September 1949." Budget reports; listings for local news and radio affiliates; lists of "tips" used for different towns; notes, and publicity reports, 1948-1949. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.13.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

major theme in many oil companies' appeals to women, including Shell Oil's.[108] In recognition of the problem of unsightly and unclean lavatories, in 1938 Shell placed a full-page ad in *Good Housekeeping* with an explicit endorsement for Shell stations' as "kept home-clean." The ad featured an endorsement by Marjorie B. Illig, Chairman of the Division of Public Health for the General Federation of Women's Clubs (GFWC). In **Figure 1** she is pictured in an illustration and declares, "With their 'White Cross of Cleanliness,' Shell dealers guide us to Rest Rooms such as *Good Housekeeping* recommends." Moreover, this ad represents an early connection between Shell Oil and the GFWC, whom Shell would coordinate with for the next several decades. The issue of sanitation was picked up by Carol Lane and remained one of her talking point for years. In 1950's *Women Mean Business!,* Carol Lane, played by Caroline Iverson, dedicated an entire segment to addressing service station dealers on the importance of overall cleanliness (that of restrooms and station attendants) to their women customers. [The film is available for view in subsection "Audiovisual Publications & Record of Appearances" under the "PR: Strategies" tab.]

Shell had at least occasionally acknowledged working women consumers on the home front in their World War II-era ads, including – at least symbolically – their own female employees on occasion. Between 1941 and 1945, Shell hired nearly 3,000 women to replace male employees away serving during the war; but throughout the early to midcentury period women also entered their ranks as secretaries, research scientists, and women "office geologists" as far back as the 'teens.[109] **[Figures 2-4]** "Pumperettes," or female gas station attendants, made the cover of August 1942 issue of one of the company's employee bulletin *Shell News*. **[Figure 5]** In September 1943, *Shell News* did a feature story on women in employees in a "Shell Women

[108]Rugh, 46.

[109]Beaton, 162.

at Work" article.[110] Shell's Touring Service was made up significantly of women personnel, and its director for many years was Claire Hoffman. PR department hired at least twenty-four women to portray Carol Lane. According to Beaton's report female employees received pensions and other benefits. Perhaps they also influenced, directly or indirectly, the ways the marketing teams portrayed women in ads.[111] One can only speculate without access to Shell Oil's corporate records, however, to what extent their marketing teams turned to the women in their ranks for ideas. Emily Westkaemper asserts in her book *Selling Women's History: Packaging Feminism in Twentieth-Century American Popular Culture* that, for instance, advertising firms employing women often did. She states, "Employers treated women as models for female consumers' thought processes."[112] To what extent Shell polled their female employees to gain an understanding of their buy habits and what images they found compelling, may be lost to history along with those along with those whom the marketing teams collaborated, such as J.W.T. Shell Oil Company's relationship with J.W.T. began in 1928, a period during which the firm maintained a Women's Editorial Department. Scholar Jennifer Scanlon has written extensively about this department's quite sizable team of copywriters who were most active during the 1910s and '20s; but the ad agency employed numerous women throughout the twentieth century.[113] It might be safe to conjecture that at least some of these professionals may still have been in their ranks throughout the period under study in this project. In 1963, J. W.T even sponsored a booklet

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[110]"Shell Women at Work," *Shell News*, September 1943, 8-13.

[111]Beaton, 490.

[112]Westkaemper, Emily, *Selling Women's History: Packaging Feminism in Twentieth-Century American Popular Culture* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2017), 54.

[113][J. Walter Thompson Company Personnel records, 1900-1975], J. Walter Thompson Company Personnel Records, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University; Scanlon, Jennifer. *The Gender and Consumer Culture Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 201-225.

called *Advertising: A Career for Women*, in which they stated that the company was "the first to recognize the importance of women's contribution to advertising," and that women employees by that time included "two Assistant Treasurers, ten Vice-Presidents, and a member of the Board of Directors."[114] Thus far it has been difficult to identify any particular female copywriter or woman in a more creative position as having had an influence in their collaborations with Shell, but it is shortsighted to discount their influence completely.

A year before World War II ended, Shell publicly recognized the contribution women made on the home front. In 1944 they published a booklet penned by Zelia Zigler (who was the manager of a Shell Touring Service office in California) called *Alice In Motorland*, dedicated to "the women who now have a new responsibility – the care of the family car."[115] Shell wanted to demystify the cars various components with a descriptive guide and acknowledge that women liked to wander.[116] ("Wonderland… wanderland… motorland—all three are close to a woman's heart. When speaking of motor cars – it seems that to a woman it is mostly *wonderland*. She wonders why a car won't start…" [italics original]) The booklet at least addressed women drivers directly, even if in patronizing tones. Similar in its condescension were a related series of public service ads from the same year, which equated parts of a car's engine with household items. **[Figures 6]** [*Alice In Motorland* is available to read in subsection "Publications & Columns" under the "PR: Strategies" tab; and there are examples of the advertisements displayed in the "Shell Oil Ads Featuring Women or Related Subjects (1938-1960)" subsection under the

[114]J. Walter Thompson Company, *Advertising: A Career for Women* ([United States] : J. Walter Thompson Company, 1963), 6.

[115]Zigler, Zelia, *Alice in Motorland: The Woman Behind the* Wheel ([United States]: Shell Oil Co, 1944).

[116]Parkin, 115.

"Advertisements and Public Service Announcements" within the "PR: Strategies" tab on the project site.]

During the postwar period and into the 1950s, the company promoted Shell Research and its development of petroleum products in often distinctly domestic overtones. These newly developed projects were used in other companies' industrial processes such as their plasticizer (Shell Dutrex) which RCA Victor used to create unbreakable phonograph records, or Pepsi-Cola Company's adoption of Shell's Industrial Lubricant for their bottle sanitation machinery. That Sunbeam Corporation added Shell's Alvania Grease as a lubricant for its electric home hand-mixers was worthy of a full-page ad. **[Figures 7-8]** These ads may have had universal appeal, but the objects they featured – a phonograph record, bottles of soda hanging on a clothesline, and a woman's hand holding hand-mixer – and associated at least in part with the home and domesticity. In trade journals and publications of broader appeal they frequently celebrated the automobile maintenance services their gasoline station attendants or dealers offered (especially hand for women motorists), and they promoted the Shell Credit Card to "Mr. and Mrs. Motorists" during a time when most single or widowed women could not acquire one on their own.[117] **[Figure 9-10]**

When viewed as a whole over the 1940s and 1950s, Shell's ads tended to address simply "the public" or "motorists" throughout the decades. Motorists were still mostly illustrated as men in these ads, but increasingly women were pictured along with. **[Figure 11]** The rhetoric might imply by default a seemingly unified, white middle-class market of men and women – consumers who perhaps also aspired to upward mobility and/or were well-educated enough to

[117]Eveleth, Rose, "Forty Years Ago, Women Had a Hard Time Getting Credit Cards," *Smithsonian Magazine*, January 8, 2014, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/forty-years-ago-women-had-a-hard-time-getting-credit-cards-180949289/ (Accessed September 30, 2020).

catch literary references. **[Figure 12]** However, by the mid-late 1950s, market segmentation had forever changed the way advertisers attempted to attract buyers. Men and women "were increasingly viewed as separate, profitable market segments with distinctive desires and responsibilities."[118] Across the nation, as Lizabeth Cohen notes, advertising agencies like J.W.T had begun targeting audiences of consumers according to who was perceived, culturally speaking, to be responsible for purchases by gender. Moreover, beyond the basic gendered categories, marketers further subdivided them into more distinctive subcategories such as by race (by omission) and class.[119] Thus they would reaffirm and replicate pervasive racial ideologies that subdivided categories of potential customers well into and beyond the Civil Rights era. To correct the continual inequitable treatment in the media by advertisers, African-American publications and organizations would step in and conduct market research on their collective demographics like *Ebony* magazine did in April 1950.[120] Later in the 1960s organizations like the National Urban League, Congress of Racial Equity (CORE), and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) organized many boycotts of products and business to bring awareness to discrimination in print, on television, and in-person.[121] After the postwar period Shell's marketing activities were no different.

Merchandisers by this period also began targeting American consumers as "self-image" buyers. "[E]ach gasoline," as social critic Vance Packard would indicate in his 1957 book, *The Hidden Persuaders*, "has built up and image or personality. Each helps a buyer answer the

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[118]Cohen, 314.

[119]Cohen, 315.

[120]Chambers, Jason, *Madison Avenue and the Color Line: African Americans in the Advertising Industry* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania : University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 45.

[121]Chambers, 114.

question 'Who am I?'"[122] In some cases women might answer, as the Shell marketing team imagined, that they were women who dreamt of being rich enough to afford domestic help. **[Figure 13]** By the mid-1950s, the ad campaign for Super Shell with performance additive TCP did just that by refining their visual messaging to include images of white women drivers in three distinct age groups, but still seemingly of that amorphous middle-class, if not upper-class, status. Compare those 1957 ads with how the Carol Lane program illustrators consistently portrayed women in booklets and in her "Tips on Touring" column, when not shown in recreational ware, in distinctly fashionable middle-class attire. [**Figures 14-17]** What these women have in common is mobility metaphorically and literally. All three women are either income-earning, and/or are financially secure enough for either she or her husband to own a convertible. In at least one case, she could afford a fox stole. Whatever their marital statuses were hypothetically, they have some free time – alone, save a cat! – and eighty percent of the family budget to spend at least in part at a Shell gas station. Yet while these women seem of a similar ilk socioeconomically, the ads also indicate an effort to segment their market demographic even more distinctly in 1957, echoing Cohen's assertion about the 1950s trend. These illustrations symbolize the stereotypical three phases of a woman's life: youth, middle aged/married, and elder/presumably widowed or never married – if an old lady driving around with her cat implied then what it implies today. (Interestingly, the eldest is depicted as certainly of an age whereby she could have been driving for decades. Her black dress and white-lace high-neck collar à la *Arsenic and Old Lace* imply she came of driving age during the 1910s or when "Motor Girls" literature was all the rage with girls during her presumed youth.)[123]

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[122]Packard, 48-49.

[123]Franz, Kathleen, *Tinkering : Consumers Reinvent the Early Automobile* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 44.

Did Shell's ads in national magazines like *Newsweek* and *The Saturday Evening Post* inspire women readers to ask themselves who they were? Did they change their perceptions of the company? Yet to be discovered is how impactfully Shell's advertisements featuring working women or symbols of domesticity contributed to the "favorable atmosphere" G.G. Biggar asserted was needed in order for Shell Oil to do business and expand into new territories. What the case may be, the company's turn to a woman-focused public relations program in 1947 indicates he and his team's conception for it adhered to the postwar sentiments that the sexes had their own areas of expertise. Within the culturally defined spheres of expertise, they would tap into already formed groups of socially- and civically- active women's clubs, professional associations, sororities, and more.

Why Clubwomen?

What motivated Shell to start a public relations program to court women's groups, especially clubwomen? Their PR team's decision to do so was the brainchild of Caroline Iverson. Shell initially hired Iverson in 1947 to publicize to women Shell's first Women's Travel Director for the Shell Touring Service and Carol Lane prototype, Claire Hoffman. (By late that same year, Hoffman would move on, and Iverson would take over her title and the public speaking role.) In a letter dated March 7, 1947, to her new bosses, PR department managers H.L. Curtis and G.G. Biggar, Iverson argued that publicity efforts for Hoffman should pivot towards specifically engaging with clubwomen. In this intraoffice correspondence she laid out some of her ideas for the program – plans she seems to have anticipated would initially elicit push-back – in light of what other corporations were doing at the time to attract women consumers. It is

instructive to read sections of her argument in full as they summarize the buzz circulating about this targeted demographic. She wrote:

> "After this first week of steeping myself in the lore of Shell and the nation's women's clubs, I am convinced that we have a chance to initiate public relations in virgin territory of incredible potentialities. As you well know and I have just learned, oil companies have not offered their services to organized clubwomen until now in spite of the fact that women's clubs have become the most important adult opinion-forming force in the U.S. (Magazines like *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Collier's*, *Look*, as well as groups like the NAM [National Association of Manufacturers] and companies like U.S. Steel, Westinghouse, GM and Ford have recognized this and set up aggressive programs for helping clubwomen)…There are about 200,000 women's clubs in the U.S. with a membership of more than 30 millions [sic]. These women welcome business cooperation that helps them present an interesting, educational program; helps them give added advantages to their children; or helps them improve their communities. Shell is full of information that clubwomen would like to have and would welcome under Shell sponsorship with the label showing… If we set ourselves up as the best touring service for women, we will want to expand our touring service facilities and services. I do hope we do, because it would be a fine service to women. You, however, know whether Shell wants to finance this development.
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> OK. I have that off my chest."[124]

Later in the same six-page letter, Iverson details in part how she came to this conclusion; and her argument would inform how the PR department would enact the Carol Lane program going forward. She introduced them to a new way other companies had begun reaching out to audiences of clubwomen – sponsoring an educational program in *Agenda* magazine.

[124]"Caroline Iverson to H.L. Curtis and G.G. Biggar in letter dated March 7, 1947." Public appearance-related memos, correspondence, reports, and engagement forms, 1947-1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.6-12.8.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

Agenda was a rather short-lived publication for club program planners who needed to fill their event calendars with fun and educational content, and bring to their memberships opportunities for good works projects, lectures, and entertainment.[125] As Iverson pointed out, "This magazine," something Shell historian Kendall Beaton introduced her to:

> "is the smartest vehicle I can imagine for promotion to clubwomen. Its editor ran the club department of *Good Housekeeping* for ten years and thoroughly knew her business. A feature of the magazine that might interest you is the 'Sponsored Program' section. Just as radio programs have advertising sponsors, so does this section…Ford, Westinghouse, Buick, 20th Century Fox, are some of the organizations that have 'bought' a program in the first issue. The program is a complete unit that a club can use for one meeting…They want to do something about women and know how to do it. John Barkhurst of *Printers' Ink* has a good story to tell (he is the husband of editor Theresa [Booth] Wells, as well as Eastern Adv[tertising] Manager). He has given me a good boost into the women's club business…"

As an additional prompt, she added as her last sentence in this passage, "Incidentally, Standard Oil's Freyer is familiar with *Agenda*."[126] Standard Oil was one of Shell's fiercest competitors among oil industry giants. [For an example of Agenda's "Sponsored Program" section, see "Connecting with Women's Groups" subsection under this same "Audiences" tab.]

In the inaugural issue, Volume 1, Issue 1 of *Agenda* (May 1947), Theresa Booth Wells claimed that the number of women's club members was so large by that spring – 100,000 local chapters of 120 national women's organizations with a total membership of 30,000,000, as well

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[125]Wells, Theresa Booth, "We Are The Most Powerful Opinion-forming In America : How Shall We Use Our Strength?: A Challenge and a Plea From Your Editor," *Agenda*, Vol.1, No.1 (May 1947), 8. The issue to which Beaton and Iverson had access must have been a preview copy, or perhaps the inaugural issue may have predated its stated publication date of May-June, 1947. Iverson's letter is dated March 7, 1947. Printers' Ink Publishing Company, Inc. seems to have stopped publishing *Agenda* by about 1950-1951.

[126]"Caroline Iverson to H.L. Curtis and G.G. Biggar in letter dated March 7, 1947." I am also trying to figure out the first name of Freyer to whom she is referring.

as another 100,000 local groups – that a "*clear majority* of American women belonged to one or more organizations." [italics original] That statistic alone would have likely convinced Iverson's managers to give this avenue for outreach a shot. Here were captive audiences of thirty million clubwomen – fish in a barrel as the saying goes! Wells further articulated that the biggest area of growth in new memberships came from within the wage-earning bracket.[127] It is clear by some of the references in her letter that Iverson read this first issue of *Agenda*, and this statistic no doubt resonated with her as a professional woman herself. She was also a member of women's clubs: the New York chapters of Business and Professional Women's Clubs (BPW) and Women in Public Relations, as well as The Ninety-Nines: International Organization of Women Pilots. She, and every Carol Lane after, reached out to these wage-earning women via event planners for associations like BPW and chapters of National Secretaries Association; and the clubs sought out her entertaining and educational lectures in return.

Both *Agenda*'s rhetoric about the organizational power of clubwomen and the magazine's "Sponsored Program" section, it can be argued, had a long-lasting effect on the program's direction. The Carol Lane was herself a living, breathing sponsored program embodied by real women. She fit neatly into Shell's overall sponsored programming efforts. [For more on how Shell Oil's and Carol Lane's edutainment methods and public relations strategies, see the "PR: Strategies" tab.] In the same first issue of *Agenda*, editor Wells also advised these program planners to remind their fellow club members that they need "not mind being called a 'pressure group'" as long as they "press[ed] up and not down…" and did it all with a smile. Because of their power in numbers they, she explained, could and should choose to advocate for projects which "though practical enough to hold and increase [their] membership," should also "roll the

[127]Wells, 8.

world forward."[128] Within just a few years, the Carol Lane program's most success public-facing initiative, in terms of public engagement and notoriety, was the award given out in her name to clubwomen who took up the charge to roll their local municipalities forward toward improved traffic safety. Shell took up traffic and driver safety cause, both in Carol Lane's name and otherwise, through the 1960s. Wells also asserted, "The program planner is the one person in each group through whom [the magazine] must reach the millions of club members."[129] Lane's program personnel would adopt this strategy. Pre-packaged audiences of course varied in number, but her staff suggested a minimum of approximately 100-150 women to secure Lane's attendance. **[Figures 18-19]** Indeed, through club event programmers Carol Lane reached at minimum of *tens of thousands* of clubwomen over time in live appearances alone.

One year and a half later, in a November 9, 1948, letter to P.C. Thomas in Shell's San Francisco office, Caroline Iverson's manager G.G. Biggar in the New York headquarters would echo her words and Wells' sentiment. In his letter, he articulated the reasoning behind the Lane program and the sort of publicity it could bring to the Northern California regional Shell station dealers. Under the subsection "Why a Women's Club Speaker" he wrote:

> "To begin with, reliable market research companies show that women now control and amazing proportion of the nation's wealth, both through direct ownership and through their influence on their husbands. For instance, there are a million more women voting than men; over a third of the licensed drivers of the U.S. are women…Realizing that Shell had a stake in the good will of this influential group, we decided the most economical and effective way to reach the women was through their highly-organized club groups. Our program was, and still is, essentially non-commercial in conceptions, both because what we wanted was simply a good-will appeal, and second because women's clubs shy clear of

[128]Wells, 9.

[129]Wells, 9.

> commercial ventures. To reach the groups, we decided to offer the clubs a woman speaker on travel – without charge or strings attached. In doing so, we simply wanted to show: 1) that a great industrial organization is interested in women; 2) that is has motives above profit; 3) that there is opportunity for women at Shell; and 4; that Shell is a good place for women to trade."[130]

The comment that clubwomen shied away from commercial ventures completely is debatable. Perhaps more to the point – they shied away from overtly commercial ventures. At least some clubwomen embraced consumerist concerns, public service advertising, and, in the case of Carol Lane, a willingness to overlook the fact that she was sponsored by a multinational oil company.

Carol Lane in her many guises would continue to publicly recognize clubwomen, and promote them. She would appear in photographs accepting Carol Lane Awards, or posing with Lane at an amusing fete. **[Figures 20-21]** In one scene in the 1950 film, *Women Mean Business!*, Caroline Iverson as Lane speaks before a fictional woman's club; and circa 1958, a WSLS-TV News crew (Roanoke, Virginia) captured footage of Carol Lane #5 (1957-1960) on an airport tarmac as she was greeted by two Rokeva Club members along with a city official who handed her a key to the city. **[Figure 22-23]** And the Carol Lane program publicly sang the praises of women motorists and clubwomen throughout the program until its final years. Before the Ladies of the Petroleum Club at their February 29, 1972, meeting Lyn Johnson (Carol Lane, 1971-1974) proclaimed in her talk entitled, "Woman – A Driving Force," that "As I traveled around the country, I realized that no matter how much men may tease women about being back-seat drivers, the statistics prove otherwise…We are front-seat drivers" and noted that over fifty percent of cars on the road were driven by women. "But another focus of woman's force today is what they are doing as part of individual and group environmental actions in our cities."

[130]Copy of November 9, 1948 letter from G.G. Biggar to P.C. Thomas.

Conservations groups and women's clubs worked with city council members to effect the change.[131]

Although there is yet to be discovered evidence to support such an assertion, it is productive to hypothesize about whether – to generalize – before Lane made assertions, her colleagues understood the history of women activating in groups. In the decades leading up to its initiation, women from all walks of life had been quite vocal, especially about consumer rights, and even took to the streets in protest against price gouging and food safety. These clubs included some professional associations of women whose jobs placed them at the intersection between commercial and domestic spheres. As Lizabeth Cohen has pointed out, the 1930s in the U.S. saw increased and energetic organizing by women's groups mobilizing on consumer issues. They were, she notes, "turning consumption into a new realm of politics."[132] For instance, in 1935 women like the Housewives League of Los Angeles and Southern California along with the United Conference Against the High Cost of Living took to the streets to boycott recent hikes on the price of meat. Its campaign, headed by Mary Zuk, eventually spread to other cities in the country like Detroit and others.[133] On the other hand, for decades women's social, religious and professional clubs, as well as women's auxiliaries of then more traditionally male-dominated clubs like the Lions, had also been forces with which corporations and smaller business owners had collaborated (or reckoned) before the Shell's centralized public relations program turned its attentions to them. From the turn of the twentieth century well into Lane's period of activity, there had begun a nascent reciprocal interrelationship between the commercial sector and

[131] "Tourists Choosing Restored Sites," *Casper Star-Tribune*, March 3, 1972, 8.

[132] Cohen, 36.

[133] Cohen, 37.

women's organizations. Shell Oil was no different, but they did not fully tap into that particular market demographic until the Carol Lane program began. This introduction details the combination of factors would transpire in 1947 to lead the program's managers to clubwomen.

Women's clubs had routinely intersected with business and governmental bodies and advocated on behalf of women and family, traffic safety, consumerist issues, and women's professionalization for many years. One of the groups with which Carol Lane engaged, for instance, were home economists and home demonstrationists clubs. Carolyn M. Goldstein in her book, *Creating Consumers: Home Economics in Twentieth-Century America*, expounds upon "the circumstances that enabled" the new practitioners in the field of home economics "to establish…a mediating role in the development and marketing of consumer goods."[134] Ellen Richards founded the professional organization, American Home Economics Association for home economists in 1909 with an initial mission to help prepare home economics students "be better prepared homemakers" and "better prepared for careers focused on people and their environments." Over time, the group also became increasingly consumer-oriented, and positioned itself "because of the very nature of [their] work…to teach and reach the consumer."[135] Goldstein notes that by the 1930s the group even embraced home economists who held positions as journalists with national magazines or local newspapers.[136] By the early 1950s

[134]Goldstein, Carolyn M., *Creating Consumers : Home Economists in Twentieth-century America*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012, 10.

[135]"About AAFCS," American Association of Family & Consumer Sciences, https://www.aafcs.org/advertise/about-aafcs (Accessed October 5, 2020).

[136]Goldstein, 148.

it would also support a Consumer Interests Committee whose members advocated for and conducted marketing research.[137]

Arguably the most famous home economist of the twentieth century, and author of 1929's *Selling Mrs. Consumer*, Christine Frederick, would eleven years later praise another professional club, the League of Advertising Women, in her introduction to the book, *Advertising Careers for Women*. She was exceptionally impressed with their encouragement of women in business and advertising and for founding clubs. This sort of activism, she asserted, would force the advertising industry to pay increased attention to "what women actually want in advertising information."[138] Dorothy Dignam, one of the first women to be employed in designing and composing advertising from a woman's point of view, co-edited *Advertising Careers* with Blanche Clair. In the 1930s, Digman, a leader within the Philadelphia Club of Advertising Women, wrote several scripts for their club's local radio program about famous women in history.[139] She and her fellow adwomen in the club emulated the sort of corporate sponsorship of educational and public service fare for radio they were witnessing, or contributing to, firsthand in their professional spheres. This intermingling of noncommercial good works projects with consumerist thinking and advertising continued for quite some time. In a 1947 issue of *Agenda*, in fact, the editors dedicated an entire section to public service advertising in their inaugural issue.[140] This same issue contained a photo essay and more step-by-step instructions on how to run a discussion group about *Captain from Castile*, a film released that

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[137]Sherrill, Dorothy M., "The American Home Economics Association and the Consumer," *Consumer Interests Annual 1960* ([United States : Council on Consumer Information, 1960), 68. https://www.consumerinterests.org/assets/docs/CIA/CIA1960/1960_sherrill.pdf (Accessed October 5, 2020).

[138]Westkaemper, 67.

[139]Westkaemper, 78-79.

[140]"Public Service Advertising: Re-enlists for Peace-time Duty," *Agenda*, Vol.1, No.1 (May 1947), 65-72.

year by Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corporation. The "How to Present this Program… Translating a Best-Seller to the Screen" was prepared by the film company.

At the time of this writing, there is yet no evidence that Carol Lane met in-person with African-American women's groups, but the public relations staff did place a smattering of calls for submissions for the Carol Lane traffic safety award in black-owned newspapers during the mid-1950s into the 1960s. Scholar Tiffany M. Gill discusses how African-American female entrepreneurs played a role in racial uplift campaigns through black female club and the labor movements. In her essay, "'The First Thing Every Negro Girl Does': Black Beauty Culture, Racial Politics, and the Construction of Modern Black Womanhood, 1905-1925," she writes, "beauty cultures understood that one way to help professionalize their career was by creating a national organization and therefore formally legitimize themselves as clubwomen."[141] Perhaps most famously, Madame C.J. Walker, an American entrepreneur and philanthropist (and first female self-made millionaire in the United States) developed, manufactured, and marketed a line of beauty and hair products for black women. She too organized her sales agents into the educational, industrial, and benevolent "Life Boat clubs" that "were designed to save the people in the sections where [the agent] traveled."[142] The National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) founded in 1935 and still active today, publicly praised Madam Walker's business acumen and desire to "serve her race," and supported "Buyers' Education" initiatives such as bulletins of information for African-American women consumers.[143] Members of the Women's auxiliary of

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[141]Gill, Tiffany M., "'The First Thing Every Negro Girl Does': Black Beauty Culture, Racial Politics, and the Construction of Modern Black Womanhood, 1905-1925," in Brown, Elspeth H, Catherine Gudis, and Marina Moskowitz. *Cultures of Commerce : Representation and American Business Culture, 1877-1960* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 158.

[142]Gill, 150.

[143]Jones, Julia B., "New 1938 Program For Negro Council Singular, Unique," *The Pittsburgh Courier*, December 25, 1937, 9; Westkaemper, Emily, 30.

the NAACP and Women of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters fought for equal consumer rights and helped to "politiciz[e] African-American consumers on a mass scale."[144]

Home economists, women in advertising, and to a much lesser extent, African-American women's clubs, were just a few of the sorts of ready-made markets the Carol Lane program personnel began tapping into in 1947. However, another reason Shell's PR team may have been convinced by Iverson to woo clubwomen was because there was already at least once instance of precedent for collaborating with them. As mentioned above, the company had earned the endorsement of the General Federation of Women's Clubs' Chairman of the Division of Public Health, Marjorie B. Illig in 1938. The GFWC, including international affiliates in Canada, would continue to partner with Shell Oil on their traffic safety initiatives for years. It was Caroline Iverson, however, who identified women's clubs such as GFWC as "virgin territory of incredible potentialities" during the first week in her new position as public relations director for the women's division of Shell Touring Service. From the program's inception, she recognized clubwomen as an untapped market demographic and lobbied pretty aggressively in favor of focusing the public relations team's efforts on them.

Conclusion of Part I

In 1947, the same year Shell Oil's public relations team hired Caroline Iverson to publicize the Shell Touring Service's new Women's Department, Edward L. Bernays quipped in the *Annual of Advertising Art*, "If you plan and try to find a coincidence between your desires and the public's, you may find your future assured, as you want it."[145] The oil company did

[144]Chateauvert, Melinda, *Marching Together: Women of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 141; Cohen, 42.

[145]Bernays, Edward L., *26 - Annual of Advertising Art: The Art Directors Club of New York*, viii.

indeed survey women customers to discover where their desires overlapped with Shell's objectives; and in the process they identified one particular "public" to court: those millions of women who planned a majority of their own, or their families', automobile getaways. Within a year the department, in particular Iverson, took the new PR program in an innovative new direction. They first narrowed their focus to mainly clubwomen, and then spent the next two and a half decades sending Carol Lane around to discreetly try to mold women's wants into shapes more closely aligned with Shell's long-term goals. As the program's figurehead, it was her role to fashion and project "credible renditions of reality itself."[146] That she was fictional was a fact that would raise clubwomen's eyebrows today to say the least; and, in fact, since the dawning of the Internet age, it is unlikely her identities would have remained secret for long. However, whether most of her midcentury audiences fully understood that she was fictional, we may never know without first-person accounts to confirm. And yet, even for those audience members who understood that "Carol Lane" was a pseudonym, and the whole program a PR stunt, perhaps it did not matter. The Lane performers still modeled for clubwomen an actual living, and perhaps credible, rendition of a professional, educated, pretty, and fashionable travel expert and researcher. Accordingly, she modeled herself, collectively, after her audiences. Lane expressed such a sentiment in regard to the process of researching and writing her booklet *Let's Go Camping* (1960). In it, she wrote "It is a collection of ideas gained from my own experiences and things I have learned from others…"[147] In Lane's professional sphere, among those "others" were the clubwomen she encountered. This mirroring was fundamental to the facilitating a perhaps idealized manifestation of two-way communication so prized by publicity agents.

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[146]Ewen, 6.

[147]Lane, Carol, *Let's Go Camping* ([United States : Shell Oil Company], 1960), 3.

“Part II: Details,” which follows in the next subsection below, goes into more detail about audience members, by category. Furthermore “APPENDIX III : Examples of Audience Groups & Demographics” gives demographic information for examples of audience groups whom Carol Lane addressed.

PART II: AUDIENCE DETAILS

Detail: Men's Club, Association, or Other Audience

Carol Lane seems to have seldom presented before men's clubs or associations. Documented numbers of visits may increase as more data is input into the searchable database; but to date, she visited men-only clubs six times.[148] Part I above includes a brief summary of the presentation Jeannette King (Carol Lane, 1961-1967) gave to the members of the all-male Triple Cities Industrial Management Club (Binghamton, New York) and their wives in 1962. She also spoke to the Raritan Valley chapter (and wives) in New Brunswick, New Jersey, earlier that year. However, club members' wives were not always welcome.

On three other occasions Lane spoke to an exclusively male audiences; and newspaper blurbs about these cases highlight the subtle differences in how Lane was presented in print coverage. Elizabeth Baker addressed the all-male Exchange Club of Mansfield (!), Ohio, in 1951.[149] In this instance, the announcement for her forthcoming visit stated that she would be accompanied by a male district representative of Shell Oil Company; and the text emphasized her role as a professional researcher, mentioning her "personally-tested budgeting program," and

[148]Two occasions have not yet been included yet in the database.

[149]"The National Exchange Club," National Exchange Club, https://www.nationalexchangeclub.org/national-exchange-club-history/ (Accessed October 22, 2020). The National Exchange Club writes of its history, "Exchange Clubs sponsor activities under the organization's Programs of Service – Americanism, Youth Programs and Community Service – as well as its National Project, the prevention of child abuse. Each year, communities benefit from the promotion of pride in our great country, college scholarships, youth mentoring, service to the underprivileged, and other services tailored to serve the needs of its citizens. In addition to these programs, The National Exchange Club has been at the forefront of significant developments in American history, including the early days of aviation progress. The spirit of patriotism, along with a desire to heighten awareness of our rich religious heritage, placed Exchange in a position of leadership with other organizations that led to the addition of the words "Under God" to the Pledge of Allegiance in 1954."

her collection of data on an "investigation tour."[150] Baker had also addressed the Louisville Advertising Club the year prior, about which a *Courier-Journal* journalist good-naturedly quipped that "It's a sure bet members of the Louisville Advertising Club did not tell their wives what went on at their regular meeting yesterday…" (Perhaps, amusingly, because the meeting was held in a hotel.) He or she continued, "They learned how to pack a woman's 21-inch suitcase – complete with stockings, panties, negligee, and blouse – in 10 minutes," and also mentioned that Baker – who he or she referred to by her personal name – confirmed that yes, of course, a fifth of bourbon could be squeezed in among the 43 items she packed into a small suitcase.[151]

While advertising clubs were not one hundred percent men's domain, in 1949-1951, they were overwhelming so.[152] Various Carol Lane performers had ties to public relations and journalism clubs and societies, or presented her ideas to them. Caroline Iverson sought out the comradery of the New York City-area Women in Public Relations group in January 27, 1948, and, as Carol Lane, joined the mix-gendered Publicity Club of New York as a junior member in September 1949. Irma Cunha addressed the Public Relations Women of Honolulu in 1951. Despite the fact that Elizabeth Baker addressed the Louisville Advertising Club, her public relations role was downplayed. The journalist simply noted she was a "representative of Shell Oil Company's touring service." On the other hand, when Caroline Iverson spoke to the Advertising and Sales Club of Seattle, Washington, at noon on January 25, 1949, the club emphasized Carol Lane's (not using Iverson's real name this time) position as a marketer to

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[150]"Travel Expert Will Map Week-End Tour In City Area," *News-Journal*, February 25, 1951, 16.

[151]*News-Journal*, February 25, 1951, 16.

[152]See Westkaemper's *Selling Women's History: Packaging Feminism in Twentieth-Century American Popular Culture* for histories of adwomen's clubs in Philadelphia and Chicago.

women motorists. She too was accompanied by Shell men: the head of public relations in the San Francisco office, Carl E. Totten, and division managers. On the front of the club's *Roundtable* newsletter which advertised the forthcoming talk, the authors indicate her role was that of face of a program promoting "automobile mileage," "pleasant motoring," and as something "for the whole family slanted to the women of the family!"[153] She also conducted surveys, they noted.

Caroline Iverson advocated quite vehemently for fostering this sort of image of Carol Lane as the women-focused expert – who should be performed in character almost all of the time (so it is interesting that Baker chose not to use the pseudonym in Louisville during the same period) – before men's clubs, especially admen. In fact, in her exit memo to her managers, a several-page correspondence dated June 7, 1950, she warned the following in regard to lecturing to ad clubs:

> "**Warning:** As our program gains more popularity with Shell men, there will be even more tendency to offer Carol Lane to men's groups, who assuredly would get a kick out of a good-looking gal speaker.
>
> This is a woman's program! and alack and alas, Carol Lane doesn't have time to give a thrill to a male audience when there are so many women around! Perhaps Shell will wish to have a travel expert like Bill Daugherty take over these engagements?
>
> **Second Warning:** As much as I have enjoyed speaking to Advertising Clubs, I fell [sic] there is an inherent danger in such works. Ad clubs want you to tell how the Carol Lane program works. Unless infinite care is taken, newspaper coverage of the meeting will present Carol Lane as a mighty smart public relations venture – not as a girl who works hard at travel research to make trips more fun for other women. Certainly, the audience thinks of Shell's program in terms of 'a smart deal.' And gee, it's flattering!"[154]

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[153]"Touring Gets a Woman's Touch," *Roundtable* XXII, no. 4 (January 25, 1949), cover.; Promotional brochures, informational booklets, vacation insurance forms, ca.1948-1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 13.4.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

[154]"Final Review of Carol Lane Program—Lining Up with Woman's Clubs." Exit memo written by Ackerman, reviewing "Carol Lane" program, June 1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-

Reading between the lines here, Iverson's real resistance to speaking before ad clubs seemed more to do with doubling down on the initial incentive for the Carol Lane program – to create a women's director for the Touring Service *to woo clubwomen*. However, the general tone of Iverson's warnings also speaks to a concern about Lane not being taken seriously as a public relations figurehead and practitioner, particularly by men; and conversely, if she were, Iverson feared the word would get out to the public that Lane was a fiction.

Detail: African American and American Indian Audiences

Throughout most of the Carol Lane program's tenure, African-American motorists and tourists were suspended between the freedom of the road and midcentury Jim Crow laws that restricted where they could stay, eat, relieve themselves, or fill up their automobile's gas tank. These restrictions were in place overtly and more subversively across the United States, but most notoriously in the South. *The Green Book* was originated and published by an African-American mailman from New York City, Victor Hugo Green, from 1936 to 1966.

Including *Green Book* locations on the Carol Lane's Activities and Shell Locations v. *The Negro Motorist Green Book* and Indian Lands" Map Layer [see "Data" tab] was a way by which to tease out an under-represented demographic in Carol Lane's audiences. While African-American women are were in all likelihood part of Lane's larger demographic of newspaper and magazine readers, and television and radio viewers and listeners, clubwomen of color specifically are missing from the Lane's data because the PR program does not appear to have reached out to these women but for a minuscule number of times in black-owned newspapers

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1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 14.4.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

such as *Chicago Defender* and *New York Age*. Even then, the program seems to have only passed along calls for submissions for the Carol Lane Award. Lane's techniques also turned up in other's syndicated columns or in her own PSA-style advertisements on traffic safety. African-American clubwomen may have ordered booklets by mail, but evidence thus far does not indicate Carol Lane would have handed them one personally at events. *The Negro Motorist Green Book*, on the other hand, were available for purchase at black churches, the Negro Urban League, Esso gas stations, and other places serving the black community.[155] Shell Oil published accommodation guides as well; and while they are not mapped yet in this tool, they are available to view on this section under the "Data" tab. See **Figure 1** below for the to-date only image discovered featuring Carol Lane and an African-American woman featured at the same event. **Figure 2 and 3** are examples of African-American newspaper, *The New York Age*, that published something on Lane.

The "U.S. Census Bureau's Indian Lands Dataset" layer on the "Carol Lane Routes and Shell Locations v. *The Negro Motorist Green Book* and Indian Lands" map also highlights American Indian populations, specifically those who lived on or near federally recognized Indian Lands. This map does not include state recognized tribes, and those tribes whose ancestral lands are not yet recognized.[156] During the period under study, 1947-1974, the approximate total

[155]Townsend, Jacinda, "How the Green Book Helped African-American Tourists Navigate a Segregated Nation," *Smithsonian Magazine*, April 2016, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/history-green-book-african-american-travelers-180958506/ (Accessed August 27, 2020).

[156]For a list of federal- and state-recognized tribes, see "Federal and State Recognized Tribes," National Conference of State Legislatures, https://www.ncsl.org/research/state-tribal-institute/list-of-federal-and-state-recognized-tribes.aspx#State (Accessed August 27, 2020). These regulations – 25 C.F.R. Part 83 – were revised in 1994 and are still in effect." "Frequently Asked Questions," U.S. Department of the Interior: Indian Affairs, https://www.bia.gov/frequently-asked-questions (Accessed August 27, 2020). For more information on Canadian Métis, First Nations and Inuit land claims, see, "Crown-Indigenous Relations and Northern Affairs Canada," Government of Canada/Gouvernement du Canada, https://www.canada.ca/en/crown-indigenous-relations-northern-affairs.html (Accessed August 27, 2020). The "American Indian, Alaska Native Areas, and Hawaiian Home Lands Boundaries Map" layer is derived from circa 2016 Bureau of Indian Affairs data, and includes *only* land areas that are federally recognized in the United States. This map does not include Métis, First Nations, and Inuit land claims

population of American Indians living on reservations numbered between 343,410 (1950) and 725,724 (1970).[157] However, because Carol Lane made so few appearances in U.S. counties with sizable Indian reservations, demographic data about income, age, car ownership, or any other factor, is essentially not a part of the scope of this analysis.[158] That said, based on other identifiable evidence, the Cherokee Reservation in western North Carolina serves as a good example of how proximate, and to what extent, Carol Lane wooed American Indian audiences. It requires consideration of her intentions by both quantitative and qualitative means.

First, at least two separate Carol Lanes publicly relayed recommendations about the area's cultural interest to automobile tourists. In print articles, they asserted how exciting and informative visiting the Cherokee reservation was for families. One Lane mentioned in a July

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in Canada. This map does not include state recognized tribes, and those tribes whose ancestral lands are not yet recognized. A federally recognized tribe is defined by the Bureau of Land Management and U.S. Census Bureau, as "an American Indian or Alaska Native tribal entity that is recognized as having a government-to-government relationship with the United States, with the responsibilities, powers, limitations, and obligations attached to that designation, and is eligible for funding and services from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Furthermore, federally recognized tribes are recognized as possessing certain inherent rights of self-government (i.e., tribal sovereignty) and are entitled to receive certain federal benefits, services, and protections because of their special relationship with the United States. At present, there are 573 federally recognized American Indian and Alaska Native tribes and villages." On the topic of how federal recognition status is conferred, they continue, "Historically, most of today's federally recognized tribes received federal recognition status through treaties, acts of Congress, presidential executive orders or other federal administrative actions, or federal court decisions. In 1978, the Interior Department issued regulations governing the Federal Acknowledgment Process (FAP) to handle requests for federal recognition from Indian groups whose character and history varied widely in a uniform manner.

[157]Johansson, Ryan S., "The Demographic History of the Native Peoples of North America: A Selective Bibliography," *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology*, 25 (1982),142. About these statistics, he notes that they were adapted from United States decennial censuses. "The figures comprise an extremely uneven data series. For the most part, they represent only those Indians on reservations, at least until the later periods. Often the reservation counts used to compile the totals include some resident Whites, and exclude many American Indians who escaped enumeration by design or accident. Estimates of under enumeration commonly range from 10-308. These years are those in which the Census Bureau made a special effort to increase the accuracy of the enumeration process, and, therefore increases over the previous census cannot be taken at face value." He continues to mention that J.S. Passell, in "Provisional Evaluation of the 1970 Census Counts of American Indians," [*Demography* 13, no 3 (August 1976): 397-410] "estimates that between 1960 and 1970, some 67,000 persons, not formerly identifying themselves as Indians, began doing so."

[158] The reliability of the Census tool found on the "Data" tab is limited by what counties and/or demographic categories were included in a given census year. More importantly, the only counties exposed are those where Carol Lane visited.

1950 article that *Unto These Hills*, an outdoor drama at the Mountainside Theater about the Eastern Band of Cherokee ("Tsalagiyi Detsadanilvgi" in Cherokee language) and an annual archery shoot both held in the town of Cherokee, could be of particular educational interest.[159] It is unclear without an accompanying photograph which Carol Lane performer (in 1950 there where were three women working as Lane in the U.S., perhaps Elizabeth Baker as the official "East Coast" Lane), or if a PR department or women's activities staff member in her stead, provided the newspaper's travel page editor her advice. However, we know at least one Carol Lane stayed nearby: Beatrice Hansen. She suggested in a January 9, 1953, *Abilene Reporter News* article, that such a trip to Cherokee reservation could be educational, especially for children. **[Figure 4]** She specifically mentions having been there on a research trip in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park ("Shaconage"). Unfortunately, her visit to Cherokee is not included on the map because she gives no clue as to the exact date or to which audience, if any, she may have lectured.

Other than those two instances, the "U.S. Census Bureau's Indian Lands Dataset" map layer – while it represents only 1,500-plus plotted locations out of almost 5,000 – shows no other Carol Lane visits within a one-hour radius of Cherokee. The nearest she came was Asheville, which to be fair, acts as a gateway city of sorts to the Smoky Mountains for drivers coming from the east. Lane did lecture in quite rural places on occasion, so its distance to the next biggest city was not necessarily a factor. Other map layers locate where and, thus how many, newspaper ads or articles the PR department placed in the nearby region; and they indicate a very small number. None were in or around the city of Cherokee or reservation proper. So, there was little in the way of one-way or two-way communication between Lane and the locals. Furthermore, the "Shell

[159]"Indian Pow-wows Of East Prove Exciting, Colorful," *Columbus Dispatch*, July 9, 1950, 82.

Locations" map layer shows that the nearest Shell business, not including service stations, was its water terminal hundreds of miles away in Charleston, South Carolina.

Upon reviewing these cross-referenced sources, one could surmise that neither the Cherokee Reservation inhabitants, nor few of their non-Native North Carolina counterparts (in women's organizations or not) west of Asheville were targeted demographics. Lane lectured in Asheville, Charlotte, Raleigh, other Piedmont locations and on the coast about the Cherokee reservation, and by proxy its people, but did not stop to speak with them directly. The potential for interaction with readership in western North Carolina amounted to little and nothing very proximate to Cherokee proper. If a researcher were only reliant upon a close reading of those digitized newspaper articles, it might lead her to believe that Carol Lane was inclined to speak or write *about* American Indians only as living cultural relics of sorts. Not *with*. Even though Beatrice Hansen did, in fact, visit Cherokee in person in 1952, she did not indicate that she spent any time with the Native population. In 1950, Carol Lane simply passed along useful information about Cherokee-area summer events.

Only close reading of the aforementioned articles would suggest that American Indians were merely tourist attractions. Reviewing the mapped locations without read the articles, might lead a researcher to the conclusion that because there was so little Carol Lane program activity in the Smoky Mountains area, Lane must have had little interest in promoting the area or the activities of Eastern Band of Cherokee as their location is not marked on the map. The perspective gained from combining mapped locations with print articles, offers a more nuanced narrative. Lane talked *about* the Eastern Band of Cherokee. In all likelihood, it was more strategic to speak with women's clubs in the more populated cities in the Asheville, the Piedmont and the coast about festivities on the other side of the state. However, as the photo in *Lines*,

suggests, American Indians generally seemed to be part of the pleasures of *sightseeing*, rather than a population with whom to engage. Moreover, as the "Shell Locations" map layer shows, there were perhaps too few Shell service stations in Smoky Mountains region to justify a special trip. There is more about Shell station dealers as audiences below.

Once one zooms the map all the way out to examine the Cherokee reservation in the context of all of the American Indian lands and Shell's combined activities continent-wide, the national view lends yet more credence to the above assumption. The combined data shows that the Carol Lane program, while not averse to spending resources in rural areas, did not actively try to groom American Indian populations as customers. She circled a little closer to the Navajo (Diné) and Hopi reservations, or the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon, but little evidence thus far directly points to program activities near enough to Indian Lands to suggest a deliberate attempt to reach Native populations. At least those not in the diaspora. When viewed in relationship to three more publications, a trend develops. In 1948, the Carol Lane program sent out an informational packet called, *Lines on Carol Lane*, to prospective women's club event planners, as a way to tap into those preassembled audiences. It is to these groups she lectured in cities like Charlotte and Raleigh. On one page in the packet features a grid of black-and-white photographs of Caroline Iverson in all sorts of outdoorsy scenes of her being active, but obviously influenced in style, in part, by western motifs such as horseback riding and Indians. In one square, an American Indian male of unspecified tribal affiliation, but in full ceremonial costume, places a small headdress of some kind on Caroline Iverson's head. **[Figure 5]** Furthermore, in a few of her booklets, like *Touring Can Be Child's Play* (1950), the author notes that teaching children how to collect souvenirs, such as "a woven basket from New Mexico," is a fun way to get them involved in a family activity. In the accompanying illustration, the woven

basket is nondescript enough to resemble almost any Southwestern tribe's craftsmanship, a woven blanket nearby looks distinctly Navajo in style, as do what looks like silver squash blossom earrings. **[Figure 6]**

Fascinatingly, there is at least one publication discovered so far in which the Carol Lane program placed editorial content in Indian Country. The Navajo language monthly, *Adahooniłigii*, printed a few public service advertisements purportedly written by Carol Lane: illustrated cartoons with several vignettes dealing with auto care techniques and at least once, her "Tips on Touring," column. One PSA cartoon titled, "Get the Jump on Jack," about preparing one's car for winter driving, and ran it in English on page 16 in the March/April 1957 newspaper. Ironically the topic of her column which they published in the November/December 1956 issue, was "food and lodging." During a period when American Indians in the West and elsewhere would still encounter signs declaring "No Indians, No Dogs" in bars and restaurants, her cheerful advice on how to pick a good restaurant while touring comes off as tone-deaf today.[160] Still, *Adahooniłigii*'s editors, the Bureau of Indian Affairs in association with Navajo Agency in Window Rock, Arizona, like many of their ilk serving local publications with intimate numbers of readers and little ad revenue or government funding, may have needed content. **[Figures 7 & 8]**

As an aside, one of the only Shell advertisements from this period featuring an American Indian was one for Shell Chemical Corporation that ran in several national magazines from March through June of 1957. It shows an Inuit or Yupik woman in traditional clothing chewing on raw hide (to soften it – but now Shell's glycerin can do the job!) **[Figure 9]**

[160]Parman, Donald L. *Indians and the American West in the Twentieth Century* (Bloomington : University of Indiana Press, 1994), 177.

Detail: Working Women

Many of the Carol Lane performers had been full or budding professionals before working for Shell Oil Company or Shell Canada. (Luckily for this author) journalists, or the performers themselves as interviewees, revealed many of these details about Carol Lane's past accomplishments (actual and possibly some embellished); and often, but not exclusively, they blended fact with fiction.[161] Published newspaper and magazine articles provided incredibly useful personal details about where, for example, a particular Lane went to college and what she studied, what previous professional positions she held, and what associated skills she acquired on-the-job such as writing copy or scripts, marketing, customer service, and public speaking. Sometimes the author or interviewee attributed these achievements to the fictional Lane, and sometimes she took pride in her own resume of experiences – depending upon whether the she was interviewed in character or not. Either way, these assertions about her successes possibly brought an air of realism and authenticity to Lane's public persona, especially when coupled with the consistent decades-long messaging that differentiated her role from that of a saleslady. Whether audience members were aware that their Shell-related work histories rolled over from one Lane to the next will likely remain a mystery until some can be found and interviewed, but performers very rarely exposed that more truthful detail to the public. The number of books she had purportedly written at any given time, the distances she drove each year, or to how many clubwomen she had lectured accumulated and were shared by contemporaneous Lanes – and passed down to each consecutive one. [For more on their professional accomplishments, see the "Profile" and pre-Carol Lane subsections for each performer under the "Carol Lane(s)" tab.]

[161]Every single detail in the performers' biographies has been fact-checked, however, some are based on quotations, either direct, or summarized by a journalist.

Each Lane performer's biographical sketch highlighted aspects from the performer's work history; and thus, she may have spoken with some real expertise on budgeting and travel aids, or on related topics such as being a writer, or craftsperson, and part-time media personality. These accomplishments may have been particularly of interest to the professional women's organizations and college women they lectured before, including Theta Sigma Phi honorary journalism sorority members, professional journalists, and adwomen. Teachers, too, may have appreciated the lengths to which Lane researched and presented weekend travel (or "tourettes" as she like to call them) as a learning opportunity for the whole family, especially children. To that end, she repeatedly emphasized the educational value of short trips for children, and even referred to them as "textbooks-on wheels" or a "classroom-on-wheels."[162] Hypothetically speaking, these reported upon educational and professional credentials could have also contributed to Carol Lane's appeal to home economists or home demonstration agents (especially in rural areas). [To read more published accounts that include personal information about individual Lane performers, see each subsections under the "Carol Lane(s)" tab.]

Corporate Home Economist

Beginning in the 1920s, the national professional organization, the American Home Economics Association, established the Home Economics in Business Section (HEIB) for a small cohort of women practitioners working in the commercial sector and in journalism, public relations, and advertising.[163] By the 1940s, it was altogether common for home economists, for

[162]Sambuck, Margaret, "Carol Lane Will Share Ideas On Auto Travel," *The Petaluma Argus-Courier*, April 29, 1955.

[163]Goldstein, 147, 152m, 159.

instance, to work for manufacturers of consumer goods, and accept sales as part of the job.[164] Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, there were a number of high-profile women who established home economics departments and performed a public role for such companies as General Mills (Marjorie Child Husted, and the fictional Betty Crocker), Kellogg's (Mary Barber), and Procter & Gamble (Eleanor Ahern). These real home economics professionals and their fictional counterparts played a mediating role in the development and marketing of consumer goods; and by the 1950s, these facets – plus sales – were beginning to be accepted as part of the job.[165] Moreover, fictional ones like living trademarks Betty Crocker and Irma Harding (International Harvester), who were both portrayed by multiple women, had begun to make women consumers more comfortable with the indistinguishability between fictional home economists and real ones.[166] [To read more about living trademarks, see "Who Was Carol Lane?" tab.]

The HEIB section women were not necessarily trained specifically in home economics, but they as a whole shared with their broader base of fellow educators a commitment to serving society.[167] So too, Carol Lane purported to share their interest. Especially emblematic of her duty to society was the award for traffic safety Shell gave out in their name to women who had initiated successful traffic safety campaigns in their locality. Lane, like they, authored and distributed corporate-sponsored home economics-infused educational materials, filmstrips,

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[164]Goldstein, 265.

[165]Goldstein, 10, 272.

[166]Murray, Sarah, "The Radio Made Betty: Live Trademarks, Disembodiment, and the Real," *Feminist Media Histories* 1, no. 4, (Fall 2015), 56. On this blurring of fact and fiction, Sarah Murray writes, "Although companies had to constantly skirt accusations of public deception… personified home economists were well integrated into popular culture as 'living' figures."

[167]Goldstein, 150.

pamphlets and books; and likewise, her presentations incorporated ideas about budgeting, efficiency, and the do-it-yourself (DIY) spirit. There were visual cues as well. In at least one instance, Sherry Baker as Carol Lane donned the familiar clean starched white uniform associated with nurses, home demonstration agents, and women working in food laboratories, as well as test kitchens. **[Figures 1 & 2]**

Detail: Radio Listening & Television Viewing Audiences

Beginning in the late 1920s, topics of interest to women began to dominate daytime radio programming. Radio programs dedicated to issues of "domestic ideals and family amusements" filled the airwaves between 9:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m..[168] Women's programming was often relegated to daytime hours when it was assumed housewives (or unemployed working women) would be home and yearning for entertainment. Daytime hours dedicated to these "special interest" shows were a broadcast equivalent in many ways to the sort of "Women's Page" or "Society Page" found in newspapers from the late 1800s through the early 1980s. Like women's pages, these programs dealt with topics such as cooking, childcare, health, fashion, civic news, and women's business news and competed with other lighter fare such as soap operas and musical programs for women's attention. "As a means of sharing information about common problems and issues and offering encouraging messages, these programs enabled homemakers to communicate indirectly with one another."[169] Throughout the last fifteen years of the Carol Lane program, sources estimate that women comprised between 43 and 60 percent of the workforce in

[168]"Daytime Programming," American Memory Collection, The Library of Congress, https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/awhhtml/awrs9/daytime.html (Accessed June 9, 2021).

[169]Spigel, Lynn, *Make Room for TV: Television and the Family Ideal in Postwar America* (Chicago : The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 11.

the U.S., and yet popular media outlets continually "glorified" and catered to "the American housewife/mother who tended to her family on a full-time basis."[170]

Carol Lane appeared as a guest on local and syndicated radio and television programs frequently throughout her 27-year tenure. On these shows she was an interviewee and presenter, and she was featured on the news. Along with her newspaper readership, this amorphous group of radio listeners and television viewers, were the largest – safely a third larger than the number of women's clubs – audience demographic.[171] Carol Lane was also the star of her own short-lived radio programs. [See the "Audiovisual Publications & Record of Appearances" section under the "PR: Strategies" tab for more on her show.]

While not exclusively, evidence suggests the types of programs on which Lane appeared also tended to skew towards audiences of women listeners and viewers. Titles such as *Housewives, Incorporated* or *The Second Mrs. Burton,* indicate the domestic nature of some of these shows; and while on these platforms Lane's rhetoric, and often family-oriented subject matter, contributed to this glorification and also complicated it. For instance, even her fellow "living trademark," Betty Crocker interviewed Lane on her program. Both of these personas were single professional woman. Crocker was the fictional spokesperson who purportedly directed a well-loved test kitchen with many female staff members, and Lane traveled extensively alone and with others, and also oversaw a staff. Yet their relegation to daytime radio reinforced the notion that women audiences were more than likely to be home, when statistically that was not entirely the case. **[Figure 1]**

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[170]Population Reference Bureau, "Record Number of Women in the U.S. Labor Force," February 1, 2001, https://www.prb.org/recordnumberofwomenintheuslaborforce/ (Accessed February 23, 2020); Spigel, Lynn, 33. Lynn Spigel in her text references Rochelle Gatlin's *American Women Since 1945* (Jackson, MS : University of Mississippi Press, 1987), 25. Quoting Gatlin, she puts the 1962 numbers at 60%, which seems high. The Population Reference Bureau and Brookings Institute both estimate the number of women in the workforce in 1970 as 43%.

[171]See the "Carol Lane's Audiences By Location, Number, and Type" subsection under the "Data" tab for this statistic.

Carol Lane was as a guest on programming for more general audiences as well. Exceptions to the more domestic fair, include, for instance, her circa 1950 appearance in conversation with Governor Earl Warren on *Report to the People* on KECA in Los Angeles, or on *Good Morning with Len Sampson* in New Orleans in 1972. **[Figure 2]** Perhaps most frequently, Lane appeared on news and public affairs programs. In at least one extant example, a local news reporter in Roanoke, Virginia, captured her likeness on the airport tarmac as she was offered the key to the city. Shell Oil also produced five films starring Carol Lane for distribution to television stations; and, as was the case with most of the company's film catalogue, they were available for free screenings to libraries, women's clubs, and schools, and more. Carol Lane and her staff took full advantage of the network of radio and television stations with which Shell's marketing teams already had a relationship. In some cases, she was introduced or presented on regional Shell-branded news programs such as *Shell Digest* on WBNS in Columbus, Ohio, **[Figure 3]** and on *Shell Newscast* in both Sacramento, California and Charlotte, North Carolina.

Radio and Television Broadcasters – Call Letters and Cities (Some with Program Names and Hosts or Talent Bookers)

In Caroline Iverson's personal papers she kept an extensive list of primarily women media contacts for territories in which contained Shell stations. The list includes a large number of women hosting, or booking for, programs dedicated to women's issues was sizable at the turn of the 1950s. **[Figure 4]** The following radio and television station call numbers are verified locations where Carol Lane appeared, starting with what were identified as syndicated programs. They are drawn from Caroline Iverson and Elizabeth Baker's personal papers, as well as from transcribed newspaper and magazine articles in the database. While unverifiable as of yet, Lane

also may have also spoken to radio or television audiences at any of the stations featured under the map in the image at the top of this section.

Syndicated Out of New York

- WABC. New York City, New York, *Betty Crocker*, *Breakfast Club*, *Welcome Traveler*, and *Shoppers Special* with Beulah Karney
- WNBC, New York City, *Hi Jinx*, Tex & Jinx McCrary
- WCBS, New York, *The Second Mrs. Burton* (March 23, 1950), and an interview with Margaret Arlen
- WNBT-TV, New York City, *Television Magazine of the Air*, United States Rubber Company, Al Henderson
- Mutual. New York City, *On the Century*, Bob Elson for rebroadcast

Local Stations

- KRON, *San Francisco Chronicle*'s television station, 10-minute suitcase-packing demonstration and interview with Bonnie Kever on *Your Home* (along with cooking demonstrator Mrs. Edith Green)
- KPIX, San Francisco, *Del Courtney Show*, interview with Del Courtney and Barbara Mitchell
- KGB, San Diego, California, interview with Molly Morse on *Homemaker's Helper*
- KSJO, San Jose, California, *To The Ladies* program with Sue Parsons
- WMT, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, *WMT Radio Theatre*, "Ballroom" show Berle Starbuck
- KWDM, Des Moines, Iowa, Miss Edit Weber
- KIOA, Des Moines, *The Old Will Show*, Bill Creighton
- KRNT, Des Moines, *KRNT Radio Theater*
- WOKZ, Fairfield-Illinois-Wayne, Illinois, sports announcer Bob Paulos
- WBAL, Baltimore, Maryland
- WLAN, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, host was Edna Hanne
- KSKY, Dallas-Fort Worth, *Interviews with Interesting People*
- WFAA-TV, Dallas-Fort Worth, *The Julie Benell Show*
- WBTV, Charlotte, North Carolina, *What's Cookin'*, Kurt Webster and *Shell Newscast* with Clyde McClain
- WKOK, Framingham, Massachusetts, Betty Finch's women's program
- WMUR, Manchester, New Hampshire, *Town Crier*
- WHDH, Boston, Massachusetts, Chris Evan's women's program
- WEEI, Boston, with Priscilla Fortescue
- WTIC, Hartford, Connecticut, Jean Colbert's (perhaps also known as Jean Anderson?) women's program, and *We the Women* with Una King
- WEVD, Queens (Woodhaven), New York, *Adventure in Jobs*
- WOR, New York
- WAGE, Syracuse, New York, *Request Time* with Larry Laurence
- WHEN, Syracuse, interview during news roundup

- WFAS, White Plains, New York, interview with Joan Schneider on *Feminine Facts and Fancies*
- WNBF-TV, Binghamton, New York
- WDOS, Oneonta, New York
- WATV, Newark, New Jersey, *Homemaker's Guide* with Fred Sayles and Brooke Stevens
- WCTC, WCTC-FM, New Brunswick, *Jack Gleason Show* and *Meet Your Neighbor*
- KNBH-TV, Los Angeles, California, Mrs. Lee Hogan, Women's Program director
- KECA, Los Angeles, *Report to the People*, Governor Earl Warren
- KFBK, Sacramento, California, *At Your Service*, Ruth Dunlop with Hope Hooper, *News At Home*, and 3-1/2 minute spot on local *Shell Newscast*
- KXOA, Sacramento, *Women's Magazine*
- KCRA, Sacramento, woman's program, Frances Paige
- KARM, Fresno, California, *What's New in Fresno* interview with Lou Lampe
- KFRE, Fresno, interview with Bob Harris
- KWG, Stockton, California, interview with station manager, Howard Bailey
- KNBC, San Francisco, California
- KQW, San Francisco, Miss Katherine Kerry
- KXOC, Chico, California, *Women's Magazine of the Air* with Elizabeth Blair
- KDNT, Denton, Texas, Mrs. Schulze
- WPTF, Raleigh, North Carolina, Harriet Pressly's interview program, Lane discussing clothes with representatives from Pressly's sponsor: Ivy Taylor Department Store
- KJR, Seattle, Washington, University of Washington, Bill Ladd, associate director, Department of Radio Education
- KXLY, Spokane, Washington, interview with George L. McGowan [For a recreation of this interview, see the "Radio appearances" section under the "Audiovisual Publications & Record of Appearances" tab.]
- KWJJ, Portland, Oregon, *Voice of American Women*, Harriet Krause
- KEX, Portland, *Kay West Show*, Kay West
- KOIN, Portland
- KGW (or KGW-TV), Portland, with a Mr. Cox
- KSLM, Salem, Oregon, interview with Mr. Hoss
- KOMO-TV, Seattle, Washington, *Katherine Wise Show*, George Dean
- KRSC, Tulsa, Oklahoma, *Jan McIntyre Show*
- KIRO-TV, Seattle, Washington, *Housewives, Incorporated*, Helen Kimball
- KASA, Elk City, Oklahoma, interview with Alice Howenstein
- KFJZ, Dallas/Fort Worth, Texas, interview
- WBAP-TV, Dallas/Fort Worth, *The Ann Alden Show*, sponsored by Stripling Department Store
- KPRC-TV, Houston, Texas, *Fashions in Motion*
- KLEE-TV (later KPRC-TV), Houston, Texas
- WKRS, Waukegan, Illinois, Mrs. Roslyn Zimmett
- WTMJ-TV, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Nancy Grey, women's commentator
- WISN-TV, Milwaukee, Ann Leslie
- WKOW, Madison, Wisconsin, *Woman's World* with Louella Mortonson
- WHA, Madison, *Homemakers Program* with Aline Hazard
- WLS, Chicago, Illinois, on or with the Edison Girls' Club

- WMAQ-TV, Chicago, *Elizabeth Hart Presents*
- WBZ, Chicago, Majorie Mills' program
- WAAF, Chicago, *Help Your Neighbor* with Judy Logan
- WENR-TV, Chicago, *Toni Gilman Show*, bag-packing demo
- WNMP, Evanston, Illinois, interview with Miss E. J. Pfeil, women's commentator
- WIRE, Indianapolis, Indiana, interview with Dorothy Burton on *Hoosier Housewife*
- WJBK-TV, Detroit, Michigan, Mr. Lenny Pike, Joyce Chapman
- WJR, Detroit, interview on *Fran Harris Show*
- WLAV, Grand Rapids, Michigan, interview with Elizabeth La Versa
- WHFB, Benton Harbor, Michigan
- WSAM, Saginaw, Michigan, announcement
- WEXL, Royal Oak, Michigan
- WKMH, Dearborn, Michigan, interview on *Aunt Bess' Kitchen*, with Bess Wright and Dorothy Cook
- WBNS, Columbus, Ohio, *Shell Digest*, sportscaster Marty Devictor
- KSTP-TV, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota
- WGBS, Miami, Florida
- WBGB, Boston
- WIS-TV, Columbia, South Carolina
- WACA, Washington D.C. area
- WXEX-TV, Richmond, Virginia
- WRBL-TV. Columbus, Georgia
- WMAL-TV, Washington, D.C.
- WFLA, Tampa Bay, Florida
- KYTV, Springfield, Missouri
- KLPW, Union, Missouri
- KWRE, Warrenton, Missouri
- KGUL-TV, Galveston, Texas
- KDUB-TV, Dubuque, Iowa
- WAPI, Birmingham, Alabama
- WDSU-TV, New Orleans, Louisiana
- WGAR, Cleveland, Ohio
- WTOP, Washington, D.C.
- WKOX, Everett, Massachusetts
- KXYZ, Houston, Texas
- WTAG, Worcester, Massachusetts, interviewed by Julie Chase of *Julie and Johnny*

Detail: Wives of Shell Gas Station Owners or Corporate Execs; Mixed Shell Oil Company Audience

The Carol Lane program went out of its way to honor the wives of Shell gas station dealers, regional managers, and executives. Lucia Cucullu, in interview with this author, stressed the importance of throwing grand luncheons for Shell wives because, to paraphrase, the company

recognized the roles they played in supporting franchises. The image at right, for instance, is such a luncheon talk before 185 wives of Shell Oil Company employees in the Tacoma, Washington, area. **[Figures 1 - 3]** From the very beginning of the program, in fact, there is evidence that Lane's management team understood the value of courting this group of women. Here are just a few quotes from private correspondences and public lectures made by management responsible for the program.

> "We have a good company but sometimes other people don't know it if we don't help them to and sometimes Shell will be the only company in a whole town like down in the state of Illinois, and if we can present friendly face to the wives of the employees as well as the men themselves, it kind of helps." – Caroline Iverson, as Carol Lane, before the Indianapolis Advertising Club on April 6, 1950.

Shell Oil's public relations teams generally made a point of acknowledging all employees and grooming and promoting personnel from within. As *Forbes* magazine pointed out in its April 1, 1951 issue, they spent a lot of time and effort on keeping employees loyal:

> "From all this it would appear that Shell's No. 1 target for 'public relations effort' is its own employee group. And, in fact, making friends out of the hired help is one of the PR Department's six objectives. (The others: communities, dealers, customers, lessors and stockholders, in about that order). *Shell News* last year carried 36 four-color institutional ads made up solely for employees. Even the trademark advertisements budgeted by the Marketing Department are posted on bulletin boards in advance of publication in *Life* and the *Saturday Evening Post*, so that each Shellman can get a look while the dope is still 'inside.'" – "Shell's Game: Or, How To Make Friends and Influence Profits," *Forbes*, April 1, 1952.

And in a letter from Vice President of Public Relations, G.G. Biggar in the New York office to P.C. Thomas of the San Francisco office, he acknowledges the role of Shell wives in spreading the word about Lane:

> "However, we've found wives of Shell men have often been very helpful in obtaining engagements in the Eastern Divisions and

> perhaps you, too, could call on Shell wives for assistance." – Vice President of Public Relations, G.G. Biggar to P.C. Thomas of the San Francisco office.[172]

Note: Carol Lane program management consistently referred to spouses of Shell gas station dealers as "wives." Researching the extent to which an uneven gender divide at the franchise level was true (looking at the image at right, it is hard to imagine it was not) across the board could be folded into a future iteration of this section. For now, it is fair to say that Shell seemed to only actively pursue women station attendants or salespeople during World War II. **[Figures 4 & 5]**

Connecting with Women's Groups

The Carol Lane program personnel routinely sent prepackaged phrasing and ready-to-use and customizable content along to society and women's page editors. In these templates there were blanks for the names of women honored with Carol Lane Traffic Safety Award and the nature of their successful initiatives. Furthermore, there were templates for announcements about Lane's impending visits before their clubs and professional associations. **[Figures 1 & 2]** The program also provided boiler plate language for follow-up pieces that were meant for print within a few days hence detailing what transpired during her visits. These sorts of sponsored editorial pieces presented prime opportunities for clubwomen to see their names in the local paper in close proximity to Carol Lane's own – which may have lent a certain cultural cache.

In a May 1948 internal memo to her manager, G.G. Biggar, then Assistant Manager of Shell Oil Public Relations, Caroline Iverson, who co-created the program, explained a process

[172]"Summary of Carol Lane Publicity." Public appearance-related memos, correspondence, reports, and engagement forms, 1947-1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.6-12.8.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

for engagement in the context of her/Lane's recent visits to cities in Wisconsin and surrounding states:

> "As a result of publicity, there were two or more newspaper stories on most engagements – one advance, and one on the speech itself."[173]

For an example of how this sort of planned newspaper blitz worked, take the Society Page column from *The Odessa American* (Odessa, Texas). In its May 18, 1949 edition, it mentioned that "Mrs. Barrow, the Odessa Woman's Forum president, said plans are being made to bring CL on June 3rd."[174] On May 22nd, the newspaper again printed that Lane would address the crowd at the Scott Theater, and the show was now open to a broader audience than just the Woman's Forum members, but still only to women.[175] Ten days later on June 1st, they wrote again, "Last minute preparations have been completed by Mrs. Haden Barrow, president of the Women's Forum for the presentation June 3 of Miss Carol Lane, recognized traveler, who will address Odessans at 10 a.m., at the Scott Theater. Miss Lane will tell women how to get the most out of a vacation…"[176] Finally, on June 5th, two days after the event, the paper mentions the visit again in more detail, such as a description of the decorations by Mrs. W.B. Stowe, the title of Lane's topic, "Touring Gets A Woman's Touch," and a quote from Lane herself, "Vacations are more

[173]"Monthly Report — Carol Lane." Budget reports; listings for local news and radio affiliates; lists of "tips" used for different towns; notes, and publicity reports, 1948-1949. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.13. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

[174]Darden, Rita Weaver, "Mrs. Murry H. Fly Wins Recognition As Odessa's First Lady Of The Year," *The Odessa American*, May 18, 1949, 25.

[175]"Woman's Forum Will Present Noted Travel Authority Here June 3," *The Odessa American*, May 22, 1949, 15.

[176]"Travel Expert Due in Odessa June 3 at 10," *The Odessa American*, June 1, 1949, 6.

than a chance for relaxation and outdoor recreation…They are precious opportunity to see the country in a spirit of pioneering adventure, and to learn at first-hand what makes it great."[177]

Figures 3 - 5, and the PDF to the right, *Shell Travel-Pak Program for Group Use* (1948), are additional examples of publications and forms created to keep in touch with clubwomen.

[177]Darden, Rita Weaver, "Make Vacations A Year Around Hobby, Travel Authority Says," *The Odessa American*, June 5, 1949, 23.

PUBLIC RELATIONS : STRATEGIES

Shell's Public Relations Strategies – An Introduction

> "Publicity comprises advertising, of course; it comprises the radio, the moving picture, magazine articles, speeches, books, mass meetings, brass bands, parades; *everything involved in the expression of an idea or of an institution – including the policy or the idea expressed*." [Emphasis original.] – Ivy Ledbetter Lee, *Publicity* (1925)

> "Before the war, [Shell marketing department personnel] had considered it ample for their purposes if the public had a good impression of the Shell products. Now, in the postwar period, division and district managers were concerned that the public should have a good opinion not only of their products but the company that made them and, beyond the company, and understanding and appreciation of the whole oil industry." – Kendall Beaton, *Enterprise in Oil: A History of Shell in the United States* (1957)

In 1925, public relations (PR) pioneer Ivy Ledbetter Lee (1877-1934) defined PR (he preferred to call it "publicity") as – "everything involved in the expression of an idea or of an institution – including the policy or the idea expressed."[178] Those expressions, wrote Lee, could take the form of radio programming (televisions had yet to reach the consumer market), motion pictures, magazine articles, and books. They could also include sponsoring of public meetings, live music events, and parades. Carol Lane PR program personnel, including the many Lane performers, would utilize many of these outreach tactics beginning twenty-two years later. "Changing Lanes: A Reanimation of Shell Oil's Carol Lane" documents material traces of the Carol Lane program's edutainment activities, the role of a whole network of Shell employees and outside firms involved, and the intended audiences for their circulated ideas. Two sections –

[178]Lee, *Publicity: Some of the Things It Is and Is Not*, 8.

“Carol Lane(s)” and “PR: Other Personnel” concentrate on the people behind the program from Lane performers to women’s activities staff and PR managers. The “Audiences” section tackles why the program targeted mainly women, and who her audiences were by group. This section, “PR: Strategies,” surveys what the program’s personnel created for public consumption in Carol Lane’s name, and their associated strategies. It particularly examines the varied media outlets and formats they used, and the public events they sponsored — essentially “everything involved” in the expression of Lane as an idea and fictional living trademark. [To read more about living trademarks, see the “Who was Carol Lane” tab.]

Shell’s corporate archives in both the United States and Canada are restricted or closed to the public, so what is known about the Carol Lane program’s objectives, incentives, personnel, and workflow, derives to a significant extent from ephemera left behind as a product of the program personnel’s activities.[179] Thus, this investigation of the program’s PR practices has been substantially based upon publicly accessible articles and public service advertisements from newspapers, magazines and trade journals. Analysis draws from Carol Lane-authored publications, and audiovisual recordings; and it incorporates insider information from the personal papers of two Carol Lane performers, Caroline Iverson and Elizabeth Baker. It is also

[179]This was particularly true during the 2020-2021 Covid-19 pandemic, but even in years prior, it was difficult. That isn’t to say there are completely inaccessible, however the archives in Houston are closed except by request, and then inquiries are vetted. Access to personnel records and other corporate record keeping is restricted. Moreover, Shell Canada Limited/Shell Oil of Canada records are dispersed and have not revealed much information to date on the Canadian Carol Lanes except for a few newspaper articles online and a booklet I was able to obtain from Archives and Libraries Canada. I added the following note from the dissertation’s introduction again here, as it bears repeating. Until I made contact with Shell Oil, Shell Canada, and Shell U.K. archives personnel, and Shell Global in The Hague, The Netherlands, none had heard of Carol Lane or the PR program. As mentioned in an earlier footnote, there is now a short, incomplete dedication to her tenure among the many projects listed on the company’s historical timeline. There are fewer than twenty items on this project site that came from those in charge of Shell archival collections. Thankfully, the legal department in the U.S. headquarters (Houston, Texas) provided digitized copies of pamphlets; and archivists in their global headquarters in The Hague emailed a digitized full-sized magazine advertisement. I am grateful for their enthusiasm and support. Please see acknowledgments under the “Methods” tab for more information.

supplemented by personal interviews conducted by the author.[180] "PR: Strategies" surveys the ephemeral evidence left behind, embeds digital proxies for examination, and speculates where there are absences in the archival record. The "Multiple Marketing Divisions, Multiple Carol Lanes" subsection – found immediately below this one – explores the connection between Shell's shifting marketing strategies and why there were more than one Carol Lane traveling the United States and Canada at the same time. Following that: "A Brief Primer on Public Relations History & Potential Influences on Shell Practitioners," gives a very succinct history of the PR field in the United States and how its early practitioners may have influenced Shell PR management; and finally, "Terminology: The Distinction between Advertising and Public Relations," helps to tease out the differences between the two, overlapping, practices.

"PR: Strategies" also contains several subsections (running down the left-hand side) which break down each of the Carol Lane program's tactical approaches. Each details how they varied from, and fit into, the larger scope of Shell's PR maneuverings, and illustrates the program's techniques by type or format. "The 'Tourette,'" subsection covers Lane's popular lecture topics such as planned two-day or weekend vacations on a budget (a tourette), eating outdoors, and driving country backroads in lieu of highways and camping. As well, there are video recordings of locations where Lanes lectured over the years, shot by this author while on tourettes herself. "How to Pack a Suitcase: Carol Lane as Lecturer" playfully considers Carol Lane's role as live lecturer. "Publications & Columns" exhibits well over a dozen examples of Lane-authored guides, booklets, travel column, and sewing/crafting patterns. "Carol Lane Award for Traffic Safety" discusses the award Shell Oil Company established in her name in 1951, which was co-administered by the National Safety Council. "Audiovisual Publications & Record

[180]Personal interviews include Lucia Cucullu, family members of deceased Lane performers Beatrice Hansen Conway and Elizabeth Baker, and PR practitioners.

of Appearances" details a selection of Shell Oil's educational and popular film, radio, and television productions, including those made for the Carol Lane program. Moreover, there is an appearance by Lane in raw, unedited news footage, a video which reimagines an original radio recording, and actual scripts written by program staff. "Advertisements and Public Service Announcements," showcases a number of primarily public-service-oriented advertisements produced for the Carol Lane program, plus for comparison, a selection of midcentury Shell ads featuring women. The "Shell Touring Service" subsection gives a history of that decades-long public service, for which Lane was the Women's Department director. "Opinion Research/Surveys" discusses the area of research that was part of Carol Lane performers' job description, and the surveys Shell Touring Service conducted to get a sense of women drivers' and vacationers' needs. Finally, "Giveaways & Spectacles -- Carol Lane & Other Shell-Related" tackles the entertaining and educational games and events Shell sponsored generally, and also on behalf of the Carol Lane program. This particular introductory section below sets up and presents the practical organizational framework that orients the rest of the "PR: Strategies" subsections described above.

Gaining an Insider View: A Case Study

Parties interested in more comprehensive histories of public relations in the United States, and more broadly, can choose from a mounting selection of historical and theoretical works from pre-WWII texts authored by PR pioneers Ivy Lee or Edward L. Bernays, to more modern historical or critical works on public relations including Stuart Ewen, Sue Curry Jansen, Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, Margot Opdycke Lamme and Karen Miller Russell, Roland Marchand, and Larry Tye.[181]

[181]Publications by these authors and similar are included in the bibliography included under the "Methods" tab.

There are also useful case studies such as Mark Robinson's *Marketing Big Oil: Brand Lessons from the World's Largest Companies* (2016) and a resource published contemporaneously with the Carol Lane program, F. Rhodes Henderer's *A Comparative Study of the Public Relations Practices in Six Industrial Corporations* (1956) to name just two.[182] The public can also visit The Museum of Public Relations in person or online for a "PR Timeline," books about well-known practitioners, video clips of practitioners speaking about their professional trajectories and successes, and public events celebrating or interrogating various aspects of the field.[183]

Public Relations as a practice, however, is often explained in remarkably vague terms which can border on secretive or self-protective. For example, in 1948 historian Eric F. Goldman portrayed the practitioner as "an expert with the technical equipment, the ethics, and the social view associated with the lawyer, doctor, or teacher," and the PR counsel generally as an idealized "two-way street—and a street in a good neighborhood."[184] His flowery rhetoric would be suitably confounding to newcomers to the subject, especially regarding the ways he asserted PR professionals are like doctors. Today's PR practitioners may turn to other sources for definitions such as the "About Public Relations" page the Public Relations Society of America, Inc. (PRSA), a professional association for PR professionals. They define the field as "a strategic communication process that builds mutually beneficial relationships between organizations and their publics." Their explanation continues with yet more jargon concerning what practitioners do such as "influencing, engaging and building a relationship with key stakeholders across numerous platforms in order to shape and frame the public perception of an organization" or

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[182]Henderer, F. Rhodes, *A Comparative Study of the Public Relations Practices in Six Industrial Corporations*. Pittsburgh, PA : University of Pittsburgh Press, 1956; Robinson, M. *Marketing Big Oil: Brand Lessons from the World's Largest Companies*. [Place of publication not identified]: Palgrave Pivot, 2016.

[183]"Public Relations Through the Ages: A Timeline of Social Movements, Technology Milestones and the Rise of the Profession," The Museum of Public Relations, https://www.prmuseum.org/pr-timeline (Accessed March 30, 2021).

[184]Goldman, 16, 19.

"counseling management at all levels in the organization with regard to policy decisions" and "overseeing the creation of content to drive customer engagement and generate leads." The "About" page then includes a number of specializations within the field like "Content Creation," "Events," "Social Media," "Reputation Management" "Speechwriting," and "Brand Journalism," but no glossary to help the unversed tease out what terms mean.

Without a foundational understanding of what "influencing" or "brand journalism" signify, or of what tactics are commonly used to frame an entity in the best possible light, one would likely come away with little understanding of how specifically, and how pervasively, one is being engaged with, flattered, and even coerced into believing a certain way about a brand or celebrity or government. And the duplicity is at least in part intentional. In her essay, "Secrecy, Confidentiality and 'Dirty Work': The Case of Public Relations," Sue Curry Jansen writes, "A familiar truism within the industry is 'the best PR is invisible PR.' Once the props of PR initiatives are exposed, PR usually loses much of its efficacy."[185] Fellow public relations historian, Stuart Ewen, expounds upon this idea further. He stresses the ironic importance of optics to making PR invisible when he quotes another PR truism: "It's not what you say, but how you say it, that matters." From "creating circumstances" – putting on events that are intended to stand out as newsworthy – down to illustration style, logo designs, typography, PR works "behind the scenes [and] out of public view." [186] Secrecy, or at least evasion, it would appear, is key to "build[ing] mutually beneficial relationships." One is not supposed to notice what PR experts are doing, or their techniques are rendered ineffective. At least one practitioner, Charles S. Steinberg, acknowledged the secretive nature of PR and recommended an additive: ethics. He wrote in 1975 that "Public relations is easily suspect. And that is why, among other valid reasons, it should strive to

[185]Curry Jansen, Sue. "Secrecy, Confidentiality and 'Dirty Work': The Case of Public Relations," *Secrecy and Society* 1, no. 1 (2016), https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/secrecyandsociety/vol1/iss1/5 (Accessed March 18, 2021).

[186]Ewen, 30.

function in an atmosphere of decency, credibility and accuracy… This question is essentially one of ethics."[187]

Arguably, transparency is key to creating "an atmosphere of decency, credibility, and accuracy." The Carol Lane program personnel, performers, and managers did not to any significant extent disclose the ins-and-outs of how the program worked outside of internal correspondences; and the Public Relations Society of America is certainly under no obligation to showcase and define in finer detail exactly what techniques members use, as they are most likely already in the know (and may not appreciate giving away trade secrets.) How then, by what means, can the uninitiated (especially the public) evaluate working examples of PR practitioners' ethical stances when so much of *what practitioners do is meant to invisible*? Today's newly minted practitioners, and other interested "publics" can pay for PRSA's professional development courses to learn actual methods and read their in-house organ, *Strategies & Tactics*. They may peruse old issues of *Public Relations Tactics*, the Society's journal for free through library catalogs and on their website for issues from 2009-2017.[188] For those who have access to a university library, there are archival copies of twentieth-century journals like *Public Relations Quarterly,* as well as others dealing with today's PR issues such as *Public Relations Review*. There are also a number of vintage and modern how-to books like the manual, *Public Relations Idea Book*. It was published by *Printers' Ink* in 1953 during the first few years of the Carol Lane program's initial growth period.

In an effort to blend critical analysis of the personnel's chosen techniques and offer historical context, this case study reverse-engineers the implementation the Carol Lane PR

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[187]Steinberg, Charles S., *The Creation of Consent: Public Relations in Practice* (New York : Hastings House Pubishers, 1975), 16.

[188]Public Relations Society of America, Inc., "Public Relations Tactics Issue Archive," https://apps.prsa.org/Intelligence/Tactics/Issues/archive (Accessed March 19, 2021).

program, and shares a plethora of original artifacts created for its publicity. To aid the reader, each of the following subsection actually opens with a framing concept from *Public Relations* to incorporate contemporaneous advice on PR practices. Thus, "Changing Lanes," represents an ethical decision to dispel with some of the mystery. It provides the visitor the ability to step back and take in the big picture: a possibility made possible by a digital platform and toolset. One can now inspect an archive of Lane-related artifacts and media coverage from all over the United States and Canada, and view Shell's activities at scale. This bifocal perspective was out of the question for Lane's publics – except perhaps industry insiders in the know.

Multiple Marketing Divisions, Multiple Carol Lanes

> "Word of mouth. If you want folks to talk about your plant and product, consider two standards: What sort of folks are most vocal, most talkative? What sort of talking folks have the largest audience?
>
> Yes, it's the old idea of working through experts, key men, leaders."
>
> -- *Public Relations Idea Book* (New York : Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 1953), 242

The fact that two or three women simultaneously portrayed Carol Lane as a "living trademark" is *strange*. It raises all kinds of questions about gender and identity, and the hidden nature of women's labor. The "Who Was Carol Lane?" tab on this project is the repository for speculation on that matter. After studying the Carol Lane program from a wider angle, logical answers have emerged regarding the duplicity. The short answer is, traveling the country making appearances in every marketing division, plus researching, and writing booklets and travel

columns, was too much work for one woman to do.[189] After mapping the Lanes' whereabouts and comparing them with contemporaneous maps of Shell's overall advertising activities, another thing was clear as to why there were West Coast, East Coast, and Canadian Lanes. For at least half of the program's years of operation, the company's marketing divisions split the United States in half – with a giant gap cutting roughly through the Great Plains to the border with Texas – with coastal offices handling PR in Canada. Moreover, Lane was part of Shell's unified PR "package" intended to support regional marketing efforts.[190] By sending around more than one Carol Lane to talk to the local clubwomen, and spread good will generally – she could attend events in a timelier fashion. In other words, division of duties partially explained the multiplicity of Lanes, but so did their micro-targeting of specific marketing areas.

Another reason for having regional Carol Lanes was so each one could tailor their messaging to local interests. In fact, Carol Lanes, from the moment they split into two personalities, and then three, were meant to specialize and adapt their topics and travel tips whether during live presentations or in locally broadcasted skits and interviews. Caroline Iverson, the inventor of the Carol Lane persona and her first performer was quite clear in her recommendations for the future of the program that management should encourage all Lane performers to specialize. In a June 7, 1950 exit memo, "Review of Carol Lane Program – Publicity Build-up," Iverson laid out her observations and hopes to her bosses in the PR department H.L. Curtis and G.G. Biggar.[191] On the subject of two Carol Lanes in particular she

[189]Speeches, 1949-1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 13.15.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

[190]Biggar, "Relationships Between the Public Relations Officer and Management: A Lecture Before Course on Corporate Decision and Public Relations" 7.

[191]Exit memo written by Ackerman, reviewing "Carol Lane" program, June 1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

said one thing was key: "give each girl a series of specialties" and those individual research interests should be essentially coastal.[192] For instance, the East Coast Lane should focus on women traveling alone, traveling with dogs, congested/city driving, deluxe auto travel budgets, Ski tourettes and "Travel Dress-up Clothes and Hats;" while the West Coast Lane might concentrate on sort of the opposite, so traveling with children, beach tourettes and mountain touring tips, minimum travel budgets/camping, and more casual travel attire. In her personal papers, there is evidence to suggest that Iverson refined her topics even further by city. **[Figure 1]**

Carol Iverson's emphasis on specialization in this letter, when read in the light of other correspondences in her personal papers, suggests there may have been some resistance by the West Coast Division to accepting a regional Carol Lane of their own. For instance, in November 1948 assistant PR department manager G.G. Biggar attempted to assure marketing executive Mr. Purdom "Purd" Thomas of the San Francisco office that a woman's club speaker was key to opening up the woman's market in the Pacific region. He first reintroduced the idea cautiously.[193] ("As we agreed, if you should contemplate Miss Lane's visiting the West this winter…") Biggar then outlined – sold really – the concept of a Women's Travel Director. In a more pointed attempt to grab Thomas's attention, he also reported Lane had discovered that "95% of her audiences in the clubs [East of The Rockies] are more interested in a routing to the

[192]Caroline Iverson does not mention how Canadian Carol Lanes might regionalize. In fact, I have yet to discover exactly when Audrea Lear (Canada's first Carol Lane, and the woman who headed Shell Canada's first Touring Service) first appeared live or in publications as Lane. Data thus far indicates that she did not appear as Lane until 1951/1952 – so at least a year after Iverson had left.

[193]"Letter from G.G. Biggar to Mr. P.C. Thomas in the San Francisco office, dated November 9, 1948." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 14.4.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

West Coast than in any other prospective vacation trip."[194] He also highlighted an even more tactical reason for hiring a West-of-The-Rockies Lane: the persona should be customizable for PR reasons. He emphasized, "We would not want to run into any bad publicity angle of her 'being a New Yorker visiting the Coast.'"[195]

One possible reason the Pacific coast managers seem to have needed coaxing into participating in the Carol Lane program is because the company's marketing and PR efforts had been historically dispersed and decentralized. Throughout most of the 1920s and 1930s Shell actually consisted of three companies -- Shell Union (New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Rochester being the largest cities), Shell Petroleum (Chicago, Cleveland, St. Louis, and Houston), and Shell Oil (San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle).[196] The San Francisco office had collaborated with advertising agency J.W.T. starting in 1928 on their local initiatives, and had sponsored their own PR activities before that.[197] By 1931, Shell's divisions had collectively begun working with J.W.T. to serve other pre-merger marketing territories in the U.S.. For example, on April 6, 1934, Shell Union announced a massive national newspaper campaign in the *Boston Globe*, while each company continued to maintain a certain anonymity regarding publicizing local gas stations dealers and petroleum byproducts. **[Figures 2 & 3]** Shell Oil executives in San Francisco handled the former Shell Petroleum region's marketing by 1936

[194]"Letter from G.G. Biggar to Mr. P.C. Thomas." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

[195]"Letter from G.G. Biggar to Mr. P.C. Thomas." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

[196]I am skipping here a much longer history of Shell Oil Company's 20th-century mergers and acquisitions in the United States. For a fuller timeline, see "A Brief, Curated, History of Shell," under the "Contents/User Guide" tab.

[197]Beaton, 283.

after its merger with Shell Union; and by 1937, Shell Union announced another expansion of its marketing facilities in New York.[198]

From June 1939 onward, however, a final merger of Shell Oil on the West Coast and Shell Union on the East Coast was completed, and "the entire operation of producing, refining, and marketing oil and oil products was conducted by one nationwide operating company, Shell Oil Company, Inc."[199] Shell Oil Company of Canada was not included in the consolidation; and in Fall 1940, the St. Louis management, including its newly created PR department, finalized the mergers by moving to New York.[200] Carol Lane's boss, H.L. Curtis, as assistant to Shell Union's president Alexander Fraser, took over a PR counsel for the whole company in 1943 in the New York office. Thus from 1949 forward, Western marketing divisions came under the purview of Curtis and his team for public relations guidance and for national ad campaigns. By December of 1949, the corporation would simplify its American name as Shell Oil Company.[201] The birth of Carol Lane's PR program in September 1947 and its rearing in 1948 and early 1949 on the East Coast, coincided with this period of upheaval. Biggar's letter written on November 1948 to Thomas, may have signaled this new centralization of PR activities was already underway. The Carol Lane program was likely one of the first nationwide PR efforts under the new configuration. One way to ensure the Western and Eastern marketing divisions and their dealers, which at the time also included both coasts in Canada, would benefit from the program – was to make sure each had their own Lane.

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[198]Beaton, 494; "Shell Union Oil Corporation, Survey Among Shell Jingle Contest Entrants In Eleven Cities report August 1937." [Reel 97] J. Walter Thompson Company. 35mm Microfilm Proofs, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

[199]Beaton, 494; "Shell-Ogilvy Deal Rocks ANA," *Sponsor*, November 21, 1960, 38.

[200]Beaton, 494.

[201]Beaton, 674.

G.G. Biggar's letter to Purd Thomas implied a need for offices on both sides of the country to participate in the Carol Lane program to ensure its success. Nationwide outreach tactics for her program would prove to be extremely reliant upon networks of newspaper and media outlets with which the newly integrated Shell Oil, and its previous conglomeration of smaller companies, had established relationships. In a subsection he called "Concrete Publicity Benefits for Shell," Biggar underscored in his letter the fact that the Carol Lane program was already hitting its stride across the country, subtly bringing attention to Shell in newspaper and magazine articles on her visits, her advice and career. Publications such as *The Atlanta Constitution*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Miami Herald* had already picked up her nationally syndicated "Tips on Touring" column.[202] Buy-in on the West Coast would get Shell's name, by association with Lane's, in the local papers even more. To see evidence of the gradual embrace of the Carol Lane program West of The Rockies and into Texas over the first four years, see the "Change Over Time" map under the "Data" tab on this project site. Screen shots in **Figure 4** show a steady increase in activity in that region from 1947 to 1950. This is especially apparent in California starting in Fall 1950 after the San Francisco office had acquiesced and the region got its first dedicated, trained Lane. The map also shows a dramatic increase in newspaper coverage after Shell enlisted J.W.T. to get the word out about Carol Lane in August 1948 – including placing her travel advice column in about 150 newspapers in the U.S. and later Canada. Other publicity materials meant only for print were her public-service style ads, calls for submissions for the Carol Lane Award for Traffic Safety, and announcements of award winners.

[202]"Letter from G.G. Biggar to Mr. P.C. Thomas." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

After a hiatus of some years, in 1950 Shell began sponsoring radio and television programming plus purchasing advertising time in earnest.[203] In 1951, the company intended to spend about $1.5 million in news program sponsorship, brokered by J.W.T., on fifty-seven radio stations, and on television stations WNBT (New York City) and KTLA (Los Angeles).[204] The number of stations grew to sixty-one markets by 1956. Carol Lane would appear on WNBT and a number of these stations, including many on the West Coast, with which Shell did business [See "Detail: Radio Listening & Television Viewing Audiences" under the "Audience" tab for a full, but partial, list of stations on which she appeared.] In February of 1956, the trade journal *Sponsor* boasted Shell's return to a decentered advertising strategy.[205] J.W.T. representative Tom Klement, speaking on behalf of Shell, told the journal that the company had made a basic switch in strategy the year before. He specified, "Previously all plans originated out of the home office of Shell or J.W.T.. Since last year, we're allocating budgets and agency field men to 18 division managers (12 on the East Coast, six on the West Coast), who guide and recommend changes in the local markets they're most familiar with."[206] **[Figure 5]** The map printed with the article further indicated the marketing and PR department executives would still be located in New York City, but division heads oversaw district offices sprinkled throughout major cities in the United States and Canada.

The "Change Over Time" map also visualizes the increased newspaper coverage Carol Lane received from 1955 through 1961, and subsequent decline thereafter. Beginning in 1960s, Shell's marketing schemes changed once again. Interestingly, within these two years Shell Oil

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[203]"How to Keep Your Dealer Happy," *Sponsor*, August 14, 1950, 23.

[204]"Conoco Hits a Gusher," *Sponsor*, August 13, 1951, 29.

[205]"Here's Why We Bought Spot Radio," *Sponsor*, February 20, 1956, 34.

[206]"Here's Why We Bought Spot Radio," 34.

wound down the Carol Lane Award for Traffic Safety program in the United States (it would be phased out in Canada in 1967), as well as pulled the publication of Lane's travel column around 1964. Along with there was a dramatic downtick in mentions of Carol Lane in newspapers beyond announcing her visits. This period of significant change in focus for the program also fairly coincides with Shell bringing in two new advertising firms, Ogilvy, Benson, & Mather (OBM) in 1960, and Kenyon & Eckhardt (K&E) in approximately 1955/1956, to handle gasoline advertising and company-related PR, respectively. Shell continued to retain J. Walter Thompson to handle advertising for its chemical division. Without any definitive proof thus far to suggest one way or the other, it is difficult to say whether OBM or K&E had anything to do with the demise of the Carol Lane Award or her travel column, but it is possible.[207] **[Figure 6]**

By 1966, *Sponsor* published another illustrated map showing the number of regional marketing district offices had increased yet more, even as marketing divisions were reconsolidated to four. **[Figure 7]** This reconsolidation may too have affected the Carol Lane program staff's outreach capabilities in some capacity, but the effect is unclear at present. From 1966 forward the majority of mentions of Carol Lane in the newspaper involved a visit, and most of those appeared within close proximity to where Shell had marketing district offices. Moreover, her national presence significantly diminished. The Carol Lane program would continue to be administrated for the most part out of New York, and West Coast Lanes would have home offices in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Houston when Shell Oil moved its corporate headquarters there in 1970. By late 1972, the program was down to one Carol Lane performer traveling the country from Houston until it was finally dissolved in 1974. To read the only full-length article discovered to date which features two Lane performers – in this case

[207]This will be a focus of a future investigation once the pandemic is over and I can visit OBM and K&E collections as thoroughly as I have J. Walter Thompson.

Jeannette King and Jane Small – in the same interview, read *Car Life* from October 1967.

[Figure 8]

A Brief Primer on Public Relations History & Potential Influences on Shell Practitioners

> "No activity has a more tangled history. Few provoke more heated discussions."
>
> -- Eric F. Goldman in his *Two-Way Street: The Emergence of Public Relations Counsel* (Boston: Bellman, 1948)

This "PR: Strategies" section begins with some basic PR principles and historical events that may have informed Shell's programmatic marketing decisions and sets the stage for the creation of the Carol Lane program.

Shell's PR managers did not invent or implement the techniques they turned to for the Carol Lane program or any other, in a vacuum. Public relations had been a burgeoning field of professional practitioners, or "counselors" as they were also referred to, since the second decade of the twentieth century.[208] Without Shell's corporate personnel files for reference, determining precisely what training in PR methods Shell marketing personnel might have had when they developed the Carol Lane program is an exercise in speculation. What is known is based on publicly accessible biographical sketches and professional profiles in trade magazines and newspapers. For instance, a few of the Carol Lane performers and their manager and Vice President in PR, G.G. Biggar, had studied journalism; and schools of journalism were typically an academic department in which one would find PR courses in university settings. Thus, it is plausible they could have received professional instruction in that context. Business schools were

[208]The Museum of Public Relations, "Public Relations Through the Ages: A Timeline of Social Movements, Technology Milestones and the Rise of the Profession," https://www.prmuseum.org/pr-timeline (Accessed January 26, 2021). As many professional public relations associations and scholars of the field are quick to point out, PR is a very ancient practice starting with cave drawings.

another. However, PR concepts had been as far back as the late 1910s "trending," to use a term more familiar to marketers and social media users today. Books had been written, theories circulated, and PR fiascos made the news. And while Shell marketing executives and managers undoubtedly varied in age, many of the men employed at their levels within the company were more or less coming into their own professionally at the same time as the rise of PR. College-trained or not, they would have at least heard of two of PR's "founding fathers," Ivy Lee (1877-1934) and Edward L. Bernays (1891-1995), or their trailblazing concepts. In particular, Lee's efforts to repair the Rockefeller family's reputation, would have indubitably caught their attention. The family's Standard Oil Company and subsidiaries were Shell's biggest competitors.[209]

In 1904, Ivy Lee had, in partnership with George Parker, founded one of the first "publicity firms," Parker and Lee, in New York City, and introduced the first press release. The next year, Lee sent to the regional newspaper editors what is now considered a seminal work in the profession's infancy, his bulletin titled *Declaration of Principles*.[210] In *Declaration*, Lee called for increased transparency and more open communication on the side of corporations regarding their policies and principles, while he defended their turn to publicists and the press to get their truths before the public's eyes.[211] The public should be informed. That same year, the muckraking journalist, Ida Tarbell, published a two-volume book, *The History of Standard Oil Company*, which was a culmination of a scathing series of *McClure Magazine* articles she had authored on the Standard's beginnings, the vertical integration of its holdings, and their

[209] Beaton, 57, 69. I use "Shell" here to indicate Shell Oil's various interests and the companies with which it would merge.

[210]Heath, Robert L., *Encyclopedia of Public Relations*. OKS Print (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2005), 482.

[211]Many historians of public relation identify Lee's *Declaration of Principles* as one of the first publicly distributed documents to explain the role of publicists and the "starting point of modern public relations."

monopolistic business practices.[212] The terrible publicity the Rockefeller family – Standard's primary shareholders – received would gain international attention after its publication. The family's notorious public silence on the matter ("Not a word," patriarch John D. Rockefeller, Sr., told his advisers. "Not a word about that misguided woman.") may have served as a cautionary tale for those oil companies, such as Royal Dutch Company (Shell's forerunner), looking to do business in the United States. Standard Oil's inaction and willingness to ignore accusations, as Mark Robinson points out in his book, *Marketing Big Oil*, "implied a lack of concern of wrongdoing."[213] Nine years later, Royal Dutch Shell Group executives, who had recently formed the American Gasoline Company in New York City, were undoubtedly engrossed in reading news that the Rockefellers were again in hot water for the Ludlow Massacre of 1913. This time the family had hired Ivy Lee to humanize them and represent them to the press.[214] News of Lee's targeted barrage of bulletins sent to newspaper editors near the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, of which the Rockefellers were majority owners, may have been nationwide reading. The Company, along with Governor Elias M. Ammons, called in the National Guard to gun down striking coal miners and their families working in the Ludlow coal mines.[215] It is difficult

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[212]Robinson, Mark L. *Marketing Big Oil: Brand Lessons from the World's Largest Companies* (New York : Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), 3.; Tarbell, Ida, *The History of Standard Oil Company*. New York : McClure, Phillips, 1904. https://archive.org/details/historyofstandar00tarbuoft/mode/2up (Accessed February 2, 2021). Tarbell's expose, and the Rockefeller family's inaction, is considered one of the first examples of a PR disaster in the history of big oil.

[213]Beaton, 57, 69; King, Gilbert, "The Woman Who Took on the Tycoon," *Smithsonian Magazine*, July 5, 2012, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-woman-who-took-on-the-tycoon-651396/ (Accessed February 2, 2021); Robinson, 33. Kendall Beaton writes about Ida Tarbell's taking down of Standard Oil in *Enterprise* (page 57), and addresses the rumors that floated among journalists that Shell Oil Company of California (a company that later merged with Royal Dutch) and Royal Dutch were contemplating starting a "fight" for American natural resources with Standard Oil (page 69). Tarbell's investigative reporting would be a contributing factor to United States government's bringing a successful antitrust suit against Standard Oil in 1911 under the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890, in an effort to legislate their business practices.

[214]Beaton, 57.

[215]Heath, 483.

to imagine that the family's creation of its philanthropic arm, the Rockefeller Foundation, in 1913 was not a direct response to ten years of bad press. Lee would have a great influence over its doings early on.[216]

Another of public relations' famous forefathers, one that was perhaps more influential as well as being closer in age to Shell marketing personnel, was Edward L. Bernays. In 1923, he published his first groundbreaking PR handbook, *Crystalizing Public Opinion*. In *Crystalizing*, he explained the broad principles of public relations counseling and the psychology (Bernays was a nephew of Sigmund Freud) behind "herd" mentality which PR historian Stuart Ewen describes as "the ineluctable pull exercised by groups and *their leaders* on the unconscious lives of individuals."[217] [Italics original.] Edward Bernays would furthermore touch on the importance of consumer research (or surveys) in his book, and return to the subject of psychographic profiling (or market segmentation) routinely throughout his career. Also, in the early 1920s Bernays and his wife, Doris E. Fleischman, who was partner in his firm "Edward L. Bernays, Council on Public Relations" are credited with co-developing the term "public relations counsel."[218] Some four years later, Bernays' 1928 book, *Propaganda*, may very well have

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[216]Abrahamson, Eric John, "Beyond Charity: A Century of Philanthropic Innovation," The Rockefeller Foundation Centennial Series, 95. https://www.rockefellerfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/Beyond-Charity.pdf.pdf (Accessed February 10, 2021); Krinsky, Carol Herselle. *Rockefeller Center* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 30-31. According to Krinsky, Ivy was also reportedly instrumental in shaping John. D. Rockefeller's ideas for Rockefeller Center which was completed in 1933. She writes, "About forty guests attended [a party of the Metropolitan Club on the property that would be Rockefeller Center], among them Ivy Lee, who handled Rockefeller public relations, sitting in for his employer. He heard about the plaza and plans for office buildings to be built by unnamed 'lessees from Columbia, as and when demand occurs for the construction and occupancy of permanent units facing 49th and 50th Street.' [Benjamin Wistar] Morris urged his listeners to consider the proposal quickly because other parties were thinking of building on the Columbia land. Ivy Lee was interested and on May 25 wrote to Rockefeller outlining the proposal which he said would 'make the square and the immediate surroundings the most valuable shopping district in the world.' He told Rockefeller about the $2,500,000 necessary to purchase the ground…" Shell Oil's New York Offices would reside in Rockefeller Center from 1949-1972.

[217]Ewen, 164. See also: Curtis, Adam, dir. *The Century of Self* (London : BBC 2, 2002).

[218]Creedon, Pamela J., "Public Relations History Misses 'Her Story,'" *Journalism Educator* 44, no 3 (Autumn 1989): 27.; Goldman, vi. Eric F. Goldman also wrote in *Two-Way Street: The Emergence of Public Relations Counsel* that the phrase "public relations" was first seen in print in Bernays' and Fleischman's wedding

informed Shell PR managers' future decisions to initiate the Carol Lane program. In his seminal text, he praised women's clubs for being groups at the "ready to initiate or help any movement which has for its object a distinct public good in the community." He also expressed his appreciation of their "power to influence their surroundings."[219] The Carol Lane program was invented nineteen years later to court this very demographic.

The same year Carol Lane program commenced, Bernays once again spoke to the critical importance of profiling and surveying customers or other members of the public who needed persuading in his well-circulated essay, "The Engineering of Consent." He affirmed that "the engineering of consent should be based theoretically and practically on the complete understanding of those whom it attempts to win over."[220] Theories about, and applications for, consumer research had nonetheless been percolating since the 1920s and 1930s and had likely reached the eyes and ears of Shell personnel. For example, one of Bernays' older contemporaries, Paul Cherington, left his job as a professor in the Harvard School of Business in 1922 to lead J.W.T.'s ventures into scientific surveying of consumer behavior. He may have influenced Shell's turn to the practice indirectly. Shell hired J.W.T., starting in 1928 in California and then nationwide in 1931, for surveying services and analysis.[221] Later, Cherington, Elmo Roper (whose name, along with George Gallup and Archibald Crossley, would later become synonymous with opinion polling and market research), and Richardson

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announcement in the *New York American*, on September 17, 1922. He claims to paraphrasing from: Henry L. Mencken, *The American Language, Supplement I* (New York, 1945), 578-79.

[219]Bernays, *Propaganda*, 133-134. Bernays also mentions women's clubs in *Crystalizing Public Opinion*, but only in passing.

[220]Bernays, Edward L., "The Engineering of Consent." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 250 (March 1947): 114.

[221]Beaton, 283-284.

Wood would form a market research firm in 1933.[222] Also during the early 1930s, PR agencies such as Carol Byoir & Associates began opening for business in New York, and many more would follow after WWII all over the country. Shell Oil formed its first PR department in St. Louis in 1939.

During the postwar years, Shell expanded their marketing program and hired additional staff. Some marketing managers rose through the ranks from Shell's marketing divisions.[223] Some of these men very well may have developed PR skills on the job. Trade magazines such as *Printers' Ink* published handy idea books for advertising and PR tactics along with its monthly roundup of reports on marketing trends and news from the field.[224] As for formal training in the United States at least, others could have studied PR practices and theories at college. Cherington taught what are believed to be the first courses in marketing at Harvard in the 1910s.[225] The University of Illinois offered the first public relations course in 1920, and Edward L. Bernays taught a class at New York University three years later. By 1946, at least thirty schools offered forty-seven different courses. In 1947, Boston University School of Public Relations (later Communications) awarded its first degree in PR, and in 1949 established an endowed professorship.[226] By 1956, that number of schools offering PR courses grew to 136 schools,

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[222]Ewen, 182. Elmo Roper also founded the Roper Research Associates in the 1930s, and the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at Williams College (it later went to Cornell University) in 1947. At some point his company changed names, or he started another one, called Elmo Roper, Inc. As mentioned above, Irma Cunha (Carol Lane, 1951-1953) would work directly for Elmo Roper after Shell.

[223]"New Moves in Marketing," *Shell News*, May/June 1966, 5.

[224]"Old-Timer Suspends Publication," *The New York Times*, February 15, 1972, 52. *Printers' Ink*, which started in 1888, changed its name in 1967 to *Marketing/Communications*, and met its demise in 1972. Editor & Publisher remains in business.

[225]Ewen, 182.

[226]Boston University College of Communications, "MS in Public Relations," https://www.bu.edu/com/academics/degree-programs/ms-in-public-relations/ (Accessed February 18, 2020).

including fourteen programs offering a major in PR.[227] The next year, the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) was founded; and in 1948, the Canadian Public Relations society formed in Montréal along with the Public Relations Association of Ontario in Toronto.[228]

Terminology: The Distinction between Advertising and Public Relations

> "Advertising agency. It is important that your publicity agency or department work closely with your advertising agency at all times but especially so when a new advertising campaign is planned. The publicity program can then be stepped up and often concentrated on the product to be advertised. Advertising and publicity – two forces working together – make a good team. We repeat, however, that selling is a job for advertising -- not for publicity."
>
> -- *Public Relations Idea Book* (New York : Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 1953), 242
>
> "The entire secret of placing publicity successfully is handling it as news. When it has a news angle, newspapers, magazines, radio, and TV will be glad to get it and use it. When it is used, it will get the name of your product and your company before the public and thus smooth the way for the selling job to be done before your advertising. With those two thoughts in mind, you can proceed to set up your publicity program."
>
> -- *Public Relations Idea Book* (New York : Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 1953), 264

What is the difference between Advertising and Public Relations (PR)? In 1953, the advertising and marketing trade journal *Printer s' Ink* asserted in its *Public Relations Idea Book* that "The entire secret of placing publicity successfully is handling it as news. When it has a news angle, newspapers, magazines, radio, and TV will be glad to get it and use it." Moreover, they add that PR practitioners can call attention to a product, but they cannot sell it. "That job is

[227]Hallahan, Kirk, "Public Relations Education, History of." In *Encyclopedia of Public Relations*, edited by Robert L. Heath, Vol. 2 (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Reference, 2005), 690.

[228]Norman, David G. "Public Relations," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, September 26, 2013, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/public-relations (Accessed January 27, 2021).

for advertising."[229] That differentiation still holds true today. Nearly fifty years later in 2002, two PR practitioners, Al and Laura Ries, pithily distinguished between advertising and public relations (PR) this way: "[Advertising is] the self-serving voice of a company anxious to make a sale… PR allows [it] to tell [its] story indirectly through third-party outlets, primarily the media."[230] Advertising denotes unidirectional communication: "You need this thing." This strategy was what the Rieses call "the Big Bang."[231] In other words, "advertising" is a technique or communication tool whereby an entity pays for promotional materials that draw attention to their products or services. Through strategic placement of text, imagery, and music in print, on TV and radio, billboards and other signage or display mechanisms, and since the 1990s, online or over email, advertisements are considered forms of one-way communication between an entity and the consumer. **[Figure 1]**

There are also public service advertisements (PSAs) which the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) defines as "any announcement for which no charge is made and which promotes programs, activities, or services of federal, state, or local governments (e.g., recruiting, sale of bonds, etc.) or the programs, activities or services of non-profit organizations (e.g., United Way, Red Cross blood donations, etc.) and other announcements regarded as serving community interests, excluding time signals, routine weather announcements and promotional announcements."[232] Essentially PSAs are messages in the public interest disseminated by the media without charge. **Figure 2** is an example of a Carol Lane PSA-style ad from 1949. It's

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[229]Printers' Ink Editors and Contributors, *Public Relations Idea Book* (New York : Printers' Ink Publishing Company, Inc.), 264.

[230]Ries, Al, and Laura Ries. *The Fall of Advertising & the Rise of PR* (New York : Harper Collins, 2002), xi.

[231]Ries and Ries, 243.

[232]Goodwill, Bill, "A Brief History of Public Service Advertising," PSA Research Center, January 6, 2020, https://www.psaresearch.com/a-brief-history-of-public-service-advertising/ (Accessed February 4, 2021).

unknown if Shell paid for this ad, or if it was distributed to newspaper as a courtesy free of charge. In either case, its original caption implies as much. **[Figure 2]** The Rieses further quip that PR "uses the slow buildup."[233] For example, a Des Moines, Iowa, newspaper columnist, who receives a press release from a PR representative, might write: "Our community has a fantastic new driver's education program! (Oh, and did we mention Shell Canada sponsored it?)"

PR is based on the word-of-mouth strategy, whether directly or through a trusted columnist or editorial commentator. The reading or viewing audience then relies on that "third party" to independently vet and verify the message.[234] Public relations programs also rely upon "experts" and who we might call these days "influencers" to casually spread the word about a company's good intentions, or a product's merits, in a casual way. Unlike the often more heavy-handed celebrity endorsement often used by advertisers, the same celebrities or medical professionals or other members of society whom it deems to have expertise in a given area, may simply mention in passing, for instance in an interview on a talk show, a lifestyle choice or product.

Here is a more recent example. On January 6, 2020, the fashion designer Stella McCartney issued a statement on the social media platform Twitter about actor Joaquin Phoenix's choice to wear the same tuxedo for the entire film industry award season. "This man is a winner… wearing custom Stella because he chooses to make choices for the future of the planet. He has also chosen to wear this same Tux for the entire award season to reduce waste. I

[233]Ries and Ries, 243.

[234]Wynne, Robert, "The Real Difference Between PR and Advertising," *Forbes*, July 8, 2014, https://www.forbes.com/sites/robertwynne/2014/07/08/the-real-difference-between-pr-and-advertising-credibility/#6cb29c0f2bb9 (Accessed February 4, 2021).

am proud to join forces with you… x Stella."[235] **[Figure 3]** This tweet does two things: if Phoenix had not made the rounds telling reporters who he was wearing on award ceremonies' red carpets, McCartney certainly made that connection clear. By emphasizing that the actor's choice to wear her brand was keeping in line with his commitment to help reduce the impact on the environment through using an article of clothing multiple times, she also creates an implied correlation between his choice and her own company. Whether a reader is already familiar with her company's sustainability policies or not, this free tweet improves her brand while it also adds to her cultural cachet as (consistently) worthy of the red carpet and as environmentally conscious. Phoenix did not pledge publicly beforehand.[236]

In his 1957 history of Shell Oil Company, Kendall Beaton clarified that the company's marketing staff came to this revelatory conclusion in the years leading up to WWII – they set up their first small PR department in St. Louis in 1939 – but it was really during the war effort when they realized that "public approval which business enjoyed," including their own, "demonstrated better than argument that it was worth a businessman's time to keep the public on his side."[237] He further explained that in the years prior to the war, the company's division and marketing managers "considered it ample for their purposes if the public had a good impression of the Shell products," meaning gasoline, oil, and pesticides sold directly to consumers, as well as airplane fuel and industrial chemicals, among other products, developed for the commercial sector.[238] He

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[235]McCartney, Stella, Twitter Post, January 6, 2020, 1:54 a.m., https://twitter.com/StellaMcCartney/status/1214123180408918016?s=20 (Accessed July 6, 2021).

[236]Dowling, Tim, "Can Joaquin Phoenix save the planet by wearing one tuxedo for the whole awards season?" *The Guardian*, January 8, 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/film/shortcuts/2020/jan/08/can-joaquin-phoenix-save-the-planet-by-wearing-one-tuxedo-for-the-whole-awards-season (Accessed February 4, 2021).

[237]Beaton, 674.

[238]"Talk of the Town," *The Barre Daily Times* on July 30, 1948, 12.; White, Gerald, "*Enterprise In Oil*: *A History of Shell in the United States*. By Kendall Beaton. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957. Pp.xiii, 815.$7.50," *The*

continued, however, that during the postwar years, these managers "were concerned that the public should have a good opinion not only of their products but of the company that made them, and beyond the company, an understanding and appreciation of the whole oil industry."[239] E.A. Cunningham, manager of the San Francisco office's Public Relations Department, restates this shifting priority in slightly more psychological, even anthropomorphizing, terms in a private manuscript written for the American Council on Public Relations in 1957.[240] In it, he defined PR as, "In a sense…the measure of the extent to which an organization has *adapted itself* to its social, political and economic environment and *interpreted itself* to society, *consciously* or not."[241] [Italics mine.] In other words, Beaton's observation revealed that in the pre-WWII period, the company spent more resources trying to help the public distinguish Shell's products from those of other oil companies (advertising). Cunningham's postwar understanding of PR ascribed agency – the human prerogative to adapt and interpret itself – to the company. Public relations scholar, Stuart Ewen, extrapolates further, thereby closing the feedback loop between corporate body and human bodies: the public must also *witness* a company's good (or improved) behavior.[242] [Italics mine.] Carol Lane would be, arguably, the first physical embodiment of Shell's desire to be seen, even if by association, as progressive, adaptive to the changing societal mores and values.

Journal of Economic History 18, no. 1 (March 1958), 77. According to *The Barre Daily Times*, Beaton was also married to a publicity director (the former Polly Deaver) for New York's Seaman's Welfare League. By the time he died in 1968, he was manager for public affairs in the company's PR department.

[239]Beaton, 674.

[240]Hallahan, Kirk, 689. The American Council on Public Relations was a precursor to the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA).

[241]Fly, Murry H., "Characteristics of An Effective Public Relations Program for Junior Colleges," PhD diss., (Texas Technological College, 1957), 27. Quoting E.A. Cunningham, manager of Public Relations Department, Shell Oil Company, San Francisco "from a private manuscript written for American Council on Public Relations."

[242]Ewen, 85.

How to Pack a Suitcase: Carol Lane as Lecturer

Carol Lane was consistently billed as a lecturer, or speaker. In total, she lectured live before what amounted to hundreds of thousands of women over the PR program's twenty-seven years.[243] As a public speaker on the lecture circuit she joined a long history of social reform-minded women who spoke before live crowds or more intimate gatherings in clubhouses and lyceums going back to the abolitionist and suffrage movements of the 19th Century. Moreover, she was also in her own way part of a long and a popular tradition of lecturers who, in an entertaining and educational manner, walked audiences through their travelogues such as amateur films or photographs they shot on holidays.[244] In her case, she addressed the how-to's of traveling such as packing and budgeting as well as the pleasures and edification that sightseeing provides. Caroline Iverson, the first Carol Lane performer and woman who designed the role, actually wanted to incorporate a travelogue, a "ten-minute travel reel," into the repertoire of visual aids created for the program.[245] That plan did not come to fruition; however, Carol Lane performers throughout the years indeed did use audiovisual techniques such as slide shows and props in their lectures.

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[243]"Address of Miss Carol Lane Before the Indianapolis Advertising Club at the Indianapolis Athletic Club, Indianapolis, Indiana, April 6, 1950." Speeches, 1949-1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 13.15.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. In her official corporate biography as Carol Lane, Caroline Iverson alone claims to have reached over 10,000 women between 1947- 1948. By 1950, that number had increased to over thirty thousand according to a speech she gave before the Indianapolis Advertising Club.

[244]For two great books on this tradition: Peterson, Jennifer Lynn. *Education in the School of Dreams: Travelogues and Early Nonfiction Film*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2013; Ruoff, Jeffrey. *Virtual Voyages: Cinema and Travel*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006. Travel lecturers also used magic lantern slides and other documentary formats. The Oxford English dictionary defines "travelogue" as "an (illustrated) lecture about places and experiences encountered in the course of travel; hence a film, broadcast, book, etc., about travel; a travel documentary."

[245]"Caroline Iverson to H.L. Curtis and G.G. Biggar in letter dated March 7, 1947." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

Carol Lane's intentions were different from either social reformers or travel lecturers, of course. Her talks were given in the service of public relations for a multinational oil company. In that regard, her edutainment offerings were more in line with a rather tiny cohort of corporate-sponsored "living trademarks" who made public appearances at lectures and other public events. [For more on "living trademarks" see "Who was Carol Lane?" tab.] Notably, live lecturing was part of Carol Lane's job description from the program's inception; and Caroline Iverson was clear about whom her audiences should be beyond women motorists and vacationers generally: she wanted to specifically tap into the lecture circuit of women's club speakers. Over the course of the twenty-seven-year program, she spoke before a variety of different groups – social, religious, civic, and professional clubs being the most numerous. During her first week on the job, she pinpointed this demographic in her observations and expressed her hopes for such a program in a six-page letter to her new bosses. Among the many things she discovered would be important to the venture, she laid out for the first time why Shell should pursue clubwomen in particular, among motorists, and what those audiences – according to her research – would expect out of a lecturer and travel authority. Iverson wrote:

> "Our speech has to suit the needs of women's clubs, which have been stated as follows by one authority:
>
> - *Education, information;*
> - *Entertainment, recreation;*
> - Aid in attaining some action objective;
> - *Exhibits, displays, visual aids;*
> - Money-raising assistance;
> - A souvenir or gift
>
> The women want to learn how and where to travel from us, they would prefer to learn it in an entertaining way, and they could use

> some direct practical aid in routing, handy travel gadgets, etc." [246]
> [Italics mine]

Documentation suggests that all of Iverson's ideas were actually incorporated into routines passed down from one Lane to the next, including money-raising assistance.[247] A Lane visit would on occasion coincide with a club fundraiser, and winners of the Carol Lane Award for Traffic Safety also received monies along with statuettes or certificates.

The part of her "act" that was by far most popular, one that was mentioned repeatedly in newspaper announcements, was her demonstration of how to pack a suitcase. The suitcase size ranged in size over the years, per Lane performer, from sixteen inches up to twenty-six, but the item number hovered around forty-three. In her personal copy of a speech Iverson, as Lane, gave before the Indianapolis Advertising Club on May 6, 1950, Iverson, she described her process of packing over the course of eight pages. She begins:

> "Our most successful 'gimmick' has been an act on how to pack a suitcase, and now I would like to show you how I pack the 43 items that every woman needs for a weekend trip into a 21-inch suitcase in ten minutes. Here is the suitcase and here is my checklist. From the check list, I know there are 43 items in there or on this table in front of me…
>
> The first rule is to put the heavy things on the bottom. Your suitcase stands up this way [indicating] usually. The heaviest thing I have is this travel iron…"

[246]"Caroline Iverson to H.L. Curtis and G.G. Biggar in letter dated March 7, 1947." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

[247]"Scholarship Fund to Benefit From Travel Expert," *Albany Democrat-Herald*, April 16, 1953, 6.

Iverson ended her talk with a travel tip about including a pad of paper with the names of the friends one meets along the way and a calling card in case that well-packed suitcase goes missing in transit; and she signed off with "It has been swell being here."[248]

In this collection there is one film showing Sherry Baker (Carol Lane, 1953-1958) in action during a suitcase-packing demo called, *How to Pack a Bag* (ca.1954/1955), and a glimpse of Iverson performing the same in *Women Mean Business!* (1950). Many Lane performers were photographed posing with one bag and all the items she fit inside; and an unknown model demonstrated it in the woman's magazine, *McCall's*, as well. For more on Lane's audiences see their sections under the "Audience" tab, and the films are available in this "PR: Strategies" section under "Audiovisual Publications & Record of Appearances."

Demonstrating how to pack a suitcase was not unique to Carol Lane (although she seems to have been an early innovator). This is fellow "living trademark," Mary Gordon," who was Trans World Airlines' (TWA) Travel Advisor. She also demonstrated how to pack a suitcase for airplane and foreign travel. The Oil Industry Information Committee (OIIC) of the American Petroleum Institute (API) also sponsored "Magic Suitcase" demonstrations. A number of different women performed in this role under their own names before club audiences. The OIIC may have come up with this idea because of Carol Lane, however. One of Carol Lane's bosses was Vice President of Public Relations, H.L. Curtis, and he was very active with the OIIC and the API during the period when they initiated this gimmick. Two more cultural references include Miss Maryland 1955, Carol Jennette, who reportedly packed a suitcase, and dressed a

[248]"Address of Miss Carol Lane Before the Indianapolis Advertising Club at the Indianapolis Athletic Club, Indianapolis, Indiana, April 6, 1950." Speeches, 1949-1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 13.15.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

wrought iron mannequin, as her talent in that year's Miss America pageant.[249] In the 1975 film, *Smile*, which satirized the beauty pageant world, a contestant packed a suitcase during the talent portion of the fictional Young American Miss pageant.[250]

The "Tourette"

> "Be an authority on local institutions -- to become a local institution." – *Public Relations Idea Book* (New York : Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 1953), 204
>
> "You can vacation year-round — and you don't have to be a hobo or a millionaire to do it." – Carol Lane in *Traveling By Car* (1954)
>
> "Use home as a base of operations." – Carol Lane in *Helper Journal*, April 10, 1958

A popular and regular topic of discussion for Carol Lane over the years was the "tourette," or a planned two-day or weekend vacation on a budget. Lane touted this method as "simple to arrange, easy on the pocketbook, and lots of fun." This section looks at the tourette, along with related subjects she promoted such as camping and "shunpiking" (primarily sticking mainly to the back roads while roadtripping), as emblematic examples of how Shell's public relations (PR) department and Lane performers attempted to demystify automobile travel for women motorists and their families. The first three subsections contain image-rich, longer-form, texts that examine the rhetorical techniques Lane used to promote the tourette to her audiences. Through close readings of newspaper and magazine articles, ads, cartoons, a film, and

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[249]Carroll, Lauren, "Who's had the most unusual Miss America talents?" *The Press of Atlantic City*, September 10, 2017; "Miss Maryland," Wikipedia https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Miss_Maryland (Accessed April 7, 2021). Interestingly, Carrol Jennette attended Wake Forest University in North Carolina.

[250]"*Smile* (1975)," AFI Catalog, https://catalog.afi.com/Catalog/moviedetails/55636 (Accessed April 7, 2021); Anderson, Ken, "*Smile*, 1975," March 30, 2012, Dreams Are What Le Cinema Is For... https://lecinemadreams.blogspot.com/2012/03/smile-1975.html (Accessed April 7, 2021).

publications author by Carol Lane, clues about the cultural contexts surrounding the implementation of the program emerge.

What Is A "Tourette"?

"A tourette, a planned 2 day or weekend vacation, is simple to arrange, easy on your pocketbook and lots of fun. Here's how you take one…" **[Figure 1]** First a person finds her home town on a map, then she measures off two hundred miles using a map's distance scale (the little bar scale at the bottom of most paper maps), a strip of paper or a string, a thumbtack (or forefinger), and a pencil. Then she marks a circle on the map the equivalent of two-hundred miles radius. Inside the circle is the tourette exploration area. **[Figures 2 & 3]**

Who Designed the Tourette?

Based on available evidence, Shell's PR department began promoting a "tourette" as a touring technique in daily and weekly newspapers starting around Labor Day 1947. Claire Hoffman, the women's director of the company's Touring Bureau in New York City, may have coined the term "tourette" alone, or more likely in collaboration with Caroline Iverson who was initially hired by the PR department to increase in number, curate, and support Hoffman's outreach initiatives.[251] Iverson began working in this position with Shell's public relations department in March of that year, approximately six months prior to its first mention in print. (She took over by May 1948 as touring bureau director under her own name, and soon thereafter,

[251]"Miss Carol Lane," *The Indianapolis Star*, January 31, 1951, 18; National Institute of Neurological Disorders and Stroke. "Tourette Syndrome Fact Sheet," https://www.ninds.nih.gov/Disorders/Patient-Caregiver-Education/Fact-Sheets/Tourette-Syndrome-Fact-Sheet; "Parents, Youngsters Can Make Summer Exciting With Planned Shell Tourettes," *Shell Bulletin*, July 1960, 4. According to *The Indianapolis Star*: "She recommended systematic saving to budget for vacations and explained the 'tourette,' a word she coined to describe a planned and budget two-day vacation." Clearly, "tourette" should not be mistaken with the term "Tourette's" or "Tourette Syndrome" which was first coined by Dr. Georges Gilles de la Tourette in 1885 in reference to the neurological disorder.

as “Carol Lane.”) The subsequent Lanes collectively promoted the tourette through at least 1970 in the U.S. and 1965 in Canada. **[Figure 4]**

The tourette fit squarely into an array of touring methods and research-based advice that Carol Lane consistently communicated in live lectures (as per press releases and journalists who attended), publications, her “Tips on Touring” column, and in-person appearances on television, film, and radio. Each iteration of Lane tailored her talks by location. PSA-style advertisements in newspapers were also often localized for regional audiences.[252] **[Figures 5 & 6]** As a fictional construct, who Carol Lane was is to a significant extent based on what was written about her. There is some, but rare, primary documentation as to the amount of agency each Lane performer had when it came to developing discussion topics for either live presentations or written works. To what extent each Lane performer contributed to the overall campaign is difficult to assess without direct access to Shell’s public relations departmental records. Other resources indicate, however, multiple performers traveled, and some maybe wrote in “her” voice, for almost the entirety of the program’s twenty-plus years; and there is evidence that they coordinated messaging for consistency’s sake from the program’s earliest days.

Key talking points or ideas were early established and passed along from one Carol Lane to the next. Anecdotally, my phone conversation with Lucia Cucullu (Carol Lane, 1968-1972) bears this out. She informed me that “demonstration techniques” were inherited from prior Lane performers, so it is not a stretch to include talking points in that same category.[253] The extensive Caroline Iverson (Ackerman) collection of personal papers, which includes her employment

[252]*The J.W.T. News* 3, no. 32 (August 9, 1948), 2. It is possible Iverson may have developed the “Tips on Touring” column in consultation with the central PR department and J. Walter Thompson who announced its launch in their in-house newsletter. J. Walter Thompson may have helped place the column in newspapers.

[253]Phone interview with Lucia Cucullu, September 8, 2017.

activities at Shell, is also a valuable resource in this regard. For example, Iverson was absent from the June 1949 meeting that included Elizabeth Baker and her secretary, Ruth Roberts, and representatives the New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Houston offices; but she obtained a mimeographed copy of the minutes.[254] Under "Women's Activities" the PR team laid out Carol Lane's activities and some talking points without differentiating between performers. On the subject of two simultaneous Carol Lanes, Iverson in her June 7, 1950 final exit report to the public relations department heads, also mentioned popularity of tourettes specifically. Both the West Coast and the East Coast Lanes, she concluded, should include the topic but tailor it to her geographical region, for instance a "ski" tourette for the East versus a "beach" one. [255] Elizabeth Baker also saved many of her personal letters. Here, too, is more evidence of a chain of communication between Carols: letters mentioning, and photographs showing, that Baker trained Bea Carpenter (Carol Lane, 1949-1950).[256]

There is less evidence that directly attributes publications or columns to a particular performer. There are some clues, though. What is apparent from personal papers is that Iverson and Baker wrote the "Tips on Touring" columns in collaboration with support staff. In fact, Iverson confirmed in a 1950 speech before the Indianapolis Advertising Club that her staff essentially wrote them.[257] Their collaborations may have also included some of the earliest

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[254]"Minutes, Public Relations General Meeting, New York, June 1, 2 and 3, 1949." Budget reports; listings for local news and radio affiliates; lists of "tips" used for different towns; notes, and publicity reports, 1948-1949. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.13. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

[255]"Final Review of Carol Lane Program—Publicity Build-up." Exit memo written by Ackerman, reviewing "Carol Lane" program, June 1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 14.4.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

[256]Elizabeth Baker Brandt's personal papers. Author's copies provided by her daughters Betsy Brandt-Kreutz and Trisha Brandt-Fox, received April 7, 2019.

[257]"Address of Miss Carol Lane Before the Indianapolis Advertising Club." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

promotional pieces such as the radio-based "Travel Tips" series. Baker and Iverson's personal papers show that they each had their own women's activities staffs. In 1951, the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* ran a photograph of Irma Cunha conducting an author meet-and-greet at a local bookstore. Prior to performing as Lane, Cunha had been one of Baker's assistants responsible for narrativizing her travel anecdotes and observations, and it is possible she – with her degree in journalism – may have contributed to publications. According to a public comment Jane Small (Carol Lane, 1965-1971) made in the late 1960s, the various Lanes continued to have such assistance through at least through her tenure.[258] Their assistants definitely contributed to booklets' and other publications' texts. Iverson also mentioned in her speech before the Indianapolis Advertising Club that the Touring Service staff had helped her write *Travel à la Car* (1950).[259] Elizabeth Baker claims to have designed the Carol Lane Travel Hat (1952).[260] Jane Small designed Carol Lane's published poncho and various sewing patterns, and penned the 1970 booklet *What's a Nice Girl Like You Doing Under the Hood of Your Car? -- or Please Lady, I'd Rather Do It Myself*.[261] Marjory Schmid (Carol Lane, 1958-1964) had been a do-it-yourself crafting specialist on Oklahoma television, and wrote a children's book, before her role as Lane, so she very well may have developed sewing and crafting patterns or booklets too. Publications referring to the tourette, therefore, fall into this category of vague authorship. [For more on the Lanes' personal assistants, see the "PR: Other Personnel" tab. For the poncho pattern, see "Carol Lane Patterns" in "Publications & Columns" subsection under the "PR: Strategies" tab.]

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[258]This idea is based on the assumption that techniques were passed down from one Lane performer to the next as Iverson and Liz Baker's personal papers suggest.

[259]"Address of Miss Carol Lane Before the Indianapolis Advertising Club." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

[260]"At 26 She Earns Living by Taking One Vacation After Another," *The Kansas City Star*, February 5, 1952, 14.

[261]Newell, Dorothy, "The Lord Is Her Shepherd," *Daily Independent Journal*, July 12, 1973, 15.

The Tourette in Context: Reaching Intended Audiences

When there are archival absences due to the inaccessibility of corporate personnel records or internal correspondences that describe marketing schemes, as is the case with this project, other primary sources can be used to fill in historical gaps. Luckily, the Iverson's and Baker's personal papers as well as personal interviews shed light on some of the Carol Lane program's inner workings in terms of the performers' agency and "cross-generational" collaboration. However, when it comes to gaining insights into who Lane's intended audiences were, pairing data analysis of their target demographics with close reading of rhetorical strategies the program used to promote the tourette in newspapers and magazines has been key. These published articles – which include advice columns, public service ads, and cartoons – are the connective tissues that bound Lane to her audiences. First, their transcriptions, now transformed into quantifiable data, underpin the visualizations and offer information as to who they may have been racially and socioeconomically. Second, they provide specific names of clubs and other social groups (and often the name of the actual woman or women who organized the event) who encountered Lane live, as well as general information as to who anonymous readers in a particular geographic region might have been. Third, looking at and reading the published pieces within the historical context in which they worked, we are privy to a more nuanced perspective on how the program conducted outreach and for whom it seemed to be intended. [For more on data analysis and audiences, see the "Data" tab.]

Oil companies like Shell, and manufacturers of tires and other related products "tied their fate to the nation's growing car culture, seizing on vacation themes as an easy way to sell oil and

rubber."[262] However, Shell's employing a semi-fictional women's travel director to woo women as consumers and automobile tourists was still unique during this time. It was actually in the minority among its cohort. Carol Lane was joined briefly in the mid-1960s by Paula Johnson, women's representative for American Oil Company, who penned a very short-lived column sometimes called "Quick Tips for Smooth Trips." And in 1966, race car driver and Citco spokesperson for a period, Denise McCluggage wrote a book called *Are You a "Woman Driver?"* Otherwise, in her industry Lane was quite alone in her particular pursuit of women drivers as tourists. In fact, she was much more aligned with the likes of TWA Travel Advisor, the fictional Mary Gordon, who produced booklets and was embodied by a series of performers; and Union Pacific Railroad's women's travel director, the real Marion McKinney, made live appearances and seems to have written a "folder" or informational packet at least in 1960.[263] [See more on the surveys and opinion research under the "PR: Strategies" tab. For more on Paul Johnson, Mary Gordon, and Marion McKinney and others, see their sections under the "Who was Carol Lane?" tab.]

Surveys were one way the Carol Lane program and Shell attempted to discover how women motorists planned car trips for themselves or their families. Advertising firm, J. Walter Thompson (J.W.T.), on behalf of their client, Shell, conducted market surveys at least twice between the late 1930s and 1940s in an effort to discover what this already sizable and growing demographic desired. The Carol Lane program's public relations team contributed to those efforts by surveying particularly women clients who used the Touring Service, and made use of

[262]Popp, Richard K., "Cultivating the Romance of Place: Marketing as Popular Geography," in *The Routledge Companion to Advertising and Promotional Culture*, McAllister, Matthew P., and Emily West, eds. (London: Routledge, 2013), 59.

[263]Atwell, Estelle, "What to Wear: Western Trip," *Chicago Tribune*, July 31, 1960, Part 6, 5.

the results in marketing materials, such as the film *Women Mean Business* (1950).[264] While they cast a remarkably wide net geographically across North America to capture women's attention through a number of media outlets, close reading of their rhetorical and graphic design strategies reveals that their perceptions of who their patrons were, in the United States at least, was in fact rather narrow with some notable exceptions. J.W.T. had been using cartoons in advertising for various clients since the 1890s to appeal to a broader base of newspaper readership.[265] They very well may be behind the Carol Lane's experimentation with tourette newspaper cartoons for instance. This section delves into how Shell's public relations department, including Carol Lane performers, and J.W.T., jointly or not, attempted to foster reader and viewer identification through their visual and textual marketing of the "tourette," and the related topics camping and "shun-piking." [For more on specific Audiences groups, see their dedicated tab.]

Pulling Off for a Closer Look…

F.H. Roberts, art director and production manager of Shell's Public Relations department from 1946 through at least 1957, laid out the program's objectives plainly in two-page spread in the February 1957 *Art Direction* trade magazine. He wrote, "The women's program built around Carol Lane" is designed "to create a favorable impression for Shell" and "recognize the importance of the American woman as a consumer trend setter." He continued to explain the various approaches, singling out freelance illustrator Arabelle Wheatley's "light, carefree art treatment" as "synonymous with the Carol Lane Program," while differentiating it from a more

[264]"Letter to Mrs. Stanley Perry." Appearance booking schedule, notes, reports, and correspondence, 1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 14.1.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

[265]Olsen, Barbara, "Sourcing Elitist Attitudes in Early Advertising From the Archives," *NA - Advances in Consumer Research* 27, eds. Stephen J. Hoch and Robert J. Meyer (Provo, UT : Association for Consumer Research, 2000): 295-300.

realistic photographic approach that was used for motion pictures, stockholder folders and *the general public*. [Italics mine.] "It is seldom," he finishes, "that the various techniques are intermingled."[266] The assertion that photographs (even *of Lane*), and graphics other than Wheatley's, were intended for a more general audience, conveys a need for a less pointedly "feminine" style at times. Regarding newspapers, for instance, editorial content and PSA-style ads, appeared often outside the dedicated areas in daily newspapers for women's interests which tended, like women's magazines, to feature more print space to recipes, DIY projects, budgeting, child care, home decor, fashion, and marital harmony.[267]

When the PR department needed that womanly style, they many times turned to Arabelle Wheatley. Wheatley freelanced for Shell from about 1944 to 1964; however, her portfolio was populated with pieces with broader, if niche, appeal. She worked with a number of authors and publishers marketing to children, soldiers during WWII, and department store shoppers. During her decades-long career, she illustrated many natural science books for children, for the children's magazine *Ranger Rick*, Americana and Grolier encyclopedias, the book *Every Dollar Counts: The Story of the American Department Store* by Max Hess, Jr. (of Hess's department store, Allentown, Pennsylvania), and even medical posters for the armed forces during the war for the Venereal Disease Institute in Raleigh, North Carolina.[268] For Shell, however, she applied her recognizable style to attracting women viewers. She illustrated the Carol Lane program's tourette cartoons, and many of the program's Lane-specific booklets, and other Shell titles for budding naturalists and their parents such as *Let's Collect Rocks* (1964) which Lane also

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[266]Roberts, F.H., "For Many Publics, Many Approaches," *Art Direction*, February 1957, 78-79.

[267]Walker, Nancy A,. *Women's Magazines 1940-1960: Gender Roles and the Popular Pres*s (Boston and New York: Bedford/St. Martins, 1998), 2.

[268]Rosen, Helen, "Artist's Work Chronicles Her History," *Sarasota Herald Tribune*, August 27, 1997, 4B.

distributed. [For more on Arabelle Wheatley and *Let's Collect Rocks*, see her section under the "PR: Other Personnel" tab; other booklets are in the "Publications & Columns" subsection under the "PR: Strategies" tab.]

Wheatley applied her specific flair to newspaper cartoons that promoted the tourette, too, as a great way to spend the odd weekend. Observe her more playful clean-line drawings in a 1958 cartoon "Vacation Ideas" **[Figure 7]** The font is jaunty and looks as if Lane hand-lettered herself with its mix of character sizes, inviting the reader to imagine she may have drawn it herself. Her "airy" illustrations render the cast of characters white in complexion, as usual, but otherwise iconic in their relative youth (the father seems a tad older than the mother) and lack of definition to their facial features or bodies (that was saved for the donkey and the larger fish!) It is very family-forward in messaging both visually and textually. She has drawn the era's ideal nuclear family unit of two heterosexual parents and a boy and girl – while Lane asks the reader to be inclusive of every family member's needs. The suggested activities, however, do not speak to every family. Instead, it seems to have targeted those of at least upper middle-class means: the father is diving and perhaps owns a fishing boat, and the mother is shooting a home movie with what resembles a 1950s-era amateur-grade Kodak Brownie 8mm camera. In today's dollars the camera alone would cost between $400 and $725, a sizable technological investment.[269] The intent here seems to be to attract audiences who could relate to such middle-class affordances such as expanding and accumulating experiences, and those who aspired to such free time and hobbies.[270]

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[269]"The List of Brownie Movie Cameras & Brownie Movie Projectors," http://www.brownie-camera.com/moviecam.shtml (Accessed July 6, 2021).

[270]Zimmermann, Patricia R., *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), 123.

To really understand Roberts' assertion that the PR department reserved Wheatley's talents mainly for women's audiences, it is instructive to compare her drawing style for tourette cartoons with another of Shell's freelance illustrators, Clemens "Clem" Gretter. Gretter did not use or imitate her overall "light," or what comics theorist Scott McCloud calls, "clear-line" style, favoring the slightly more "realistic" look of adventure comic strips like Superman and Wonder Woman.[271] In fact, Gretter's styling for Carol Lane was more in line with his approach for other clients such as Ripley's "Believe-It-Or-Not" cartoons from the 1940s, and a "Portraits in Oil!" series featuring mini history lessons about the oil industry. **[Figures 8 & 9]** Similarly, the world within his 1952 tourette illustration, "'Tourettes' for Week Ends: How to Make The Most of Your Weekend," **[Figure 10]** serves as a good example of an artist's attempt to draw a world that looks familiar, especially in his rendering of the woman's hand and pencil, the car, the map, and the clothing on the picnickers and gas station attendant. Their faces remain less defined and as generic as Wheatley's; thus, in combination with a more realistic touch overall, "readers" are encouraged to "mask themselves in a character" while feeling comfortably part of a recognizable world.[272] The woman's hand, however, implies instruction. It implies the hand of the expert, Carol Lane. It juts in from above and outside the frame, and shows the reader what to do. This hand may have even drawn the sketchy initial drop caps that begin each section of text, or sketched the little vignettes.

A third example hits home the idea of the role of the expert. "Take the Labor Out of Labor Day Picnics" **[Figure 11]** on a topic related to the tourette — picnicking — features

[271]McCloud, Scott, *Understanding Comics : The Invisible Art* (Northampton, MA: Kitchen Sink Press, 1993), 41-42. It is unclear to what extent the pamphlets and other marketing materials that Wheatley illustrated were disseminated in Canada. I also have yet to identify the other either in-house Shell, or in-house J. Walter Thompson illustrators of the company's cartoons of this period. I am relatively certain that the other identifiable style is not Wheatley, but then she could simply have changed it up to attract different audiences.

[272]McCloud, 43.

rendering of camping goods, nature, and clothing more naturalistically. Even the faces of subjects in the foreground have more distinctive character. There is little space for readers to relate, and they are kept at a certain distance. Still, the intended effect here is again teaching from outside the frame with no suggestion of Lane's direct touch. The text here imparts her "scientific" knowledge about new food-storage outdoor cooking technologies and the images illustrate as if they were goods being sold in grocery store advertisements on or around the same pages in the back of the newspaper. [To read more about illustrator Clemens "Clem" Gretter, see his section under the "PR: Other Personnel" tab.]

Getting Back on the Road…

While Lane often took a more democratic approach to touring by discussing ways to make these extra holidays less costly, manageable, and stress-free, and Shell unquestionably banked on their targeted demographics being affluent enough to afford weekend road-trips. The tribulations Black Americans and Canadians faced while traveling during the Twentieth Century's decades of Jim Crow laws went unaddressed. Assumptions about women's roles or personal interests were clearly intrinsic to the tourette's appeal. Overwhelmingly, Carol Lane addressed married women as if they were equal partners in family vacation planning, even if required tasks were often assigned according to gender. If women were unattached, Lane could be their virtual co-planner and sometimes advocate. In either case, she advised women on their roles as they were routinely defined when it came to tourettes: choosing smart fashions for touring, packing clothes (hers and/or her family's) efficiently, picnic preparations, budgeting, do-it-yourself sewing or crafting projects, and other domestic duties. They were most often was a women or sometimes teenaged girls, who owned or had access to cars, had a home base from

which to wander, a job, or through marriage, financial means (through that job or through marriage) to pay for gas, hotels and amenities, had free time for travel and hobbies, and often children who also needed to be smartly entertained. Those audience members who received high school or college educations may have also seen these duties as a natural extension of, say, home economics training. Choosing destinations for the tourette remained something the entire family should decide upon, unless a woman was single.[273]

Even though she was often photographed alone behind the wheel of car, throughout the program, Carol Lane dedicated less time and print space to encouraging single women drivers than she did married or otherwise coupled ones. She occasionally covered the subjects of traveling alone and the importance of understanding car maintenance for women, mainly from the first years though the 1950s, less so throughout the 1960s until there is little evidence of the column beyond mid-decade. What a reader might encounter were articles and photo spreads showcasing individual Lanes posing in vacation locals, or in a car on their way to conduct on-the-road research. More often, she posed with traveling companions or audience members, commonly a Carol Lane Safety Award recipient. When Lane did address single women specifically, it was to assure them that traveling alone was safe. In an October 31, 1948, article entitled, "Women Can Travel Alone Safely, Expert Reports," Caroline Iverson as Lane imparted the following advice: "Motor travel presents no special problems for women traveling unescorted. Women won't find any trouble unless they're looking for it."[274] Furthermore, to keep single women out of a scrape, she clarified how to discern a dodgy motor court from a trustworthy one (too many in-state license plates at a bar out front may infer it is more of a local

[273]Rugh, 24.

[274]Associated Press, "Women Can Travel Alone Safely, Expert Reports," *Star-Tribune*, October 31, 1948, Women's New section, 9.

drinking spot), and suggested how they could still "dress like a lady" even while touring (keep a wrap-around skirt on hand to cover your shorts).[275] She declared that a woman should be able to change a tire, but also pronounced that chivalry is not dead. A truck driver may come along soon to help a stranded woman on the side of the road.[276]

Women in Carol Lane publications and films are most often depicted with accompanying husband or boyfriend and children, or with one or the other. Few women are on their own. If they are shown alone, frequently it was when they are packing a suitcase or trying on outfits, or in distress. At times, they are with another vacationing woman family member or friend (presumably), a Shell service station attendant, or a female touring bureau clerk. There are illustrations of women driving alone or with another woman seemingly having as much fun as the married ladies. Without primary sources that suggest if single women of color, or lesbians or differently-abled or any combination thereof, saw a bit of themselves represented in images of women drivers regardless of implied marital status, it is difficult to say. **Figures 12 through 19** exhibit a scant few examples, including a contemporaneous non-Carol Lane related Shell advertisement from 1957. (For more of these see "Advertisements and Public Service Announcements" under the "PR: Strategies" tab on the project site.] For more on socioeconomic and racial demographics of her audience, see the "Data" tab. For a lengthier discussion of Audiences generally, see the "Audiences" tab. To read many of Carol Lane's publications, see the "Publications & Columns" subsection under the "PR: Strategies" tab.]

Daily newspapers and magazines, as well as Lane's publications, catered to and upheld perceptions and misconceptions about women through where they placed the sponsored content.

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[275] Not even a month later she told *The Miami Daily News* that women should not wear shorts at all.

[276] "Tourists Choosing Restored Sites," *Casper Star-Tribune*, March 3, 1972, 8. The efficacy of learning from truck drivers about safe driving techniques by riding around with one for a day was reiterated by Lyn Johnson, as Lane, in 1972.

Editors commonly positioned the bulk of Lane's helpful articles, on mainly, but not exclusively, pages dedicated to presumed women's affairs and interests. Sometimes, however, Carol Lane engaged an ambiguous reader, a member of the generalized audiences for whom a programmatic use of realistic and photographic marketing images as F.H. Roberts to it, was intended. Lane tends to address the reader as "you" and shifts back and forth between imperative and declarative commands and statements. She does this in her book, *Traveling by Car* (1954), and in her column.

For all drivers, she advised making sure their car was in good repair by having the local Shell station mechanic take a look under the hood. This mode of address tended to omit perceived gender-specific automobile- or driving-related, or fashion-related commentary, and instead opted for informational fare that all readers might discover and find utility in. Tourette cartoons were one of these exceptions that moved beyond the women's pages. *The Helper Journal*, for instance, placed the "Vacation Ideas" cartoon on page eight alongside the "School News from Helper Junior High" column, public service ads for cancer and Vitamin A, and plugs for insurance, bourbon, hotels, and the United States Brewers Foundation. The *La Habra Star* editors placed "'Tourettes' for Week Ends" on the page following the women's section. The desired effect of moving beyond Lane's regular sphere of influence, and using an alternative aesthetic approach, may speak to J.W.T.'s and/or Shell's PR department's attempts to broaden their base of consumers. As another poignant example, newspaper editors sometimes placed her column "Tips on Touring" nearer the comics, or in mixed-use sections next to "Dear Santa" letters, livestock prices, and the want ads. The columns sometimes ended up in travel sections or travel columnists with a general readership integrated her advice into pieces in their dedicated sections. **[Figure 20 & 21]**

Because historically there is little analysis of the Carol Lane program either by Shell or other scholars, primary sources like newspaper articles, illustrated cartoons, and ads offer some of the only hints as to their promotional "angles" over the years. Insiders like Roberts occasionally disclosed the enterprise in pages of trade journal articles on Shell's marketing schemes, as did Iverson, Baker, and the PR department in their correspondences. Carol Lane performers adjusted their demonstrations and lectures according to their differing expertise, changing cultural surroundings, and location.[277] Their choices consistently provided women with something to do, and played to their perceived strengths, in a way that was presented as aspirational, fun, educational, and achievable. Print articles indicate that while each Lane varied her presentation style, she very often incorporated a spiel about the tourette into talks on related topics with such titles as "Motorrambling" or "Vagabondage U.S.A." They, and the PR department, planted "plug-less" (meaning no overt promotion of Shell or their products) sponsored editorial content in mainly women's and society pages, and in other media outlets like television and radio. Like brands do today, when Shell sponsored editorial content the PR team collaborated with a publisher's editorial staff to create content; and then the outlet published or distributed it.[278] Therefore, the sponsored material audiences read was mediated by Shell's staff, journalists, and editors to a notable extent. Still, these ephemeral materials which contain sponsored content by Lane or direct quotations in other journalists' articles, offer some of the only glimpses into Lane's collective rhetorical approach to a topic like the tourette. **[Figures 22 & 23]**.

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[277]Phone interview with Lucia Cucullu, September 8, 2017. Ms. Cucullu mentioned, for instance, that she had to travel with a male Shell representative when she lectured in the South for appearance's sake. Farther north, it was less of an issue.

[278]Pettersson, Olle, "What's the Difference Between Branded and Sponsored Content?" LinkedIn, https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/branded-content-vs-sponsored-whats-difference-olle-pettersson (accessed March 4, 2020).

During the postwar years, marketing departments and firms began to refine their categories for strategic and specialized advertising campaigns more keenly than just gender and class.[279] How Shell's overall advertising campaigns represent this refinement generally is beyond the scope of this project which focusses more, except when it is optimal to compare with advertisement featuring women, on how they wooed women with public relations tactics. Their efforts concentrated negligibly on race, age (except for catering to children's needs), and ethnicity, narrowing in instead on geographical location and gender. In particular, the Carol Lane program routinely failed to engage communities of color and other ethnically diverse peoples, by omission. The exact racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic demographics they intentionally targeted in print is difficult to determine, although the data and primary evidence on this project website offer some clues. All of the performers presented as white, although Irma Cunha was Portuguese and from Hawai'i (and possibly of native Hawaiian descent), so she may have looked or read as "exotic" when lecturing outside her home state. There was a notable absence of different skin tones or "ethnic" hairstyles in her publications' illustrations of people. The same can be said of actors in her films and models in photo spreads.

Neither Shell, nor Carol Lane, made mention of alternative (safer) dining and accommodation options for African-Americans traveling throughout the U.S. or Canada, like the *Negro Motorist Green Book* or simply *The Green Book* (1939-1963) — sold predominantly by a competitor – an Esso service stations. *The Jewish Travel Guide*, published by Jewish Chronicle Publications from around 1949 until the 2000s, catered to Jewish Americans.[280] Unquestionably

[279]Cohen, Lizabeth, 318.

[280]For a list of international libraries hold issues of *The Jewish Travel Guide*, see the WorldCat database for a listing for this publication at http://www.worldcat.org/oclc/33156259 (Accessed March 31, 2021). To peruse a collection of original the *Negro Motorist Green Book*, see the New York Public Library's selection at https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/the-green-book#/?tab=about (Accessed March 31, 2021).

the Carol Lane program paid zero attention to the period's unmentionable communities who today have their own travel guides such as the LGBTQ population, the disabled communities, and nudists. Instead, Lane and crew collectively fostered interest in, and disseminated information about, the tourette, eating out, and camping without considering what complications Mexican- and Asian-Americans might encounter while traveling (although they did mention Mexico was a grand place to visit). Iverson posed with some American Indians (unspecified tribe), but otherwise Lane only wrote *about* them in terms of powwows and tourist attractions, but not *for* them as potential tourists themselves. In the 1947 *Shell Directory of Auto Courts, Hotel, Resorts, National Forest and State Park Camp Sites* (Southern California, Arizona edition), *Traveling by Car*, the mid-1950s *Touring Guide* booklet, and *Let's Go Camping* (1960) the unmarked and unremarked upon whiteness and homogeneity of their target audiences seems to have been a given. [See the "Carol Lane's Activities v. *The Negro Motorist Green Book* and Federally Recognized Indian Lands (2016)" under the "Data" tab for more.]

The Tourette As Edutainment

> "With a little advance planning, parents can make their youngsters' schoolbooks come alive on weekend jaunts."[281]
>
> "Perhaps the most popular of all week-end tourettes is one based on the fine old custom of visiting family and friends."[282]
>
> "The big community relations gambit – a move designed with an eye to marketing as well as making friends – is 'travel education.' To help people learn while they motor, a Shell ambassadress of goodwill is literally kept on the road…"[283]

[281]"Survey Discloses Motorists Favor 'Tourettes,'" *Journal Star*, June 8, 1952.

[282]Lane, Carol, *Traveling by Car; a Family Planning Guide to Better Vacations* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954): 15.

[283]"Shell's Game: Or, How To Make Friends and Influence Profits," *Forbes*, April 1, 1952, 22.

As a journalist at *Forbes* would put it concisely in 1952, Carol Lane's focus on "travel education" as "a move designed with an eye to marketing as well as making friends."[284] And helping people learn while they motor included the whole family. Carol Lane asserted that tourette planning "should have something special for mom, dad, the kids. Some targets: seaside, mountain, historical sites, scientific centers, art museums, music festivals. Plan now and Happy Vacationing!"[285] In fact, Caroline Iverson as Lane stated plainly in the *Los Angeles Times* in 1949. "I encourage families to tour and learn together..."[286] In a tourette cartoon she proclaimed that parents' edification and hobbies were as important as children's: a county fair provided mom with flower shows and baking contests, while dad could enjoy the beauty contests and livestock judging.[287] **[Figure 24]** Shell, rock, and wildflower collectors could venture out on "field expeditions covering the entire area in the summer and visit botanical museums in the winter."[288] To set the example, Lane turned the short-form tourettes and longer trips into research expeditions whereby to educate herself on topics such as childcare. Sometimes she took off with girlfriends just for fun, and other times, accompanied by children in an effort to learn how to travel with, feed, and entertain the fellow younger tourists in her care. [For truly bizarre stories about Caroline Iverson and Elizabeth Baker "borrowing" orphans for research trips, see articles in their sections under the "Carol Lane(s)" tab.] With the knowledge she gained from personal experience, and audience feedback, she filled columns and quotations with advice pertaining to learning how to camp, or car-camp, for weekend tours alone and with others.

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[284]"Shell's Game: Or, How To Make Friends and Influence Profits," *Forbes*, 22.

[285]"Vacation Ideas," *Helper Journal*, April 10, 1958.

[286]Callan, Mary Ann. "'Tourettes': Week-End 'Vacations' Proposed," *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 8, 1949, 29.

[287]Lane, Carol, "Fun Forecast: Fair Days Ahead," *Tourette*, 1959, n.p. Illustrated cartoon in pamphlet.

[288]*Traveling by Car*, 15.

The tourette's edutainment angle fed into expectations of woman as the teacher and "the homemaker, the nurturer, the creator of childhood's environment" and "the constant recreator of culture, civilization and virtue."[289] Lane repeatedly emphasized the educational value of tourettes for children, even referring to these abbreviated trips as "textbooks-on-wheels" or a "classroom-on-wheels" in articles found mostly on newspaper women's and society pages, on daytime television and radio, and magazines.[290] The only exception to this custom, was again, the "Tips on Touring" column and tourette cartoons which tended to move about the back pages of the newspaper. In a January 1953 article in the *Abilene Reporter News*, Beatrice Hansen (Carol Lane, 1952-1954), speaking as Carol Lane in the city's Coca Cola auditorium to the Parent-Teacher Association, explained, "Education has two parts: reading, which many children find dull, and participation — that's where travel comes in." The article goes on to explain how she put her own knowledge about traveling with children into practice "on a trip to the Smoky Mountains with three small children" whereby "the children also gained first hand appreciation of the American Indian by a visit to a Cherokee reservation."[291]

The implication here, again, is that woman would have a family and children to entertain and educate, but a biographical fact that carried over from the first Carol Lane to the last was her status as single and childless.[292] Ordinarily, Lane had to flesh out her personal knowledge about educating children while on a tourette, and purported to consult with other experts. In her own

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[289]Thompson, 11.

[290]Sambuck, Margaret, "Carol Lane Will Share Ideas On Auto Travel," *The Petaluma Argus-Courier*, April 29, 1955, 7.

[291]"Textbooks Come Alive If Trips Planned; 'Shun-piking' Good," *Abilene Reporter News*, Jan. 9, 1953.

[292]"Carol Lane: She Loves Being a Leisure-time Cook," 116. Despite the official story her corporate bio contained, Jane Small revealed herself to be an exception to the rule in a 1968 newspaper article. In it she stated that she was by then already a grandmother. This is the only public admission I have yet to find regarding Lane's having children. A few months before the end of her tenure as Carol Lane, Caroline Iverson, in character, revealed she had recently married. These exceptions are exceedingly rare.

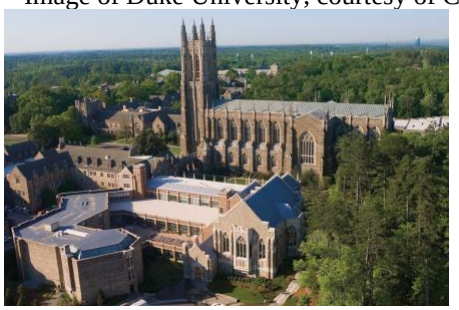
advice columns, or in the work of others who quoted her, she recounted advice collected from mothers in her audiences, her own travels with borrowed children, and educators and scientists or naturalists to gain useful knowledge to disseminate. A July 1953 issue of *Redbook* magazine featured in a photo essay on Beatrice Hansen once again on a research trip as Lane. During this trip she traveled with a Mr. Saunders, educational director of New York's Museum of Natural History, his wife, a former zoologist, and their four children.[293] She is pictured in **Figure 25** learning how to inspect insect larvae along with two of the Saunders children.

Another Diversion…

Tourettes were not necessarily aimed at the parents of small children, but also those with teenagers. In a circa 1959 cartoon, illustrated by Arabelle Wheatley, called "On Your Next Motoring Week End… Go to College," Lane suggests using the technique while scouting for prospective colleges for those offspring about to leave the nest as is the case in **Figure 26.** There is a lot to unpack in this cartoon, but a few things starkly stand out. The adult presumably married couple are white, and judging by their fine attire (note the fur coat), likely upper-class. They are accompanying their clean-cut son to what looks like an Ivy League university, although in this case, the location actually resembles Duke University.[294] In the bottom-most vignette the

[293]Somers, Florence, "Ever Catch a Butterfly?" *Redbook*, July 1953, 50-52.

[294]Image of Duke University, courtesy of Carolinablitz.com.



text suggests that at least the father is a college graduate, and in the middle one, he is possibly the professor at the lectern, or he is addressing fellow alum. Significantly Lane acknowledges the teenager who needs escorting to colleges might be a daughter. Most of the Lane performers, and Wheatley herself, went to college. The idea of turning weekend escapes into educational opportunities for their kids of whatever age may have helped dispel any misgivings parents, especially for those of lesser means than those depicted in Figure 26, might have had about spending the money on extra gas and accommodations. The unspoken advantage for Shell? Those additional dollars might be spent at one of their stations! [See the "PR: Strategies" tab for more information on Shell's edutainment methods.]

Keeping Up with The Times

The Carol Lane program and PR department phased out certain talking points over the decades. One such topic was the Carol Lane Award. Its gradual decline in coverage may reflect a shifting focus away from traffic safety initiatives by women's clubs and Shell's subsequent adjustment of its messaging. In fact, in her June 1971 column Zoë Dallas, columnist for the Saskatoon's *Star Phoenix*, attributes the winding down of the Carol Lane Safety Award in Canada around 1970 to a "lack of interest and entries." Thus, she reported, "the company decided to discontinue the project."[295] In the U.S. any mention of the company soliciting nominations for the award in newspapers seems to have stopped in 1962. By 1965, Barbara Brooks (Carol Lane, 1960-1962), a former Lane and then Director of Women's Activities,

[295]Dallas, Zoë. "Zoë Dallas," *Star Phoenix*, June 8, 1971, 9. In the U.S. any mention of the company soliciting nominations for the award seems to have stopped in 1963 based on a search in Newspapers.com.

represented The Shell Oil Foundation in their new joint venture with the General Federation of Women's Clubs to provide a traffic safety-related scholarship to young people.[296]

Lane's "Tips on Touring" advice column seems to have faded away, too, by about 1964. It is difficult to pinpoint what led to the demise of her column. According to the data sample of over fifteen hundred transcribed articles on the "Changing Lanes" site [under the "Data" tab], between 1947 and 1959 Lane's column shows up seventy-five times, out of a total 858 entries during that period. One the other hand, from 1960 to 1974 only nine entries account for the column, of over 650 total. That is a decline in coverage from 8.7% of total newspaper saturation to 1.3% over a similar stretch of years. So why the significant drop? Even though editors did not always place the column in dedicated women's sections of the newspaper, this wane predates, but perhaps also predicts, the gradual elimination of women's pages generally from the late 1960s through the late 1970s.[297] Without much in the way of primary sources that confirm this change in direction, it is tough to say for certain what led to the column's demise internally though. One contemporaneous clue may shed some light on the matter. In the December 1959 issue of *Life* magazine Russell Lynes, editor of *Harper's Magazine,* satirically proposed that Americans could be divided into four rough classes defined in part by how much they relied upon experts before they traveled. Some sought their advice or pre-packaged trip itineraries to inform or organize their leisure time pursuits. Others were tinkerers and self-reliant when it came to organizing trips, or in other words, on their way to becoming an expert themselves, and in

[296]The President's Committee for Traffic Safety. Proceedings. Midwestern Regional Conference for Women's National Organizations on Efficient Highway Transportation and Reduction of Traffic Accidents. Sheraton-Blackstone Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, February 16-17, 1965.

[297]Marzolf, Marion, *Up from the Footnote: a History of Women Journalists* (New York: Hastings House, 1977), 199–218.

search of "authentic" experiences.[298] Even though *Life* clearly states that Lynes' playful division of tourists and hobbyists into categories avoided using any "sociological methods --- such as surveys, censuses, analyses," his piece reflects what must have already in the air by the late-1950s and early 1960s: a potential decline in need for professional experts, at least among a certain strata of tourists, and a rejection of "the standardizing aesthetics of mass tourism."[299] I discuss in greater detail women's audiences' reliance upon experts and women's pages below. [See "Audiences" tab for more.]

The disappearance of Lane's "Tips on Touring" advice column might also be attributed to Shell's noteworthy pivot away from the overarching and well-funded newspaper campaign to a televisual one the next year. For instance, in 1960 Shell spearheaded with Ogilvy, Benson, & Mather (OBM) a massive traffic-safety-oriented PR effort called Shell's Traffic Safety Quiz ("Your Car Has Built-in Safety --- YOU!"). This six-part quiz was a "pic-type," a period term of an ad with cartoon and text, that asked the reader to scan for traffic hazards in images depicting cars and pedestrians in everyday scenes of street life from the countryside to a downtown theater district. Judging by where they convinced editors to place the ads in newspapers, it was marketed to a more general audience. A sampling of over 400 articles from that summer indicates coverage of the Safety Quiz campaign appeared in widely different sections of the dailies or weeklies.[300] In 1961, however, Shell's public relations department, under consultation with the advertising firm Kenyon & Eckhardt, moved a significant amount of its marketing dollars to sponsorship of

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[298]"How Do YOU Rate in the New Leisure? : Russell Lynes, A Witty Observer, Charts A New Class System," *Life*, December 28, 1959, 85-87.

[299]Popp, Richard K., *The Holiday Makers: Magazines, Advertising, and Mass Tourism in Postwar America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012), 128-130.

[300]Based on a sampling of the over 400 articles published during summer and early autumn of 1960. Interestingly as of April 6, 2020, I could only identify one "Tips on Touring" article making even an indirect reference to the advertising campaign.

other niche audiences such as sports fans (*Shell's Wonderful World of Golf*) and children (*Leonard Bernstein Young Peoples Concert*). Consequently, the column could be a casualty of the large-scale drop of at least a portion of the 200 newspapers in 115 cities, that had run Shell's ads in summer 1960. [For more on this topic, see the section on "Tips on Touring" in the "Publications & Columns" subsection, and the "Carol Lane Award for Traffic Safety" subsection under the "PR: Strategies" tab.]

Championing the tourette, however, continued to have legs. The Carol Lane program was not the only oil company to sponsor editorial content, like the tourette, and guidebooks on travel. It was quite common at the time. Between maps and all of the other publications, they were one of the more prolific companies.[301] (Conversely, in sending a women's travel expert around to lecture and hand out those publications, they were in the minority.) In her newspaper advice columns, informational booklets, and in-person appearances, Lane reported on recommendations garnered from two-way exchanges she had with readers, through correspondences with interested motorists, attendees of live lectures, and clients of Shell's Touring Service. These research-based discoveries underscored an aspirational motif that incorporated three of Shell's continued public relations strategies: the technique should be educational as well as entertaining (for the whole family, but especially for children); it should provide women with organizational tools for efficiently planning trips while couching them distinctly in domestic and feminine terms; and most transparently, it should promulgate the benefits of city and driving regional backroads and two-lane highways — where Shell gas stations were more prominent — in lieu of sticking to just toll roads, and after the Interstate Highway Act of 1956, those major roadways as well.

[301]Rugh, 24-29.

Promotion of the weekend jaunt essentially presented another opportunity for Shell to disguise its bottom line with edutainment techniques, and tap into a growing interest in family vacations due to an increase in paid time off. As Richard K. Popp points out in his book, *The Holiday Makers: Magazines, Advertising, and Mass Tourism*, the Department of Labor estimated in 1950 that between 36 and 38 million of the 44 million salaried workers and wage earners qualified and received paid vacations; and by 1954 publications like *Look* magazine began to refer to this yearly respite as "the Great American Two Weeks."[302] Shell rode this promotional trend with the contemporaneous increase in postwar car ownership which, according to Susan Session Rugh's estimation in *Are We There Yet?: The Golden Age of American Family Vacations*, rose from 54 percent in 1948 to 77 percent in 1960 to 82 percent by 1970.[303] (A search using the census tool on this website confirms these estimates. It shows an average of family/person car ownership at 55-58% during the 1950s in the counties where Shell marketed Lane, and 85-86% during the 1960s. See the tool under the "Data" tab.) Lane's predecessor, Claire Hoffman, and the Shell Touring Service began covering long-form and tourette-style touring in live presentations and in publications as early as 1947.[304] They all consistently described the technique in print articles in a unified fashion throughout the years — at least through 1970 — until its inclusion in editorial content and personal interviews seems to have fizzled out. Furthermore, she and the PR department positioned the method along a continuum of educational and community-oriented public relations angles from previous decades, such as replacing roadside advertising signage with forest-fire prevention notices in the 1920s, print ads

[302]Popp, *Holiday Makers*, 63.

[303]Rugh, 18-19.

[304]During 1947-1948, the Touring Bureau was going through a period of transition from one director, Claire Hoffman to Caroline Iverson as Carol Lane. The tourette as a topic started under Hoffman, but it seems to have been conceived of Caroline Iverson possibly in consultation with J. Walter Thompson.

promoting their contributions to the war effort during WWII, the founding of Shell Companies Foundation, which financially backed educational initiatives, and the company's sponsorship of CBS's National Drivers' Test of the mid-1960s.[305] **[Figures 27 - 29]**

Kitchen In Your Car

The Carol Lane program's multi-pronged approach tied vacationing to domesticity in multiple ways. Planning picnics, and giving mother a break from cooking by eating out, were just two of those connective threads. While they did not promote the tourette as only a family-oriented journey, "family and home" was the foundational center and hub around which to draw a 200-mile in radius circle of exploration on a map. Rhetorically, they reiterated the connection too. In a 1958 illustrated tourette cartoon, Carol Lane recommended thinking of "home as a base of operations" where women tended to be the chief officer at least in terms of household responsibilities. Domestic routines were often simply transferred to the road, minus the familiar equipment and surroundings that alleviated some of the hassle at home.[306] Still, she consistently championed the tourette and outdoor adventures generally as a respite from housework for mothers because she provided them with planning tools with which to best economically and resourcefully extend family vacation time. Even today, a camping stove and thermos, or just a bag of charcoal and a frying pan, means the domestic kitchen fits in the trunk of a car; and that kitchen is literally and figuratively, a tether to home. Lane playfully called this connection "Kitchen in Your Car" in her book, *Traveling by Car* (1954). It was undoubtedly a given that women were in charge of preparing meals, whether they also worked outside the home or not, and she joined a chorus of voices

[305]Beaton, 304; MacMinn, Aleene, "3rd Installment of Drivers' Test Slated Tuesday on CBS," *Los Angeles Times*, May 22, 1967, D28.

[306]Scharff, Virginia. *Taking the Wheel: Women and the Coming of the Motor Age* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 137.

advocating for thrift but also convenience.[307] Expert home economists – real, and fictional like General Mills spokeswoman Betty Crocker – plugged convenience foods and new food technologies as time savers for the increased number of homemakers who worked outside during the 1940s, '50s and throughout the length of the program.[308]

Jane Small in the February 22, 1968, edition of the *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, promoted instant foods as an easy way to "make traveling," in particular camping, "much more fun for mother."[309] Lane (Sherry Baker, 1953-1958, or Dorothy Wendel, 1955-1957) called food on the road a "pick-up" affair, meaning stopping by a roadside grocery or convenience store to grab sandwich-making supplies.[310] Messages about the economic benefit of packing or picking up a picnic lunch or two for a weekend jaunt also mixed with those advocating for eating out on the road. This counter-messaging about dining out on someone else's gastronomic labor likely appealed across the board to both single and married women. Mainly, she focused on the allure of touring and patronizing restaurants along a chosen route, and picnicking, as an affordance particularly fora wife and mother. In the circa 1955 film, *Traveling with Children*, Lane (unknown performer), positioned herself as the expert who, seated behind at a big wooden office desk, reinforced to her likely television-viewing audiences the idea that mothers need some well-earned relaxation time.[311] Intercut with images of a family planning a tourette, the mother in various scenes in the film looks on from the kitchen as her husband sits at the dining room

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[307]Shapiro, Laura. *Something from the Oven : Reinventing Dinner in 1950s America* (New York: Viking, 2004), 175.

[308]Goldstein, 262.

[309]Kincaid, Pat, "Travel Director Gives Lecture: Tells How To Budget Camping," *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, February 22, 1968, 18.

[310] "Cut Travel Meal Costs With Grocery Shopping," *Ames Daily Tribune*, June 13, 1955, 2.

[311]"Unifilms, Inc.," *Business Screen Magazine* 17, no. 1 (February 1956): 106. Without the opening credits, it's difficult to say what the title actually was. The UCLA Film & Television Archive, who gave me the digitized copy of the original film, settled on *Tourette*. It is more like called *Traveling with Children* as per a published list of titles by its production company, Unifilms, Inc. in *Business Screen*.

table and teaches their children how to draw out a 200-mile radius around their home on a map; she carries the food containers out to the car and hands out sandwiches the picnic blanket, and helps to wrangle the littles. Most poignantly, over a scene in a quaint hotel dining room while mother sits at a table with her family, smiling broadly as a server offers her a basket of rolls Lane narrates, "After a leisurely big country breakfast, cooked and served by someone else, a different route home..." The satisfaction on her face at being served almost rivals how relaxed she looks with the wind whipping her hair as she leans her head partly out the passenger-side window, or as she sits against a tree cradling her husband's head in her lap, children playing in the distance. The brevity of the five-plus minute film in many ways emulates in short form an assurance to homemakers from Carol Lane that the tourette is just as easy to plan and execute as she describes; and it did not force women or other family members to question her primary role as caretaker.

Eating Out/doors

So how did Carol Lane specifically entice single women, especially working women, to extend their yearly allotted vacation time? Arguably, by example. She too was a single traveler and working professional. Performers repeatedly mention that they vacationed and toured during their respective down times; and their personal anecdotes about budgeting for meals out and roadside picnicking during weekend trips may have acutely resonated with members of her ilk. Spending time at home in their kitchens was also rarely mentioned in newspaper and magazine articles. Jane Small once emphasized how unusual it was to have time to cook at home. She expressed in that if she could not make Thanksgiving dinner with her family: "I'd be disappointed [...] I'd be lonely too." She then confirmed, "I eat out so much during my travels in

the Western half of the U.S., it's a real treat to get to cook and have friends over."[312] In order to give the impression that Lane followed her own advice, Shell-sponsored photographers also accompanied the various ones traveling with girlfriends on tourettes and camping excursions, and snapped pictures of them cooking and doing outdoorsy things. (These photo shoots were often staged according to Lucia Cucullu who confirmed that her canoe trip down the Columbia River was also accompanied by a cook!)[313]

Photo spreads featured Lane eating out of doors while touring, cooking marshmallows over a campfire or wieners over a campground barbecue pit. Iverson as Lane was photographed fishing and eating watermelon in a grassy field on the side of the road with a traveling companion. Here's Sherry Baker (Carol Lane, 1953-1958) as Lane in a *Concord Record*, May 28, 1958, photo shoot titled, "Mama Likes Fishin' Too."

Elizabeth Baker claimed to like to get outdoors and hunt in the pages of *Cosmopolitan* in 1951.

Carol Lane dined out — a lot. Her live lectures before women's social groups or professional organizations, and mixed crowds, for instance, were very often accompanied by a catered luncheon or took place in a restaurant. Moreover, Lane performers were on the road lecturing, appearing on radio and television, and testing touring tips, three out of every four weeks---often more during summer.[314] One of the many perks of touring outside one's geographic region and beyond, she touted, was the opportunity to seek out and test other

[312]"Carol Lane: She Loves Being a Leisure-time Cook," 116.

[313]Phone interview with Lucia Cucullu, September 8, 2017.

[314]Fay, Sharon, "Car Comfort Is Her Business," *The San Francisco Examiner*, February 18, 1964, 24; Phone interview with Lucia Cucullu.

cuisines. She enticed readers with tales from the road about restaurants, and she suggested one way to remember the trip was to mail treats home to oneself, or bring them back for friends and family. In *Traveling by Car*, she called on the reader to consider the "edible souvenir." "In my travels I have found that nearly every state has delicacies that are peculiar to a certain locale," she wrote. "Many of these, often packed in artistic containers, can be shipped home or taken in the car. Rare and unusual foods can be 'harvested' along the highways in the country, towns and villages, from the roadside stands and farms, and from famed stores and restaurants in big cities." She tried local fare such as South Carolina benne seed cookies, fig preserves of Roanoke Island, honey from Tennessee, Arizona's midget watermelons and more. She continued, "In the major cities, where there are large populations of foreign ancestry, you'll find authentic Italian, French, German, Mexican, Chinese, Greek, and Armenian food. You usually won't find restaurants serving such food on main streets..." but in the neighborhoods where these populations have settled.[315]

Quotations and photographs, like those under examination in this section, may have led readers to believe Lane's tales from the road were authentic, as exemplifying an authentic single (and in this case well-traveled) professional woman's lifestyle. The Shell performers really were driving and eating out and camping. At least some of their anecdotes derived from real experiences according to Lucia Cucullu and the personal papers of both Caroline Ackerman and Elizabeth Baker. However, Shell's public relations department's promotional activities behind the scenes brings authenticity into question. Their bottom line was tied to blurring the line between the performers and the performed.

[315]Lane, Carol, *Traveling by Car*, 149-151.

Beyond the Tourette: Notes on Camping and Shunpiking

Starting around 1948 through the PR program's final years, Carol Lane discussed the joys and cost effectiveness of camping as yet another way to spend hard-earned vacation time. Beyond advocating for the tourette as a quick getaway Carol Lane also reportedly lectured and wrote about camping on a regular basis, thus adding her voice to thousands of newspaper and magazine articles published after the postwar period on the topic. She devoted a fair amount of print real estate to longer outdoor stays in the booklet, *Let's Go Camping*, and *Traveling by Car*. She also covered the topic in her column on occasion, and her techniques and suggestions were folded in other writers' articles. Shell's Touring Bureau supported Lane's energies my continuing to publish directories for national forest and state park camp sites along with motor courts, hotels and resorts they began distributing as far back as the 1930s. In doing so, together they contributed to a plethora of similar guides and booklets published during this time such as The American Automobile Association's *Motorland* magazine, *The Rand McNally Camping Guide*, *Sunset Western Campsites*, and *Better Homes and Gardens Family Camping*.[316]

Other newspaper columnists would turn to Carol Lane's advice on camping and other subjects. In this example, travel columnist, Prudence Martin at *The San Francisco Examiner*, quote heavily from Lane's *Let's Go Camping* (1960). At least seven different Lanes claimed to have picked up handy tips to trade while "roughing it" on camping trips. Tapping into the postwar resurgence of interest in camping, she regaled readers and audiences with stories about the road, and extended solid advice about the budget-friendly pastime and how to make the best of it. Although unbeknownst to readers, her camping trips were accompanied by photographers

[316]A quick keyword search for the word "camping", years 1947-1974, on Newspapers.com brings up over three million hits. Discounting the last name "Camping," and news stories mentioning the activity in passing, that still leaves a tremendous number of articles on the topic itself.

and other pros who helped set up camp. Sometimes they traveled with families, too, on "research camping" trips. Her messaging about camping coincided with an uptick in American and Canadian interest in the pastime. As an example, tourism in national parks doubled during the 1950s from nineteen million visitors in the beginning to thirty-eight million by 1959.[317] It also mirrored a postwar rise in camper registrations for national and state parks from ten million in 1950 to over 30 million in 1960, with other states signing on to charge fees into the 1970s.[318] Similarly, according to a November 15, 1963, Regina's (Sakatchewan) *The Leader-Post* article, rural areas of Canada were seeing more camper registrations. Their province saw a forty-percent increase from the year before.[319] Popular television families went camping on programs like *I Love Lucy*, *Ozzie and Harriet*, *Leave It To Beaver*, *The Flintstones*, and *The Brady Bunch*.[320]

Again, neither Shell nor Carol Lane made mention, at least in print, of the difficulties African Americans would face seeking respite from city life by camping alone or with their families during the period spanning her program. The National Park System, for instance, decided in the mid-1930s to honor states' "laws and generally accepted customs" regarding desegregation of parks and associated camping areas. These "customs" meant separate facilities for African Americans and Whites. By 1939, Interior Secretary Harold Ickes desegregated the Pinnacles Picnic Grounds, and by 1950, the facilities in Shenandoah National Parks in

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[317]Young, William and Nancy K. Young. *The 1950s* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 260.

[318]"Camper Registration Scheduled," *The Billings Gazette*, December 20, 1973, 31; Rugh, 24.

[319]"Gov't Aid for Resort Roads Urged," *The Leader-Post*, November 15, 1963, 13.

[320]For example: *I Love Lucy* (Season 2, Ep. 29, June 8, 1953), *Leave It To Beaver* (Season 5, ep. 36, June 9, 1962), *Ozzie and Harriet* (Season 7, Ep. 23, March 18, 1959), *The Brady Bunch* (Season 1, Ep. 8, November 14, 1969), and *The Flintstones* (Season 3, Ep. 27, March 29, 1963).

Virginia.[321] The 1957 edition of the *Negro Motorist Green Book* listed five hotels and lodges in Yosemite National Park as welcoming to its readers---up from zero the year before.[322] Overall, however, African Americans faced limitations as to where they could camp or stay comfortably even after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 due to sporadic enforcement of the legislation.[323]

Notes on Shunpiking

> "'Shun-piking' was a word used in the days of horse and buggy and early motoring when the only good roads were privately owned turnpikes on which a toll was charged. Tight-fisted local farmers shunned the pikes and took to the back roads. Most industries welcome visitors and are now conducting tours through their various plants, and by 'shun-piking' industries can be seen and the little-known sights and experiences off the beaten paths can be fascinating."
>
> -- Carol Lane as quoted in *Rocky Mount Evening Telegram*, March 10, 1953

Carol Lane extolled the virtues of "shunpiking" (alternately spelled "shun-piking"), in terms similar to the tourette, but broader in scope. A word still used today, "shunpiking" means primarily sticking to the backroads, with perhaps limited time spent on two-lane U.S. Routes (Federal Highways) and State Routes while touring. This slower-paced, more leisurely approach minimizes reliance upon major roadways that bypassed regional small towns and roadside attractions. Multi-lane interstates, expressways, or turnpikes and toll roads often only let drivers off the main vein every 21.6 miles, like those crossing Virginia in 1958, or more in other

[321]Repanshek, Kurt, "How The National Park Service Grappled With Segregation During The 20th Century," National Parks Traveler, August 18th, 2019, https://www.nationalparkstraveler.org/2019/08/how-national-park-service-grappled-segregation-during-20th-century (Accessed April 10, 2020).

[322]Johnson, Shelton, "Yosemite Ranger Notes: The Green Book," Yosemite National Park, April 5, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/yose/blogs/the-green-book.htm (Accessed April 10, 2020).

[323]Cianci Salvatore, Susan et. al., "Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations," National Park Service, 2004, rev. 2009, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/upload/Civil-Rights-Public-Accomodations-2018-final.pdf (Accessed April 10, 2020).

states.[324] So why did Lane, in the service of Shell, want drivers to get off the beaten path?... In a July 20, 1971 edition of the *Oswego Palladium-Times*, Lucia Cucullu as Lane laid out the difference clearly: "Turnpikes may get you there faster, but the shun-pikes takes you to heart of any area where the unexpected adventure happens."[325] West Coast Lane, Sherry Baker, stated eighteen years earlier in 1953 that some of the unanticipated delights of shunpiking was that it provided for a "planned search for adventure, natural beauty and interesting places where the traveler can participate in a community's life."[326]

The same year East Coast Lane, Beatrice Hansen, pointed to various manufacturing plant tours as part of a community's edifying offerings in the *Rocky Mount Evening Telegram* (Rocky Mount was a thriving mill town); and in the circa 1955 Tourette film narrator Lane mentions the joys of shunpiking as well. The family in the narrative visits an antique shop and a fish hatchery on their weekend journey, which quietly signals the importance of supporting regional businesses, and throws in some educational fare to boot.[327] The single women traveler, while only spoken to in general terms, could find this plan interesting and less threatening alone to shunpike safely and follow her curiosity. The term "shunpiking" could even educate the young

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[324]Herman, Reinhold W., "'Shun-Piking' Said A Delightful Way To See Country, Avoid Crowded Roads," *Daily Press*, July 27, 1958, 41; Woodyard, Chris. "Top 16 Longest Gaps Between Interstate Exits," *USA Today*, August 13, 2011, https://web.archive.org/web/20141012205803/https://content.usatoday.com/communities/driveon/post/2011/08/longest-distances-between-exits-on-US-freeways-415029/1 (Accessed April 11, 2020).

[325]"Oil Co.'s Women's Travel Director at State Fair," *Oswego Palladium-Times*, July 20, 1971, 4.

[326]D'Andrea, Christian, "Shunpiking: The Adventure Chronicle," Shunpiking, https://www.shunpiking.net/ (Accessed April 6, 2020); "'Lanes To Adventure' Is Theme At Local Woman's Club Meeting," *Kilgore News Herald*, January 25, 1953, 1; Still, Tom, "For Whom Does Road Toll?" *Chippewa Herald-Telegram*, January 9, 2017, A4.

[327]"Large Group Hears Lady Of Travel," *Rocky Mount Evening Telegram*, March 10, 1953, 7.

and old on the history of turnpikes and private toll roads – and early settlers who rejected them – during the Colonial period.

The Carol Lane program distributed these "Shunpiking" radio and/or television scripts to stations in anticipation of her appearances, or so local talent might read in her place in the case of radio. It is available to read in the "Audiovisual Publications & Record of Appearances" subsection here under "PR: Strategies."

All three hypothesized public relations strategies are in play with these rhetorical treatments: keep automobile tourists traveling the lesser highways and backroads; play to a woman's strengths as home economists, domestic planners; and present shunpiking an edutaining plan that any woman, as the primary agent of cultural and educational uplift for her children, could handle.[328] Of course, all of these altruistic gestures fed Shell Oil's collective objective which was to sell more product. Their gas stations were more often conveniently located along the regional roads and two-lane highways. Certainly, frequent starts and stops during a weekend tourette, for instance, would diminish an automobile's fuel efficiency --- a plus for Shell. With the introduction of Interstate Highways which gradually crisscrossed the country after 1956, motorists driving at higher speeds might bypass service stations tucked away between the regular exits, relegating them to serving mainly local customers. Moreover, local businesses such as restaurants and motor courts (also called auto or tourist courts) were sometimes attached

[328]Phillips, Don, "Federal Speed Limit, Set in 1974, Repealed," *The Washington Post*, November 29, 1995, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1995/11/29/federal-speed-limit-set-in-1974-repealed/d64a0059-d32e-4daa-92f4-887c6785ca57/ (Accessed April 11, 2020). The Interstate highways speed limits varied by state from 40 to 80 mph. Not until 1974 did we have a standardized maximum speed limit of 55 mph with the passing of the Emergency Highway Energy Conservation Act. This act was overturned in 1995 at which point states could go back to setting their own speed limits.

to Shell gas stations. All of these points suggest that Lane's role was at least in part to keep the mom-and-pop station owners in business by talking around the issue.

Pulling Into The Driveway...

Carol Lane encouraged women drivers to organize a "tourette" for themselves or with or for their families as a way to eke out more holidays than allotted vacation time might allow. Mothers and working women, and combinations thereof, in particular needed a break, was her thinking, and fulfilling that desire meant hitting the road for some well-earned relaxation. Leaving home for a few days, did not mean women necessarily left behind their domestic duties --- they were mobilized and conducted with equipment, gadgets, teaching agendas, and budget-saving methods. For longer camping trips, add more necessities to the list. Getting off the beaten track, or shunpiking, might lure a family to discover roadside attractions, cultural heritage sites, and maybe quaint inns where meals are prepared by someone other than the woman of the house. All of these opportunities for leisure during this period were, of course, contingent upon a woman's financial means or that of her family, and for women and families of color, the additional complexity of finding welcoming places to eat, gas up, and stay the night.

This decades-long promotion ultimately served Shell's bottom line: to get women to frequent, or inspire them to get their husbands to patronize, the company's gas stations throughout the United States and Canada. Lane's various tales about camping and shunpiking served this purpose too. The public relations department's rhetorical strategies collectively insured that tourettes seemed ideally educational and entertaining, would provide women with organizational tools for efficiently planning trips, as well as publicize the benefits driving

regional backroads. Her audiences read the same columns, articles, and illustrated cartoons, or viewed the films and advertisements that are available on this site. The reader is invited to peruse and analyze the plethora of related materials created by and for Carol Lane, those directly pointed to throughout this essay and beyond. Detailed analysis of how targeted demographics of women were addressed, granted through the privileged lenses of hindsight and historical contextualization, may inch us closer to an understanding of who Shell collectively imagined its audiences to be.

["My Tourettes." Video, (24min.) Only musical accompaniment. See this and all of the following videos on https://carollaneproject.com/.]

In her March 7, 1947, letter to Public relations department managers H.L. Curtis and G.G. Biggar, entitled, "WHAT ARE OUR ANGLES?" Caroline Iverson (creator of the Carol Lane character and first to embody her) thought it was "essential to have a movie or slide demonstration along with the speech."[329] Lanes did include audiovisual elements to their demonstration repertoire, but I have found no references yet to filmed travelogues. She continues on this thread in her letter:

> "Mr. Gerrity thinks he can supply a 10-minute travel reel, showing some vacation spot in color, that will be sufficient to pep up a program…something to put the audience into a nostalgic travel mood."

Lyn Johnson (Carol Lane, 1971-1974) in October 1972 also referred to the illustrated talk she presented Women's Division of the Springfield (Missouri) Chamber of Commerce as a "travelogue." To a large degree, that is the intent behind my "tourettes" recordings.

[329]"What Are Our Angles?" Public appearance-related memos, correspondence, reports, and engagement forms, 1947-1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.6-12.8.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

I have driven the following tourette routes, both alone and often accompanied by my husband and friends, to capture video footage of locations and environs where Carol Lanes lectured. The maps in the following sections represent itineraries -- day trips or overnighters -- taken within a two hundred-miles radius of home bases in Raleigh, NC, and Palm Springs, CA. The trips also include a few locations in South Dakota, Texas, and Arizona, cities through which I happen to be passing through on my personal or professional journeys through the years 2018-2020. One objective for this exercise was to visit women's spaces so I might better understand audience members' experiential and affective perspectives. Where did audiences of primarily women come together to discuss community-oriented projects or a bit of light entertainment (and lunch!)? What can the buildings where they met, and their surrounding neighborhoods potentially tell me, even these many decades later, about a club's economic resources or social standing within their given municipalities (e.g. did a club own or lease their own meeting space, or did they only seem to meet in restaurants or auditoriums?) What might changes to the landscapes over time indicate about the decline of women's clubs or economic shifts in the cities and towns in which they reside(d)? The other objective was to try to retroactively get "inside the heads" of Carol Lane performers as they went about traveling for work. While I did not produce most of these recordings while traveling for work, I made work of traveling to these locations.[330] Though driving from place to place in a region did not replicate one particular Lane's itinerary, it did emulate the hectic schedules they all kept, traveling three weeks out of every month!

[330]I had fully intended to visit locations where Carol Lane spoke in Montréal and Ottawa, and have even secured a travel grant from my university, but alas the travel restrictions put in place during the 2020-2021 Covid-19 pandemic – when I produced much of this dissertation – made that trip impossible. I may attempt this trip again in future.

Publications & Columns

> "Books and brochures. The average advertising man's preoccupation with periodical publications and radio and TV broadcasts may blind him to the value of more permanent means to aid in promoting sales or less commercial purposes. Bound books is a classification that has no rate card and no separate volume of *Standard Rate & Data* [a book that compiled contact information and ad rates for a variety of media sources], but nevertheless it is an important class with various uses... no other medium can compete with the book as a permanent record... Shell Oil Co. distributed a different sort of book... to 'get long-range good-will form helping customers...'"
>
> -- *Public Relations Idea Book* (New York : Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 1953), 214-215
>
> "In newspapers, your publicity can be placed in the following departments: news, women's, sports, radio, amusement, financial, editorial, photography, real estate, society, and columnists."
>
> -- *Public Relations Idea Book* (New York : Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 1953), 265

Under this tab, there are several sections for viewing various publications and the "Tips on Touring" columns attributed to Carol Lane as author. In some sections there are ads or articles promoting a given booklet, for instance. Definitive evidence that directly attributes publications or columns to a particular performer is still under research. There are some clues, though. What is apparent from personal papers that Caroline Iverson and Elizabeth Baker seemed to have written the "Tips on Touring" columns with the help of their own support staffs. Furthermore, in 1951, the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* ran a photograph of Irma Cunha conducting an author meet-and-greet at a local bookstore. Prior to performing as Lane, Cunha had been one of Baker's assistants responsible for narrativizing her travel anecdotes and observations. According to a public comment Jane Small made in the late 1960s, the various Lanes continued to have such

assistance through at least through her tenure.[331] So it is certainly possible that their assistants contributed to other publications' texts.

Iverson also confirmed in a 1950 speech that she and staff wrote *Travel à la Car*, originally published in 1950. Jane Small designed Carol Lane's published poncho and various sewing patterns, and penned the 1970 booklet *What's a Nice Girl Like You Doing Under the Hood of Your Car? -- or Please Lady, I'd Rather Do It Myself*.[332] Marjory Schmid (Lane from 1958-1964) had been a do-it-yourself crafting specialist on Oklahoma television, and wrote a children's book, before her role as Lane, so she very well may have developed sewing and crafting patterns or booklets too. [See "PR: Other Personnel" tab for more information on Arabelle Wheatley, illustrator of many Shell booklets, maps, ads, and more, mid-1940s-1960s.]

All publications are in the public domain except for *Traveling by Car*. [These are placeholders for PDFs/sections in https://carollaneproject.com/. Brief notes for each publication on the website are not included in this text-only version.]

[PDF: "Happy Vacationing" Packet (early 1950s-1960s)]
[PDF: *Touring Can Be Child's Play* (1950)]
[PDF: *Travel à la Car* (1952)]
[PDF: *Carol Lane's Vacation Dress-O-Graph* (1954)]
[PDF: *Traveling By Car* (1954)
[PDF: *Touring Can Be Child's Play* (1956)
***Presenting Carol Lane* (1958)]**
[PDF: *Touring Can Be Child's Play* (1959)]
[PDF: *Let's Go Camping* (1960)]
[PDF: *Touring Can Be Child's Play* (Canada, 1962)]
[PDF: *Le Tourisme Peut Être Un Jeu D'Enfant* (Canada, 1962)]
[PDF: *Let's Go Touring* (1964)]
[PDF: *Let's Go Touring* (1970)]

[331]This idea is based on the assumption that techniques were passed down from one Lane performer to the next as Iverson and Liz Baker's personal papers suggest.

[332]Newell, 15.

[PDF: *What's a Nice Girl Like You Doing Under the Hood of Your Car? -- or Please Lady, I'd Rather Do It Myself* (ca. 1970)]

Columns

Carol Lane's "Tips on Touring" column started in 1948 as a "plug-less" travel column, meaning no overt promotional content would be included. It was quickly picked up by 141 newspapers (of the 150 J. Walter Thompson mentions in the above in-house newsletter). *Editor & Publisher* would confirm the larger number as well in August 1948.[333] **[Figures 1 & 2]** Its initial circulation reached over six million readers.[334] For a short period this column was temporarily titled, "Touring Tips" (a change that seems to have been made by Elizabeth Baker during her tenure). Beyond newspapers, Lane's column also ran in *Travel* magazine at least circa 1952, if not before. **[Figure 3**] Its title in French-speaking Canada was "Les Plaisirs de la Route." Occasionally she would pen a short article in the same style as her column, without the title. **[Figures 4]** The PDF on the right displays several examples.

Clues as to the columns' authors appear in the personal papers of Caroline Iverson and Elizabeth Baker. Both wrote the "Tips on Touring" columns with the aid of their support staffs. Lane's "Tips on Touring" advice column seems to have faded away by about 1964. It is difficult to pinpoint what led to the demise of her column. Its ultimate disappearance may indicate a waning of American and Canadian audiences' reliance upon travel experts. More likely, its disappearance may be attributed to a noteworthy pivot away from the overarching and well-funded traffic safety-related newspaper campaign undertook with Ogilvy, Benson, & Mather (OBM), the advertising firm they turned to in 1960 after years with J. Walter Thompson,

[333]"Shell Oil Co. Issues 'How To' Touring Feature," *Editor & Publisher* 81, no. 35, August 1948, 2.

[334]Exit memo written by Ackerman, reviewing "Carol Lane" program, June 1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

to handle product marketing in newspapers. Under C.F. Martineau's aegis, OBM helped Shell consolidate control of regional newspaper advertising campaigns under a national umbrella.[335] Until then, the marketing and public relations teams still maintained a certain amount of localized control, including hiring multiple Carol Lanes to lecture and tour simultaneously on the East Coast, West Coast, and Canada. This consolidation could have precipitated a decision by in-house column authors that the column had run its course.

After one year, however, the company pivoted to television marketing. This change of directions in 1961 by the public relations department, along with the advertising firm Kenyon & Eckhardt, may indicate another scenario for the demise of the column. Shell diverted a sizable amount of marketing dollars ($15,000,000) away from newspaper copy toward wholesome television fare such as *Shell's Wonderful World of Golf* on ABC, and *Leonard Bernstein Young People's Concerts* (CBS).[336] Consequently, the column could be a casualty of the large-scale drop of at least a portion of the around 200 newspapers, in 115 cities, that had been the target of ads in summer 1960. Without much evidence to confirm any scenario, it is difficult to say for certain why "Tips on Touring" was phased out. [For more on Shell's historical timeline, see "A Brief, Curated, History of Shell" under the "Data" tab; and for more examples of the column, search the database under the "Data" tab and filter by Story Type "Column."]

[PDF: Columns]
[PDF: Various Booklets (1948-ca.1958)]
[PDF: Carol Lane Patterns (early 1950s - 1963)]
[PDF: *Alice in Motorland* (1944)]
[PDF: Copyright Information]

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[335]"Sponsor-Scope," *Sponsor*, December 9, 1963, 13.

[336]"1961 Year End Report: L&M Switch: '61's Big Story," *Sponsor*, December 25, 1961, 62.; "Yes, Shell's In TV, Via K&E," *Sponsor*, September 4, 1961, 33.

Carol Lane Award for Traffic Safety

> "Public Service. A type of public-relations activity that is long-lived is the sponsorship of some civic improvement that will be in the public eye for a long time."
>
> -- *Public Relations Idea Book* (New York : Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 1953), 205

Shell Oil Company established the Carol Lane Award for Traffic Safety in 1951. It was named in Carol Lane's honor, and co-administered by the National Safety Council. There were three categories of prizes, and entrants competed according to population size, and a prize went to state-wide initiatives as well. Groups and individuals could compete. They gave out levels of prizes per category. First prizes were $1000 savings bonds and the bronze statuettes (or "Oscar") and a trip to Chicago to accept their awards at the National Safety Congress in October. Second prize winners received $500 bonds and third prize, $250, along with wooden bas-relief plaques with bronze figure. The awards were administered from 1952 to approximately 1962 (U.S.), and in Canada until approximately 1970.

Discontinuance of the Award

The awards were administered from 1952 to approximately 1962 (U.S.), and in Canada until approximately 1970. During this period the company seems to have refocused on an initiative started nine years earlier when The Shell Companies Foundation in the U.S. began funding a $50,000 yearly a program co-sponsored by the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Together they had begun giving what was by the 1960s two annual $500 scholarship awards for traffic safety initiatives in all fifty states. The winning clubs put the funds towards student-aid programs. At least in 1965, Barbara Brooks (Carol Lane, 1960-1961) was the Foundation's

stated Director of Women's Activities.[337] Jeannette King explained in a March 27, 1963, *Kansas City Star* article that Shell Oil had "recently discontinued the Carol Lane Awards because there seemed to be a slight duplication. The women's conference of the National Safety Council established a citation for women's accomplishment in all fields of safety, not just traffic safety." The primary difference between the awards, the article's author noted, was that the Carol Lane Award winners represented different population categories – meaning, as noted above, as a group or individual women competed against contestants from geographical areas similar in population size. The other difference: unlike the now discontinued Carol Lane Award, the Safety Council's citation did not come with a cash award.[338] Four years later, in an October 1967 *Car Life* article featuring Jeannette King and Jane Small (Carol Lane, 1965-1971), the performers refer to the safety award in the past tense.[339] They state, "In the past, they've sponsored auto safety programs administered through the National Safety Council under grants from Shell."[340] Regarding the program's demise in Canada, columnist Zoë Dallas wrote in the Saskatoon's *Star Phoenix* on June 8, 1971, that "because of lack of interest and entries [Shell Oil of Canada] decided to discontinue the project."[341]

[PDF: Carol Lanes Posing with Statues]

[337]The President's Committee For Traffic Safety. Proceedings.

[338]"Seat Belt Cuts Fatigue, Too," *The Kansas City Star*, March 27, 1963, 2G.

[339]Lamm, Michael, "Powder Puffery," 85.

[340]Dallas, Zoë, "Zoë Dallas," *Star-Phoenix*, June 8, 1971, 9.

[341]"1966 Budget Set for Shell Foundation," *Shell News*, May/June 1966, 5.

Sculptors of Statuettes & Plaques

Vincent Glinsky (1895-1975) designed the "Oscar" version of the award statuette. According to the finding aid for his papers housed at the Smithsonian's Archives of American Art, Glinsky was a "Sculptor, etcher, lithographer, painter, teacher; New York, N.Y. Born in Russia. Member of the National Sculpture Society, and the American Artist Congress. Served as an artist for the Works Progress Administration's Federal Art Project (WPA-FAP) in New York City. Exhibited at the National Academy of Design, Architectural League, Museum of Modern Art, Salon des Tuileries, Paris, and the Brooklyn Museum. Glinksy was a teacher at Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y."[342] Berta O'Hare Margoulies (1907-1996) designed the award in the image at right, as well as the similar smaller plaques (see the color photo in the first section above).[343] Margoulies was a noted sculptor who held a Guggenheim Fellowship and an American Academy of Arts and Sciences award. Her version of the statue deputed at the Sculptor's Guild exhibition at New York's American Museum of Natural History in 1952.[344]

Shell-Sponsored Film Strip on Traffic Safety

Shell Oil and Shell Canada, had sponsored traffic safety initiatives for decades prior to launching the Carol Lane Award for Traffic Safety program in collaboration with the National Safety Council. In fact, Shell became the first oil company to join the Automotive Safety Foundation which was founded in 1937. According to Kendall Beaton's company history,

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[342]"Vincent Glinsky papers, 1927-1982," Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution Accessed June 19, 2021. https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/vincent-glinsky-papers-7269.

[343]Kort, Carol and Liz Sonneborn, "Berta O'Hare Margoulies," *A to Z of American women in the Visual Arts* (New York: Facts on File, 2002), 142.

[344]"Women Working to Prevent Traffic Accidents," *Shelby County Reporter-Democrat*, March 20, 1952, 1.

Enterprise in Oil (1957), "Shell's advertising appropriation was spent in direct support of traffic safety. Across the country, newspapers, magazines, and billboards carried the message of Shell's 'Share-the Road' campaign, a propaganda effort aimed at the 'road hog' and careless driver. The 'Share-the-Road' campaign did not directly advertise Shell's gasoline, but it created so much good will for the company's producer that the same theme was repeated during 1940."[345] Beaton also mentioned that the company sponsored emblems for adhering to license plates, motion pictures, and traveling marionette shows to attract younger, future drivers' attentions. From late 1955 into mid-1956, Shell Oil rolled out, with the assistance of ad agency, Kenyon & Eckhardt, a full-page ad traffic safety campaign which featured a series of visual driving tests and was called "Shell Better Driving Quizzes." The series was published in over 115 cities in the U.S. and Canada.[346] The company launched the program in geographically dispersed cities around the country with public talks and luncheons that included local officials who advocated for highway and traffic safety initiatives. The company also distributed the quizzes as an informational packet mailed to interested parties. Four years later in 1960, Kenyon & Eckhardt again spearheaded another ad campaign that promoted Shell's Traffic Safety Quiz ("Your Car Has Built-in Safety --- YOU!"). K&E designed the quiz as a "pic-type," a period term of an ad with cartoon and text, that asked the reader to scan for traffic hazards in images depicting cars and pedestrians in everyday scenes of street life from the countryside to a downtown theater district. A sampling of over 400 articles from that summer indicates coverage of the campaign appeared in widely

[345]Beaton, 457.

[346]"Courant to Carry Shell Series Of Driving Tests," *Hartford Courant*, January 29, 1956, 1.

different sections of American and Canadian dailies; thus, it seems their targeted demographic was a more general.[347]

[PDF: "Shell Better Driving Quiz" and "Shell Traffic Safety Quiz"]

Evidence suggests that Carol Lane did not, at least in print, discuss these newspaper-based campaigns incorporating traffic safety tests very often. However, *Los Angeles Times* interviewed Jane Small (Carol Lane, 1965-1971) on August 30, 1965, on the then forthcoming CBS rebroadcast of the "National Drivers' Test" set to air over Labor Day Weekend 1965:

> "The United States is often called a 'nation on wheels,' but CBS, the Shell Oil Co. and the National Safety Council hope that the country's drivers will put on the brakes long enough to watch a TV special tonight. The program is the hour-long 'National Drivers' Test'" which was first telecast last May prior to Memorial Day weekend. CBS is repeating it tonight (10 o'clock on Channel 2) as a prelude to the upcoming Labor Day week-end in hopes of cutting down the carnage on the nation's highways... According to Carol Lane, women's travel director for Shell, almost half of those who took the test failed. The average score for the entire group was 51 out of 80 points. This was characterized by the National Safety Council as barely passing. Professional drivers did no better... As far as age groups, young drivers up to 26 ranked the best, followed by those in the 26-45 age group, with the 45 and over placing last. And in the old controversy of men vs. women drivers, the men came out with an average score of 52, while the women had 49. Miss Lane was quick to point out, though, that women showed better over-all driving perception than men...
>
> Can a test such as this one on television do any real good in preventing accidents? Miss Lane says that is something for the National Safety Council to determine. 'The important thing,' she said, 'is that this type of program makes people more aware of what kind of situations could develop in front of them while they're driving a car. The drivers in this country are generally pretty aggressive. They don't always avoid getting into an accident situation. That's what we're trying to change...' Miss Lane mentioned that many advertisers thought Shell had bought a lemon

[347]"New Ad Series by Shell Stresses Traffic Safety," *Fords Beacon*, May 12, 1960, 2. Based on a sampling of the over 400 articles published during summer and early autumn of 1960. Interestingly as of April 6, 2020, I could only identify one "Tips on Touring" article making even an indirect reference to the campaign.

> when it agreed to sponsor 'The National Drivers' Test' the first time around. The 32 million people who tuned in disproved this theory, along with the score of governors, government officials... Shell, according to Miss Lane, has long been interested in projects dealing with driver safety. 'After all,' she commented, 'we want to keep our customers.'"[348]

The Las Vegas Sun also interviewed Jane Small on the topic and mentioned she was in town recently publicizing the test. According to G.G. Biggar, Vice President of Public Relations for Shell Oil, a total of fifty-seven million viewers saw the program over the course of the two weekends. It was, according to Biggar, "the greatest audience of any sponsored public service program on any single network in TV history."[349]

***Perception of Driving Hazards* (1958)**

As part of the company's commitment to traffic safety, in the mid-1950s, Shell funded ($50,000) a three-year study to determine what personal traits lead drivers to have auto accidents as conducted by New York University's Center for Safety Education. According to the September 1957 issue of *Shell News*, the Center's director, Dr. Leon Brody, it "has an educational program to make drivers 'perception conscious.' Common hazards that lead to accidents have been simulated and photographed. The photographs have been made into slides that are shown in high school driving classes, university courses and corrective driving clinics. Students are thus given an opportunity to test their perceptive abilities.

[348]MacMinn, Aleene. "Holiday Special: Drivers' Test Comes By Again," *Los Angeles Times*, August 30, 1965, C24.

[349]Biggar, "Relationships Between the Public Relations Officer and Management: A Lecture Before Course on Corporate Decision and Public Relations," 9.

Audiovisual Publications & Record of Appearances

Shell Sponsorship: Radio & TV

> "Radio and TV: This outlet furnishes an opportunity to have the name of your product and company brought to the attention of millions of listeners. You can arrange to have employees appear on quiz programs, audience-participation shows, or programs featuring interviews with interesting people."
>
> -- *Public Relations Idea Book* (New York : Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 1953), 267
>
> "Press-radio packets provide news facts. If publicity forms an important part of your promotional goal, why not make it easy for the press, radio, and TV people to give it to you?"
>
> -- *Public Relations Idea Book* (New York : Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 1953), 269
>
> "Our business is local."
>
> -- "Here's Why We Bought Spot Radio," *Sponsor*, February 20, 1956

Carol Lane performers, their support staffs and managers did not conceive of all the program's various PR techniques in isolation. Its activities, including their use of motion pictures and broadcast media, fit into a long history of Shell's early- and mid-twentieth-century PR activities involving the same in North America. Other factors within the company's marketing structure – for instance, management who worked on other programs and campaigns within the company, as well as other cultural and professional influences – very well could have affected her program's approaches to outreach and spreading of goodwill. Shell Oil, and its various incarnations in the United States and Canada, sponsored media programming rather extensively throughout the 20th Century as a way to subtly bring the company's name to the attention of millions of listeners and viewers. This section gives a brief history of Shell's radio and television marketing efforts from 1929 through into the Carol Lane era. The first section deals with the late

1940s, and the second, the period prior to World War II. A third section offers a quick list of other similar programming sponsored by other big oil companies during this same period.

Shell's Radio and TV Advertising: 1940s-1970s

The broadcast advertising trade magazine, *Sponsor*, featured Shell and its evolving marketing changes in an August 1950 multi-page cover story, "How to Keep Your Dealer Happy." In it the editors explain the company's media-focused advertising and public relations strategies before and after the pivotal World War II era. For instance, during World War II, Shell's advertising budget that did not include a budget line for broadcasting.[350] Beginning in 1944, however, Shell Oil started sponsoring fifteen-minute news radio programs, *Shell News*, as well as another hyper-local show such as their backing of WTAG's (Worcester, Massachusetts) morning talk show, *Julie 'n Johnny*. It is unclear as to whether they financially supported the show, but they tied in the Shell Touring Service by "cooperat[ing] with complete travel information." **[Figures 1 & 2]** *Shell News* on the radio would begin to peter out in 1960. **[Figure 3]** *Sponsor* also wrote that starting with KSTP, an NBC affiliate in St. Paul-Minneapolis, Shell began "opening new stations" (meaning financially sponsoring) at the rate of about ten per year, reaching fifty-seven stations by the time the magazine reported on their progress in 1950.[351] Those stations covered more than 90% of Shell direct distribution areas, or where their service stations were located.[352] The radio (and burgeoning local television) promotional campaign put

[350]"How to Keep Your Dealer Happy," 55-57.

[351]"How to Keep Your Dealer Happy," 60.

[352]"How to Keep Your Dealer Happy," 55.

into play helped individual service station owners advertise more strategically, but it also increased the number of media contacts and publicity opportunities for Carol Lane as she traveled through a region.

In 1950, Shell's advertising representative for radio and television initiatives, Tom Klement, emphasized in another piece by *Sponsor* the connection between localized mediums and their return to a prewar decentralized plan. Their business was local, Klement explained, and that factor made, for instance, national media campaigns "a waste of coverage."[353] Moreover, it allowed them to tie their efforts and products to local events, and/or municipal initiatives such as safe driving campaigns.[354] The Shell representative went on to recount that this recent return to a decentralized approach was now possible because eighteen dispersed division managers (usually around large cities) were now poised to "recommend changes in the local markets they're most familiar with."[355] In 1956, Shell continued to sponsor five- ten- and fifteen-minute news, sports, and weather shows with the assistance of J. Walter Thompson Company. **[Figure 4]**

Around 1958, Shell began working with the outside advertising firm Kenyon & Eckhardt (K&E) on "institutional advertising" (another term for PR advertising for the company, and not its products). K&E got the company into sponsoring sports and entertainment programs like *Leonard Bernstein's Young People's Concerts* on CBS-TV beginning in 1958, and in 1961, the first episode of the long-running series of international golf matches, *Shell's Wonderful World of Golf* .[356] **[Figures 5 & 6]** A year after Shell moved its petroleum products advertising over to the Ogilvy, Benson, & Mather (OBM) advertising agency (and away from J.W.T.), *Sponsor*

[353]"Here's Why We Bought Spot Radio," 34.

[354]"Here's Why We Bought Spot Radio," 34.

[355]"Here's Why We Bought Spot Radio," 34.

[356]"Sponsor-Scope," *Sponsor*, April 9, 1962, 17.

magazine asserted in 1961 that the company spent one-hundred percent of its advertising budget on newspaper campaigns. By 1962 it was switching course back to including radio spots (likely in collaboration with OBM.)[357] The subtle distinction the *Sponsor* editors made between "institutional advertising" and purchasing radio spots is significant here. What was and what was not considered advertising in terms of their budget? One interpretation is that PR activities such as underwriting the *Young People's Concerts* were not paid out of the same pool of money as the newspaper campaign; and thus, by implication, they were perhaps not lumped in with advertising efforts philosophically either.

Among a host of different advertising campaigns Shell backed from the 1960s through 1974 when the Carol Lane program ended was the Shell Answer Man campaign that started in the late 1960s. It rivaled Carol Lane's tenure in length, running intermittently from the late 1960s through 1999). To read more about this campaign, see the "Shell Answer Man Campaign" subsection under the "Who was Carol Lane?" tab.

Other Shell-Sponsored Radio Programs, 1929-WWII

In the 1920s and 1930s, Shell's marketing was haphazard. In fact, Shell did not have an advertising department until 1928 when it engaged J. Walter Thompson (J.W.T) to streamline their approach. Before sponsorship of *Shell Happytime*, which started in 1929, their efforts were local and more spectacular in the word's truest sense: "of, relating to, or being a spectacle." The 1920s saw Shell "Treasure Hunts," grand Christmas displays, parade floats, and a series of thousands of shell-shaped roadside signs that were transformed into forest-fire prevention posters in Northern California. **[Figures 7 & 8]** J.W.T. was brought aboard to steer local dealers away

[357]"Sponsor-Scope," *Sponsor*, January 15, 1962, 15.

from “attention-getting ‘trick’ advertising” to “more lasting campaigns.”[358] For instance, J.W.T. led Shell toward longer-form entertainment-style radio programs. 1928 is also the year when Shell executive, E.H. Sanders, established an advertising department. [For more spectacular PR events and campaigns from the 1920s through midcentury, see “Giveaways & Spectacles -- Carol and & Other Shell-Related” under “PR: Strategies.”]

The late 1940s saw Shell’s return to sponsoring news broadcasts and more commercial radio spots after having done quite a lot of it in the 1930s. For much of the Twenties the company had no advertising budget at all.[359] However, by the 1930s, they had sponsored several entertainment and news radio programs starring the likes of Dartmouth All-American football player Eddie Dooley (1932) and performer Al Jolson (1935). Furthermore, it appears the company initiated five-minute newscasts called *Shell Transradio News* in Honolulu, Hawai’i Territory, on KGU (NBC) in 1936. **[Figure 9]** By the next year, they produced an additional fifteen-minute evening news program on the same station called Shell News. It ran until at least end of 1960.

A Survey of Shell-Sponsored Programs, pre-WWII

Shell Happytime* (1929-1933) -- *“Well, well, well! Good morning, shipmates!”

Shell Happytime (originally *Shell Ship of Joy*) was a weekly program hosted by Hugh Barrett “Dobbsie” Dobbs (“Captain Dobbsie”) on NBC’s Pacific Coast Network, and by 1930 also NBC Mountain. Shell added its name to both the show and the fictional ship’s name, after Dobbs had such great success with his *Ship of Joy* program on San Francisco’s KGO. *Shell*

[358]Beaton, 283.

[359]Beaton, 282.

Happytime was an imaginary cruise, a "daily journey in make-believe," recorded at the studies of San Francisco's KPO and broadcasted from there as well as KHQ, Spokane, KFI, Los Angeles, KOMO, Seattle, and KGW Portland. He and his listeners would "visit" other cities; and he also broadcast live from other cities. It was broadcast every morning at 8am Pacific. Listeners in British Columbia, Canada, could also catch his show, as could Hawaiians on KGU. Dobbs was the captain of the fictional "Ship of Joy;" and *Shell HappyTime* was meant to "catch the shut-ins, convalescents, elderly people and others needing outside contacts," mentions one article from 1929. There was even a published booklet with which "shut-ins" could sing along. It continued, "These sick retire early, so by 8am they have been prepared for the day, the family scattered and they start a monotonous period of wakefulness. But more and more has the audience grown. Scores of nationally known writers living in the Pacific coast are constant 'passengers.' These are among the hundreds eagerly preparing 'ammunition.' Movie colony fans are regular contributors, too."[360] **[Figures 10 - 12]** In 1930, Shell picked up his program for another almost three years after its first trial run. Dobbs wrote the scripted parts and directed the artists who appeared on the show which took place on a fictional ship. San Francisco Shell sales promotion manager, E.H. Sanders, hired Dobbs in 1929, to create "good will and a friendly atmosphere." Sanders continued by mentioning that he regards the program as "particularly essential for an oil company dealing direct with the public...[361] and this one reason was why Shell invested more than $500,000 a year on the radio broadcast to supplement its newspaper advertising. It helped to "give Shell both personality and individuality."[362]

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[360]"Chases Gloom for Shut-ins," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, August 10, 1929.

[361]"Projecting Personality by Radio Newest Trend," *Lancaster Eagle-Gazette*, May 17, 1930, 8.

[362]"Projecting Personality by Radio Newest Trend," 8.

***Sign of the Shell* (1930)**

New York's NBC radio network affiliate WEAF (later WNBC) aired *Sign of the Shell* at 8:30pm Eastern, beginning on April 29, 1930. It seems to have been a musical variety show, and was possibly short-lived (ending in November). The *Sign of the Shell* was also the name of the employee magazine, published out of the New York offices. At this point in time Shell on the East Coast was still Shell Eastern Petroleum. **[Figures 13-14]**

***Shell Road Reporter* (1932-1933)**

Shell Road Reporter appears to have been a rather short-lived five-minute radio traffic report program. It aired in the evenings on stations along the East Coast and into the South. **[Figures 15 & 16]** It may have been syndicated out of WABC, New York City.

***Shell Chateau*, (April 1935 to June 1937)**

Shell Chateau was an hour-long musical variety show hosted first by famous singer, actor, and comedian, Al Jolson, by American actor and singer, Sykes "Smith" Ballew in 1936, and then in 1937 by comedian Joe Cook.[363] **[Figures 16 - 18]** NBC in New York City broadcast and syndicated his show Saturday evenings at 9:30pm Eastern. Caroll Caroll of J. Walter Thompson was its writer and producer, and Herb Polesie, also of J.T.W. directed.[364] A number of famous guests appeared on the program including Louis Armstrong, John and Lionel Barrymore, Bette Davis, Cab Calloway, Judy Garland, and others. Several episodes are available for listening here on the Internet Archive.

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[363]Carroll, Carroll. *None of Your Business; Or, My Life with J. Walter Thompson (Confessions of a Renegade Radio Writer)*, New York: Cowles Book Co, 1970.

[364]In 1927, Al Jolson most appeared (in blackface) in *The Jazz Singer*, the first talking motion picture to use synchronized sound.

***Shell Comes to the Party* (1941)**

Shell Comes to the Party was a thirty-minute variety show, that was hosted by Canadian expatriate Art Linkletter and carried on Columbia Pacific (CBS Coast) network Thursday nights at 9:15pm. J. Walter Thompson brokered the deal, and it premiered first week of August, 1941.[365] It was originally called *Shell Goes to a Party*, but *Life* magazine protested as they had regular feature called *Life Goes to a Party*.[366] *Variety* wrote reviewed the radio program on August 13, 1941, "This modest package of entertainment has lots of value. It's a cross-section of a dozen ideas with the best aspects retained and neatly wrapped for home delivery. What helps make it listenable is its light treatment and frivolous handling by Art Linkletter. Big idea is to have Linkletter 'crash' parties, quiz the guests, play games with them, pass out a few gag prizes and toss in some music to keep out the dead air. Competitors will in time undoubtedly call it 'the old shell game.' Happy choice for the opener was the Aviation Country Club's annual summer frolic, a get-together of pilots living in Southern California. Jimmy Mattern pitched in with Linkletter to keep the mike [sic] warm, and Charles Correll (Andy of *A.& A.* [*Amos & Andy*]) performed a three-act drama, running time, one minute, reciting 'Mary Had a Little Lamb' in tragic, romantic and comedy style. It was a howl all the way… Next week Linkletter bounds in on a beach party, sans script or plants."[367] It was scheduled to run for fifty-two weeks, and it seems it did not run for long. His *New York Times* obituary mentions Shell cancelled the show and fired him after, "Mr. Linkletter, reporting on a nighttime beach party, fell over some

[365]"CBS Shell Gas Show," *The Billboard*, August 16, 1941, 6.

[366]"Life Mag Protests," *Variety*, August 6, 1941, 25.

[367]"Radio Reviews," *Variety*, August 13, 1941, 45.

driftwood and lost his microphone."[368] A search in Newspapers.com drums up no mention of *Shell Comes to the Party* after the second week of August. It is probable that the second episode — which involved visiting a beach party — may have been his last for Shell. Below is the script for the first episode, followed by newspaper advertisements for this show. **[Figures 19 - 21]**

***Shell Panorama* (1944 - ca.1949)**

Shell Panorama was a seemingly short-lived fifteen-minute news, sports, and interview show on WAGA in Atlanta, Georgia. It launched on September 4, 1944, and ran five times a week at 6pm Eastern. It had three commentators: John Hannington with the news, Jack Troy with sports, and Jose Worthy with interviews with figures from the day's news. Each had five minutes.[369] **[Figure 22]**

***Shell News* (1951-1964)**

A televised *Shell News* was produced at KRON-TV (and later KPIX) studios in San Francisco, California. The Monday-Friday, fifteen-minute, newscast launched in 1951 in collaboration with J.W.T., and seems to have been phased out by January 1961. **[Figures 22 & 23]**

***Expo This Week* (May-October 1967, Canada)**

Aside from creating a series of branded maps for the Expo, Shell Canada sponsored a limited weekly series of half-hour prime time reports on CBC television for about six months in 1967 called *Expo This Week*. The series ran in conjunction with Expo '67 in Montréal, Quebec,

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[368]Grimes, William, "Art Linkletter, TV Host Who Got Kids to Say the Darndest Things, Dies at 97," *New York Times*, May 27, 2010, Section A, 33.

[369]Jones, Paul, "In the Air," *Atlanta Constitution*, September 5, 1944, 25.

and included "highlights, features, interviews, human interest stories from the Expo. Peter Reilly hosted solo at first, and by July he was joined as co-host by Chantal Beauregard. In September, Reilly was replaced by Lloyd Robertson.[370]

A Short List of "Big Oil" Company-Sponsored Radio and Primetime TV Programs (1930 & 1960s)

Radio

- *Ripley's Believe It or Not* -- Colonial Beacon Oil Co./Standard Oil (New Jersey), 1930 - ca.1933.
- *Flywheel, Shyster and Flywheel* & Five Star Theater -- Esso Oil Co., 1932-1933
- *Freddy Martin Orchestra* -- Tydol Oil, 1933
- *The Marx of Time* -- American Oil, 1934
- *The Fire Chief/Jumbo Fire Chief Band* -- Texaco, 1932-1936
- *Eddie Cantor Texaco Town* -- Texaco, 1936 - 1938
- *The Texaco Star Theater /Texaco Star Theater with Fred Allen/Star Theater* -- Texaco, 1938-1949
- *Your Esso Reporter* -- Esso, ca. 1938 - 1950s, on TV, 1950s-1960s
- *The Flying Red Horse Tavern* -- Socony Oil, 1935-1936
- *Captain Midnight* -- Skelly Oil, 1939-1940
- *Sunoco News* -- Sun Oil Company, 1940s
- *George Olsen's Orchestra* -- Sohio Oil, 1939-1940
- *The Human Side of the News* -- American Oil, 1939 - 1942
- *Texaco Star Theatre with Fred Allen/The Fred Allen Show* -- Texaco, 1940-1944
- *The Texaco Summer Theater* -- Texaco, 1940-1944

Television

- *The Texaco Star Theater* -- Texaco, 1948-1955
- *Your Esso Reporter* -- Esso, 1950s-1960s
- *Alan Young Show* -- Esso (on the East Coast), 1950-1953
- *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet* -- American Gas Company, 1952-1966
- *Play of the Week* -- Standard Oil, 1959-1961
- *Chevron Hall of Stars* -- Chevron
- *Gulf Playhouse* -- Gulf Oil, 1952-1953

...and a lot more.

[370]Allan, Blaine, "CBC Television Series, 1952-1982," Queen's Film and Media, https://web.archive.org/web/20100311081340/http://www.film.queensu.ca/cbc/E.html (Archived, Accessed July 18, 2021).; "Tuesday Highlights on CBOT, " *The Ottawa Citizen*, May 6, 1967, TV Weekly, 13.

Carol Lane: Radio & Television Appearances

Carol Lane appeared as a guest on local and syndicated radio and television programs frequently throughout her 27-year tenure. **[Figures 1-7]** On these shows she was an interviewee and presenter, and she was featured on the local news when she swept through town presenting to various groups. Along with her newspaper readership, this amorphous group of radio listeners and television viewers were the largest audience demographic – safely a third larger than the number of women's clubs. Thousands upon thousands would have heard or witnessed them on radio and television.[371] In subsections below there are two of the reportedly five films that were produced for rent by television studios as well as schools and women's groups: *How to Pack a Bag* (ca. 1954/1955) and *Traveling with Children* (1955). There is also mention of *Carol Lane Tool Tips* (1958) in the Library of Congress's list of educational films for 1959. That film has yet to be found. As for a more candid recording, a local Roanoke, Virginia, television crew filmed Lane arriving on the tarmac of the local airport around 1958.

What has yet to be discovered for this project is a record of a live television appearance (with sound). However, there is at least one account from a person who watched such a performance. In 1953, *Forbes* magazine ran feature story on Shell Oil's marketing strategies, and in it the author describes for his readers a televisual encounter with Lane as she appeared on a Houston-area program. This excerpt from the much longer article provides testimony as to how Lane performers – in this case Elizabeth Baker (Carol Lane, 1949-1952) – portrayed her as an expert traveler and educator and not as a shill for Shell Oil. In it, he wrote, "Appearing on a TV program here, a PTA meeting there, Carol Lane – a kind of Betty Crocker of the gasoline

[371]The "Searchable Database" under the "Data" tab only reflects a fraction (of one-third of the total number of publications accounted for thus far) of her media appearances -- essentially the only instances when an article specifically mentions it within this subgroup of data.

business – advises wanderlusters how to pack, how to keep the kids in the back seat happy, how to run a 'college in your car.' On a recent Houston TV program sponsored by Battlestein's, a local store, Miss Lane allowed herself to be introduced a 'travel director for Shell Oil Company,' didn't mention Shell again during the entire 30-minute program. A candid Kansan whose job is to get the women on Shell's side, Carol is full of tips on travel laundering and wrinkle-proof dresses, has never been known to come right out and mention the company's X-100 lube oil."[372] **[Figure 8]**

Carol Lane was also the star of her own short-lived radio experiments. One was *The Voice of Miss Carol Lane* was a localized Shell radio program that ran over the Memorial Day and July 4th weekends in 1949 on select radio stations.[373] Muriel Diversi (Carol Lane, ca. 1949) was the voice talent for Carol Lane during this period WMUR in Manchester, New Hampshire. Caroline Iverson also wrote that there was indeed a weekly radio program in a letter to her managers dated February 24, 1950**;** and *Tucson Daily Citizen* editors mentioned it again on October 23rd of that year, regarding an impending visit from Bea Carpenter (Carol Lane, 1949-1950).[374] Moreover, Elizabeth Baker, on her post-Carol Lane resume lists having developed the weekly radio program, *Touring Tips from Carol Lane*. Their length is not mentioned, except for one newspaper listing that stated a particular program was fifteen minutes. **[Figures 9 & 10]**

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[372]"Shell's Game: Or, How To Make Friends and Influence Profits." *Forbes*, 22.

[373]"Minutes, Public Relations General Meeting, New York, June 1, 2 and 3, 1949." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

[374]"Carol Lane Talk No. 26, San Diego, California, February 8, 1950." Budget reports; listings for local news and radio affiliates; lists of "tips" used for different towns; notes, and publicity reports, 1948-1949. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.13. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study; "Travel, Fashion Expert To Talk To Club's Family Living Group," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, October 23, 1950, 19.

Caroline Iverson confirmed in an internal memo that by May 1950, the radio program went out to at least 120 women radio commenters.[375]

A search for extant radio recordings of any kind featuring Lane has been underway without results as of 2021. However, there are extant radio scripts because Carol Lane performers, and likely other program personnel, wrote sample scripts which they would then send along to radio and television show hosts and station heads of programming before visiting a city or town. Listen to a re-imagining of such an interview -- a recreation of a Caroline Iverson interview on a Spokane, Washington, radio program. Also see the next few subsections for more sample radio scripts.

[“Reenactment of a Carol Lane Interview” Video, (8:13 min.)]
Melissa Dollman is Caroline Iverson as Carol Lane
Devin Orgeron is George McGowan (Program director, KXLY, Spokane, WA)

[PDF: “Shunpiking” Radio/TV script (ca. 1950s)]
[PDF: “How to Pack a Car” script (ca. 1950s)]
[PDF: “Traveling with the Small Fry” script (ca. 1950s)]
[PDF: “Taking a Tourette Interview” script (ca. 1950s)]
[PDF: “Behind the Scenes in Touring -- Ad Lib Questions” (ca. 1950s)]
[PDF: *The Second Mrs. Burton*, “Family Counselor Spot” (1950)]
[PDF: “Carol Lane Television Program Angles” (ca.1950)]

Shell Oil Film Libraries

> **“**Motion pictures: [...] Another possibility in this field is that of a tie-in plug in a feature picture, one where the product is mentioned by name or shown in use or in the background of a scene.”
>
> -- *Public Relations Idea Book* (New York : Printers’ Ink Publishing Company, 1953), 267
>
> “Film and booklet used to indoctrinate new workers.”
>
> -- *Public Relations Idea Book*, 97

[375]“Review of the Carol Lane Program -- Goals & Progress.” Exit memo written by Ackerman, reviewing “Carol Lane” program, June 1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

> "The very successful utilization of films and other visual media by the Armed Forces during WWII greatly accelerated the use of visual aids by industry, and the often-unrecognized impact of television on all age groups has served to heighten the demand for information that is simultaneously conveyed to both the ear and they eye. For these reasons, plus the growing complexity of business which necessitates quick, clear and easy-to-understand communication both internally and externally, there has been an increasing use of films and other visual media by Shell and by all industry."
>
> -- Robert Yarnell Richie, "Oil University: The Shell Library," *Business Screen Magazine* 14, no. 7, 1953, 41 **[Figure 1]**
>
> "Practical accomplishments of the Shell public relations organization were an extensive series of documentary motion pictures, produced for the purpose of explaining the oil business to the public."
>
> -- Beaton, Kendall. *Enterprise in Oil: A History of Shell in the United States*

Caroline Iverson (Carol Lane, 1947-1950), who co-created the Carol Lane program, advocated for the use of audiovisual aids and motion pictures in presentations before women's clubs.[376] She specifically mentioned one film, Shell's sponsored educational film, *Birth of an Oil Field* (1947), in a letter to her managers. "*Birth of an Oil Field* tells a fascinating story," she wrote, "one that I think will impress women with the complexity of the drilling operation at the same time as it flatters them with the thought that they, too, can understand it!... I can just imagine a woman's club member going home in the evening to explain impressively to her husband:

> "'You know, John, this oil drilling is a most amazing process. Imagine drilling straight down for 10,000 feet and then suddenly making a turn to go off at an angle! They have to do that when the string of pipes...' This lady's knowledge of the new terms and workings of the oil drilling process will certainly prove her intelligence to the man of the house, (she hopes)." **[Figure 2]**

[376]Exit memo written by Ackerman, reviewing "Carol Lane" program, June 1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

It is possible that Iverson got this idea of screening Shell's sponsored educational films to her audiences of clubwomen from *Agenda* magazine, the monthly for women's club event planners. For instance, in a May 1947 issue, the editors of *Agenda* suggested using motion pictures as talking points to get discussions started among the club members. They went so far as to create an eight-page, step-by-step, discussion guide called "How to Present this Program… Translating A Best-Seller to the Screen: A Motion Picture Study Program Based on *Captain from Castile*."[377] The program, written and prepared and supplied by Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corporation, both explains how a film is adapted from a book, in this case 1945's *Captain of Castile* by Samuel Shellabarger. It goes through the production process, research, and other topics as well as scripting parts for the club chairman and others to play as they lead the conversation. Articles like this, which came during a time of rapid proliferation of commercially sponsored educational films during the 1940s — including hundreds of Shell films produced internationally — may have influenced Iverson's decision to push for their use to promote Carol Lane also.

Caroline Iverson was also keen on filming a travelogue, or "ten-minute travel reel" as she proposed to her managers, to "pep up a program…something to put the audience into a 'nostalgic travel mood."[378] She, in fact, she drew up a proposal for an "Alaska Highway Trip" film. About it she wrote to a representative of the sponsored film production agency, Cooley Company of Milwaukee, in April 1949 that it should "show motoring tourists what they can expect to see and do on the route… We open the Alaska trip and movie in Banff National Park, Alberta, Canada…

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[377]"Translating A Best-Seller to the Screen: A Motion Picture Study Program Based on Captain from Castile." *Agenda*, Vol.1, No.1 (May 1947), 81-88.

[378]"Caroline Iverson to H.L. Curtis and G.G. Biggar in letter dated March 7, 1947." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

To conclude the sound film (30 minutes) we might want to do a flashing panorama of points of interest that keynote Alaska along the Inland Passage, traversed by boat… Throughout the sound film, we want to inject enough views of Carol Lane out touring and Shell to provide the human-interest continuity and company credit."[379] Even though the film was never made, it may have been greenlighted at one point. In a follow-up letter to the Cooley rep, she confirmed that "informal discussions with my boss have indicated that this is a trip I am like to get approved."[380] By October 10, 1949, however, Caroline Iverson was starring in the Shell-sponsored film, *Women Mean Business!* This film was not a travelogue, but a movie meant for internal purposes, meaning it was intended to introduce the new PR spokesperson, Carol Lane, to Shell staff, dealers, and most importantly gas station owners. The film is viewable in its subsection below. The Carol Lane program would produce at least five films for rent and for television. It is unlikely this film would have circulated outside of screenings for personnel. **[Figure 3]**

What is now Shell Global developed film-making divisions (most famously, the Shell Film Unit in the United Kingdom) and film libraries on every continent by the 1930s. They were incredibly prolific. The U.K. film unit alone produced hundreds of films before the 1980s.[381] With this effort, the company sought to, as film historian Erik Barnouw noted in the "Promoter" section of his book, *Documentary: A History of the Non-fiction Film*, "dissociate the film activities from traditional advertising... Policies excluded 'internal reference' to any Shell

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[379]"April 13, 1949 letter to Mr. Steve McIver, 'Itinerary of Alaska Highway Highlighting Photograph Points of Interest.'" Public appearance-related memos, correspondence, reports, and engagement forms, 1947-1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.6-12.8.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

[380]"April 14, 1949 letter to Mr. Steve McIver."

[381]"Shell Film Unit: Filmography," British Film Institute, https://www2.bfi.org.uk/films-tv-people/4ce2b9420df23 (Accessed February 21, 2020).

product or to the company."[382] This exclusion of internal references is another way of stating what *Printers' Ink* editors advised in their *Idea Book*: brands could exert a presence "in the background of a scene." That could quite literally mean product placement. For a hypothetical example of this tactic, imagine a character in a short educational film created in the style of a social engineering drama. In the narrative, a teenage driver might stop by a Shell gas station to fill up his car; and while waiting, he discreetly discloses to his best friend in the passenger seat that he drank a few beers over the weekend with some new kids at school. Conversations ensue about drinking and driving, and the protagonist changes his ways over the course of the short film. In this fictional scenario, Shell's name, aside from the station's signage, might also appear in the credits as a sponsor. To Barnouw's point, the company more often erred on the side of understatement in the form of underwriting. If their name was mentioned, it was relegated to the credit sequences, or by way of introducing a location or a person in the case of Carol Lane.

Erik Barnouw continues in his "Promoter" section, "The Shell film units earned a wide reputation. Their aim, as explained by their able guiding spirit, Arthur Elton (of the U.K. division), was to present Shell as a company with 'a lively sense of international responsibility, and a leader in the field of science and technology.'"[383] Here, the film scholar discusses Shell's intent: to be recognized as a benevolent force as well as a supporter of the arts and sciences. On the other hand, it – like any company – did not financially back educational films without the expectation of an improved reputation, and hopefully increased customer loyalty. All-in-all, the number of films available varied from year to year, but the U.S. unit seems to have produced at over thirty films for the North American market, excluding the five or so they claim to have

[382]Barnouw, Erik, *Documentary: A History of the Non-fiction Film* (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 1993), 213.

[383]Barnouw, 216.

created for the Carol Lane program. By 1933, *Shell Globe* (the house organ for Shell's St. Louis office), had publicized several films made by the company in the U.S.: *Super-Shell Comes Through!*, *The New Super Shell*, *The Sign of the Shell*, and *Smashing Records with Shell*.[384] Most, if not all, of which were probably for internal purposes. So too was *Ten Thousand Feet Deep*. In 1942 Head Office employees attended a special screening in St. Louis. **[Figure 4]** The PDF on the right is *Shell's Motion Picture Catalogue* (1954, in public domain) which interested parties would use to rent films. Notably, Carol Lane's films are not included.

Prolific North Carolina sponsored film director/producer, Walter J. Klein, defined this niche genre in more practical terms. He asserted that the sponsored film could be considered the hybrid offspring of "an educational film father and a TV commercial mother."[385] In other words, Klein defines another hybrid concept: "edutainment." That is the term used throughout this project for PR tactics that are meant to enlighten and amuse or otherwise engage the senses. The name for each country's film unit was slightly unique, and Shell Oil's in the U.S. was called Shell Film Libraries. The American subsidiary maintained four film distribution regions in the United States, and marketed their films in Canada as well. **[Figures 5-11]** Collectively, they rented 16mm film prints, with sound, to university, grade school and municipal libraries, civic groups and women's clubs, for resorts and airports, and for broadcast and cable television.[386] Furthermore, one distributor of sponsored educational films, Modern Talking Picture Service, claimed to have serviced more than "10,000 of the nation's 17,000 motion picture theaters with sponsored films."[387] Shell's first production in the U.S. was *Screw Drivers of 1940* (1940). [To

[384]Klein, Walter J., *The Sponsored Film* (New York: Hastings House, 1976), 12.

[385]Beaton, 416.

[386]Klein, 104-124.

[387]Klein, 103.

view this film, see the “Carol Lane Award for Traffic Safety” section here under “PR: Strategies.]

[Video: *Women Mean Business!* (1950)]

Starring Caroline Iverson. Courtesy of Schlesinger Library, Harvard University. Film in public domain. 11:23 min. **Description**: This film was made primarily for internal purposes, meaning for screenings before Shell staff, dealers, and most importantly gas station owners. In it, a male voice over actor introduces her and explains why Shell hired a Women’s Travel Director. Then Lane takes over speaking directly to the viewers, describing her techniques, her duties, and the importance of clean gas station restrooms, especially for women customers.

[Video: *How to Pack A Bag* (1954/1955)]

Sherry Baker as Carol Lane. Courtesy of Skip Elsheimer of A/V Geeks. Film in public domain. 4:03 min. **Description**: Carol Lane demonstrates how to efficiently pack a suitcase with as few items as possible. This segment is likely incomplete. It would have been for rent by the public or for airing on television.

[Video: *Traveling with Children* (1955)]

Unidentified Carol Lane. Courtesy of UCLA Film and Television Archive. Film in public domain. The UCLA Film and Television Archive calls this film *Tourette*, but it is more likely, *Traveling with Children.* 5:36 min. **Description**: This film follows a nuclear family on a tourette, or weekend car trip within a two-hundred-mile radius of their hometown, to various regional attractions. Carol Lane instructs them on how to pack the car, picnic, explore, and the importance of relaxation time for mother.

[Video: "Women's Travel Director for Shell Oil Company Carol Lane Will Speak to the Rokeva Club on Travel Safety" (c.1958)]

Unidentified Carol Lane. WSLS-TV News, Roanoke, Virginia. Courtesy of University of Virginia, Clemons Library. 44 sec. **Description**: Carol Lane arrives on the tarmac at the Roanoke Municipal Airport in Roanoke, Virginia. The accompanying text that was read on WSLS-TV News is below.

[*Carol Lane Tool Tips* (1958)]

Yet-to-be discovered film. Under research.

Advertisements & Public Service Announcements

> "Promotion in the public service. How can the powers of advertising be harnessed to the tremendous task of improving moral and social standards? It is possible without some sort of tie-up with commercial promotion?"
>
> -- *Public Relations Idea Book* (New York : Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 1953), 241

Before and throughout the World War II era, Shell's approach to marketing to women had been rather limited in scope and seems to have been based on preconceived and stereotypical notions about women's societal roles. More frequently, women in Shell ads during the period before and throughout the Carol Lane era were pictured in domestic environs; and they presented as exclusively white. Occasionally their duties as wives and/or mothers were implied in illustrations of women driving with a small child sharing the front seat; however, more reliably when included in ads, women were imagined as passengers riding along with their children in cars driven by men. If alone, depictions inferred a certain level of confusion on a woman's part regarding how automobile a worked. For example, in 1944 Shell's marketing team created a series of public-service-style newspapers advertisements and a booklet called *Alice in Motorland*

(1944) that associated automobile engine parts with kitchen appliances. Moreover, Shell marketers would simply go for the easy sell -- associating its business practices with clothes and make-up. In full-page magazine ads from 1945, they promoted its University of Petroleum's (an informal term for Shell's research and development division) commitment to maintaining the availability of lipstick and nylons during World War II.

Conversely, Shell also on occasion presented working women in their ads. In the 1930s, newspaper ads or articles about the Shell Touring Service would occasionally showcase photographs of women staff members ("The Shelladies") -- and sometimes their managers such as Miss Zelia Zigler from the San Francisco office. They might be depicted working out a route on a map for a customer, and or posed in matching outfits. **[Figure 1]** Advertisements came in a variety of forms, for instance, illustrations of a single driver smiling from the driver's seat on the cover of a 1933 Washington State Shell road map, or on a poster promoting Shell's *Touring Tips* booklets. **[Figures 2 & 3]** A WWII-era ad featured a photo of a woman clad in coveralls like the famous Westinghouse ad's Rosie the Riveter. The accompanying text indicated she too was filling in temporarily at an industrial facility while male employees were off serving in the war effort. In another, a female researcher dressed in a lab coat represented gender diversity in Shell's chemical development division. A 1941 ad featured an aviatrix. As the 1960s neared, a series of Shell ads included white women in various stages of life zooming around on their own in convertibles. That said, images of women taking great pleasure in the act of driving were still anomalies for Shell ads. Women were still more likely to be accompanied by family. Beginning in the postwar period, the budding Carol Lane program publicized images of at least one professional woman driving alone for work and pleasure: Lane herself. [See also related traffic safety ad campaigns on the "Carol Lane Award for Traffic Safety" section. For more on pre-

Carol Lane era advertisements including images of women, see the last subsection "Shell Oil Ads Featuring Women or Related Subjects (1938-1960)" below and the next subsection, "Terminology: The Distinction between Advertising and Public Relations," for definitional differences between these two sometimes overlapping practices. To see more photos and articles about women in the Shell Touring Service, see their section under "PR: Strategies."]

[PDF: Carol Lane Advertisements/PSAs]
[PDF: Shell Oil Ads Featuring Women or Related Subjects (1938-1960)]

Shell Touring Service

> "Tourist service folder fulfills three missions..."
>
> -- *Public Relations Idea Book* (New York : Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 1953), 211
>
> "Maps aid visitors. If you've ever been in a strange town, your sense of direction shot to smithereens, having to rely on kindly traffic cops or pedestrians (accommodating taxis being unavailable, of course), then you can appreciate the thoughtfulness..."
>
> -- *Public Relations Idea Book* (New York : Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 1953), 197

Shell Oil inaugurated its Shell Touring Service (alternately referred to as Shell Touring Bureau) on the East Coast, first in Boston, in 1927. At the time its office distributed free maps to its dealers to give away, and sold them to wholesalers. Summer of 1931, the New York City office in Rockefeller Center began dispensing travel information by mail: descriptive booklets (*Finger-Tip Information Books*), folders, and maps with customized itineraries. That same year Shell road maps began to be printed in four colors and were available at Shell stations

nationwide.[388] Canadian gas station owners began distributing maps in 1933. Although Shell's regional offices had been distributing maps since the 1920s, marketing teams specifically launched the new Tour Service to build good will with the general public.[389] To further advance those aims, in 1947, the company initiated a women's department in the New York City, led by Carol Lane. What follows below are a timeline charting important years for the program, a few personnel members and managers, as well as articles and ads promoting it.

1929: A precursor to the Shell Touring Service launched in Boston. Summer of 1931, Shell Eastern initiated a Shell Touring Service office in Rockefeller Center, New York City. The East Coast touring services were promoted all the way up the coast into Canada.

This newspaper article is likely sponsored content. Note: José Concha is listed as the head of Shell Touring Service in San Francisco. A few years later he seems to have been replaced by Zelia Zeigler.

José Concha, manager of the San Francisco branch of the Shell Touring Service during this time, authored this cartoon (it is unclear if he was also the illustrator.)

At least during the late 1930s on the West Coast (or perhaps just for the Exposition), the Shell Touring Service personnel – who were overwhelmingly women – were called "The Shelladies" and later, "mapmeticians." Miss Zelia Zeigler (center) was the manager of the Shell Touring Service at the San Diego Exposition in 1935, as well as its offices in San Francisco.

Opening a new touring service office in Sacramento, California, 1938.

ca. 1930-1947: Claire E. Hoffman, Head of the Shell Touring Bureau/Service in New York City, is the face of Shell women-focused public relations program and predecessor of Carol

[388]Beaton, 417.

[389]Beaton, 417.

Lane. Hoffman began working for the Shell Touring Bureau at the New York headquarters, circa 1930-1931, as a typist.[390] Prior to 1947 she transitioned into the role of the Bureau's manager, and oversaw a staff of 35 "mapmeticians" who prepared touring routes and answered requests from tourists. She reportedly had already helped thousands of families plan motoring vacations (66,000 in 1946 alone). To read more about Hoffman, see her section under the "Carol Lane(s)" tab.

Shell Touring Service display, Toronto, Ontario, Canada. In this photo from about 1951 is Audrea Lear (on the left of the woman in the hat, smiling at the camera) who organized the first Canadian Shell Touring Office in Toronto, in 1943, and the first Canadian Carol Lane. She worked out of the Toronto, Ontario offices. Lear was the Touring Office's manager through at least 1961. The woman in the hat is Elizabeth Baker (Carol Lane, 1949-1952). To read more about Lear, see her section under the "Carol Lane(s)" tab.

Caroline Iverson was the first "Women's Director of the Shell Touring Service," at first under her own name, and then later as Carol Lane. This image is of Caroline Iverson in character at a Touring Service event. For more on Shell Touring Service personnel, see their section under "PR: Other Personnel."

Caroline Iverson posing as Carol Lane in the Touring Service offices in a circa 1948-49 publicity shot.

Carol Lane mentions the Shell Touring Service in many of her booklets. This partial illustration is from *Touring Can Be Child's Play* (1959).

Shell Touring Service was one of many such programs supported by oil companies.

Here is a view of the interior of the Shell Touring Service in New York City. By 1951, the Daily News identified a Mr. R.H. Davis as the manager.

[390]"Letter to Mrs. Stanley Perry." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

The Shell Touring Service staff would personalize each response to requests for travel itineraries.

Carol Lane also promoted on occasion the touring service in her travel advice column, "Tips on Touring."

This article in Toronto's *The Globe and Mail*, gives a short history of the local Shell Touring Service in Canada, and the role of Audrea Lear. (Note: this article reveals that Lear, now Lear Costigan, is a married Carol Lane. She is only one of three Lanes identified as married at some point during the program's tenure.)

The Shell Touring Service was a good will gesture on behalf of the general motorist; however, it was also intended from the beginning as a tie-in promotional strategy for gas station owners. Dealers helped to get the word out about the service as well. [*Wilmington News Journal*, June 30, 1966.]

The Shell Touring Service offered customized itineraries and maps to Canada, Hawai'i, and Puerto Rico, which were areas that fell into Shell's North American marketing territories. This is an excerpt from a bilingual advice column titled, *Acción Rápida*, which mentions the service's maps of Puerto Rico. The Shell Touring Service program (or a budget line for advertising it) seems to have wound down after Expo 1967 in Canada, and 1974 in the U.S..

Opinion Research/Surveys

One of Carol Lane's primary roles was that of travel researcher. Shell Oil public relations management, as well as her own program staff, promoted Lane as such during her tenure as Women's Travel Director for Shell Oil Company. This descriptor was repeated in press releases,

scripts for radio and TV appearances, and in publications she penned. The narrative about Carol Lane as a researcher centered around two activities: her first-hand fact-finding trips conducted routinely while on the road for work, and the active solicitation of travel tips from her audiences of clubwomen. She would then pass along via word of mouth and in her travel column to other women. These actions reinforced a feedback loop between her audiences and Lane (and by extension Shell), and reinforced her professional status as an opinion, or market researcher. For much of the time, this labor was attributed to a single Lane's workload.

Especially in the first few years of the Carol Lane program when she was a public figurehead for Shell Touring Service, Lane also initially brought public recognition to the Service's long-time practice of doing travel research by car, as well as surveying women patrons on their travel habits. In a speech before Indianapolis Advertising Club in April of 1950, Caroline Iverson confirmed that because Shell "had to do something about women" with the tremendous influence they had over travel expenditures and planning, and were, according to their analysis, one-third of the nation's drivers. Logically, the thing for the company to do was to "expand our Shell Touring Service to bring in the women's angle and to supply the need for special information for women motorists."[391] One of their initial methods was to conduct a survey among, and supplement with their own experiments. Iverson and the Service staff sent out one thousand surveys to a "representative list" of women, and their research resulted in the earliest booklet attributed to Lane's authorship, *Travel à la Car* (1950).[392] In fact, Iverson worked so closely with Shell Touring Service that she acknowledged their integral contribution

[391]"Monthly Report for September 1949." Budget reports; listings for local news and radio affiliates; lists of "tips" used for different towns; notes, and publicity reports, 1948-1949. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.13. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

[392]"Address of Miss Carol Lane Before the Indianapolis Advertising Club." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

to the booklet's findings. A reference Caroline Iverson made in a monthly report to her managers in October 1949 suggests the Service organized a survey yearly. She actually thought they should be conducted twice a year.[393] Surveys appear to have continued through at least 1959.

While multiple performers in their roles as Lane continued with the Shell Tourist Service staff members' tradition of driving territories to discover tourist-friendly sights and educational activities, suitable accommodations and route accessibility, they also took on a significantly more visible, more publicity-friendly, role. Lanes addressed women motorists where they were — gathered in club meetings or listening to her on radio from home. It was to them she needed to seem relatable. As an unmarried professional woman who traveled the country for work, Lane spoke to the needs of women traveling alone, certainly. To a significantly great extent, the Carol Lane program's primary focus in terms of targeted audiences were clubwomen and parents, and intersections thereof. In order to relate and be relatable, Lane performers had to do some rather unorthodox things to gain knowledge about their subjects. To a great extent, the Carol Lane program's primary focus in terms of targeted audiences were clubwomen and parents, and intersections thereof. In order to relate and be relatable, Lane performers had to do some rather unorthodox things to gain knowledge about their subjects. Lane was of course meant to be childless as well.

Thus, in order to research first-hand to how to make children comfortable, well fed, entertained, and less restless, while traveling by car at least two Lane performers, Caroline Iverson (Carol Lane, 1947-1950) and Elizabeth Baker (Carol Lane, 1949-1952) "borrowed" orphans from the Warlburg Farm School to escort and observe on road trips. In fact, these two

[393]"Letter from Carol Lane [Caroline Iverson] to [H.L.] Curtis, G.G. Biggar, and [D.C.] Marschner regarding Monthly Report for September 1949, October 6, 1949." Public appearance-related memos, correspondence, reports, and engagement forms, 1947-1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.6-12.8.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

women traveled together on one such trip in summer 1949, with Iverson taking the lead as Lane publicly. They accompanied three children between the ages of six and twelve on a two-week trip to Washington, D.C., and Williamsburg, Virginia, stopping at cultural heritage sites along the way. In a well circulated 1949 article that was picked up by United Press (UP), for instance, Staff Correspondent, Leo Turner, made sure to mention that neither woman had any experience with children, but "had plenty of experience by the time they got back." Turner then quotes Lane on various do's and don'ts. Elizabeth Baker would repeat this trip two years later with borrowed teenagers. Her comments in Cynthia Lowry's syndicated Associated Press (AP) newspaper article, "Teen-age Tourists," Baker would emphasize even more the edifying nature of travel for young people. A July 1953 issue of *Redbook* magazine featured in a photo essay on Beatrice Hansen on a research trip as Carol Lane. During this trip she traveled with a Mr. Saunders, educational director of New York's Museum of Natural History, his wife, a former zoologist, and their four children. She is pictured here learning how to inspect insect larvae along with two of the Saunders children. Irma Cunha had worked in market surveying before she performed as Carol Lane (1951-1953) for Shell, as did "Canadian Carol Lane #2" in market research, according to their individual press releases while in the role.

Giveaways & Spectacles -- Carol Lane & Other Shell-Related

Giveaways

"STUNTS AND NOVELTIES"

-- *Public Relations Idea Book* (New York : Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 1953), 208

"Maps aid visitors."

-- *Public Relations Idea Book* (New York : Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 1953), 208 and 197

"Record albums. Several advertisers have in the last few years developed an unusual approach to various problems by building promotions around recordings to be played on home phonographs."

-- *Public Relations Idea Book* (New York : Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 1953), 256

Shell Oil produced numerous giveaways (or "swag") during the twentieth century. The company's name was associated with maps and travel guides for decades, along with the Touring Service it established to distribute them nationwide. However, they also sponsored and added their logo to a great array of personal items such as lighters and pens, household goods like thimbles and tableware/cookware, toys, record albums, and coin collecting games that often required visits to Shell gas stations. At live events, Carol Lane gave away Shell maps along with her booklets and sewing patterns. Interested parties could also request these items by mail. Otherwise, few three-dimensional promotional items have surfaced that seem to have been created specifically for her program. [See her booklets and other textual works in "Publications & Columns" section under this "PR: Strategies" tab.] The first three images that follow are examples of giveaways Shell financially backed for the Carol Lane program. This section then continues with a small selection of other items Shell produced for a more general audience both during the Lane's years of activity and before.

Yet to be discovered are published or unpublished/informal references to Carol Lane having given away more than maps and booklets when she presented live before audiences. Shell's logo emblazoned butane lighters throughout the decades – including one shaped like a lipstick container! These were presumably for giveaways, or perhaps for purchase at gas stations. The main image is of a 1-3/4 inch in diameter lighter Shell produced for Carol Lane.

Here is a ca. 1950s thimble, likely intended to appeal to women customers...

During 1971-1973, Shell Oil collaborated with the American cooking and dining ware company, Corning Ware®, on promotional patterns available only to Shell credit card members. Corning Ware created two color/pattern combinations: "Blue Medallion" seen here, and "Avocado Macrame" (sometimes referred to as "Green Macrame.") These giveaways probably coincided with a push to attract more women to their credit card services.

A tool with movable dial to help radio listeners to compare time zones for international programs they wished to hear.

The *Shellane Cook Book* sponsored by Shell Petroleum to promoted its Shellane Gas Range. Note: This booklet actually cost 25 cents in 1936 ($4.72 in 2021 dollars). Interestingly, Caroline Iverson (Carol Lane, 1947-1950) thought a cookbook for farm women might be a fun idea for the Carol Lane program because of the success of this one.[394] Her idea does not appear to have taken flight.

At live events, Carol Lane gave away Shell maps along with her booklets and sewing patterns. [See "Publications & Columns" section under this "PR: Strategies" tab.] In fact, distributing free maps was one of the company's first nationwide public relations programs. In his history of the company, Kendall Beaton laid out the timeline for this effort:

> "Both the San Francisco and St. Louis companies had distributed road maps in the late Twenties.... In 1929, while its head office was still in Boston, Shell Eastern had started distributing free maps to its dealers and selling them to jobbers, as Shell Petroleum did, at

[394]"Review of Carol Lane Program : Developing Subject Matter of Public Interest." Exit memo written by Ackerman, reviewing "Carol Lane" program, June 1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

> or below cost. During the summer of 1931, Shell Eastern set up a touring bureau in its New York office to dispense all sorts of travel information by mail. It supplied descriptive leaflets, folders, and maps with made-to-order individual routings. There were metropolitan maps of the large cities, individual road maps of each state, and 'Travelaide,' a weekly map posted at service stations to show current road construction and detours. By 1932, Shell road maps were being printed in four colors and were available in Shell stations from coast to coast."[395]

Shell stopped sponsoring state road maps by 1976, but reportedly continued only with regional maps.[396]

Shell Oil sponsored and distributed more civic-minded giveaways such as this pamphlet for a forthcoming election in the U.S.

...and the company sponsored patriotic and entertainment-related coin collecting games like "Famous Americans" from 1968...

...as well as U.S. President and Canadian Prime Minister coin collecting games such as "Mr. President Coin Game" (1968-1969)...

...or "The Prime Ministers of Canada 1867-1970" coin collecting game, and mounting plaque...

...or a "States of the Union" coin collecting activity, board, and booklet...

... and a coin game, "Shell's Hot Wheels® Coin Game," (presumably) for the kids. Speaking of toys, here is a die-cast miniature tanker truck...

This double album, *Shell Vous Offre un Merveilleux Monde Musical*, by The Longines Symphonette Society, was released in French throughout Québec province in Canada.

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[395]Beaton, 417.

[396]Smock, Douglas, "Free Road Maps Head Down One-Way Street to Extinction," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, May 19, 1976, 17.

Spectacles

> "Just disrupt...the continuity of life in some way to bring about the [media] response."
>
> -- Edward L. Bernays as quoted in Stuart Ewen's *PR! : A Social History of Spin* (New York: Basic Books, 1996), 14

Before Shell Oil Company implemented strategic, nationwide public relations programs in earnest after WWII, its regional divisions, such the one headed by the San Francisco office, conducted what Shell historian Kendall Beaton called, "high spirited" promotional campaigns with a "carnival atmosphere about them."[397] These attention-getting "trick" efforts took a variety of forms such as treasure hunts, parade floats, impressive buildings for international expositions, elaborate gas station displays, road rallies in Canada, and highway signage. Shell also sponsored, briefly, a musical theater group in New York City. As PR pioneer, Edward L. Bernays, would assert throughout his career, a company would not need a press agent... all they need to do to attract attention from the press was "disrupt the continuity of life" in a community. Along the same vein, Shell's division marketing managers would suggest to the local media editors and producers that they cover their spectacular undertakings as newsworthy in their respective outlets. Community-oriented deeds – and subsequent news coverage – were meant to essentially do two things: divert the public's attention away from looking too closely at Shell's industrial practices, and build up in its mind an image of the company as a benevolent patron of the arts, and sponsor of sports, cultural events, and good works projects. Underwritten events and causes were meant to serve the company's bottom line, of course; but they also signified an attempt to reinforce the company's reputation as a contributor to the welfare of the countries and communities in which it did business, and to subtly dowse any lingering notions that Shell's only

[397]Beaton, 282.

mission was to extract a region's natural resources or build a pipeline on its land. Arguably, these activities were also intended to contribute to the company's cultural cachet and signal its virtues by proxy.

The following images feature a selection of Shell's "high spirited" promotional stunts, referred to here as "spectacles," from both before and after the war period. They are displayed roughly in chronological order. All were meant to contribute to an air of good will among Shell employees and within the communities in which the company did business.

Unknown theater troupe possibly performing for a Shell sponsored event in 1919.

In 1925, Shell Oil sponsored a "Queen of the Shell Oil Company" float in Santa Cruz Statewide Beauty Pageant. Atop the float was "Miss Shell," who was 1924's "Miss San Francisco."

The year prior, in 1924, Shell's California division sponsored a float in Fresno's "Raisin Day" parade. As Beaton notes, the company spent a lot of money on floats as a promotional strategy.

In 1935, Shell Oil of Canada sponsored a float in a parade in Vancouver, BC.

Shell gas station dealers in Seattle, Washington, sponsored a "Treasure Hunt" in 1927. It was inspired a similar promotion in San Jose the same year.

According to Kendall Beaton, "Each summer thousands of shell-shaped roadside signs were converted to forest-fire prevention posters, and drew so much favor able comment that the company was still continuing this public service advertising on billboards thirty years later."[398]

Kendall Beaton on elaborate service station Christmas displays: "Some of the sales promotion schemes devised to keep the motorist coming into Shell stations were as uninhibited as the Shell colors. Christmas-theme exhibits installed at key service stations for children (and their gasoline-buying parents) greatly increased sales during the dullest season of the year. Despite their mounting cost as they grew more elaborate with the passing years, the Shell 'Christmas Shows' were good business and more than paid for themselves in increased sales. In 1929, one of these stations equipped with a Christmas display sold 12,000 gallons of gasoline in a single day, a good month's business for most stations."[399]

The block-long 1930 "Toytown" Christmas display at Fell and Baker Streets, San Francisco. It cost the local Shell division, $40,000.[400]

Shell Information Building at the 1935 California Pacific International Exposition in San Diego, California. [See more about "The Shelladies" who staffed the building in the "Shell Touring Service" section under the "PR: Strategies" tab. Shell Touring Service appears to have also served the World's Fair in New York, 1939-1940.

Shell Oil Tower was built in 1955 for the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Its architect was George Robb. It was demolished circa 1986.[401]

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[398]Beaton, 304-305.

[399]Beaton, 283.

[400]Beaton, 304-305.

Circa 1946-1950, Shell Oil sponsored the Shell Playhouse and Choral Group New York's Barbizon Plaza. It featured Shell employees from several divisions as actors. In the book, *Everything's Coming Up Profits: The Golden Age of Industrial Musicals*, co-author Steve Young explains this cultural moment in which Shell, for a short period, joined other corporations in sponsoring industrial theater. He writes, "Corporate musical motivation goes back nearly a hundred years. By the 1920s companies like IBM were holding meetings at which employees sang familiar songs with rewritten lyrics praising the company and its leaders. But it wasn't until after World War II that three trends converged to produce the industrial musical."[402] Young goes on to explain that the 1930s ushered in a growing appreciation for Broadway and motion picture musicals, and by the 1940s, long-playing records allowed for listening to musical entertainment at home. He continues, "By 1955, U.S. Industry was turning out two-thirds of the world's manufactured goods," and in response to increased consumer needs of a rising middle class, companies employed "new psychological methods to keep the workforce happy and productive." These conditions were ripe for a "perfect storm of business-themed musical theater."[403] Shell Playhouse did not seem to sponsor or distribute LPs for their musical productions; however, a handful of employees and other participants made note of their experience in published announcements. The main image features a comment about their musical, *Girl Crazy*, from 1950, in *The New Yorker*. Interestingly, the author attributes sponsored television programs -- also in Shell's portfolio of PR activities -- as a contributing factor in its appeal. Now employees could act out the parts! Three previously produced musicals were *Shellebrities of 1946*, *Shellebrities of*

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[401]Bateman, Chris, "The Shell Oil Tower Is a Lost 1950s Masterpiece," *Spacing Toronto*, December 29, 2016, https://spacing.ca/toronto/2016/12/29/shell-oil-tower-lost-1950s-masterpiece/ (Accessed March 4, 2021).

[402]Young, Steve and Sport Murphy, *Everything Is Coming Up Profits: The Golden Age of Industrial Musicals* (New York : Blast Books, 2013), 7.

[403]Young and Murphy, 7.

1947, and *All My Sons* (1949). In 1955, the company also produced *Hearts Afloat*. [*The New Yorker*, May 13, 1950.]

In 1961, Shell presented "Canada's first cross-country car rally -- the longest, most gruelling test of top performance ever held in the Western hemisphere... For seven days en route, everything from driving skill to navigation and endurance" was tested. The Canadian divisions would host what would become the Shell 4000 Rally periodically throughout the 1960s. [*The Windsor Star*, April 29, 1961.]

PUBLIC RELATIONS : OTHER PERSONNEL

Shell's PR Executives

> "…without the support [the program] has had from two enthusiastic bosses, Mr. Curtis and Mr. Biggar; and from the hard-working women's activities staff; and from every member of the Public Relations department, each of whom has at some time or other made a major contribution to its progress. Moreover, I will appreciate your asking our field representatives to deliver my personal thanks to all Shellmen out in the Divisions who have helped so much to make our program swing. It is truly sad to leave such wonderful friends and co-workers."
> – Caroline Iverson Ackerman (The Ex-Carol)

For the average person encountering Carol Lane for the first time, whether it was on television or in the newspaper, or via a live appearance, there was only one Lane. That duplicate Lanes appeared simultaneously across the country from each other, and a third up north in Canada (or conversely, down south in the United States) was kept a corporate secret to a demonstrative degree, as was the fact that multiple women shared the workload attributed to one Lane was downplayed to the point of secrecy. The "Carol Lane(s)" tab offers biographical sketches of Lane performers, and "Who was Carol Lane?" tab addresses the duplicitous nature of "living trademarks," and situates her within her cohort of fellow fictional characters. This section is dedicated to a number of other personnel who worked for the most part behind the scenes. Caroline Iverson (Carol Lane, 1947-1950) warmly acknowledged, in her exit memo from 1950, the network of supporters she was reliant upon from her "two enthusiastic bosses, Mr. Curtis and Mr. Biggar" to "the hard-working women's activities staff; and from every member of the Public Relations department." Each person, she confirmed," had at some time or other made a major contribution to its progress."

The following subsection, “Shell’s Public Relations Executives,” includes PR managers and the Art Director who oversaw the Carol Lane program. The next subsection down, “Shell Touring Service & Other Personnel” includes support staff such as secretaries, and other members of Shell Touring Service and Carol Lane Award teams. Following that, two subsections,” Arabelle Wheatley, Illustrator” and “Clemens ‘Clem’ Gretter, Illustrator” feature different artists who were employed on contract to illustrate Carol Lane publications including booklets and cartoons. While PR managers and other executives maintained a certain amount of agency in deciding what sorts of goodwill-building activities they chose to sponsor locally, three key figures were instrumental in the development of the Carol Lane program as a nationwide initiative. They were H.L. Curtis, Vice President of Public Relations, G.G. Biggar, Managing Director of Public Relations from 1952 to 1960, Vice President from 1960-1967; and Caroline Iverson (Carol Lane, 1947-1950), whom Shell’s PR department hired to create the role Women’s Travel Director. In New York City, H.L. Curtis and G.G. Biggar were the managers who seemed to exclusively oversee the Carol Lane program from its launch through Biggar’s retirement in 1967. While, like the East Coast Lanes, West Coast and Canadian Lanes all had home bases in various cities such as Houston, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Montréal and Toronto; however, public relations executives were located in New York until approximately 1970. What follows is a brief group corporate biography of the New York and Houston PR executives who were under Shell’s employ while the Carol Lane program was active.

Harold Le Verne “H.L.” Curtis began working for Shell in 1923 as a service station attendant in San Jose, California. He was named head of the newly created Sacramento, California, division in 1935, having previously been a district manager in Fresno. He transferred from Sacramento to the New York office in 1936 to be sales manager of marketing on the East

Coast. In 1940 he was promoted to Sales and Advertising manager, and by 1943 he became a PR assistant to Shell Oil president Alexander Fraser from mid-1943 through 1955, when he became Vice President of Public Relations. Curtis was also very active with the Oil Industry Information Committee (OIIC) of the American Petroleum Institute (API). His particular focus was the film sub-committee which produced several pro-oil sponsored educational films.[404] He became head of its film committee by 1954. H.L. Curtis retired in 1960.

George Gordon "G.G." Biggar was Assistant Manager of Public Relations under H.L. Curtis starting in 1943, and Managing Director from 1952 to 1960 until when Curtis retired, at which time he was promoted once again, this time to Vice President of PR. He began working in the big oil field in 1926 as a gas station attendant with New England Oil Refining Co. in Boston. He joined Shell Oil in 1929 when it bought New England. After years in a variety of sales and marketing positions in New York and Boston he joined the PR team in 1941/1942. Biggar was an active member of the Industrial Audio Visual Association (IAVA). According to his obituary, he was perhaps most proud of his spearheading of the television events, *Shell's Wonderful World of Gulf* and *Leonard Bernstein's Young People's Concert*. He retired in 1967.

Elbert "E.A." Hugill, Jr., assistant to the president and corporate secretary of Shell Oil Co., New York, was elected to the role of Vice President in 1967 when he assumed direction of the company's public relations. Hugill joined Shell in 1933 as an attorney in the San Francisco office. He was appointed Assistant General Counsel in 1954 and elected and Assistant Secretary to the president in 1959. He was also VP of Shell Development Company from 1959 to 1961

[404]For a great essay on the Oil Industry Information Committee of the American Petroleum Institute, see Waller, Gregory A.,"The American Petroleum Institute : Sponsored Motion Pictures in the Service of Public Relations." *In Petrocinema: Sponsored Film and the Oil Industry*, by Marina Dahlquist and Patrick Vonderau, (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021), 136–161.

when he became assistant to the president. At the time he was promoted to the Vice President position, he was simultaneously serving as mayor of Bronxville, New York. He served as mayor from 1959 to 1965. He retired in 1968.

R.H. Stine was head of PR in Houston as of 1967. Stine joined Shell Oil Co. in 1945 and served as public relations manager in Detroit and Cleveland before joining the Houston PR team in 1964. He was named Vice President of Public Relations, replacing G.G. Biggar in 1967; the same year he was also selected chairman of the Texas Oil Information Committee's Public Relations Planning Committee. James Boyajian replaced him in the role of Vice President of PR, in Houston, in 1970.

James Boyajian joined Shell Oil in 1956 as a writer in the head office, and later worked in public relations in the Chicago and Los Angeles offices. Before he was appointed manager of the Houston PR office, he had been acting manager in New York, replacing R.H Stine. In 1970 he was named Manager of News and Publications in the PR department at general offices in Houston until 1971 when he took over as coordinator of PR activities in Houston. He retired after 1980.

Kendall Forbes Beaton, author of the 1957 opus, *Enterprise in Oil: A History of Shell in the United States*, and several articles on business, was a manager for public affairs in the New York office until his untimely death at age 48 in 1968. From 1943 through 1958, he specialized in government-industry relations and environmental issues.

> "The dominant theme of the art work turned out by the company's public relations department is its diversity."
>
> - F.H. Roberts, "For Many Publics, Many Approaches," *Art Direction*, February 1957

F.H. Roberts was Art Director and Production Manager of Shell's Public Relations Department from 1946 to at least February 1957. He had previously dealt with art and production for the company's advertising department from 1932 to 1942. He worked for Shell until at least 1987, with one responsibility being designing the "Shell Desk Diary."

Shell Touring Service & Other Personnel

Identification of parties whose contributions led to the success of the Carol Lane program -- whose work generally remained hidden -- has been a challenge. Luckily, some Carol Lane performers generously acknowledged in private correspondences and in public their reliance upon a support staff, particularly secretaries and those who worked in Shell's Touring Service. Not too dissimilar to the way the work of creating films is often attributed to a singular vision, that of a director or perhaps writer (thereby ignoring the work of teams of dozens or hundreds of people), Carol Lane was also celebrated most often as a singular author. However, unlike how films' end credits where team members are routinely mentioned by name, they were not named in Carol Lane publications, but were referred to in general terms. The intent here is to rectify some of these omissions by naming personnel members and their contributions to the program's many moving parts. A more nuanced history is needed as there was a fairly sizable cast of characters instrumental in its crafting, presentation, and marketing of Carol Lane as a living trademark. This subsection features brief corporate bios for secretaries, and members of Shell Touring Service and Carol Lane Award teams discovered thus far.

It begins with general acknowledgements in print. In her first booklet, *Travel à la Car* (1950), Caroline Iverson (Carol Lane, 1947-1950) praised the Service representatives for having

driven hundreds of thousands of miles, gathering useful tips and data for the booklet before she ever joined Shell Oil's public relations team. "Take advantage of their experience," she wrote. "Use their suggestions and you'll vacation like an expert." As Lane, Iverson would also claim that "we sifted the experiences of hundreds of families" in her introduction to *Touring Can Be Child's Play* (1950), but she avoided the use of "I." By the time Shell published the 1956 edition (presumably co-written by at least one new Carol Lane performer) of *Touring Can Be Child's Play*, the introductory message clearly implied Carol Lane wrote it, and researched it herself.

Dorothy Bishop

Dorothy Bishop seems to have worked as support staff for at least Caroline Iverson and PR department assistant manager G.G. Biggar, out of the New York Shell Touring Bureau. She also accompanied Iverson and her photographer and friend, Jean Speiser, on a summer 1948 travel-related research trip.

Irma Cunha

Prior to performing as Carol Lane herself from 1951 to 1953, Irma Cunha had been one of Elizabeth Baker's assistants responsible for narrativizing her travel anecdotes and possibly Shell Touring Service's survey of women motorists. Elizabeth Baker mentions having had two assistants – a club coordinator and a publicity representative – under her direct supervision in her post-Shell resume. Cunha was like the latter as she also worked for Roper Research Associates, a market research company, around the same time in New York City. [See more about Irma Cunha under the "Carol Lane(s)" tab.

Ruth Roberts

Ruth Roberts accompanied Elizabeth Baker to at least one public relations general meeting, in New York City, June 1-3, 1949. It is difficult to determine if she worked directly under Baker, or if she served the PR department generally. If she did work directly for Baker, she may be "the club coordinator" referred to in her resume. She does not appear to have performed as Lane herself.

Barbara Evans

Elizabeth Baker addressed a Barbara in the same 1950 letter to Irma Cunha. Because she was still at university, it is doubtful that Barbara Evans was indeed *that Barbara*. That said, she did work there by 1953. Evans listed herself in the *Duke* [University] *Alumni Register*, in January 1954 as a member of Shell Oil's public relations department and coordinator of the Carol Lane Awards for traffic safety, and before that a field secretary for Duke University admission office.

Daphne Dibble

Daphne Dibble (Greene) worked for Shell Oil, according to her 2012 obituary, in their automobile touring division (AKA Shell Touring Service). She was also referred to as Bea Carpenter's (Carol Lane, 1949-1950) assistant in a circa 1950 letter from Elizabeth Baker to her assistants. Dibble married and left the company in 1952. She is pictured here (center in white) with Bea Carpenter in a 1950 *LOOK* magazine article on Lane.

Edith Allen

Edith Allen appears to have worked out of the New York office, and acted at least once as Beatrice Hansen's research assistant. She is listed as the contact person for written requests for

the Carol Lane's Travel Hat pattern. Although it will require more intensive research to confirm, prior to working as Hansen's research assistant, she very well may have been a journalist as well. There are at least two instances in which she authored articles about Carol Lane in 1951, a year before Hansen came on board.

Recognition in print of support staff began to wane after the first few years of the Carol Lane program. For example, when Shell published *Let's Go Camping* in 1960, Lane de-emphasized the contributions of other support staff, and focused instead on tips she had been discovered during her own travels, including those she learned from "others." By "others," she referred to her audiences and the travel companions with whom she was embedded on research trips. "Women," she stressed, "get much of the credit." The amorphous category "women" is teased out under the "Audiences" tab which explores these various demographics of women who recommended touring tips to Carol Lane. Jane Small (Carol Lane, 1965-1971) also referred to having a secretary in the late 1960s. In a November 24, 1968, feature article on Small in *The Arizona Republic*, the author pointed out that "Thursday she'll be in Los Angeles, the home office, after briefing her secretary." Unfortunately, no extant publicly available evidence suggests who her secretary might have been in 1968.

Elizabeth McBride

Little is known about Elizabeth McBride. Contemporaneous articles, particularly in the Houston and New Orleans regions, mention Elizabeth McBride was from New York and director of the Carol Lane Program, or alternatively, "of the Carol Lane Awards." Unlike Barbara Brooks (Carol Lane, 1060-1961), she does not appear to have used the Carol Lane pseudonym. [For more on Barbara Brooks, see her section under "Carol Lane(s)."]

Margaret Carlysle & Lee Seib

In a telephone interview with Lucia Cucullu (Carol Lane, 1968-1972), in some parts of the United States, Carol Lanes were required to travel with companions, usually from Shell's other PR or marketing departments from the region they were visiting. Margaret Carlysle and Lee Seib were two of those traveling companions. Carlysle was in Houston's PR department. Yet to be determined, Seib was possibly on the Chicago or Detroit PR teams.

Claire Hoffman

Claire E. Hoffman began working for the Shell Touring Service at the New York headquarters, circa 1930-1931, as a typist. Prior to 1947 she transitioned into the role of the Service's manager, and oversaw a staff of thirty-five "mapmeticians" who prepared touring routes and answered requests from tourists. Caroline Iverson was hired by Shell to develop a woman-focused public relations program with Hoffman as the spokeswoman. [To read more about Claire Hoffman, a proto-Carol Lane see her subsection under "Carol Lane(s).]

Arabelle Wheatley, Illustrator

> "Top cartoonist engaged..."
>
> -- *Public Relations Idea Book* (New York :Printers' Ink Publishing Company, 1953), 257

Katherine "Arabelle" Wheatley (1921-2015) was a primarily New York City-based freelance commercial illustrator who worked for Shell Oil for 20 years (ca.1944 through 1964). She applied her talents to a number of Shell publications and advertisements (see "Publications & Columns" and "Advertisements & Public Service Announcements" subsections under "PR:

Strategies" tab), including one yet-to-be-discovered booklet entitled *Old MacDriver Had a Car*. Wheatley attended the Pittsburgh Art Institute. Prior to Shell Oil, in 1943 she landed her first job designing medical posters for the Venereal Disease Educational Institute in Raleigh, North Carolina.[405] Into the 1980s, she also illustrated a number of other books. In particular she was commissioned for books in the category of natural sciences for children, scientific illustrations for *Grolier Encyclopedia*, and for *Ranger Rick* magazine.[406] She married a fellow naturalist Robert Buckbee in 1956.[407] It is unclear to what extent the pamphlets and other marketing materials that Wheatley illustrated were disseminated in Canada, but evidence suggests the tourette cartoons did made it across the border into provincial newspapers. What follows are additional publications she illustrated for both Shell and other publishing houses, as well as articles about her career.

Clemens "Clem" Gretter, Illustrator

Clemens "Clem" Gretter (1904-1988) was also a prolific freelance illustrator and artist, who is the attributed illustrator for "tourettes" cartoons that differed in style from Arabelle Wheatley's. [See the "Tourettes" subsection under the "PR: Strategies" tab for more analysis on how their styles differed.] Gretter attended the Iowa Academy of Fine Arts, Chicago Academy of Fine Arts, and Art Institute of Chicago.[408] Sometimes signing his work as "Clemens Gretta" or

[405]Rosen, Helen, "Artist's Work Chronicles Her History," *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, August 27, 1997, 4B.

[406]Rosen, 4B.

[407]"Robert L. Buckbee, '33," *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, Volume 95, March 8, 1995, 52.

[408]Hanley, Terence E., "Joseph Clemens Gretter (1904-1988)," Indiana Illustrators and Hoosier Cartoonists, November 9, 2011, https://indianaillustrators.blogspot.com/2011/11/joseph-clemens-gretter-1904-1988.html (accessed May 22, 2020).

"Clarence Grettier," Gretter freelance illustrated a number of books such as part of the *Hardy Boys* series, comic books like *Weird Tales and Short Stories*, newspapers, and companies.[409] In the 1920s Gretter drew a syndicated comic, *From Sue to Lou*, under the nom de plume, "Gettier." In the 1930s, he worked for pulp publications like *Short Stories* and *Mystery Novels Magazine*; and from 1941 to 1949, he "ghost-illustrated" for Robert Ripley of *Ripley's Believe It Or Not* syndicated cartoons.[410] In the 1950s, he contributed to *New Fun* and *More Fun Comics* and *Real Fact Comics*; and it was just after this time that he would have worked with Shell Oil as a freelancer as well.

In 1952, Gretter joined forces with a friend named Ted Atwood on a syndicated cartoon with an educational bent. Atwood was a the time copy chief of the *New York Herald-Tribune*, but had at some point in the 1940s worked for Shell Oil in New Jersey as a technical researcher. The unmistakable similarity between Gretter's 1950s-era freelance illustrations for others and those of the anonymous artist of "Tourettes" cartoons, suggest his professional connection with Atwood may have led to an introduction with an art director or other executive responsible for the Carol Lane program. Gretter also illustrated a series of cartoons called *Portraits in Oil!* for publication at least once in 1955. Vice President of Public Relations, and Carol Lane's boss, H.L. Curtis was very active with the Oil Industry Information Committee (OIIC) of the American Petroleum Institute (API). Due to the timing of these cartoons, their placement in a special issue on the OIIC and Oil Progress Week, and his other illustrations for the Carol Lane program of which Curtis was likely very aware, may have led to Getter getting this gig.

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[409]Hanley, "Joseph Clemens Gretter (1904-1988)."

[410]Saunders, David, "Clem Gretta (1904-1988)," Field Guide to Wild American Pulp Artists, 2013, https://www.pulpartists.com/Gretter.html (Accessed May 20, 2020); "'Where In The World' Did That Happen? Fascinating Feature Will Begin Monday," *The Times Herald*, February 17, 1952, 1, 6.

The cartoons created for this series were displayed at the Drake Well Memorial Museum in Titusville, Pennsylvania.

In 1978, he published a book he both wrote and illustrated, entitled *Chain of Reasoning*, and at some point, he wrote another called *Genius of Man*.[411]

[411]Hanley, "Joseph Clemens Gretter (1904-1988)."

WHO WAS CAROL LANE?

> "Please call me by my official name." – Elizabeth Baker, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, ca. 1950-51

There has been scant public scholarship on Carol Lane. Even Shell Oil has, for the most part, left her out of their corporate history. Shell Global mentions her briefly on their website now.[412] Also, Kendall Beaton wrote in his 1957 history of Shell Oil, *Enterprise in Oil*, that Shell's public relations (PR) efforts included "a nation-wide program specifically designed to help the woman motorist; and a series of activities to promote highway safety." Strangely, he made no direct reference to Lane, or to the traffic safety award given out in her name.[413] Present-day scholars who have written about her – as well as *New York Times* senior editor, Chris Conway – have concentrated mainly on Lane's role as author of travel guides for women and families, and an expert on traffic safety.[414] Most of these writers mention Lane's fictional nature only in passing, if at all; and when one does mention her multiple personalities, the information is incomplete and often relegated to the footnotes. For example, Richard K. Popp, in his essay "Domesticating Vacations: Gender, Travel, and Consumption in Post-War Magazines," couches Lane's touring advice in domestic terms, and persuasively positions her as "a model vacationer

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[412]They added this blurb on Carol Lane, after I reminded them about her. As mentioned in a previous footnote, there is now a short, incomplete dedication to her tenure among the many projects listed on the company's historical timeline. See "Did You Know?" on Shell Global's website at https://www.shell.com/about-us/our-heritage/did-you-know.html. (Accessed April 7, 2021).

[413]Beaton, 674.

[414]Conway, Chris, "Because We're Not There Yet," *The New York Times*, May 27, 2007, https://www.nytimes.com/2007/05/27/weekinreview/27conway.html?_r=0 (Accessed October 12, 2020).

for women to pattern themselves after," especially for single and married female readers.[415] Popp does acknowledge "Carol Lane" was a nom de plume for Caroline Iverson (although he refers to her as "Carol"), as Susan Sessions Rugh does in the endnotes of *Are We There Yet?: A Golden Age of American Family Vacations*. Rugh also includes a brief biographical sketch about Caroline Iverson (Carol Lane, 1947-1950). In the main text, she concentrates on Lane's rhetoric, advice and readership.[416] Katherine J. Parkin, in *Women at the Wheel*, is the only other author to note the significant amount of resources Shell Oil spent on publicizing Lane, and that she was a "newly developed personality."[417] Chris Conway's 2007 article in the *New York Times*, "Because We're Not There Yet," covered the relevance of Lane's advice in her 1954 book, *Traveling by Car*, to modern motorists, yet interestingly does not mention his mother, the late Beatrice Hansen (Conway), played Carol Lane between 1952 and 1954. Thus far only a former doctoral student, Dr. Renée Marie Blackburn, has noted more than one performer played Lane. Blackburn in her 2017 dissertation, "Highway Madness!: Politics and Citizen Participation in Postwar U.S. Traffic Safety Technology and Policy," identified there were three Lanes, but not by name except for Iverson.[418]

"Changing Lanes: A Reanimation Of Shell Oil's Carol Lane" intervenes in this conversation by offering the only case study which analyzes the length, breadth, and reach of the

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[415]Popp, "Domesticating Vacations," 133.

[416]Rugh, 24-26. Carol Lane's book *Traveling By Car* (1954) does indeed skew toward general audiences rhetorically, however, there are many more booklets and press releases and advice columns against which to challenge the neutrality of her word choices.

[417]Parkin, 84-85.

[418]Blackburn, Renée Marie, "Highway Madness!: Politics and Citizen Participation in Postwar U.S. Traffic Safety Technology and Policy," (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, 2017), 45. Because her research on Lane seems to have been based on Caroline Iverson Ackerman's personal papers located at the Schlesinger Library, it may have been an easy assumption to make. Indeed, in Ackerman's papers there is documentation of the next two women who played Lane, and with whom she overlapped before leaving: Elizabeth Baker and Bea Carpenter.

public relations program (PR) that she fronted, including the women who portrayed Lane, and other program personnel, and her audiences. It furthermore specifically positions Lane among the other more well-known living trademarks – which the other scholars do not – and exposes what Parkin calls a promotional "media blitz" supporting Lane's efforts. This tab, "Who was Carol Lane?," fleshes out the living trademark within a larger portrait of her surroundings, and cohort. It gives her a backstory.

What does it mean to reanimate a living trademark or to give a fictional construct a backstory? To reanimate is to either bring someone or something back to life, or to restore vitality and vigor to the entity. This project breathes life back into the composite Lane speculatively. Part I parses through her official corporate biography, extracting and comparing details incorporated from the professional and personal lives of her very real performers – whose individual biographical sketches populate the "Carol Lane(s)" section. These specifics encompass basic data such as her age, race, and marital status, as well as her education level, previous experience, and her income. Moreover, it summarizes a typical workweek, and her shared workload. Together these disparate biographical details made up Carol Lane's "personal" history.

This "Who was Carol Lane?" section also aims to reanimate and invigorate scholarship on living trademarks generally. Subsections below, "Living Trademarks/Brands" and "Living Trademarks and Women-Fronted PR Programs," position Carol Lane within a small cohort, including predecessors and influential figures such as Betty Crocker and Aunt Jemima, Mary Gordon, Paula Johnson, and other spokeswomen in her or related transportation industries. Subsection "Publications by Other Women Columnists on Travel and Driving" briefly surveys a selection of contemporaneous true-life columnists who offered advice for women on driving and

automobile maintenance. Along that same theme, subsection, "Shell Answer Man," observes how another Shell-sponsored automobile maintenance and driving expert, Shell Answer Man, took over where Lane left off upon the phasing out of her character in 1974. This subsection finally reflects on more contemporary efforts to engage women motorists, such as Shell's 2020 "She'll" ad campaign. In closing, the last subsection, "Hello, I'm Carol Lane (A Reimagining)," provides a short video experiment wherein crowdsourced performances literally reanimate Lane.

A Living Trademark

> "Carol Lane -- a kind of Betty Crocker of the gasoline business..." -- "Shell's Game: Or, How To Make Friends and Influence Profits," *Forbes*, April 1, 1952, 22.
>
> "This department was, and still is, known as Carol Lane…" – *The Globe and Mail*, June 3, 1961

Carol Lane was what is known as a "living trademark."[419] A living trademark is a corporeal, sentient being who is a spokesperson or mascot for a company's brand or services.

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[419]"Common Status Descriptors (CSD) icons, UPTO, https://www.uspto.gov/sites/default/files/documents/CSD.pdf (Accessed May 26, 2021); Murray, Sarah, "The Radio Made Betty: Live Trademarks, Disembodiment, and the Real," *Feminist Media Histories* 1, no. 4, (Fall 2015); *Official Gazette of the United States Patent Office* 696, (United States Government Printing Office : Washington, D.C., 1955), 281; Shapiro, Laura, *Something from the Oven*; "The Current State of Live Trademarks," *Tide: The Magazine for Advertising Executives* 31, March 22, 1957, 26. Authors have conflated the term "living trademark" with "live trademark" as long as they have been in use. For example, scholars on Betty Crocker, Laura Shapiro and Sarah Murray, use the term "live trademark" to connote the same concept as "living trademark." (Murray states she is following Shapiro's use of "live trademark" on page 48.) Moreover, at least one trade magazine contemporaneous with the Carol Lane program, *Tide*, used the term "live trademark" to mean a living being in the fictional role. Conversely, a cursory search for the two terms in Newspapers.com and the University of North Carolina Library catalogue indicates that "living" was used about four times as often as "live" for the same concept. There is, however, a critical, legal, distinction. "Live trademark" distinguishes a trademark that is still valid and active from a "dead" one which means the opposite. "Living trademark," as the marketing term for the phenomenon of which Carol Lane, Aunt Jemima, and others are a part, dates back to at least the 1880s, and thus it is the form I have chosen to use. I would also argue the term is more precise as "live" simply means a beating heart and consciousness a current, valid trademark, whereas "living" implies continuous state of being (which is particularly the case for trademarks embodied by multiple people), and movement as in reanimation. It is active. To be clear, however, the Carol Lane trademark has been dead since 1996. In her footnotes on page 66, Murray explains her thinking: "The use of a live trademark draws attention to how General Mills negotiated possible deception. A search of the USPTO public database (uspto.gov) and its Trademark

Often, more than person or animal will portray a character *simultaneously*, while other times a company will simply trademark the real name of an individual spokesperson. Like iconographic trademarks that take graphic or pictorial forms, living trademarks identify a manufacturer's product or service and help to distinguish it from others.[420] "Along with packaging and advertising, companies…promote themselves under [these] brand names" and as fictional characters.[421] What makes living trademarks unique, however, is how their performers *literally* embody and make flesh a company's brand or services as a fictional character, and *also* its purported ethics, ideals, and reputation. Essentially, living trademarks help make big corporations seem less frightening and more reliable.[422] In Lane's case, as a fictional head of a public relations program for women, she personified authority and expertise in her field, and by proxy, bolstered Shell's reputation as a forward-thinking oil company who hired her to assist them in connecting with women motorists. "By the 1920s, many ordinary people accepted the

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Electronic Search System (TESS) includes ninety-nine references to Betty Crocker filings, many of which are renewals filed by General Mills for the 'standard character mark' of Betty Crocker. Descriptions in these filings are instructive: 'The mark Betty Crocker is the name of a fictitious character'; 'Betty Crocker does not represent any particular living individual and is intended to be fanciful'; and 'The name BETTY CROCKER does not identify a living individual.'" Compare that language with that describing Carol Lane's trademark "Motor travel information service—namely, dissemination of general travel information suitable to women motor car drivers concerning such subjects as highway conditions, safety operation of motor cars and other details which make motor travel comfortable." Neither Shell, nor the 1955 *Official Gazette of the United States Patent* Office publication, mentions she was a "living trademark," so Murray's point may indeed indicate some backpedaling on General Mills' part as she had been so spectacularly outed by *Fortune* magazine in a way that Carol Lane was not. It is possible that Caroline Iverson and others on Shell's PR team watched this scenario play out in the public sphere and decided not to add the living trademark label so as to not draw attention to her true nature. This avenue of speculation will require more research to see if this language was used for other living trademarks as well.

[420]Sturken, Marita, and Lisa Cartwright. *Practices of Looking : an Introduction to Visual Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 211.

[421]Sturken and Cartwright, 289.

[422]Shapiro, Laura, "'I Guarantee': Betty Crocker and the Woman in the Kitchen," in *Betty Crocker to Feminist Food Studies: Critical Perspectives on Women and Food*. ed. Arlene Voski Avakian and Barbara Haber (United States: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005): 29; Shapiro, Laura, *Something from the Oven*; Shapiro uses the phrase "authority personified" to describe Betty Crocker, discussed below. She furthermore notes the unusual preponderance of fictional home economists representing flour, packaged foods, and other foodstuffs including Patricia Collier for Dole, Mary Blake for Carnation Milk, and Ann Pillsbury for Pillsbury.

idea that while single women would often be required to support themselves;" still, Carol Lane's managerial and public-facing position as Women's Travel Director for a major oil company feasibly made the Shell seem yet more progressive.[423]

Shell's Vice President of Public Relations, G.G. Biggar confirmed that there were indeed broader implications, that the company did not develop the Carol Lane character *only* to foster engagement with clubwomen and media-consuming audiences. In a lecture he gave before Pace College graduate students in 1965, he articulated that her role was part of the PR department's strategy to "create a favorable atmosphere in which to do business…and to establish a cushion of favorable public attitude toward Shell to absorb the shock of any bad publicity that may arise."[424] Additionally, the women who portrayed her also brought a bit of what Kendall Beaton called Shell's "public relations gospel" to life. Its PR gospel, he explained in his history of Shell, was the motto: "Live right, and tell people about it."[425] At its base, this aphorism seemed to anthropomorphize Shell Oil as a sentient being that *could live correctly*.[426] But, it also communicated a basic PR tenet – tell other people about. As a living trademark, Carol Lane literally embodied Shell's PR maxim.[52] She lived "right," meaning she appeared to follow her

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[423]Kessler-Harris, Alice, *In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in 20th-Century America* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2001), 42.

[424]Biggar, 8.

[425]Beaton, 674.

[426]"Memorandum to Mr. W. Taylor Re: Chicago Tribune Presentation" February 15, 1957. [J. Walter Thompson Company. Winfield Taylor papers, 1948-1960 and undated], David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University; Totenberg, Nina. "When Did Companies Become People? Excavating The Legal Evolution," NPR, July 28, 2014, https://www.npr.org/2014/07/28/335288388/when-did-companies-become-people-excavating-the-legal-evolution (Accessed May 5, 2021). In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the *Chicago Tribune*'s Director of Research and Marketing, Pierre Martineau, routinely presented before retail and manufacturing companies, and advertising firms, on the question of whether brands have "a personality." On February 15, 1957, he invited J. Walter Thompson (Shell was one of their biggest clients) marketing staff to a presentation one of his study's main points: the question of whether gasolines and companies had one. This prophetic concept predated, by several decades, shifting twentieth and twenty-first century legal definitions in the United States regarding corporate personhood.

own travel advice, and told women about it.[427] Press releases and articles interwove Lane's accounts of adventurous camping trips, and the educational value of weekend car trip touring fisheries or factories and visiting national parks, with subtle messaging about family, community and country, patriotism and modernism, thrift, and appreciation for experiential learning. She both advised women on how they might live better, and served as an incarnate example. [See "The 'Tourette'" under "Tourettes" in the "PR: Strategies" tab to read more about the Carol Lane program's rhetorical strategies.]

In March 1957, editors of *Tide: The Magazine for Advertising Executives* described the ideal corporate character whose role was to appeal to women consumers as "a woman, between the ages of 32 and 40, attractive, but not competitively so, mature but youthful looking, competent yet warm, understanding but not sentimental, interested in the consumer but not involved with her."[428] Carol Lane performers varied widely in age from twenty-one (when Madeline Bravata, Carol Lane, ca. 1952-1953, started) to forty-five (when Jane Small, Carol Lane, 1965-1971, retired), with the average age being twenty-seven; but, while she skewed a bit younger in age, Shell hired women who otherwise physically fit the profile the trade magazine suggested was common. Moreover, *Tide* magazine also asserted that "she," as a living trademark, "can mean anything from a single woman to a whole department."[429] Privately, Lane did just that: she represented "a whole department." Audrea Lear (Canadian Carol Lane, ca.1952-ca.1959) reiterated this notion in a 1961 *Globe and Mail* profile piece on her post-Lane

[427]Kessler-Harris, 42. By remaining single (with the exception of Caroline Iverson's marriage near the end of her stint at Shell) and childless, Carol Lane arguably demonstrated "living right" in another way. As Alice Kessler-Harris writes," [M]arried women whose husbands benefited from a family wage ought to stay out of the labor force."

[428]"The Current State of Live Trademarks," 26.

[429]"The Current State of Live Trademarks," 26.

professional life when she confirmed, "This [Shell Touring Services] department was, and still is, known as Carol Lane."[430]

A majority of the time, women's pages editors and journalists kept the "living trademark" secret when they encountered a performer as Lane, or they simply did not know or question the informational packets and press releases sent to them by Shell. For instance, within *the first year* of being Lane, the *Nevada State Journal* published a November 9, 1950, piece on West Coast-er Bea Carpenter (Carol Lane, 1949-1950) in the role which claimed she had driven over 50,000 last year, was the writer of the "Tips on Touring" syndicated column, and had written two recent booklets, *Travel à la Car* (1949), and *Touring Can Be Child's Play* (1950).[431] Later that month on November 24th, the *Corpus Christi Times* attributed these same accomplishments – save the booklets – to East Coast Lane, Elizabeth Baker (Carol Lane, 1949-1952).[432] The reality was Carpenter began training very late in 1949, so could not have driven that many miles; and Caroline Iverson and Baker wrote the travel column in collaboration with support staff.[433] Too, Iverson and her staff wrote *Travel à la Car*.[434] Another example of masking Lane's multiple identities played out photographically. In the 1956 "Presenting Carol Lane" poster and informational packet featuring photographs of Sherry Baker (Carol Lane, 1953-1958), there were two images depicting her on research trips. **[Figures 1 & 2]** The image on the left in **Figure 1**, although she is not shown, is a research trip Beatrice Hansen (Carol Lane, 1952-1954) conducted as Lane in 1953. The July 1953 issue of *Redbook* presented an article with Lane and the family

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[430]"Hints on a Hobby: Oil Office Handles 600 Queries a Day," *The Globe and Mail*, June 3, 1961, 20.

[431]Upwall, Sylvia, "Widely-Traveled Lecturer Speaks To Citywide Meeting in Elko," *Nevada State Journal*, November 9, 1950, 9.

[432]"National Secretaries To Hear Talk by Travel Expert Dec. 1," *Corpus Christi Times*, November 24, 1950, 12.

[433]"Address of Miss Carol Lane before the Indianapolis Advertising Club." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

[434]"Address of Miss Carol Lane before the Indianapolis Advertising Club." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

who accompanied her on an educational camping trip. **Figure 2** shows three images from the original article. The image on the right in **Figure 1**, does not feature Sherry Baker, but an unidentified "career gal" on the left, Irma Cunha (Carol Lane, 1951-1953) in the middle, and possibly Hansen on the right. Audiences of newspaper and magazine readers, and maybe even their staff writers and editors, were none the wiser, or did not care.

One consequence of keeping audiences overwhelmingly in the dark about the true nature of the Carol Lane program, was that it disguised the fact that *each* performer, *each* Lane, took credit for her collective accomplishments. The tens of thousands of miles they traveled each year, number of publications authored and clubwomen reached, etc., was a group effort – of the performers, their support staff, and their managers. This fiction hid the fact that travelling the country three weeks out of most months of the year, lecturing as Lane live and on broadcast media, overseeing and contributing to the authorship of her booklets and newspaper column, managing staff, and eventually training new performers, *was too much work for one woman*. This fiction effectively built her up as a superwoman, and drew attention away from the plurality. It also relieved audiences, who absolutely believed Carol Lane was an authentic travel researcher, of the burden of reconciling the inconsistency of multiple Lanes.[435]

Contemporaneous Living Trademarks

Living trademarks as marketing ploys have had an over a well over one-hundred-year history, seem to be mostly a thing of the past.[436] Living brands portrayed by one individual like

[435]Murray, 61.

[436]Smyntek, John, "Stations Use Young Talent to Create Live Trademarks,*" Detroit Free Press*, July 10, 2003, G4. This is a speculation on my part after an initial search for modern versions. See my footnote below regarding multiple people playing Kentucky Fried Chicken's Colonel Sanders in commercials in recent years.

the original Gerber baby (Gerber Products Company) – or twins (Toni twins for Toni Home Permanent Company) – or a beast in the case of Elsie the Cow (Borden Dairy) were seemingly more common than cases where multiple people portrayed a pseudonymous commercial brand or service simultaneously or in succession.[437] It is in this latter subgroup, however, where Lane fits. Her particular cohort includes the very recently retired Aunt Jemima (Quaker Oats), roundly acknowledged as the first living trademark, Betty Crocker (General Mill), Mary Gordon for Trans World Airlines (TWA), and Bette Malone (United Van Lines) who will be described in more detail below.[438] As well, there were a few other widely known figures such as Colonel Harland Sanders (Kentucky Fried Chicken, which began as a café attached to his Shell gas station), Buster Brown (Buster Brown Shoe Company), "Little Johnny" Philip Morris (Philip Morris and Co.), the original Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's (MGM) living mascot – portrayed by the

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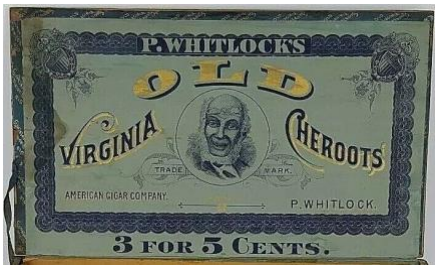
More, another modern example is a 2003 promotional campaign called "WB20 Stars." It was initiated by the Detroit area television stations WDWB-TV which entailed embedding local 14- to 21-year-olds in station-sponsored events, as well as showcasing them in promos and station IDs, and billboards.

[437]Markoutsas, Elaine, "Whatever Became of Buster Brown, the Toni twins?" *Des Moines Tribune*, March 31, 1977, 27; "The History of Borden Dairy," Borden Dairy, 2017, https://web.archive.org/web/20170622193450/http://www.bordendairy.com/history/ (Accessed through the WayBack Machine, May 24, 2021).

[438]"Richmond at Buffalo," *The Richmond Dispatch*, September 8, 1889, 3. Aunt Jemima is certainly the most famous of the 19th Century living trademarks, but my research has found a handful of earlier examples. See for example, a racist and dehumanizing article in *The Richmond Dispatch*, September 8, 1889, announced the presence of a living trademark, a one-hundred-year-old Black man named Barber Graves, whose face emblazoned P. Whitlock's Old Virginia Cheroots Cigars packaging. He accompanied the company, and was featured in an exhibit, at the 1889 Great International Exhibition in Paris.



lions "King Tuffy" and "Lucky Leo" – home economist Irma Harding (International Harvester), and a more characters who are not covered herein.[439]

With the exception of Aunt Jemima and Betty Crocker, there has been limited scholarship on living trademarks, including, as noted, Carol Lane. Betty Crocker has been a very popular subject for food historians, media scholars, and journalists for quite some time. Since the mid-2000s, Laura Shapiro's, Susan Marks', and Sarah Murray's scholarship in particular has incorporated analyses of the character's status as a fictional expert and living trademark. All three have written about Crocker's various performers, and increasingly since Shapiro's and Marks' books came out, so have journalists and fans. Authors typically focus on Marjorie Child Husted, the home economist considered responsible for the brand's early success on radio,

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[439]"Col. Harland Sanders… Believed Hard Work Key to Good Life," *The Messenger*, December 16, 1980, 2; Printers' Ink. *Advertising: Today, Yesterday, Tomorrow: An Omnibus of Advertising* (United States : McGraw-Hill, 1963), 102.; "Edmond Ansley Is Dead; Played Buster Brown," *The Indianapolis Star*, September 28, 1972, 36.; "Flying Film Lion's Disappearance Robs Broadway of Parade," *New York Herald-Tribune*, September 19, 1927, 2.; Green, Tom, "Buster Brown a General Now," *The San Bernardino County Sun*, January 7, 1971, 40.; Hughes, Willliam, "Congratulations to Reba McEntire, America's first female Colonel Sanders," The A.V. Club, January 25, 2018, https://www.avclub.com/congratulations-to-reba-mcentire-americas-first-female-1822437502 (Accessed May 21, 2021).; Lomartire, Paul, "History Calls for Philip Morris, *The Tampa Tribune*, November 13, 1984, 53.; MacMinn, Aleene, "Familiar Sound: Johnny Calls for Philip Morrr---ris," *The Los Angeles Times*, November 22, 1968, 91.; Marks, Ben, "Irma Harding, the Woman Who Taught Rural Moms to Kick Canning and Start Freezing," The Collectors Weekly, May 8, 2014, https://www.collectorsweekly.com/articles/irma-harding-the-woman-who-taught-rural-moms-to-kick-canning-and-start-freezing/ (Accessed May 21, 2021).; "MGM Lion At Fair," *Deseret News*, September 4, 1943, 12.; Stevenson, Lorraine, "The Iconic Irma Harding Returns," *The Manitoba Co-operator*, May 22, 2014, 22. Harland Sanders's first attempt at a restaurant was "Sanders Corbin Café" – where he began to sell his would-be famous chicken – was attached to a Shell gas station he also ran. Sanders is quoted in *The Messenger* on the venture: "Shell Oil Co. furnished me with the paint to paint road signs and a sign man was willing to paint for the food that he got. So went out and went to painting signs on barns advertising the place and business picked up." Shell Oil historian, Kendall Beaton, confirmed in his 1957 *Enterprise in Oil* (page 674, under "Contents/User Guide" tab) that indeed this sort of hand-painted road sign and barn-side advertising was commonplace for Shell service station dealers. I bend my particular rule a little by adding Colonel Sanders to list of living trademarks who were portrayed by multiple individuals *and* made live visits in character. For certain, Colonel Sanders made live appearances in costume, but no one else during his lifetime appears to have portrayed him. However, from 2015 to 2019, several celebrities were enlisted to play him in television commercials. Interestingly, the celebrities included Reba McEntire, the female country singer. I originally was going to add a profile on the living trademark, "Little Johnny" Philip Morris; however, I decided to just feature female characters in this dissertation. I will be addressing this curious example post-dissertation. Briefly, Little Johnny was portrayed simultaneously by a series of young men of small stature who dressed as the original Johnny, in costume as a hotel bellboy. The costume idea derived from an actual encounter between a Philip Morris advertising executive and Johnny Roventini, who worked as a bellboy for the New York Hotel in Manhattan. Because of his distinctive high-pitched and very New York-centric voice, he became famous for a catchphrase, "Call for Philip Morrr---ris!" Other young men who portrayed "Little Johnny" included Albert Altieri and at least three others.

Adelaide Hawley Cumming, who portrayed her on radio and more famously on television, and the large number of geographically dispersed radio performers who have been made anonymous through a lack of dedicated research on them.[440] Murray in particular concentrates on Crocker, gender, and performativity.

Moreover, Quaker Oats' 2020 retirement of the Aunt Jemima's character has increased public awareness of her status as a racially insensitive, and frankly anachronistic, living trademark. For those who were not already familiar with Aunt Jemima's troubling history, that she has long been considered the first living trademark portrayed by a number of women – initially by the formerly enslaved Nancy Green beginning at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 – may have been revelatory.[441] PR professional and scholar, Marilyn Kern-Foxworth's inclusion of some of Green's and other performers' biographies in her 1994 book, *Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, and Rastus : Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow*, directly influenced the incorporation of Carol Lane's in this project.[442] Kern-Foxworth and M.M. Manring, also presented foundational analyses of the performative aspects – the bringing to life of a brand – as well.[443]

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[440]Marks, Susan, *Finding Betty Crocker : the Secret Life of America's First Lady of Food*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005.; Murray, Sarah, "The Radio Made Betty: Live Trademarks, Disembodiment, and the Real;" Shapiro, Laura, *Something from the Oven*,181-196.

[441]Dupuy, Beatrice, "No Evidence Former Slave Who Helped Launch Aunt Jemima Products Became a Millionaire," AP News, June 19, 2020, https://apnews.com/article/archive-fact-checking-9030960288 (Accessed May 27, 2021); Kanigel, Rachele, "Aunt Jemima," *The Diversity Style Guide* (Hoboken, NJ : Wiley), 2019; Roberts, Sam, "Overlooked No More: Nancy Green, the 'Real Aunt Jemima,'" *New York Times*, July 20, 2020, D6.

[442]Kern-Foxworth, Marilyn, "Aunt Jemima," *Insite*, June 1988, 18.; Kern-Foxworth, Marilyn, *Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, and Rastus : Blacks in Advertising, Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994), 66-70. Kern-Foxworth originally addressed the liveness of Aunt Jemima in *Insite*. The author also documents the long history of resistance to the "mammy" trademark by the Black consumers, cultural critics, artists, and just generally. See *Aunt Jemima*, pages 77-100.

[443]Manring, M.M., *Slave in a Box : The Strange Career of Aunt* Jemima (Charlottesville and London : University of Virginia Press, 1998.

Subsections below aim to continue this work of recognizing the collective hidden labor behind living trademarks. “Living Trademarks/Brands” compares and contrasts Carol Lane’s characterization and program with those of her predecessors and contemporaries, Betty Crocker and Aunt Jemima, and offers brief sketches for each. Fellow fictional living trademarks, Mary Gordon and Bette Malone, follow in “Living Trademarks and Women-Fronted PR Programs.” Additionally, this subsection surveys real-life PR spokeswomen, such as Marion McKinney. Additionally, “Other Women Columnists on Travel and Driving” briefly covers contemporaneous authentic and fictional driving etiquette, auto maintenance, and travel columnists, like Emily Post and Miss *Traveltime*. The most comprehensive backstory, as this project’s primary focus, is Carol Lane’s; and it follows immediately below.

Carol Lane’s Backstory

Shell Oil’s PR management did not craft a backstory for Carol Lane from whole cloth. From her very inception, her corporate biography incorporated and publicized personal and professional information about the performers who embodied her; and these details changed over time. Thus, in reality Carol Lane was: Caroline Iverson, Muriel Diversi, Elizabeth Baker, Bea Carpenter, Audrea Lear, Irma Cunha, Madeline Bravata, Beatrice Hansen, Sherry Baker, Denise Laporte, Dorothy Wendel, Marjory Schmid, Barbara Brooks, Jeannette King, Mary-Jane Webster, Jane Small, Lucia Cucullu, Lyn Johnson, the many yet-to-be-identified radio-only Carol Lanes and American and Canadian in-person performers. There are even elements of proto-Carol Lane – Claire Hoffman. The department’s decision to add multiple women’s real-life accomplishments and personal details to a collective corporate biography which they all shared, looks to have stemmed from two pragmatic needs. The company needed to not raise any red

flags as they transitioned the first year from publicizing a seasoned, actual women's travel researcher, Claire Hoffman, and authority to a fictional one, as portrayed by Caroline Iverson; and as new fictional Lanes were hired, there arose a necessity to tailor a performer's biography to account for her skill set as well as the marketing region she covered.

Carol Lane's bifurcated origin story begins with Shell hiring Caroline Iverson to develop and promote a woman-focused public relations program headed by Claire Hoffman as its public "travel-authority personality" and head of the Shell Travel Service in New York City.[444] Hoffman had been for over fifteen years employed with the Service and became its manager in 1947, the same year Shell's PR department managers hired Iverson. Their initial job descriptions marked a simple division of duties as they occasionally traveled and were photographed together, and as they would on two big promotional trips to Birmingham, Alabama, and New Orleans, Louisiana, in 1947.[445] At first Iverson acted as a liaison between Hoffman and the PR department's managers, while she also managed the behind-the-scenes publicity for her such as ghost writing, handling bookings, and working with the press. Occasionally she took on a more public role such as accompanying Hoffman on research and lecture trips as required.[446]

Opening epigraphs:
"Hints on a Hobby: Oil Office Handles 600 Queries a Day," *The Globe and Mail*, June 3, 1961, 20.; O'Neil, Emily Ann, "She Travels for A Living," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, April 1950 or 1951, 2B.

[444]"Letter to Mr. Larkin." Public appearance-related memos, correspondence, reports, and engagement forms, 1947-1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.6-12.8.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. Also, so as to not confuse, Shell Travel Service, the name it more frequently used, was alternately called the Shell Travel Bureau.

[445]Birmingham, Betty, "Two Well-Dressed Visitors Looked Nice, Complimented For It," *The Birmingham News*, October 24, 1947, 28.; Public relations visit to Birmingham, Alabama, October 1947.. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.2.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

[446]"Clarification of Duties -- Women's Activities." Public appearance-related memos, correspondence, reports, and engagement forms, 1947-1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.6-12.8.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

Conversely, Hoffman's duties included being consistently available for interviews from journalists, attending women's club events, public speaking, and "setting herself as the representative of the Shell Oil Company and an outstanding, leading woman authority on touring."[447] Within the year of being hired, however, Iverson took over many of Hoffman's public-facing responsibilities for undisclosed reasons. This change in staffing would lead to the development of the Carol Lane character, and Hoffman's duties would roll into hers. [To read more about the initial division of labor between Caroline Iverson's and Claire Hoffman's, see the latter's subsection under the "Carol Lane(s) tab.]

By at least February 1948, Caroline Iverson began lecturing under her own name as Women's Travel Consultant (and sometimes Director of Research) for the Shell Touring Bureau (later Service).[448] During this period, her personal and professional accomplishments infused press releases. Within months, by April or May of that year, Iverson had signed on to use a pseudonym, or trade name, Carol Lane – Women's Travel Director of the Shell Oil Touring Service" and resident travel expert. It was at this juncture where Iverson's and Lane's corporate biography became one.[449] It stated, for example, that Lane: held "two 'firsts' for women aviators – first woman to make a round trip to Alaska in a two-seater plane, and first to fly a small airplane over the mountains into Mexico City; was a former aviation editor of a well-known picture magazine whereby she job tested issues related to weather travel during trips to the

[447]"Clarification of Duties -- Women's Activities." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

[448]"Federation Department To Meet," *The Times*, March 10, 1948, 28.; "Travel Speaker to Be B. & P.W. Guest Tuesday," 7. Hoffman still occasionally made appearances through March 1948. I lose track of her after that. By April 8th, Iverson takes her place for a speaking engagement. The article in *The Winona Times* reads, "Miss Iverson comes to Winona in place of Miss Claire Hoffman, manager of the touring bureau, whose illness makes it impossible for her to appear as originally planned."

[449]Elphin Gene K., "Touring Expert Will Address University Women Wednesday," *News-Register*, April 19, 1948, 8. Evidence discovered to-date suggests that this incorporation of Hoffman's personal details may have come at Iverson's suggestion. There are rare instances in Newspapers.com, for instance, of press coverage on Hoffman before Shell hired Iverson to promote her.

Yucatan Peninsula and to Labrador and Greenland; graduated with a journalism degree from the University of Wisconsin; was a member of New York League of Business and Professional Women..."[450] All of Iverson's stellar achievements were by 1948, also Lane's.

By January 1949, as the Carol Lane program gained traction, managers soon hired a second and third performer –- one to replace Caroline Iverson, who married in June 1950, as the newly assigned East Coast Lane (Elizabeth Baker), and another to represent the West Coast (Bea Carpenter).[451] Baker and Carpenter would also integrate their personal experiences into Lane's story. Iverson, who was instrumental in developing the character, did not, however, specifically address in correspondences between herself and her managers the decision to continue incorporating the new performers' own personal details going forward. Perhaps she considered with no official backstory to memorize, the new employees were free, or even encouraged, to relate to their audiences based on knowledge they both gained on-the-job and from previous experiences.[452] In fact, Iverson advocated for tailoring aspects of the role to ensure each performer had her own distinct interests and individualized talking points according to the geographical regions they covered. She emphasized that each Lane should have their own area of expertise. "If both girls work at travel research," Iverson explained to her managers, "each with

[450]Promotional brochures, informational booklets, vacation insurance forms, ca.1948-1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 13.4.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study; "Travel Speaker to Be B.&P.W. Guest Tuesday."

[451]Shell Canada would not promote a Carol Lane until at least June 1950, perhaps as late as 1954. Audrea Lear was the first Canadian Carol Lane.

[452]Lucia Cucullu told this author on September 8, 2017 in a telephone interview that when faced with luncheoning, for instance, with an audience of strangers, it was helpful to fold anecdotes from her personal life into conversations to be more relatable.

specialties in different fields, and some up with information that makes them worthy of being called an expert."[453]

There was also the press to consider. Surprisingly, Caroline Iverson was less concerned about the public catching on. This was perhaps because geographical distances precluded most audiences from encountering two Lanes at the same time in the media outside of national publications; but she did worry about confusing newspaper and magazine picture editors. Receiving headshots for two different performers over time might lead them to misinterpret them both as "phonies," and the program "merely a big promotion."[454] Iverson further indicated to her bosses that "the editors presented with the story from either [performer] are not going to be too much preoccupied about the existence of another Carol Lane."[455] "The key thought is to give each girl a series of specialties and to present Carol Lane as a travel research expert (not as a speaker) in dealings with the national press. I believe editors will give Shell a pat on the back for having two girls hard at it, instead of one," Iverson advocated, "if the matter is presented to them properly."[456] She further articulated by "presenting to them properly," she meant "big league" publications had been in her estimation more interested in covering Lane's research trips, especially her expeditions to compelling locations like a coal mine or a national park, often with

[453]"Final Review of Carol Lane Program—Publicity Build-up." Exit memo written by Ackerman, reviewing "Carol Lane" program, June 1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

[454]"Final Review of Carol Lane Program—Publicity Build-up." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman. This comment about the potentiality of Carol Lane being interpreted as a "big promotion" speaks to Iverson's sensitivity, I believe, around the Lanes being taken seriously. She had worked for *Life* magazine, was an aviator and was an educator and had studied Journalism. I think she may have seen that the PR department was, essentially, creating travel experts from scratch; whereas Claire Hoffman actually was one.

[455]"Final Review of Carol Lane Program—Publicity Build-up." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

[456]"Final Review of Carol Lane Program—Publicity Build-up." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

borrowed children or families in tow – than they were in presenting her as a "glamour girl who's always on vacation."[457]

This comment may have been an ironic reference to a piece on Iverson herself in an August 1948 issue of *The American Magazine.* It was accompanied by a photograph captioned "Always on vacation." **[Figure 3]** This attribution was not a unique incident, however. Looking at the program holistically now, it is easier to see that there was really a fair amount of coverage of Lane as a "glamour girl," or minor celebrity even, as well as a researcher.[458] Despite the fact that the Carol Lane program supplied press packs or packaged language promoting her as a researcher and expert to magazine and women's page editors, writers would sometimes "go rogue" when interviewing a particular Lane. Columnists and reporters would insert more details about Lane's personal appearance ("an attractive Montréaler" or "effervescent brunette"), remark upon her lifestyle ("her own life illustrated how she vacations while earning"), call her "famous," and even add feminist commentary (Carol Lane, a woman who knows more about travel than

[457]"Final Review of Carol Lane Program—Publicity Build-up." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

[458]This idea about Carol Lane as a minor celebrity is a topic I intend to address more substantively post-dissertation defense. I will add there that the PR department would both promote Carol Lane to groups and provide Society Page editors and their ilk with editorial content, customizable for their constituencies. Follow-up articles would contribute even more fanfare about the visit. PR pioneer Edward L. Bernays, would refer to these efforts as "creating circumstances" that were "noteworthy." (See Bernays' *Propaganda*, 25.) For more on the PR department's outreach techniques, and Bernays see also the "PR: Strategies" tab.] All of her lectures and demonstrations, be they live or on radio or television, were events in audiences' social or media-consuming lives**.** They were presented as social gatherings on women's clubs' calendars or in the radio listings for those tuning in from home in need of some entertainment during the day. Lane's performances were also often the entertainment for luncheons, or in the case of public venues such as state fairs, she was literally an attraction. Part and parcel of her role as an expert with financial backing from big oil, was her minor celebrity status. PR campaigns often relied, and still do, on endorsement of an event by a celebrity or some other public-facing professional. Arguably the sort of celebratory language and photos used to announce Carol Lane's impending arrival or recent visit gave her an air of celebrity. Tales and images of attractiveness, fashion-consciousness, poise, adventures, amount miles driven yearly -- and that she was an author and appeared on television and radio -- were all collaged together to create an image of the pretty, smart, single, lady on the go, who was of a celebrity status higher than many of her audience members. Newspaper journalists and columnists referred to Carol Lane as famous.

most men).[459] Moreover, depending on which Carol Lane an audience member encountered, a writer might request Lane elaborate on, among many things, her having lived at the Barbizon Hotel in Manhattan with other models and stylish women, worked as a flight attendant and in radio, flown a plane alone (!) over Alaska and Mexico, gone to Stanford University, or having been a reporter. Conceivably, these sorts of personal details added vitality to the living trademark.[460]

Perhaps motivated by her own experience of transitioning to using a pseudonym, Caroline Iverson seemed to anticipate other performers' desires to feel special as they too subsumed their identities into a fictional character. She actually wanted them to play to their strengths, as described in her correspondences with her bosses. She asserted each Lane should specialize, and her researched touring tips should be reflective of the regions she toured. East Coast Lane should cover, for example, women traveling alone, congested traffic, fancy travel clothes and hats; while West Coast Lane could tackle traveling with children and "old folks", and beach and mountain touring, and casual travel wear. She also emphasized that both performers deserved equal publicity. Not doing so could result in a scenario whereby "the girl ignored will not be nearly as important to club audiences, who are impressed by 'who you are.'"[461] Who Lane was, was also dependent on what each performer brought to the role. They helped bring the pizzazz.

Interestingly, it was Iverson who had had the highest profile career of the first three performers – and Claire Hoffman – to that point; and thus, seemingly had the most to lose

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[459]"Brunette Travels For A Living," *Montréal Gazette*, March 13, 1957, 10.; "See Our Travel Fashion Show and Hear Carol Lane, Famous Travel Expert," *The Semi-Weekly Spokesman Review*, May 19, 1957, 26.; "Travel Expert Will Speak At Auxiliary's Luncheon," *The Press Democrat*, March 3, 1957, 18.; Upwall, Sylvia, 9.

[460]Bren, Paulina, *The Barbizon: The Hotel that Set Women Free* (New York : Simon & Schuster, 2021), vii.

[461]"Final Review of Carol Lane Program—Publicity Build-up." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

professionally by using a trade name. She had been an aviation researcher and editor for *Life* magazine during World War II, before which she had received national attention as an aviatrix. Iverson ultimately made peace with using a pseudonym, but it was not without some discomfort it seems. In two correspondences dating from the first months into her stint as publicist for Claire Hoffman, and then after she had been in the role of Carol Lane for a bit, summarize her concerns. During June 1947, her first summer lecturing, she sent a letter to a Lieutenant Colonel Gibson Niles, Chief of Army Recreational Service at the Pentagon, giving her qualifications, explaining her current position, and requesting more information about the Service's recruitment of "civilian hostesses." "If I could be useful in some work abroad," she inquires, "I would prefer to do that."[462] By May 2, 1948, however, she was more resigned to the job as it was. She wrote to a family friend, "Well, we compromised on my contract with Shell…instead of sewing up my name for five years after the contract is terminated, Shell has selected a professional name that I will use and which will remain perpetually the property of Shell."[463]

Working under the Carol Lane pseudonym may have been an issue for several of the Lanes. Many performers, like Canadian Carol Lane #2 for instance, refused to break character. She told the *Winnipeg Free Press* that "during her tenure of the directorship her own name is not published."[464] It was rare, but throughout the program's twenty-seven years, there were other instances of society page editors and journalists publishing performers' personal names in articles that were ostensibly about Lane. Take for example, the opening quote by Elizabeth Baker

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[462]Public appearance-related memos, correspondence, reports, and engagement forms, 1947-1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.6-12.8.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

[463]Public appearance-related memos, correspondence, reports, and engagement forms, 1947-1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

[464]"Park Facilities Few In Que., Says 'Carol.'" *Winnipeg Free Press*, October 28, 1965, 22.

which shows that despite her insistence that St. Louis's *Globe-Democrat* staff writer, Emily Ann O'Neil, call her by her "official name," the article was essentially about Baker *as Lane*, and thus she may have signed off on it.[465] The inclusion of Baker's real name may have signaled the author's own sense of journalistic integrity, meaning perhaps O'Neil wanted to expose the truth about Lane's real identity so as to differentiate her piece from what might otherwise have looked like Shell-sponsored content. On the other hand, despite her attestation, Baker's admission may have reflected a certain fluidity during the program's infancy, a time during which personnel may have been developing best practices regarding this sort of disclosure from a living trademark. Whether Shell's PR department was privy to these leaks, is difficult to say without access to their corporate records. More to the point, it is hard not to read these admissions as assertions of agency, perhaps even as subtle acts of resistance.[466] Why let an opportunity pass, they may have asked themselves, to their names into the newspaper on occasion? Without other direct evidence to support this idea, how and why they let slip their real identities continues to remain a point of conjecture.

A performer may have simply wished to maintain a certain amount of name recognition carried over from her professional and personal life before working for Shell. For example, throughout the years, whenever a particular Lane visited her hometown, literal or adopted, the performer's real name was often included in press releases or in longer profiles. This was true for Irma Cunha (Carol Lane, 1951-1953). She was born and raised in Honolulu, Territory of Hawai'i; and when she came to town as Lane the city's *Star-Bulletin* routinely mentioned Cunha

[465]O'Neil, 2B.

[466]I mean to say that they disclosed this sort of information, by my calculation, approximately .008% of the time over the course of the program period. While I have yet to review closely every single item in the collection of articles, I do not foresee this percentage changing significantly.

by name. Not only had she been a local (and would return to being so later in life), but she had also once been a reporter for that very newspaper in the mid-1940s. She would have been recognized! In 1951, the newspaper handled Cunha's impending return thusly: "When she first wrote this astonishing news to her parents, Mrs. and Mrs. Frank Cunha of Kaneohe Bay drive, they thought she was changing her name and were relieved to find it was merely an 'alias' inherited with her job."[467]

Cunha and other performers, may have considered working for Shell a temporary, if high-profile, stopover on the road to yet other glamorous professional opportunities. Completely hiding their identities could have, therefore, been perceived as impediment to desires to become famous, or to use today's terminology, to maintaining "their brands." A quick review of their professional lives before playing Carol Lane highlights this possibility. Anecdotally, one of Elizabeth Baker's daughters confirmed that Baker aspired to be a celebrity (she would eventually be Texas' first weather girl at KGUL-TV). More, primary sources indicate this may have been the case too for Bea Carpenter whose previous professional experience included being as a model and dancer, talent agent, and post-Shell, she married a film actor/producer.[468] More still, Lucia Cucullu (Carol Lane, 1968-1972) studied at The Neighborhood Playhouse School of the Theatre, in New York City; and Marjory Schmid (Carol Lane, 1958-1964) was the star of her own television program in Oklahoma City, *Here's How* (ca.1953-1954), wrote for other shows, and throughout 1955-1957 promoted Disney's *Mickey Mouse Club*. In the early 1970s before working for Shell, Lyn Johnson (Carol Lane, 1971-1974) was a co-host and associate producer on *The Morning Show* on WWL-TV, New Orleans, Louisiana, and a newscaster on WYZE in

[467]Connell, Nicki, "Touring Carol Lane Travels Home," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, September 17, 1951, 13.

[468]Telephone interview with Betsy Brandt-Kreutz, April 2019.; "Too Many Loves in Life : Would-Be Valentino Charged With Bigamy," *The Los Angeles Times*, April 26, 1952, 17.

Atlanta, Georgia. Lastly, Schmid, Baker (for radio legend Martha Deane), Dorothy Wendel (Carol Lane, 1955-1957), Caroline Iverson, and obviously all of the radio-only Lanes including Muriel Diversi (Carol Lane, ca.1949), worked in radio in ad sales, as show writers and as on-air talent. What their personal motivations were for taking the job with Shell may remain a mystery, or relegated to second-hand storytelling by relatives.[469] The Carol Lane program may have appealed to a subset of personalities who were trying to stay relevant professionally as performers or journalists, even if it required staying in character much of the time as living trademarks. The position may have been attractive as a sort of stepping stone to other "traditional" forms of performance. Whatever the reason, our understanding of who the composite Carol Lane was is all the richer for these performers' or columnists' insistence that they receive credit for their labor, even if that work was in part shared with another Lane.

The Composite Biography

Honoring these women's hidden labor is not a byproduct of this dissertation, but another one of its goals. The blurring of Lane's public identity with the backstories of a successive line of women who portrayed her has, however, necessitated deep and respectful dives into her performers' pasts so as to authenticate which parts of her composite biography belong to whom. The following biographical sketch of a composite Carol Lane presents details that were given freely by various Lane performers to reporters and editors in publicly accessible print sources. Other data, such as her age, previous employment and income while at Shell, and how she heard about the position, were culled together through genealogical and other archival research. Her

[469]Lucia Cucullu told me it sounded like fun and she was in between jobs. For some, it may have been as simple as that; while for others, it may have been more strategic.

corporate biography is formatted below in the same bulleted fashion as her performers under the "Carol Lane(s)" tab:

- Carol Lane started working for Shell Oil September 15, 1947 in New York City. "Born" in this scenario means the first time Lane's name appeared in a publication for commercial purposes.[470] **[Figure 4]** She began working part time for Shell Canada as well at some point between 1950 and 1954. Her boss, Public Relations Assistant Manager G.G. Bigger, formally introduced Lane to her fellow co-workers on June 11, 1948: "…plans to give our women's club speaker, Miss Caroline Iverson, the Shell 'copyright' name of Carol Lane and the title of Women's Travel Director of the Shell Touring Service."[471]
- Despite the fact that publications listed her headquarters and home were in New York (and later Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Houston), she explicitly disclosed that her hometowns or states were also: Wauwatosa, Wisconsin, Larned, Kansas, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Honolulu, Territory of Hawai'i, the state of Montana, Montréal, Québec, Los

[470]*Official Gazette of the United States Patent Office* 696, (United States Government Printing Office : Washington, D.C., 1955), 281. September 15, 1947 is the first recorded use of the name "Carol Lane" by Shell for commercial purposes, as per information the company supplied upon applying for its trademark in 1952. The trademark was granted in 1955. I believe they are probably attributing this date to the first time Caroline Iverson was mentioned in a newspaper under Shell's employ and accompanying Claire Hoffman of Shell Touring Service. The first time I have identified her in public discourse is about five weeks later on October 24, 1947 in *The Birmingham News*. Her name was patented circa 1957 in Canada.

[471]"Carol Lane Booking Schedule, 1948-1949 Women's Club Season, June 11, 1948." Agreement with Ackerman to become "Carol Lane"; announcements and memos re: "Carol Lane" to be Women's Travel Director of Shell Touring Bureau, 1948. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.9.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

Angeles, California, the state of New Jersey, St. Jovite, Québec, Somerville, New Jersey, Lynchburg, Virginia, and Springfield, Missouri.[472]

- She was 27, going on 28 years old, upon hire.[473]
- Physically, she changed her hair color from blonde to brunette to red. Her overall style also shifted to keep up with what was fashionable for a woman of her age at the time. She was most frequently photographed in business casual suits, outfits or hats she designed, and also occasionally fancy dress or camping costumes. Photographs suggest she presented as white, and captions and accompanying texts confirmed this by not mentioning it.[474]
- She spoke at least English and French.
- Carol Lane repeatedly asserted the idea that she was too much on the road to consider marrying. Yet, she divulged that she had, in fact, been married three times, and divorced once before taking her position as Women's Travel Director.[475] She also had one child while employed.[476]

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[472]I only include hometowns or states that are explicitly mentioned by performers, not the instances where I discovered them via genealogical research.

[473]This number is the average age of all the known Lane's ages divided by number of Lanes. For unidentified Lanes, I estimated their age as 26. In fact, at her youngest Carol Lane was 21, and at her oldest, 37.

[474]Irma Cunha seems to be an exception. She was of Portuguese descent and from the Territory of Hawai'i. Although there is no evidence discovered thus far to confirm this, she may have presented as slightly exotic compared to the other Lanes. While at Punahou High School in Honolulu, for instance, her nickname was "Coon" which is a very racist and offensive term for Black people, and "wahine," which means someone of Maori or Polynesian (especially Hawaiian) descent.

[475]Lane performers who admitted to having been married publicly were Jane Small (also one of the divorcées), Lyn Johnson, Caroline Iverson. Bea Carpenter had been divorced as well before performing as Lane, but it was never disclosed publicly.

[476]Jane Small was a mother while employed as Lane. So far, she seems to have been the only one, but I've yet to flesh out all performers' biographies.

- She spoke publicly about having had attended or graduated from a number of colleges and universities including: University of Wisconsin-Madison, University of Kansas, Stanford University, Traphagen School of Fashion (New York City), College of William and Mary, University of California, Los Angeles, a junior college in New York, Macdonald College of McGill University (Montréal, Canada), Sir George Williams Colleges (now Concordia University, Montréal), University of Toronto, Marjorie Webster Junior College (Washington, D.C.), and University of Missouri.
- While pursuing their B.A., she studied Journalism, Speech, French, English, Education, Geography, Business Administration. She also got a master's degree in journalism.
- She was also an active member of sororities such as: Theta Sigma Phi honorary journalism fraternity (she even received the "Headliner of the Year" by the society in 1949), Mortar Board, Chi Omega sorority, Kappa Alpha Theta sorority, Phi Sigma Sigma sorority, Pi Beta Phi sorority, Kappa Tau Alpha, scholastic honorary journalism fraternity, and Lambda Alpha Lambda.
- Particularly in the early days, Lane was also a member of professional and social/civic societies such as the Publicity Club of New York, Inc., the Ninety-Nines, American Association of University Women, New York League of Business and Professional Women, American Association for the United Nations, National Association of Travel Officials, the American Legion Auxiliary, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and Canadian Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.
- Aside from the aforementioned broadcast media- or and performance-based employment, Carol Lane held a number of different professional positions before she worked for Shell.

She spoke freely about some jobs, and more were discovered through other means. She had been:

- An aviation instructor, an aviation editor for a national publication, an assistant fashion director, a fashion buyer, a stylist, a reporter/journalist/staff writer (a few times), in ad sales, a beer tester, a public relations director and publicity agent (a few times), a manager of Shell Touring Service in Toronto, a "hostess"/social activities director (twice), a director of a major airline's Women's Division, a flight attendant (twice), in airline ticket sales, an author of department store-sponsored children's story, an executive secretary for Shell Oil, a make-up editor for metropolitan newspaper, in market research, a teacher of handicrafts, in customer service for Shell Canada (perhaps for Shell Touring Service), a publicist for an investment firm, and a Republican candidate for the New Jersey State General Assembly.

- Accounts vary as to how Carol Lane heard about the position at Shell. She seems to have risen through the ranks from support staff and executive secretary to performing as Lane.[477] One anecdote mentioned her parents suggested it.[478] She also may have heard about the job while living at The Barbizon Hotel (a residential hotel in New York City

[477]Irma Cunha had been one of Elizabeth Baker's assistants. Cunha, having worked as support staff before performing as Lane, may indicate a training period of some sort. It is unclear. Moreover, prior to acting as Lane, Jeannette King was employed by Shell Oil Company as an executive secretary, possibly at the refinery in Martinez, California. This speculation is based on a brief exchange with one of her cousins on Ancestry. There is no definitive proof yet to confirm, however, King herself mentions having been an executive secretary for Shell. Canadian Carol Lane, Mary-Jane Webster had been a customer service representative for six months before taking on the public-facing role.

[478]Telephone conversation between the author and Lucia Cucullu on September 8, 2017. While living in Manhattan, Lucia's aunt was fundraising and met Jane Small's parents. She mentioned to them what Small did for a living. As they all got to talking, they thought the job might be of interest to Lucia. After an informational interview she awaited their call, and was asked back again a few months later upon the departure of Jeannette King (Carol Lane, 1961-1967). Shell gave her the job.

where single women of means lived) for at the same time, its plaza housed The Shell Playhouse where they produced a number of musicals performed by the company's employees. Moreover, she may have heard it through the Traphagen School alumni channels.[479]

- From 1948 through 1950, Carol Lane earned different salaries per annum, apparently based on experience. As senior Women's Travel Director she made $5,000 a year (plus $5,600 for travel and living expenses, and an $800/year clothing allowance). By 1952, she earned $6,000 a year. While in training, she earned $800 a month and had a $300 clothing allowance (partial year).[480] What she made after 1952 is unknown.
- At least in the first few years of the program Carol Lane oversaw a support staff of at least one secretary, and other assistants.[481]
- Her standard work schedule, particularly within the first few years, was as follows[482]:
    - is a typical club season lecture schedule (partial) for 1948-1949 **[Figure 5]**

[479]As to The Barbizon Hotel connection, Bea Carpenter – who trained as a dancer and model – lived at the hotel during the limited period (1946-1950) in which the Shell Playhouse was active. Lastly, Madeline Bravata (Carol Lane, ca.1952-1953) attended Traphagen School for Fashion just after, or overlapping with, Doreen Kauffman who went to the affiliated Traphagen School for Drama. Kauffman was also a performer for Shell Playhouse and on its board of directors. The latter two suppositions are purely educated guesses, but the coincidences, at least, indicate how closely died the first few Carol Lanes were to the New York City area where Shell recruited.

[480]Agreement with Ackerman to become "Carol Lane"; announcements and memos re: "Carol Lane" to be Women's Travel Director of Shell Touring Bureau, 1948. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.9.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study; "At 26 She Earns Living by Taking One Vacation After Another," *The Kansas City Star*, February 5, 1952, 14; "Too Many Loves in Life: Would-Be Valentino Charged With Bigamy," *The Los Angeles Times*.

[481]"Carol Lane: She Loves Being a Leisure-time Cook," 116.; "Letter to Dorry, April 20, 1948." Public appearance-related memos, correspondence, reports, and engagement forms, 1947-1950. Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.6-12.8.. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study; Elizabeth Baker's resume in her personal papers, courtesy of Betsy Brandt-Kreutz and Trish Brandt-Fox.

[482]Lane's travel schedule has been assessed thus far in two ways --- as documented in Caroline Iverson and Elizabeth Baker's personal papers, and speculatively using mapping and the relational database.

- a typical day from February 23, 1950 **[Figure 6**];
- a typical monthly schedule for January 29 through March 6, 1952. **[Figure 7]**
- and a typical club season lecture schedule from September 1950 through June 1951. **[Figure 8]**
- Lane's schedule would change over time. To assess what her approximate routes and schedules looked like after 1952, one can refine the relational database by task ("Future Visit" or "Visit") and year.[483] Moreover, the "Change Over Time" map reflects how often and where she traveled changed year by year. "**Note:** Entries in the database reflect just under *a third* of the articles in the collection. Moreover, the locations where she spoke are mapped on the "Profile" "Future Visits/Visits" subsections throughout the "Carol Lane(s)" tab, and the "Change Over Time" map under the "Data" tab as well.[484]
- Each year the Carol Lane program publicized how many miles she had traveled for research. She admittedly often had to fly to a destination to stay on schedule, and then drive the region; but she also went on well-publicized driving tours and camping trips. [See the "Kitchen In Your Car..." subsection under "The Tourette" in "PR: Strategies."] Over the years she purportedly covered an increasing number of miles:
    - In 1948, Carol Lane tiptoed into her new role by driving between 12,000 and 15,000 miles. However, between 1949 and 1950, she began traveling

[483]More will be added in future. In fact, by searching in this manner what becomes apparent is the PR team's technique of equipping women's clubs event planners and newspaper editors with packaged language that covered her impending visit, the visit itself, and post-visit recap. See the "Connecting with Women's Groups" subsection under the "Audiences" tab for examples. It is also helpful here to also filter by Story Type. To do that, click "Filter," choose "And," then "Story Type", then choose "contains" and type the word "visit" into the text field.

[484]The "Change Over Time" contains less granular information, but it compensates by visualizing her activities as they change from year to year.

significantly more, setting the pace for the next few years. During those two years her distances equaled 40,000-60,000 miles.

    - She maintained 50,000 to 60,000 miles a year through 1954.
    - From 1954 through the mid-1960s, she maintained 60,000 miles a year.
    - From 1968 through retirement in 1974 that number inched up to 70,000.

- Carol Lane also tracked the number of clubwomen and other audiences she addressed live and in-person (thus not including radio-listening and television or film-viewing audiences. Their accounts very. She reported having attended to 10,000-15,000 clubwomen a year early on, then a few years into the 1950s, 150-300 organization a year. By the mid-late 1960s, she claimed to have given 100 such talks or 25,000 clubwomen a year, and by ca.1970: 30,000.
- The number of audiences who encountered Lane only via broadcast media outlets, film media, or print publication, are essentially incalculable. Here, instead, is the number of films she starred in, and publications she authored: at least 30 publications from simple one-page, folded pamphlets to multi-page booklets, and in 1954 a long-form book, *Traveling By Car*. She also designed at least seven craft or fashion patterns. Her travel column ran in approximately over 150 daily and weekly newspapers starting in 1948 until the team wound it down around 1964.
- Carol Lane retired from Shell Oil as well as public life, in 1974. It seems she stopped lecturing in Canada around 1968.

[A map geolocating most of these biographical details can be found in each Lane performer's subsection under the "Carol Lane(s)" tab.]

The End of Carol Lane

> "Carol Lanes never die – they just mate away." – Irma Cunha in *Yosemite Sentinel*, January 11, 1952

The end of the Carol Lane program arrived prosaically, and with no fanfare, in 1974.[485] For a succession of Lanes, it had ended years before. In a 1952 issue of *Yosemite Sentinel*, Irma Cunha, after introducing Elizabeth Baker as "another new and charming Eastern seaboard Carol Lane" to former friends and colleagues at the Ahwahnee Hotel in Yosemite National Park, jokingly quipped, "Carol Lanes never die – they just mate away."[486] While it is difficult to know for certain if marrying was the only reason performers left their positions as Lane, it was the case that Caroline Iverson, Elizabeth Baker, Bea Carpenter, Madeline Bravata, Beatrice Hansen, Dorothy Wendel, Jeannette King, and possibly Muriel Diversi and Audrea Lear, did indeed "mate away."[487]

For quite a few ex-Lanes, however, this transition did not signal the ends of their professional careers. Irma Cunha and others may have left to pursue green pastures elsewhere. For instance, she returned to journalism in Honolulu, and then co-opened an employment agency in that city and San Francisco. Caroline Iverson later earned her M.S. in journalism, and taught in her field at Northwestern University from 1971-1978. Elizabeth Baker, among other things, became both Texas's first "weather girl" at KGUL-TV in Galveston, and later society editor for *Houston Chronicle*'s women's page. Barbara Brooks (Carol Lane, 1960-1961), who seems to have portrayed Carol Lane only for a brief time, continued as Director of Women's Activities for

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[485]To-date, I have found no evidence of a big announcement of any kind regarding this phasing out of the program. I continue to look.

[486]"Ahwahnee News," *Yosemite Sentinel*, January 11, 1952, n.p.

[487]Lucia Cucullu told me in our phone interview on September 8, 2017 that she would love to have played Carol Lane until old age, but she left in 1972 for personal reasons. Audrea Lear stayed on with Shell after marrying, but not as Carol Lane.

the Shell Oil Foundation, the company's philanthropic arm. Audrea Lear, too, continued with Shell Canada until 1973 as its travel director and representative on the Travel Industry Association of Canada's board of directors. Lyn Johnson stayed on in Shell's PR department until approximately the early 1980s. Several other ex-Lanes entered married life having had a high-profile position with a big oil giant which provided opportunities to travel the country, hone their public speaking (and suitcase-packing) skills, and, of course, a budget line for new clothes! Whatever their reasons for leaving, each performer simply handed the keys over to the next woman.

Carol Lane the character, like all of her performers, just quietly slipped away. When Shell Oil formerly phased out the program in 1974, there seemingly were no press releases in newspapers or trade magazines.[488] The company, according to two former Lanes, reportedly ended the program because of the oil crisis. The United States, United Kingdom and other European countries, had just put in place an oil embargo in response to the 1973-1974 Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC). This embargo ushered in several years of oil rationing and other conservation methods like the regulation of the 55-mph speed limit.[489] Perhaps, Carol Lane's boasts about driving 70,000 miles each year for work would have fallen on clubwomen's ears as irresponsible and unseemly at best. About the crisis's effect on Carol Lane's future, *Springfield Leader and Press* writer, C.W. Johnson, explained in June 1974, "the Carol Lane program, with which [his daughter Lyn Johnson] was identified for two years, has been abandoned because of the recent oil shortage but more than likely will be revived

[488]Shell Canada seems to have ended the program about 1968 with Mary-Jane Webster as Lane.

[489]"EPA's Position on the Energy Crisis," EPA, ca.1974, https://www.epa.gov/cache/normal/www2.epa.gov/aboutepa/epas-position-energy-crisis_.html (Accessed June 3, 2021).; "Should We Continue Rationing Gasoline After the War?," National WWII Museum, October 8, 2018, https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/should-we-continue-rationing-gasoline-after-war (Accessed June 3, 2021).

within the next year or so..."[490] In 1978 the trade magazine, *National Petroleum News*, posed the question, "Whatever Happened to 'Carol Lane'?" In response, Elizabeth Baker, on whom the rest of the blurb focused, confirmed the company's reason for ending it.[491]

Finally, Lane's disappearance may have indicated what the editors of *Tide* magazine identified as a potentiality in 1957 – perhaps she, as a living trademark, simply no longer "fit the company…with [that] certain degree of precision" she once did.[492] There seemed to be some hope she would return to her position late 1975 when Shell renewed her trademark, thus keeping her alive in name; but ultimately, she did not.[493] Her trademark lapsed, and the living trademark died in 1996.

Living Trademarks/Brands: Betty Crocker and Aunt Jemima

> "Carol Lane -- a kind of Betty Crocker of the gasoline business..."
>
> – "Shell's Game: Or, How To Make Friends and Influence Profits," *Forbes*, April 1, 1952, 22

Betty Crocker (General Foods), 1920 - Present

Carol Lane appeared in person on television and radio, as did her name in thousands of newspaper articles and public-service-style ads. She was photographed, and publications were attributed to her by name. She was not, however, promoted as a brand or a product. Instead, Shell

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[490]Johnson, C.W., "Without Reservations," *Springfield Leader and Press*, June 16, 1974, 40.

[491]"Whatever Happened to 'Carol Lane'?" *National Petroleum News* 70 (1978): 76.

[492]"The Current State of Live Trademarks," 29.

[493]"CAROL LANE - Trademark Details," Justia Trademarks, https://trademarks.justia.com/716/38/carol-lane-71638318.html (Accessed May 20, 2021). Shell renewed her trademark in the United States on November 1, 1975, but it ultimately expired on August 5, 1996 and was not again renewed.

Oil's public relations department started a woman's department of their Touring Service in order to ingratiate themselves with regional and national publics. By creating a fictional spokeswoman to lead it, she would ultimately join the ranks of other real-life women intellectuals, travel lecturers, or community-focused activists on the club and lecture circuits. General Mills did the same with Betty Crocker and Quaker Oats for Aunt Jemima, who were her most well-known predecessors. All three characters maintained a physical presence, performing live or as featured guests on radio, television or in film. All three were fictional yet embodied and performed by a few to dozens of real women. Shell Oil and Shell Canada's turn to Carol Lane was a development that took about a year to take hold, but when she arrived, the PR department collectively took a page right out of the playbooks of these other living-yet-fictional product spokespeople and directors of corporate women's departments.

In early 1948, Caroline Iverson created the Carol Lane character for Shell Oil's PR department. Iverson had initially been hired specifically to promote the original "proto-Carol Lane," Claire Hoffman, as a touring expert. Hoffman had already served in the role of Director of Shell's Touring Bureau, but her role morphed to include appearances before clubwomen and other groups with whom Iverson was trying to cultivate relationships. Hoffman left at some point before or in March 1948. Before she left, audiences supposedly recognized a similarity between Hoffman and the living brand "Betty Crocker" as reported by Iverson in a March 7, 1947 communique to her superiors in the PR department.[494] There was, however, a distinct difference between Claire Hoffman's public persona and that of Betty Crocker. Hoffman went by her real name, and was not a living trademark. [For more on Claire Hoffman, see her section under the "Carol Lane(s)" tab.]

[494]"Caroline Iverson to H.L. Curtis and G.G. Biggar in letter dated March 7, 1947." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman.

It was Carol Lane, as conceived of by Iverson, who would be more similar in character to Betty Crocker in a number of ways. Both were living trademarks who worked under pseudonyms. Crocker's was derived in the 1920s from adding a "cheery, wholesome, and folksy" first name combined with last name of a recently retired director at General Mills, William G. Crocker.[495] While there is no documentation to verify this was indeed the case, Carol Lane's name is very close – especially when spoken aloud – to Caroline, Iverson's first name. Arguably, Carol Lane is also a play on the word "lane." Both she and Crocker were also fictional amalgamations of joint efforts. Crocker represented the combined hard work of the thirteen-plus women who portrayed her, and the many who remained behind the scenes such as unnamed women who worked out recipes and baking techniques in her test kitchen.[496] Lane represented an entire network of PR managers, performers, secretaries, touring service personnel and more.

What Betty Crocker and Carol Lane had in common, too, was an aura of authority that came from being marketed as such from the start. Crocker was promoted as a "noted cooking authority" as was Lane, "a travel authority," from the moment they were first publicized.[497] These "real women stood behind each name," Laura Shapiro asserts, "enjoyed far more authority as fictional figures than most of their colleagues did as living, breathing home economists."[498] As it would turn out, Carol Lane would actually be a guest travel expert on Betty Crocker's radio

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[495]Marks, Susan, 11.

[496]Murray, Sarah, 43.; "The Betty Crocker Kitchens," bettycrocker.com, https://www.bettycrocker.com/betty-crocker-kitchens (Accessed September 16, 2020).

[497]Marks, Susan, 58.; "Travel Authority To Be Speaker On Achievement Day," *Anderson Daily Bulletin*, October 14, 1953, 3.

[498]Shapiro, Laura, *Something from the Oven* 178.

program some time in 1949; and *Forbes* magazine would call Lane "a kind of Betty Crocker of the gasoline business" in 1952.[499]

One significant way in which they differed was Carol Lane did not have to face a public rebuke for being "imaginary" as did Crocker when *Fortune* magazine outed her in its April 1945 issue. Betty Marvin, a staff writer for her local *Star-Tribune* on April 2nd gave General Mills a platform to tell their side of the story, and she even named other members of the company's public relations and advertising team responsible for bringing Crocker to life.[500] By 1941, General Mills had already begun adding the phrase, "'Betty Crocker' and 'Kitchen-tested' are registered trade marks [sic] of General Mills, Minneapolis, Minn." to advertisements. Conversely, Shell's PR team would never *officially* expose Lane as a fiction, or explain her origin story to the press on a national level. Shell's PR department resisted stating the same publicly about Carol Lane perhaps to hedge against what could have been a PR fiasco for General Mills. There were a few instances in which journalists relayed Carol Lane's fictional status in national magazines (*American Magazine* in 1949, during the transition from Caroline Iverson using her own name to Lane's, and *Car Life* in 1967 wherein they interviewed two performers, Jane Small and Jeannette King).

By 1948, the company to make a more concerted effort to introduce the public to her team of home economists. Known Betty Crocker performers included the aforementioned Marjorie Child Husted, Adelaide Hawley Cumming, Blanche Ingersol, Betty Buchholz, Agnes

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[499]"Shell's Game: Or, How To Make Friends and Influence Profits." *Forbes*, 22.

[500]Marks, Susan, 116.; Marvin, Betty, "24 Years in Kitchen – Worth $1: Betty Crocker, Just a Cozy Name, Best Known Next to Mrs. F.D.R.," *The Star-Tribune*, April 2, 1945, 18. There is a commonly repeated online and in scholarship that it was *Fortune* who outed Betty Crocker in 1945 (sometime before the end of June). However, in an AP story reprinted in a *The Morning Herald* article on February 24, 1945, called "Real Betty Crocker Tired of Phone Calls," the writer states that it was General Mills who opened up in 1944 with the revelation that she was not real. *The Star-Tribune* was her local newspaper because General Mills headquarters was located in Minneapolis. It would relocate to suburb, Garden Valley the next year, along with her newly built Betty Crocker Kitchens.

White Tizard (shown here), and numerous radio performers.[501] The following video clip features Cumming.

Aunt Jemima (Quaker Oats), 1889 - 2021

Like Carol Lane and Betty Crocker, the late Aunt Jemima, too, was a living trademark, if an incredibly racially stereotyped one, grounded in the plantation myth of a "moonlight and magnolias" South. Her origin story as a fictional character reaches back to 1889 when Chris Rutt, a partner in the ill-fated Pearl Milling Company (Quaker Oats would later buy the company), was on the lookout for a brand name, and perhaps, spokesperson, for the supplier's self-rising pancake flour. As legend has it, he encountered a minstrel team known as Baker and Farrell, in St. Joseph, Missouri, performing in blackface, wearing aprons and red bandannas atop their heads, and singing a widely sung tune called "Old Aunt Jemima."[502] Rutt and his partner Charles Underwood, soon thereafter developed the character. Her first high-profile live appearance would be on the company's behalf, at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

The icon has since its inception made painful allusions to enslavement and Old South plantation nostalgia – indeed the mammy iconography depended an association with a domestic slave foreman – and they literally hired as their first performer the formerly enslaved Nancy Green whom they met while she was a domestic worker in Chicago.[503] Quaker Oats' publicity

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[501]Murray, 58; "Agnes White Tizard," Valley Center Historical Society, n.d., https://www.vchistory.org/people/agnes-white-tizard-betty-crocker/ (Accessed May 26, 2021).

[502]Manring, 65-72.

[503]Manring, 51-53; Richardson, Riché, "Can We Please, Finally, Get Rid of 'Aunt Jemima'?" *The New York Times*, June 24, 2015, https://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2015/06/24/besides-the-confederate-flag-what-other-symbols-should-go/can-we-please-finally-get-rid-of-aunt-jemima (Accessed May 28, 2021).

team (which included the ad firm J. Walter Thompson, which also helped popularize Carol Lane) promoted Aunt Jemima as a master of domestic help, pancakes, and southern cooking; however, to be taken seriously, her authority was predicated on her characterization as an asexual, cheerful, and submissive mammy in matronly dress, apron, and head wrap. It is highly unlikely American consumers would have considered her an authority as an African-American woman, if her persona had not been portrayed as such. Moreover, Marilyn Kern-Foxworth notes, "It was an often-inbred belief among whites that because of their antebellum experience, blacks were the master gardeners, farmers, unskilled laborers, and cooks. If a black said such a product was good, the white Northerner reasoned it must be so."[504]

Alternately, her expertise as a "mammy cook" seems to have appealed to southerners too. Editors in at least one southern newspaper, the *Macon Chronicle-Herald* praised her commitment to serving "her master," Colonel Higbee, owner of a plantation at Higbee's Landing, Louisiana. Its February 14, 1952 article on Aunt Jemima, they claimed she was "a genius. In a land of excellent cooks, she was supreme. She was a woman of great native intelligence, who to [sic] a born gift of cooking had added many years of labor and experiment."[505] It is possible, then, that her white radio listeners, film and television viewers, and those customers who encountered her in person at events, in the movies, on Broadway (where there was a musical about her), or in her Disneyland restaurant in Frontierland or as clubwomen, may have indeed perceived her in such a light. Audiences of color, especially African-Americans, Kern-Foxworth confirms through her research, *did not* uniformly feel the same.[506]

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[504]Kern-Foxworth, 114-115.

[505]"Aunt Jemima To Be In Macon Saturday," *Macon Chronicle Herald*, February 14, 1952, 1, 7.

[506]Kern-Foxworth, Marilyn, "Aunt Jemima," *Insite*, June 1988, 18; Kern-Foxworth, *Aunt Jemima*, 77-100. Kern-Foxworth originally addressed the liveness of Aunt Jemima in the June 1988 issue of *Insite*. In both *Insite* and *Aunt Jemima*, the author documents the long history of resistance to the "mammy" trademark by the Black consumers,

From 1951 to the early 1960s, there were many Aunt Jemimas traveling the country and appearing live at events simultaneously. As Kern-Foxworth remarks, "They appeared at supermarkets, trade shows, and other promotional events."[507] There is no evidence to date that indicates Carol Lane and Aunt Jemima performers ever crossed paths at a live event or as fellow guests on a broadcast program. An Aunt Jemima performer (possibly Rosie Lee Moore Hall or an unidentified performer) and Lane performer, Lucia Cucullu, did both speak before the same Women's Department of the Greater Des Moines (Iowa) Chamber of Commerce, but fourteen years apart.[508] The former addressed the department on November 10, 1955 at the local Y.W.C.A., and Carol Lane lectured to the group on October 10, 1968, at the Younkers Tearoom in Des Moines.

Known Aunt Jemima performers included: Nancy Green, Tess Gardella (a white Italian-American in blackface), Maud Woodfork McElroy, Lillian Richard, Edith Wilson, Mrs. Jessie Stokes, Ethel Ernestine Harper, Rosie Lee Moore Hall, Aylene Lewis (shown here), Anna Robinson, Mildred Denning, Lou Blanchard, Anna Short Harrington, and likely a few more yet-to-be-identified.[509] [Betty Crocker and Aunt Jemima are also included in the video essay under the "Introduction" tab.]

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cultural critics, artists, and just generally. M.M. Manring argues the persona "was always more white self-delusion than slave reality."

[507]Kern-Foxworth, *Aunt Jemima*, 70.

[508]"'Aunt Jemima' To Speak Here," *Des Moines Tribune*, November 9, 1955, 18.; Kern-Foxworth, 69; "To Hear Speakers," *The Des Moines Register*, October 6, 1968, 57.

[509]"'Aunt Jemima' Welcomes Ike," *Afro-American*, September 27, 1952, 1-2.; "Pancakes for Ike," *St. Joseph News-Press*, September 16, 1952, 1. Aunt Jemima's visit (Denning is not mentioned by name) was also mentioned in the September 19th edition of *St. Joseph News-Press*, on page 1. Mildred Denning, according to *Afro-American*, had already worked at Aunt Jemima for eleven years. This article documents her appearance in St. Joseph, Missouri, where "Aunt Jemima" received official recognition by then General (later President) Dwight D. Eisenhower. The newspaper reports it was a PR stunt to "appeal to colored voters," and noted St. Joseph was "her" birthplace. "The only colored person admitted inside the official blockade [of the campaign event] was Aunt Jemima."

Living Trademarks and Women-Fronted PR Programs: Bette Malone, Mary Gordon, Marion McKinney, Paula Johnson, Gulf Tourguards, Denise McCluggage

Carol Lane was a member of a comparatively tiny cohort of women who were, during this period, the face of public relations programs for gasoline or transportation companies, though none of them touched Shell in scope. Some were living trademarks, such as Mary Gordon and the Gulf Tourguards. Others were real-life experts. For instance, in the mid-1960s, sports car driver and journalist, Denise McCluggage, made live appearances on behalf of Citgo Petroleum Company, and Paula Johnson test drove a short-lived "Quick Tips" column, inspected gas station bathrooms, and lectured for American Oil. Lane also kept good company with three other fictional and real heads of transportation-related public relations programs: Union Pacific Railroad's real-life Marion McKinney (1939-1960s), as well as the Trans World Airlines' fictional Mary Gordon (1950-1970s) and United Van Lines' Bette Malone (1956-ca.1999). McKinney, as director of Women's Division of Union Pacific Railroad spoke publicly, as did Gordon and the rest. Like Lane, multiple women performed in these roles over the years of their respective programs, and they too published pamphlets or books. Among big oil- or transportation industry-sponsored PR program spokeswomen, only Malone and Gordon rival Lane's level exposure in the media, and number of publications.

The image below visualizes the number for each figurehead as based on the exact same research methods (sources and subject/keyword searching) I employed for Carol Lane. Statistics as of April & May, 2021.

Bette Malone (United Van Lines), 1956 - ca.1999

Based on United Van Lines' estimation in 1956, seventy percent of women surveyed made arrangements for household moves. The company responded by creating the Bette Malone PR program. Malone offered moving and packing advice via correspondence, the column she authored, booklets, and through live and media appearances. She also discussed changing addresses, passport procurement (oddly), and the mental toll moving house can take on children. The first Bette Malone was Mrs. Charlotte Will. One of the earliest articles promoting the new program announced Will would use a copyrighted name, which was then "Bette Somers Malone." (She would drop the "Somers" by about 1960.) Will had been a home economist for an appliance company before taking on this role, as well as a local television personality in the St. Louis, Missouri area. Charlotte Will seems to have held this position through at least 1965. She oversaw a staff of four women, and they collectively did statistical and market research. Her program was based in United Van Lines' headquarters in St. Louis, Missouri.

Performers did not always disclose their personal names, but they, more than Lane, would on occasion use them and insert their own biographical details to Malone's collective persona. Collectively, the performers seemed to have been both married and single, and in the 30s-50s in age. The character was allowed to be married, and indeed at least three iterations were. There were Canadian versions as well, although it is unclear if she made personal appearances in that country. One could write to her at an Ontario address starting in the mid-1960s. There were at least four Bette Malones, and they overlapped at times. Aside from Charlotte Will, Lynn Cochran was Malone circa early 1960s and may have overlapped also with Carol A. Sellew, a home economist, who was Malone from the 1960s through the mid-1970s. Bonnie Hilton overlapped with both Sellew and Tonie J. Lindenberger during the 1970s.

Lindenberger, a former home economist, was director of "Bette Malone Relocation Service" and public affairs. The company stopped using the Betty Crocker-esque (a connection Lindenberger makes in a 1987 interview) "cameo" in the late 1970s. The 1980s seems to have been pivotal period of re-branding and renewed publicity for the service program. She says of the company's decision to initiate the service in the 1950s, "[they] decided that one woman talking to another would be the most effective in relaying information." A Susan Vollmer took over in 1988 as program coordinator. The pseudonym Bette Malone appears to have been retired altogether by about by 1999.

Mary Gordon (Trans World Airlines), 1939 - 1965

Trans World Airlines' (TWA) fictional Women's Travel Advisor, Mary Gordon, offered services such as advice on travel budgeting, tailoring itineraries for women traveling alone or with family or friends, and supplying general travel information. Like Carol Lane, she demonstrated how to pack a suitcase, and she was also the first head of a women's department for the airline industry. She too was portrayed live and on radio/television by a number of yet-to-be-identified women. Also like Lane, it appears that multiple women may have played her at the same time (note the two 1957 articles below). J. Walter Thompson represented Shell Oil, Quaker Oats (for Aunt Jemima), and TWA.

Janet Garlough (1922-1982) developed the Gordon character for TWA after having worked for the company since 1943, first in Chicago. She was the first to portray Gordon. Her June 27, 1982, obituary in The New York Times states of her career that starting in 1955, "Garlough became director of women's sales development and later director of consumer and women's programs for the company; and from 1978 to 1981, she was director of consumer

affairs." Mary Gordon performers were at times quite candid about their true identities. For instance, circa October 1953, the *San Pedro News Pilot* identified Terry Kellogg, as Gordon and as having been a flight attendant. Moreover, in 1954 *The Montana Standard* mentioned "Mary Gordon" was actually Helen Stevenson, and that the name was a pseudonym. Helen Stevenson would stay in this role until she married future governor of New Jersey, Robert B. Meyner. Her personal papers are located in Lafayette College Special Collections & College Archives.

In 1956, a Spanish publication, *Mundo Hispánico*, authors took their coverage of Gordon's multiple personality further by photographing and naming five Gordon performers together as they visited Madrid. Amusingly, after introducing each of the four Mary Gordons -- (L-R) Lorraine Dvorak, Raimunda Maranda, Irene Abbot, and Barbara Hill (not shown) -- the authors referred to the plurality as "Las Mary Gordon" (the Mary Gordons) and used the plural pronoun "ustedes." TWA reintroduced its own employees to Gordon as a living trademark during what appears to be a 1962 relaunch of the program, although they did not use that term. In their employee newspaper, *Skyliner*, they published an article, "'Mary Gordon' Wins a Name For Herself As Travel Advisor," in which the authors explained that the name was a pseudonym "just like Betty Crocker," and that four women played her. The performers circa 1962 were: Irene Abbott, Connie Keegan, Lorraine Roller, and Carolyn Lee Swisher. In a future research project on Mary Gordon, I intend to discover the identities of as many of the women who played her over the years as I can. Carol Lane and Mary Gordon were once mentioned in the same newspaper article! The Mary Gordon PR program appears to have wound down circa 1971.

Marion A. McKinney (Union Pacific Railroad), 1963 - ca. 1967

Marion McKinney, a real trained home economist, stepped into the role of manager of, and spokesperson for, the Women's Travel Department of Union Pacific Railroad on February 1, 1939.[510] She was a real expert who went by her own name. Her office was in Chicago, which was a bit of a coming home as she was from Aledo, Illinois. Previously, she had been in sales and promotion for Westinghouse Company in Los Angeles, California. McKinney presented before women's social clubs and professional associations, PTAs, etc. Her presentations included demonstrating how to pack a 28-inch suitcase, employing at times an 18-inch "Carrie Career" doll (that she appears to have designed), as well as distributing advice about traveling with children and budgeting. She also addressed women and their role in regard to the railroad industry, and travel etiquette, distributed folders informational folders with such titles as "Wardrobe Suggestions for Your Western Trip."[511] In 1952, American Council of Railroad Women elected her vice president.[512] Marion McKinney retired on October 1, 1965 from Union Pacific.

Paula Johnson (American Oil), 1963 - ca. 1967

Paul Johnson, a real-life head of the American Oil PR program for women, graduated from Indiana University with a journalism degree before the company hired her in 1963 as an editorial assistant in their public relations department. She was quickly promoted to writer and

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[510]"Marion McKinney Has New Position," *The Times*, January 13, 1939, 8; *Wisconsin State Journal*, May 5, 1954, 14.

[511]"RBWA Holds National Convention," *B & O Magazine*, September 1942, 30.

[512]"People and Events," *Chicago Tribune*, November 21, 1952, 57.

editor of the company's employee magazine.[513] At some point before 1967 she was promoted again to part-time women's representative. Like Carol Lane, she toured the country speaking live before women's groups and appearing on television, while also authoring a travel column, and articles for internal publications and women's magazines.[514] Also like Carol Lane, Johnson toured the country lecturing live to women's groups and appearing on television while writing an occasional advice column, and articles for magazines or American Oil publications. There is little evidence of Paula Johnson mentioned in publications after 1967.

Loretta Daniels, Susan Catt, et. al. (Gulf Oil), ca. 1966-1973

Gulf Oil sponsored the Gulf Tourguards, real-life "white glove" inspectors of its service stations' levels of cleanliness including general appearance and restrooms. It was a role performed by a series of women from approximately 1966 to 1970s. They were publicized under their own names. References to the Tourguards in newspaper and magazine mentions were few in number, however, below are extant ads or newspaper articles found to-date. Around 1966, Gulf hired Susan Catt to be a Tourguard. According to the *Daily Courier* on August 26, 1967, Catt was engaged to be married the next year. It appears that Gulf extended its program into Canada by 1969. At least two Gulf Tourguards – Georgene Moskal and Barbara Polhamus – traveled that region. Circa 1971, the company named Loretta Daniels a Gulf Tourguard. She was from Philadelphia area, and assigned to the New England area. She is the only Black woman discovered yet in a similar public-facing role for a major oil company during the same period as the Carol Lane program.

[513]Lamm, "Powder Puffery," 85.

[514]Lamm, "Powder Puffery," 84.

Gulf supported the publication of an advice column, "Headlights Helpful Advice For The Women Driver," written by Kay Nicolette, Women's Service Director, Gulf Oil Corporation. It seems to have only lasted from 1971 to 1972. According to a May 6, 1971 issue of *The Pittsburgh Press*, Nicolette also spoke to clubs, in this case the Desk & Derrick Club, about Gulf Tourguards.

Denise McCluggage (Citgo Petroleum), ca. 1966-1967

During ca.1966-1967, Denise McCluggage was Citgo Petroleum's women's driving adviser. She "competed in sports car races and rallies" in the United States, and was the only "American woman to drive for European factory teams" during her time.[515] For example, in 1963, she signed with British Motor Corporation to drive its car in the 2,100 European Alpine rally.[516] Denise McCluggage has by far much more public recognition than Carol Lane. There is far too much to writer about her fascinating life before and after her short stint with Citgo for this short sketch. She died in 2015.[517] McCluggage penned a paperback book sponsored by Citgo called *Are You a "Woman Driver"?* (1966). It covered handling cars, tips on maintenance, safe practices, and more. It was distributed out of Cities Services stations nationwide.[518] Because she was as known for her journalism as she was for her racing skills, it seems fitting that she acts as a segue between their kinship as heads of women's departments, and Lane's fellow authors.

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[515]"Be Sure to Meet Denise McCluggage," advertisement, *The Sheboygan Press*, September 2, 1966, 5.

[516]Farren, Dave, "Automotive Views," *Courier-Post*, June 18, 1963, 18.

[517]You can read more about McCluggage on her website, http://www.denisemccluggage.com/ (Accessed June 4, 2021).

[518] Lamm, "Powder Puffery," 85.

Other Women Columnists on Travel and Driving: Emily Post, Charlotte Montgomery, Julie Chandler, Miss *Traveltime*

Emily Post, 1949

In 1949, Caroline Iverson and the PR department considered distributing Emily Post's book on driving etiquette, *Motor Manners*.[519] In an internal memo from 1949 states: "If all arrangements can be worked out satisfactorily, 25,000 copies of *Motor Matters* by Emily Post will be purchased and sent to Public Libraries with the compliments of Miss Lane..."[520] Nine days later, Lane mentioned Post's book in her column, "Tips on Touring": "I enjoyed Emily Post's book on *Motor Manners* so much that I dropped around to see her the other day – and came away with these etiquette tips. For men: 'The Horn should never be used to announce arrival or to call someone to the car... For women: 'Shorts are permissible attire when driving, with a skirt to be whisked on when propriety demands...'"[521] Lane proceeded to pen and distribute her own booklets later that year. In 1959, a year before she died, Post wrote a series of driving etiquette columns for *The New York Times*.[522]

Charlotte Montgomery, 1950 - 1970s

In October 1950 *Good Housekeeping* launched a monthly advice column, "Speaker of the House," written by automotive editor Charlotte Montgomery, for women drivers.[523] The

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[519]For more about Emily Post and her writings on car travel see, "On The Road," https://emilypost.com/about/on-the-road (Accessed May 7, 2021).

[520] "Minutes, Public Relations General Meeting, New York, June 1, 2 and 3, 1949." Papers of Caroline Iverson Ackerman, 1927-2004 (inclusive), 1939-1949 (bulk), MC 572, Box 12-13; Vt-157; MP-57, 12.6-12.8. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

[521] Lane, Carol, "Tips on Touring," *Wilmington Daily Press-Journal*, June 10, 1949.

[522] "Emily Post Is Dead Here at 86," *The New York Times*, September 27, 1960, 1 & 37.

[523] Parkin, 112. Sources differ as to when the magazine launched Montgomery's column. Parkin pinpoints June 1956, and I have discovered newspaper references to her column as far back as 1952.

magazine published her column into the 1970s. Her monthly *Good Housekeeping* columns were reprinted in daily newspapers. In 1954, she was honored as "the advertising woman of the year" by the Advertising Federation of America. In future she would receive a number of national honors. In 1955, she published a book, *Handbook for the Woman Driver: A Must for the Woman at the Wheel*. In her column and book, "she organized her advice to highlight what needed attention and how women could secure it, as opposed to how to fix it themselves."[524] Petroleum company Phillips 66 reissued a later edition in 1960. Charlotte Montgomery even mentioned Carol Lane program in her June 1956 column.

Like Carol Lane, Montgomery also made live appearances well into the early 1980s speaking about the woman driver and other related topics, before women's clubs such as home extension associations and the Business and Professional Women's Federation Clubs, the Association of University Women, advertising associations, consumer groups, Girl Scouts, and writer's workshops. Circa 1970, Citgo Petroleum's Cities Services Oil Company sponsored a series of presentations by Montgomery called "Show and Tell." At this point she was the only woman vice president on the National Safety Council. The purpose was to feminize car care.

Julie Chandler, 1964 – 1982

Julie Chandler wrote a monthly column, "Woman at the Wheel," for the national magazine, *Woman's Day*, from 1964 to 1982. According to her obituary in the *Detroit Free Press* on January 13, 2016, she was cited as "the first woman in the United States to write an automobile

[524]Parkin, 112.

column for a major woman's magazine" by the Congressional Record in 2002. She was initiated into the Michigan Journalism Hall of Fame in 1999.[525]

Miss *Traveltime*, 1947

In February 1947, the very short-lived *Traveltime* magazine introduced its travel columnist, Miss *Traveltime* who, it touted, was a "composite presentation of the American Girl."

Shell Answer Man Campaign

The Shell Answer Man was another of the company's fictional living trademarks, but one whose character only made appearances in print advertisements and radio and television commercials. After the Carol Lane program wound down in 1974, the Shell Answer Man character essentially took up the mantel where she left off as a public spokesperson to whom all consumers and motorists could turn for advice on car maintenance and the mechanics of driving. He did not tackle issues around travel budgeting and childcare on road trips. His role was to answer hypothetical questions, and to give out general tips. The advertising campaign overlapped with Lane's PR program for about seven years, starting in approximately 1967, and would last through 1982, with its heyday being 1976-1982. The company then resurrected the character in 1990.

Shell Answer Man came to be the face of the company in the U.S. in ways that were antithetical to Lane's promotional techniques. He openly promoted Shell Oil. He was the man with the answers, and a fellow fictional expert like Lane; but unlike she, he was neither

[525]Gerl, Ellen J. and Craig L. Davis, "Selling Detroit on Women: Woman's Day and Auto Advertising, 1964-82," *Journalism History* 38, no. 4 (Winter 2013), 209.

publicized as a researcher, nor did he claim to incorporate tips garnered from audience members into his 30-second spiels or print ads. Rather, Shell presented him as both an authority in his own right and as a mouthpiece for the company. There were no attempts made to subtly disguise the fact he was a fictional construct. His trade name was less a nom de plume, and more a brand name. He was not given a backstory, or a corporate biography to explain whereby he gained his expertise.

By implication, he – and maybe even an actor portraying him – came by his knowledge "naturally" through personal driving experience. As a character derived purely for advertisements, his communication methods were one-way, meaning he did not appear live before or chat with audiences or answer letters himself (although some early advertisements insinuated he did.) **[Figures 1 – 3]** Referring to the 1990s version, an *Adweek* journalist called him "blandly authoritative."[526] He furthermore supplemented his sage advice with Shell's collective know-how. He could "literally stand in the middle of the road, deflecting the [oil] crisis by offering free booklets."[527]

From 1976 to 1982, and later again in the 1990s, he cross-promoted a series of helpful, numbered booklets with titles like *Shell Answer Book #7: The Driving Emergency Book*. These booklets were the main focus of the company's new PR campaign called "Come to Shell for Answers." During these periods, Shell freely distributed almost one billion of these booklets from its service stations, as inserts in magazines, and by mail.[528] Its target audience for this

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[526]Lippert, Barbara, "Shell's Answer Man Returns With Blow-Dry Advice," *Adweek*, November 19, 1990, n.p.. https://advance-lexis-com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:3SJB-2KD0-0018-902X-00000-00&context=1516831 (Accessed June 2, 2021).

[527]Lippert, Barbara, n.p.

[528]Robinson, 120. From 1976 through 1982, and then again in the 1990s, the advertising firm, Ogilvy & Mather handled this campaign for Shell Oil. Advertising agency Ogilvy and Mather/Houston was behind the campaign until Shell ceased being a client in 1999. It is possible that Ogilvy and Mather before choosing the title for their new

campaign was the average driver, not specifically women.[529] Shell Answer Man did not author these booklets, however. His role as a straightforward brand spokesperson would refer to them on-screen, but they were the real PR promotion. The company did attribute authorship to other Shell representatives by name. For example, Shell dealer representative, Nancy Curry, wrote *Shell Answer Book #7*. Shell also published these sequential booklets under the name *Shell Helps* in Canada. It is unclear whether his commercial advertisements ran on Canadian television and radio. Authors of the various editions of *Shell Answer Book* answered questions – supposedly asked by the public – throughout the texts. **[Figures 4 - 12]**

A number of professional actors portrayed Shell Answer Man. They include, actor Vincent O'Brien, who portrayed Shell Answer Man throughout the late 1960s and 1970s; voice actor Don Morrow, portrayed him for seven years in the 1960s-1970s; actor Richard Anderson (of 1970s *The Six Million Dollar Man* and *The Bionic Woman* fame) who portrayed him in television commercials 1976-1982; and actor Madison Mason, who portrayed him for five years during the 1990s.

Shell Answer Man would over the years become a colloquial sobriquet for Do-It-Yourself tinkerers, craftsmen, or living databases of knowledge. Since the late 1960s his pseudonym has remained in cultural parlance even through today. **[Figure 13]** This may be due to Shell's having revived the character in 1990, thus introducing him to new audiences. Despite the fact her program and his advertising campaign were both nearly thirty years long (there was an eight-year break during the late 1980s for his), there has only been long-lasting resonance

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character, they were familiar with, and perhaps banking on, the public's familiarity with the *The Answer Man*, a 15-minute radio program that aired from 1937 to 1956 on the Mutual Broadcasting System network (WOR, New York), and in syndication. There was a song, "The Answer Man," credited to songwriters Redd Harper, Paul Williams, Herb Geller and others, and performed by a number of entertainers in the decades prior to the campaign. Moreover, it was also the name of a teleplay by Hettie M. Cooks, and a series of films produced by Universal Pictures starting in 1946.

[529]Gannette News Service, "Shell Books Aid Public Relations," *El Paso Times*, January 2, 1980, 13.

with fans of Shell Answer Man. Basically, Carol Lane's name does not seem to have lingered as an American or Canadian moniker for a female travel expert, home economist, or even skilled suitcase packer, in the way his has for a walking encyclopedia. In fact, quite the opposite. She has rarely been referred to in print publications since her retirement; and there has been little in the way of reflecting back on the program (until now!)[530]

Shell's publicizing of Lane was dependent upon its network of syndicated regional newspapers, marketing divisions' relationships with local television and radio outlets, and word-of-mouth. Her program was never truly backed by a nationwide broadcast media campaign in quite the same way as the company backed its Answer Man. Shell sponsored at least five five-minute films for the Carol Lane program for both live screenings and television, and its publicity machine was dependent on Shell's network of broadcast and newspaper outlets, but no commercials have been discovered to date. Additionally, Lane's national media coverage – namely women's and travel magazines – was spotty. The chart below **[Figure 14]** demonstrates Shell's marketing foci for each character, and the significant disproportion in the number of newspaper mentions each received. Between 1947 and 1974, there were approximately 5,400 mentions of Carol Lane's name, in both American and Canadian newspapers; while between 1967 and 1982, and then again from 1990-1999, Shell Answer Man received approximately 1,007.[531] This discrepancy in number reinforces the supposition that he appeared far more on

[530]According to basic keyword searches in Newspapers.com and Google in 2021, from 1947 to 1974, Carol Lane was mentioned in collections of scanned newspapers (minus a generous 20% for duplicates or false hits) over 4,300 times. After 1974, there were only – at most – twenty mentions, including obituaries for Caroline Iverson, Irma Cunha, Beatrice Hansen, Dorothy Wendel, Madeline Bravata, Elizabeth Baker, and Sherry Baker. Moreover, of the twenty were also obituaries for Carol Lane Award recipients or "On this day in history" sort of blurbs mentioning a local group who had won an award in decades past.

[531]This is based on a search in Newspapers.com using search-term combinations "Carol Lane" + "Shell Oil" or "Shell Canada," and then "Shell Answer Man." Dates run 1947 to present for Lane, and 1967 to present for Man.

television and magazine pages, and potentially the company's shifting marketing priorities generally.[532]

Essentially audiences on the East and West Coasts had their own dedicated Lane, while conversely, Shell positioned its Answer Man as a national media figure. Even though a series of actors portrayed him for years at a stretch – it was the same man for stretches at a time. Media consumers had the same cultural point of reference when it came to him, not so for Lane.

"Hello, I'm Carol Lane (A Reimagining)"
[Video: "Hello, I'm Carol Lane (A Reimagining)" (1:31min., 2021)]

The East and West Coast Lanes of yore, as well as actresses and models Shell's PR department hired to portray Lane in one-off productions, all fit a certain feminine type: female/cisgendered, aged 21-38 upon hire, spoke English and French, and presented as white, presumably heterosexual, and able-bodied. The PR team seem to choose these women because they epitomized who they envisioned to be most relatable to her target demographic of disproportionately white clubwomen and motorists. To a large degree, they were correct in their assessment. According to the "Census Tract Data (Select)" tool under the "Data" tab, the counties in which Shell's PR department publicized the Carol Lane program, and where she presented live, had populations that were on average around 90% or more white. Moreover, the number of Black-owned newspapers in which she promoted was negligible, so her outreach to Black clubwomen was correspondingly limited. The same went for other populations of color. The population's racial breakdown in the United States and Canada today, however, reflects a meaningful change demographically. While the report does not refine its data by county, 72% of the U.S. population who responded to the U.S. Census Bureau's 2019 "American Community

[532]Paikowski, Lisa, "The Answer Man Returns to Shell Out Car Advice," *Chicago Tribune*, April 21, 1991, 92.

Survey 1-Year Estimates," self-identified as white.[533] (The estimated percentage of Canadians identifying as a "visible minority," in Canada in 2016 was 22.3%; or invertedly, over 77% claimed to be white.)[534] It is fruitful to speculate how the Carol Lane program would have responded to the demographic changes if it had continued into the twenty-first century.

A recent PR effort by Shell to acknowledge the roles and changing faces of women and girls at least in the U.S., may offer clues. In 2020, the company endeavored to appeal to women in honor of International Women's Day on March 8th with what one magazine called, "a stunning display of performative feminism." The effort entailed changing out the signage at *one* gas station in San Dimas, California, to read "She'll" (along with the tagline "#MakeTheFuture gender balanced") instead of "Shell."[535] **[Figure 1]** The incentive behind adding "the simple addition of an apostrophe" was meant "to show that small gestures can motivate and deliver big messages."[536] The PR stunt was roundly mocked.[537]

This last subsection, "Hello, I'm Carol Lane (A Reimagining)," offers an alternative vision for, and visually speculates on, the question "Who would Carol Lane be today?"[538]

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[533]"Race and Ethnicity," Data Census, n.d., https://data.census.gov/cedsci/vizwidget?g=0100000US&infoSection=Race&type=chart&chartType=bar (Accessed June 4, 2021).

[534]"People of Colour in Canada: Quick Take," Catalyst, October 20, 2020, https://www.catalyst.org/research/people-of-colour-in-canada/ (Accessed June 4, 2021).

[535]"Shell to Become She'll for International Women's Day," Convenience Store News, March 5, 2020, https://csnews.com/shell-become-shell-international-womens-day (Accessed June 4, 2021).; Zorilla, Mónica Marie, "Yes, Shell Is Changing Its Name to She'll for Women's Day (But Only at 1 Station)," Adweek, March 6, 2020, https://www.adweek.com/brand-marketing/yes-shell-is-changing-its-name-to-shell-for-womens-day-but-only-at-1-station/ (Accessed June 4, 2021). That particular service station was chosen because it was run by two female dealers who were at the time also the largest distributor of Shell branded-oil in the state.

[536]"Shell to Become She'll for International Women's Day," Convenience Store News.

[537]Sung, Morgan, "Shell Will Change Its Name to She'll for International Women's Day, Effectively Solving Sexism, Mashable, March 6, 2020, https://mashable.com/article/shell-international-womens-day/ (Accessed June 4, 2021).

[538]It furthermore offers another small, but hopefully more up-to-date and amusing gesture than Shell's.

Specifically, the video at right offers an alternate, imaginary vision of who and what Lane, as a living trademark, might represent today in order to gain the confidence of a more diverse cross-section of women motorists and their allies. It features a montage of crowdsourced cell phone videos – plus a few videorecorded by the author – featuring family members, friends, children of friends, strangers, pets, and even inanimate objects, introducing themselves as Carol Lane. The idea to invite a diverse group of friends and strangers to perform as Lane, even if for a few seconds, originated in January 2020 as a desire to visualize what characteristics she might exhibit to continue to appeal to women, and audiences generally. The video "Hello, I'm Carol Lane (A Reimagining)" reappraises and reanimates Lane for today's motorist.

VISUAL PROSOPOGRAPHY & THE AFFORDANCES OF A DIGITAL PLATFORM

My dissertation, "Changing Lanes: A Reanimation of Shell Oil's Carol Lane," is a case study about a mid-20th-century multimedia public relations (PR) program, sponsored by Shell Oil and Shell Canada, Ltd., that targeted American and Canadian women motorists as their primary demographic. "Changing Lanes" reanimates a long-forgotten "living trademark" by reconstructing the network of associates in, and the physical routes through, which she traveled. Formally, it is a nonlinear and browsable digital guidebook to the Carol Lane program. The guidebook introduces a visitor to the program's personnel such as Carol Lane performers, support staff and management. It analyzes and historicizes the program's PR tactics in the context of Shell's marketing practices during the same period; and it dissects what might at first glance appear to be a monolithic audience into groups of women according to how they encountered Lane be it live, in print, or via broadcast media. The dissertation furthermore maps Carol Lane's activities over time, and exhibits a majority of the evidences I utilized in my analysis. It also contextualizes the Carol Lane program within a cohort of other living trademarks and fellow auto-maintenance and travel columnists. Lastly, integrated into the project are video essays and experiments documenting material changes to the venues and surrounding landscapes where Lane lectured, and a sewing demonstration using one of her patterns.

This methodology section begins by addressing a primary question: Why a digital project? I discuss the various affordances and limitations of creating a fully digital dissertation

and how, critically, my methodological choices dictated accessible, online presentation.[539] I will then turn my focus to my interdisciplinary methodological of choice, a hybrid approach I call "visual prosopography." I define the term and its constituent parts: prosopography and visual and performative research methods. In the Appendices, I explain my choice to use the Esri ArcGIS Story Map platform, sustainability and accessibility, and discuss collaboration, ethical concerns, labor, and methods for standardization of data (Appendix I). Next, I supply a comprehensive list of the physical and online repositories and other sources from which I borrowed, was gifted, or purchased primary documents used in this project (Appendix II). See the "Works Cited and Consulted | Primary Sources" section below for a full list of source materials, both primary and secondary, and a graphical special literature review [Website only, see https://carollaneproject.com/] wherein I discuss authors and digital projects that have shaped my thinking about this project.

Why a Digital Project?

"Changing Lanes" was never intended to be a companion website to a monograph. It was intended from inception to be experienced, or consumed, only online. A principal and essential asset of a digital dissertation is that it expands beyond the traditional monograph. It simplifies the incorporation of a searchable database of primary source materials along with an exhibition space for digital proxies of textual and photographic evidence and interpretation: data visualizations and maps, original recordings, images, PDFs, video essays, and interactive features. This affordance meshes exactly with one of three key facets of a fully digital dissertation project as laid out in the best practices guidelines (George Mason University's

[539]An ArcGIS Story Map is a product of Environmental Systems Research Institute [Esri]. It is discussed in further detail below.

History and Art History departments') to which I have referred.[540] One is "direct access to a repository of primary sources, compiled datasets, or materials with stable Uniform Resource Identifiers (URIs)." My project gives direct access to a "repository" of images and PDFs embedded throughout the exhibition space, and it includes a searchable database with stable links to digital proxies.[541]

My hybrid methodology has been extensively reliant upon digital technologies. Prosopographical research requires users have direct access to source materials via a relational database (a digital object) so they may juxtapose and evaluate documents (digital proxies) that reference their subject or subjects under study. So too, scholars who use visual research methods advocate for presentation of multimodal research evidence because, beyond merely being illustrative, images carry information the written word cannot.[542] Exhibiting research results online is one way to reach a broader audience. Relatedly, another key facet for fully digital dissertations is clear application of digital methods.[543] This project incorporates geospatial analysis and data visualizations along with analytical prose that explains how the tools work, how they helped answer specific questions about audiences, Carol Lane's routes over the years, and more. The primary suite of visualization tools I chose, Esri's ArcGIS Online, is flexible,

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[540]My American Studies department does not have best practices guidelines for digital dissertations, so I have turned to the George Mason University's "Digital Dissertation Guidelines" for the fields of History and Art History, https://historyarthistory.gmu.edu/graduate/phd-history/digital-dissertation-guidelines (Accessed April 13, 2021). It should be noted that since at least the 1990s undergraduates and graduated students have created fully and partially senior theses, digital dissertations, and Master's theses to support scholarship that could not be undertaken in print on formats such as CD-ROMs and the World Wide Web. See University of Virginia's Michael Kirschenbaum's list here: https://web.archive.org/web/19990129060732/http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/ETD/directory/browse.html (Accessed April 22, 2021).

[541]George Mason University, "Digital Dissertation Guidelines."

[542]Banks, Marcus, *Using Visual Data in Qualitative Research*. (Los Angeles [Calif.]: SAGE, 2007): 2-18.; Rose, Gillian, *Visual Methodologies : An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2016), 347-349.

[543]George Mason University, "Digital Dissertation Guidelines."

stable, and contains multimodal digital storytelling tools that work in conjunction with web mapping and applications for visualizing quantifiable data. I address these affordances at length in the Appendices.

Fully digital dissertations are routinely public-facing, and thus, they can potentially "inform and engage those outside the university setting."[544] With that in mind, I necessarily provide multiple ways for visitors to engage with the content, be it interacting with the data visualizations and maps, reading prose, or watching a short video. When and if interested parties come to the "Changing Lanes" site, they have the opportunity to learn about my understanding of how multinational corporations' twentieth-century used public relations tactics or how a big oil company historically targeted women customers according to their assumed gender, race, class and location. They may also read about women's clubs during their heyday in the United States and Canada, follow advice on how to pack a suitcase economically, or take in how the landscapes where Carol Lane performers lectured have changed over the decades. They are, in other words, invited to come to their own understandings.

These features "provide capabilities that afford or constrain action" by the user from interface design, to the ways information is able to be organized, to the reliability of server hosting.[545] At the formal or material level the interface presents "a set of encoded instructions for reading, viewing, listening, or experiencing. In a performative approach, the cognitive capacities of the reader *make* the work through an encounter."[546] Consequently, communicating how

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[544]"About Digital Humanities," Digital Humanities at Duke University, https://digitalhumanities.duke.edu/about-digital-humanities (Accessed April 13, 2021).

[545]Klein, Lauren, "What exactly is materiality?" Media, Materiality, and Archives syllabus Spring 2016, http://blogs.iac.gatech.edu/archives16/2016/03/28/what-exactly-is-materiality/ (Accessed November 4, 2019).

[546]Drucker, Johanna, "Performative Materiality and Theoretical Approaches to Interface," *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 7, no. 1 (2013), http://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/7/1/000143/000143.html (Accessed November 4, 2019.

content is accessed, and providing navigation advice for those outside – or inside – the university setting, is a critical generosity. I did not design and code the project from scratch, so to a significant extent, the constraints and capabilities afforded by ArcGIS Online are innate to the platform. That said, every attempt has been made to make this project site as navigable as possible under these constrictions, including providing a "how-to" section under the "Contents/User Guide" tab. In the Appendices, I also describe in greater detail how I have taken advantage of the mechanisms by which the Esri product conforms to current standards for web accessibility.

"Visual Prosopography"

I thought I had made up the term "visual prosopography." However, when I searched for other scholarly and popular uses of the phrase, I discovered another digital humanities project called the "Modern Greek Visual Prosopography" project which launched as online resource in 2006. Describing how its creator, the National Hellenic Research Foundation, defined the hybrid term helps to differentiate my definition. (It seems fitting as the word "prosopography" is Greek for "persona-writing"!) The Foundation uses "visual prosopography" quite literally to mean a database of portraiture of "more than 12,000 digitized portraits of Greek men and women who have attained distinction in every sphere of life, from the fall of Constantinople [1453] to the present day [living individuals not included].[547] Alternatively, I extend the meaning of "visual" to include data visualizations, maps, advertisements, moving images, images of text (digitized

[547]Modern Greek Visual Prosopography project by National Hellenic Research Foundation http://pandektis.ekt.gr/pandektis/handle/10442/14056 (accessed April 21, 2021).; "Research Strands," ConnectClerics.com, https://connectedclerics.com/our-research/ (Accessed April 21, 2021). There is also the "Connect Clerics" project out of Royal Holloway, University of London. It showcases something they call "The Visual Prosopography Strand." They define this one "research strand" as providing, "the technical framework for the project, developing adapted network software, mapping episcopal networks, and conducting a macro analysis of their evolution."

newspaper and magazine clippings), published and unpublished photographs, as well as portraiture (in this case professional headshots). Graphical representations such as data visualizations on the "Changing Lanes" site, illustrate prosopographical data which is in this – and most – cases purely textual and numerical. Moreover, the many still and moving images exhibited throughout the site are evidences themselves, and/or are illustrative proxies for textual works found in the searchable database under the "Data" tab. The exhibition space facilitates close reading of these visual media for research purposes which I describe in further detail below.

The Oxford English Dictionary provides the most succinct definition for prosopography as a practice: "A study or description of an individual's life, career, etc.; *esp.* a collection of such studies focusing on the public careers and relationships of a group in a particular place and period; a collective biography."[548] Prosopography as a method collocates and standardizes these

[548] Booth, Alison, "What is collective biography?" Collective Biographies of Women: How Books Reshape Lives, http://cbw.iath.virginia.edu/definition-collective_biography.php (Accessed April 21, 2021).; Oxford University Press, "prosopography, n." OED Online. https://www-oed-com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/view/Entry/153010?rskey=wsw0vA&result=1 (Accessed October 25, 2019). Not all researchers and scholars conflate "collective biography" with prosopography, but I use them interchangeably. Alison Booth at the University of Virginia defines "collective biography" as "the term for works that present multiple short prose narratives about different individuals *in the same publication*." She furthermore distinguishes prosopography as more quantitative. Methodologically, my project comprises biographical and organizational sketches based on qualitative evidence and quantitative data in one publication, loosely defined. Usefully, Booth clarifies that both techniques can "help acknowledge marginalized groups as well as elites," and echoes Lawrence Stone in asserting they also adjust an author's focus away from the individual alone to one that is connected to a group. I anticipate if a visitor coming to my project site were to drop in on any section, and encounter the word "prosopography" for the first time, it may seem like impenetrable jargon; so pairing the terms is a generous compromise. Interaction between the various groups that made up Carol Lane is of key importance to understanding who she was as a composite character. "Group biography" is a subset of collective biography that focuses on people who definitely interacted in their lifetimes, for instance, in a family or a social organization. As an example, the loose assemblage of early twentieth-century English writers, artists, and intellectuals called the Bloomsbury Group (including authors Virginia Woolf, John Maynard Keynes, E. M. Forster and Lytton Strachey) is often written about in a group biography. I have turned to *Atticus Finch,* by Joseph Crespino, as a rare example of a group biography of a fictional character. Crespino intertwines biographical sketches of four intersecting versions of Finch: the film character in *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1962) portrayed by Gregory Peck, Finch the literary character from Harper Lee's novel of the same name (1960), a similar father figure from *Go Set a Watchman* (2015), and her real-life father, Amasa Coleman Lee, who was a journalist and lawyer. This amalgamated biography demonstrates how a fictional character can signify and embody changing cultural trends and predispositions, or "the phenomena that transcend the level of the individual actors," over time.

disparate bits of information about individuals and groups from a variety of sources in order to study or describe them. Thus, the practice necessitates creating a relational database whether it be a simple spreadsheet or an expansive, specially built one as I have created.[549] My project includes such a database with a subset of 22,815 fields of data (of well over 60,000), transcribed from over 1,500 publications, that quantifies the program's efforts. These data specify locations where Lane traveled (and which Lane), facilitates grouping audiences by type and number, indicates what kinds of stories about Lane were most prevalent, how the campaign changed over time, and more.

Thus far, prosopographical research on Carol Lane has culminated in a collective biography of an individual. It entails a detailed description of her "life, career, etc." as both an *individual* (if fictional) who maintained a corporate backstory populated with personal, academic, and professional accomplishments, and as a *collection of studies* of the "public careers and relations of a group" of women who portrayed her. Its scope narrows in on a particular place (North America – specifically the United States and Canada) and period (20th Century, bulk: 1947-1974). To this collective biography I have added brief descriptions of the other PR professionals involved with the Carol Lane program, and her audiences grouped by affiliation. Koenraaad Verboven et al., in their "A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography," help make my case for including other PR department staff and her audiences in the collective biography. They argue that the method can also be used "to understand phenomena that transcend the level

[549]"Relational database," Wiki.GIS.com, http://wiki.gis.com/wiki/index.php/Relational_database (Accessed April 21, 2021). According to Wiki.GIS.com "A relational database is a database that groups data using common attributes found in the data set. The resulting 'clumps' of organized data are much easier for people to understand. For example, a data set containing all the real estate transactions in a town can be grouped by the year the transaction occurred; or it can be grouped by the sale price of the transaction; or it can be grouped by the buyer's last name; and so on. Such a grouping uses the relational model (a technical term for this is schema). Hence such a database is called a "relational database."

of the individual actors and emphasize the study of external features of individual lives."[550] I argue that the composite Carol Lane derived from essentially multiple external features. Business associates helped to craft her composite corporate biography, organized her trips, and promoted her to audiences of clubwomen and women's page editors who in turn perpetuated and cultivated Lane's mythology through their publications and word of mouth. Moreover, all of these parties were subject to "phenomena that transcend[ed] the level of the individual" Lane: the broadcast and print media environment in which the program initiated, Jim Crow Laws and biased redlining practices that influenced which marketing districts (particularly in the United States) she visited, a renewed postwar interest in domestic travel by car and hobbies (and relatedly traffic safety and Interstate Highway beautification efforts), and the fact that the mid-twentieth-century period also coincided with a midcentury heyday for women's clubs. Through the process of collocating, describing, and standardizing these disparate bits of information about these individuals and groups from a variety of contemporaneous sources, evidence comes together to produce new insights about cultural influences.

Factoid Prosopography

The particular form of prosopographic inquiry I use is a simplified version of the factoid method in terms of structure, but I take methodological cues from the thinking behind the processes. It presents a refinement which usefully blends quantitative and qualitative understanding of groupings of source materials that surface.[551] "Factoid," in this sense, is defined

[550]Keats-Rohan, K., *Prosopography Approaches and Applications : A Handbook.* (Oxford: Unit for Prosopographical Research, Linacre College, University of Oxford, 2007), 67.

[551]I am grateful to my committee member, Dr. Ryan Shaw for introducing me to this particular method of prosopography. For more information on standard Factoid Prosopography, see John Bradley and Harold Short. "Texts into Databases: The Evolving Field of New-style Prosopography," *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 20,

as “a spot in a source that says something about a person or persons” and also a *juxtaposition of those spots*.[552] The factoid juxtapositions combine discreet bits of data gleaned from multiple sources and thus may stave off anticipated results leaving room for the unexpected, anomalies and outliers that might be missed if one relied upon a small, “representative” sample. As digital humanist John Bradley describes it, “factoids do not provide a mechanism” whereby “historical interpretation happens at the level of the individual assertions made by the historical sources. A factoid prosopography user is not presented with a story about the person, but a collection of factoid-assertions that the user must assemble into her own story.”[553] In other words, at scale, patterns materialize to tell a story that singular assertions from one or two sources may not. Thus, my analysis of Carol Lane engages the inherent and various subjectivities of the original writers/creators of the source material (and my own as the person who discovered and organized the data) in a way that facilitates open-ended interpretive possibilities. This methodology accommodates the emergence of unforeseen hypotheses; and using it challenged assumptions I brought to the project about, for example, whether Shell strategically focused on certain

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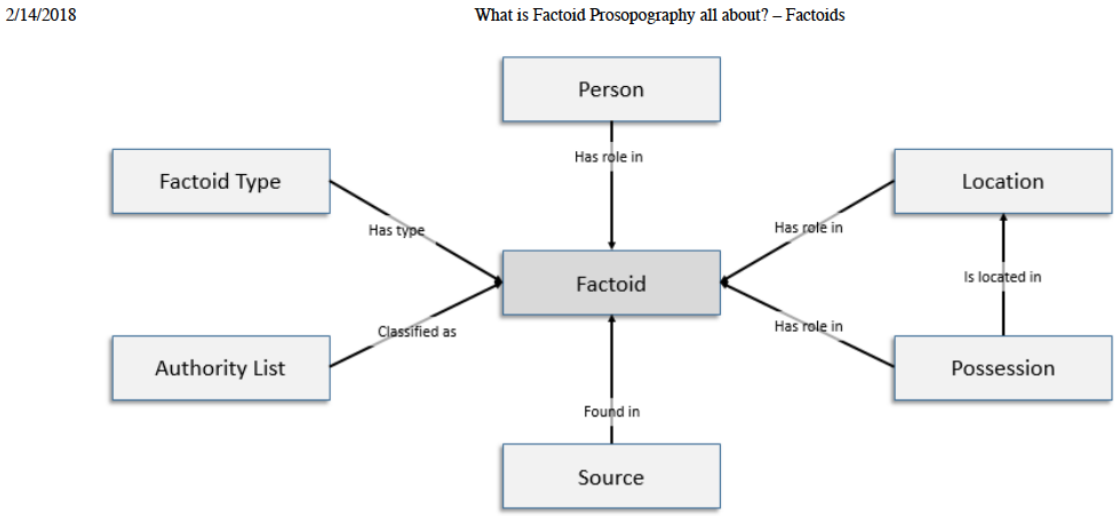
Suppl Issue, 2005. John Bradley specifies that the Factoid method is not a fundamental re-thinking of prosopography, but a question of scholarly database design.

[552]Bradley, John, “What Is a Factoid Prosopography All About?” Kings College London, https://www.kcl.ac.uk/factoid-prosopography/about (Accessed April 21, 2021).

[553]Bradley, “What Is a Factoid Prosopography All About?”

locations.



The search function of my relational database accommodates filtering up to four fields of data at one time, “natural language” keyword searches, as well as sorting of data in columns as is routinely down using spreadsheets. The schematic above by John Bradley visualizes how filtered data come together to form a factoid. I do not use this exact terminology to categorize data in my database, but it serves to illustrate. “Source” is one most straightforward: the name of a magazine or newspaper article or advertisement of which there are over fifteen hundred transcribed, geolocated, categorized, and entered into the database along with a digital copy of the source. Each entry contains multiple fields with which to mix and match: Carol Lane performer (Person); publication date; publication name, city, state and country (location); audience type (Group of Persons); story type; headline; transcription of article (full or partial); venue -- including radio or television station if applicable -- and geolocational data. A refined factoid search of the database can bring together a moment in time and place, and which specific performer was on deck. Imagine that the “Person” rectangle is the fictive Carol Lane. The database includes locations so one can follow her routes or where Shell concentrated its public

relations efforts in North America. It some instances, a factoid search can expose change over time. The "Authority List" classification refers to the unavoidable standardization of terms one encounters in relational databases. For instance, dropdown menus of all kinds use authority lists. The database for this project uses authority lists using controlled vocabularies on the backend for the following categories: "Carol Lane(s)," "Country," "Story Type," and "Audience." [See "Searchable Database" under the "Data" tab].

Researching with Visual Media (or the "Visual" in "Visual Prosopography")

The "visual" in "visual prosopography" has been a key component to understanding Lane's composite persona. I use it here as shorthand for the concept of researching with visual media, particularly primary sources uncovered through the research process. It is also short for *creating and displaying new* digital objects be they maps, sewing projects, photographs, or moving images. New materials can trigger affective responses through the creative process, or even supplement archival absences. The following section lays out the efficacy of both modes of investigation. I begin with brief descriptions of the data visualizations and maps ("The Tool Set") I made, which are found under the "Data" tab, as well as the maps embedded under the "Carol Lane(s)" tab. I will then continue to discuss the affordances of researching with visual media generally, and video essays specifically.

The Tool Set Under the "Data" Tab

Searchable Database

The searchable database is the central repository for most of the articles and much of the documents displayed throughout the site. The items therein were partially transcribed and are

rich in descriptive metadata that was extracted from the textual primary sources such as: in which city an audience gathered and what specific venue, date and time, and for those who encountered Lane by only reading about her in newspapers, what city and name of publication. The database also includes digital access copies of digitized primary source therein, and it can be keyword searched and filtered to expose trends in the data. For instance, a person can search by audience type, year and location at the same time.[554] One way this tool was particularly useful was for researching audiences by type, and then from filtered results, choosing specific individual groups discussed in greater detail below. I created this database in the desktop version of the Airtable platform. (Version 1.4.5). It is embedded using REST API.[555]

Carol Lane's Audiences By Location, Number, and Type

The "Carol Lane's Audiences By Location, Number, and Type" tool refines groupings of audiences by number and location. Every single number on a bar charts denotes the quantity of publications featuring or referring to Carol Lane in some way. As a user zooms in or out on the map, the bar narrows accordingly. Together, this synced map and bar chart suggest the degree to which the Carol Lane program managers paid to garner audiences' attention regionally. These views also show a general breakdown of regional outreach tactics by Shell's PR departments and offer a glimpse of whether the team found it more tactical to send a Lane to an area, or to simply place an ad or other editorial content in a local newspaper. For example, when the map is

[554]This database will be updated with thousands more publications after this current phase of the dissertation has been successfully defended.

[555]It was suggested to me by committee member Dr. Ryan Shaw, with whom I also did an independent study on prosopography, that I create a citation field for every article in this database. As I near the defense date, I fear this excellent act of generosity for future researchers will have to wait until a later date. In lieu of taking on this task at present, I am going to add citations for every digitized primary source exhibited on the website in the bibliography as is recommended in George Mason University's best practices guidelines for digital dissertations.

zoomed out all the way to include Canada and Hawai'i, the bar chart reflects the number of audience groups by type in the whole U.S. and Canada. Within that range, "General public--readers/viewers/listeners" is the largest number at 642. This number accounts for press releases and editorial pieces that Shell's PR department directly, or through influence, placed for *readers only*, including public service advertisements and cartoons, or calls for submissions for the Carol Lane Award and articles written about Lane (unrelated to an appearance). That number also represents accounts for her published newspaper column, "Tips on Touring,"[556] or those instances in which her techniques and advice were referenced in other journalists' and columnists' pieces on travel, fashion, etc. These published pieces may represent some readers' only engagement with the program. Additionally, curious parties may have first been alerted to Lane's media appearances only in the television and radio listings in their local newspapers. [For more on what these statistics mean, see analysis under the "PR: Other Personnel & Competitors" tab.]

Published articles mentioning recent or future live appearances by Carol Lane before civically-, socially-, or religiously-oriented women's clubs are the next largest in number. In this zoomed out view of North America, they equal 487. The number of in-person visits by Carol Lane before women's professional associations such as the Business and Professional Women's Clubs comes to 107 times. Other statistics on the chart show the number of published articles mentioning in-person lectures to the general public – such as attendees of a demonstration at a state fair -- or to college women and sororities and men's clubs. They collectively add up to 268. I created this visualization using ArcGIS Online's "Dashboard" geoinformation model, web map applications and "World Topographic Map" basemap. Datasets underpinning the map and chart derive from the Searchable Database, and are embedded as a .csv file.

[556]The column is sometimes called "Touring Tips."

Carol Lane's Activities and Shell Locations v. *The Negro Motorist Green Book* and Indian Lands

This tool allows a researcher to select different layers, zoom in, or use the map's legend to isolate and review the amount and types of specific public relations activities in one geographical region. It provides for comparison between where and how the Carol Lane program personnel collectively focused their attentions, and whether those locations seemed to overlap with areas heavily populated by American Indians (excluding those in the diaspora), and specific businesses where African Americans were welcomed to frequent while traveling by car. One can click on "Layers" to turn off and on different snapshots of Shell's and the Carol Lane program's geographical reach or to find locations on or near federally recognized Indian lands. The "Shell Locations" layer offers a selection of locations where Shell Oil and Shell Canada located their refineries, ports, and corporate offices. It does not include service stations. Two map layers "Green Book (1947)" and "Green Book (1956)" include spots listed in their respective years of *The Negro Motorist Green Book* (commonly referred to as *The Green Book*). Another map layer called "U.S. Census Bureau's Indian Lands Dataset" highlights where a higher (especially for the period under study) percentage of American Indians lived. The following map layers indicate the kind of press coverage Lane received, or "story type" as they are referred to in the searchable database: "Profiles on Carol Lane" (feature stories about a particular Lane, and often reveal personal details about the performer); "Carol Lane's Visits" (locations where Lane visited); "Carol Lane's Future Visits" (locations where Lane was scheduled to appear); "Public Service Ads and Picture Captions" (Carol Lane-related public service ads and/or photos of Lane or other imagery with captions promoting her advice); "Safety Awards Given & Announcements" (stories about Carol Lane Award recipients or the nature of the program, or calls for submissions); and "Techniques, Book Reviews, & "Tips on Touring" Column" (either Carol

Lane's travel advice column or other columnists' references to her techniques, or her booklets). By association, those publication types indicate what audiences were being reached and how. For this tool, I used an ArcGIS web map application ("World Topographic Map" basemap), and datasets (in the form of embedded .csv files) draw from the Searchable Database, as well as from Shawn Hill (Fordham University), Connie Geer, Matthew W. Shepherd (University of South Carolina), and U.S. Census Bureau.

Change Over Time

This tool serves as an assessment of where the Carol Lane program concentrated its outreach efforts year by year. Groupings in any particular geographical area represent varying amounts of resources spent by Shell Oil to grab a local women's attention, and may also infer a certain number of service station dealers in an area needing the kind of extra publicity that the Lane program's goodwill-building tactics could provide. Each map marker also could represent a potential audience count of at least 100-150 people (that was the suggested headcount to secure a Carol Lane demonstration), or countless numbers of readers and television viewers and listeners of radio. Those numbers, when extrapolated out to the attendees' spheres of influence, are literally off the charts. I formatted this tool using an ArcGIS Online web map application and "World Topographic Map" basemap. Datasets underpinning the map and chart derive from the Searchable Database, and are embedded as a .csv file.

Census Tract Data (Select)

The census tract tool refines decadal (1940 – 1970), aggregated and curated data by age, racial and socioeconomic means, and by county. Not all counties in the United States were

included in every census year represented in the tool; and Canadian provinces are not included. However, available census tract data collocated for each county was then cross-referenced with where Carol Lane program activities took place and were documented in local newspapers or national magazines. For this section on audiences, the tool was particularly useful for finding statistical trends; and it allowed for a more granular assessment of each audience group per their location. This tool represents a 2018 (bulk) to present collaboration between UNC Data Visualization Librarian, Lorin Bruckner, and I. I curated the exact tracts include for each decade, based on what parameters were available, and co-designed the tool's interface with Bruckner in visualization software Tableau Public. I embedded the tool into the "Data" section of Story Map using Tableau Public's API.[557]

Maps Under "Carol Lane(s)"

I created the maps embedded in the "Biographical Information," "Profile," and "Future Visits/Visits" subjections under the "Carol Lane(s)" tab using ArcGIS Online's web map application and their "World Topographic Map" basemap. Datasets underpinning the map and chart derive from the Searchable Database, and are embedded as a .csv file.

When contextualized with care, these graphical representations quantify or make visible information – such as the geographical reach of the program's marketing areas and using geolocations to identify Carol Lane performers – hidden within the underlying prosopographical data. Colored points on the maps and bars on charts represent over 1,500 publications from geographically dispersed over the United States and Canada, and these visualizations can be configured to show the Carol Lane program's activities at different scales. We can now view the

[557]A full explanation of our collaboration can be found in the Appendices.

Carol Lane program from a privileged perspective, which was something her audience members were denied due to the infeasibility of subscribing to and perusing the hundreds of print publications. Audiences' introduction to Lane was partial and often singular. What they knew of Lane revolved usually around an event, whereas this project demonstrates, in part through graphic representations, the system.

The Carol Lane program was prolific in its production of multimedia promotional pieces on their spokeswoman. Despite the fact that Shell most frequently turned to mainly distributing regionally-focused press releases and facilitating local newspaper coverage to promote the Carol Lane program, its efforts were not all text-based. It was a multimedia public relations campaign. Lane was performed, illustrated, photographed, described, filmed, and audio recorded. As a character, she was a construct of public relations departments' illustrators and writers and photographers, the imaginations and affectual responses of her audiences, and live and on radio and television performances. She used and disseminated maps, pamphlets, and patterns for sewing hats and DIY projects. Visual media contributed to her public image a minor celebrity, a hard-working professional, and domestically capable, thus perhaps more relatable to her audiences. Headshots and candid photos of the individual performers, their appearances in public service ads and on television, even illustrations of cartoon-like idealized Lane in her column and in pamphlets, are all evidence to explore and analyze.

Exhibited materials deliver information that supports my argument; but they are included herein also to potentially produce an affective response in my readers. "Still and moving images are particularly good at conveying aspects of the social world that may elude written description: color, movement, arrangement, gesture, texture, sound," and are useful in arousing affective

responses, writes Gillian Rose.[558] "That affect is a particularly important thing to try to convey as part of research findings. And if it is indeed the case that an image and only and image can convey an important aspect of the topic under investigation, *then it seems logical that images should also be used when the research findings are being presented*."[559] [Italics mine.] Rose is agnostic in terms of whether digital or plastic or carbon-based artifacts convey more affectively, as am I. It is important to acknowledge, however, what a visitor to this project website will not glean from her experience. A visitor cannot hold the original source materials in her hands and pass fingers over, for instance, the texture of the paper upon which her pamphlets were printed, or get ink all over them after scanning a newspaper broadsheet in search of an announcement about Lane on the Woman's Page. Nor can she hear the hum of a 16mm projector as it sends a beam a light with Lane's moving image onto a screen, or see the penlight flicker on as a cathode ray tube television comes to life.

That said, in digital proxies of original film footage, one can – for as long as this digital file maintains its integrity – hear recordings of Carol Lane's various voices, and witness how differently performers presented themselves in character in scripted versus informal settings. In reproduced photographs a person glimpses the joy on faces of Carol Lane Award winners, or notices similarities in how newspaper photographers posed clubwomen around Lane or positioned her in the driver's seat of automobiles. On the other hand, the reproduced images of clubwomen and Lane performers, as well as illustrated booklets and ads, can complicate the rosy picture. Only by inspecting a comprehensive collection of this ephemera, does one uncover a striking and dismaying (if expected for the period) absence of people of color in publicity shots and illustrations. Equally disturbing is the census tract data and maps that effectively visualize

[558]Rose, 330-331.

[559]Rose, 330-331. Rose is in part paraphrasing ethnographer Sarah Pink.

the same. So too, viewing the bulk hammers home, at least for this author, the discomfort of encountering the visages of two or more performers, on opposite sides of the United States and Canada, simultaneously pretending to be the same woman *as if she were real person*.

Prosopography and researching with visual material are both dependent upon *found* images, archival documents, footage, audio recordings, etc.[560] They are also both productive endeavors.[561] Prosopography and the production of new visual research materials – photographs, audiovisual records or recordings of live performances – can both shed light on archival absences. Both begin as speculative acts. Prosopographic inquiry may expose unforeseen patterns and anomalies in data through the collocation and juxtaposition; and research materials created from found images, or newly shot video, can shape suppositions into tangible forms to test out hypotheses. Executing and populating a relational database with over 20,000 discrete bits of data has been – and will continue to be – a tedious job. The unavoidable and laborious task, however, results in a world of data with which to craft arguments of which maps, charts, and a

[560]Fischer, Suzanne, "Nota Bene: If You 'Discover' Something in an Archive, It's Not a Discovery," *The Atlantic*, June 19, 2012, https://www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2012/06/nota-bene-if-you-discover-something-in-an-archive-its-not-a-discovery/258538/ (Accessed April 24, 2021). Fischer in her article explains that researchers rarely "discover" a found image or an archival textual document. To that I would add that by the time a researcher finds a source of interest, it has already been accessioned by a collecting body such as an archive or special collections library, or in the case of scholars who are also collectors, they may have been purchased or even found in a dumpster. The item's provenance reflects a lineage of decisions that have affected the conditions under which it has been made public and available. Once it is discoverable via a finding aid or on eBay, it has been sorted and organized, described, probably digitized or digitally photographed, and made accessible by other human beings.

[561]Stone, Lawrence, "Prosopography", in F. Gilbert and S. Graubard eds., *Historical Studies Today* (New York, 1972); rpt. of Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," *Daedalus* 100.1 (1971), 46-71. In his 1971 essay, "Prosopography," Lawrence Stone wrote that the method, "introduces the novice student to a very wide range of sources, it teaches him to evaluate his evidence and to apply his judgment to resolve contradictions, it demands meticulous accuracy and the arrangement of information on a methodical basis, and it offers a topic which can readily be expanded or cut down by modifying the size of the sample in order to meet the requirements of available time and resources." Stone's assessment of its efficacy and usefulness to student researchers has been most instrumental in guiding my hybrid application of prosopography. He advocates for the epistemological value of practicing thorough and systematic arrangement of information as part of the developing and argument. Only once evidence is methodically arranged can a researcher wrestle with assumptions, look for anomalies, and ingrained biases that necessarily inform categorization of data.

presentable user interface are simply the most visible part.[562] I present this world of data, and its tangible expressions, as a usable model for future scholarship.

On Performativity and Research

"Changing Lanes" has been an exercise in digital praxis, or learning through practicing with digital tools and methodologies, and performativity. Consequently, I present as part of the dissertation, the results of my research with visual research materials – a critical videographic essay, a theoretical act of archival recovery, experimental pieces, maps, and data visualizations. I have detailed how each visualization tool has been useful to my research above, and each remains an interactive feature for visitors to use themselves. I continue below with describing the advantages of speculating and thinking through the Carol Lane program audiovisually. First, out of frustration in not yet finding an extant audio recording of Carol Lane on radio, I recreated and co-performed an appearance by Lane using one of her actual scripts ("Reenactment of a Carol Lane Interview"). While the affective response and archival effect of listening to found recordings from another era will likely be diminished, the performance of a Lane script provides for semantic listening for period rhetoric. This exercise may still elicit a visceral response to the way Lane performed gender iteratively throughout this midcentury period.[563]

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[562]Terras, Michelle, "Crowdsourcing in the Digital Humanities." In *A New Companion to Digital Humanities*, edited by Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemans, and John Unsworth, 420-438. P Chichester, West Sussex, UK; Malden, MA, USA : John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2016. Most critically, part of the learning process has entailed close reading of primary documents. I matched my typing skills with my curiosity, and for the sake of due diligence, I read all 1,500-plus newspaper, trade journal, and magazine articles while I transcribed. Because this dissertation will have life beyond my defense of it, should my present argumentation begin to take a different shape over time as I input more data, it would likely necessitate a design overhaul of some kind. On the issue of the "tedious job," I have purposefully chosen not to farm out data entry duties to others – that would have entailed paying someone (and spend time quality checking). Ethically, crowdsourcing the data entry was not an option as it would have equated to free labor with little reward in terms of it being a learning opportunity such as cultural heritage-based initiatives can sometimes offer, or a collaborative process even.

[563]Chion, Michel, and Claudia Gorbman, *Audio-Vision : Sound on Screen* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 28.

In another videographic effort at recovery, I employed a touring technique Lane espoused called a "tourette." Alone, and sometimes with family and friends, I drove her lecture routes and videorecorded the physical locations where she lectured within a 200-mile radius of Raleigh, North Carolina, and of Palm Springs, California, plus a few more locations I happen to have been passing through ("My Tourettes.") The primary objective was to provoke an affective response in myself. I wanted to try to understand what it was like for Carol Lane performers to spend hours on the road each day, three weeks out of every month. However, I also wanted to record how have women's spaces and the surrounding landscapes have changed over time. Similarly, I documented myself sewing a hat from a Carol Lane pattern ("How to Sew The Carol Lane Travel Hat"), so I might imagine myself being one of her audience members who, like me, wanted to test just how practical this hat indeed is to make and pack. Finally, I shot and crowdsourced cell-phone videos from a diverse selection of friends and family – and a few strangers! – wherein they introduce themselves as Carol Lane ("Hello, I'm Carol Lane"). This video montage of over sixty people in the role of performer, speculates about how Shell Oil and Shell Canada might interpret Lane for today's audiences. It reanimates her for the twenty-first century.[564] Videographic representations like these present a unique opportunity to engage "speculative" analysis through a form of cinematic dramaturgy.

On the other hand, the critical videographic essay also presents an alternative modality for scholarly performative research, but as an "expression of scholarly ideas via moving images and sound in video form" *already*. That means a practitioner crafts his argument with clips from digitized films or videos, which he edits anew to convey aspects of, or to question, a media

[564]My crowdsourced "Hello, I'm Carol Lane" video experiment – found under "Who was Carol Lane?" tab – began with video recording my friends myself. After the Covid-19 pandemic of 2020-2021 started, and I pivoted to performers shooting cell phone selfie videos.

work's original narrative or formal qualities.[565] Jason Mittell and Christian Keathley further elaborate: "[W]hen working with moving images and sounds, the poetic force of the source materials cannot be ignored or avoided. The most effective videographic works […] employ their audiovisual source materials in a poetically imaginative way." [566] In this way, video essays are less illustrative, and more performative. In fact, Catherine Grant asserts that this sort of media-based method should *not* simply "'translate' any earlier, written research, but instead explore and work through their related research anew — audiovisually as well as 'essayistically.'"[567] As such, they may "be arrived at tentatively, experimentally, in the first-person, and within the editing process itself and often involve remixing their 'material in ways that combine art and research.'"[568] With this in mind, I analytically repurposed the cinematic grammar of mid-twentieth-century sponsored films featuring Carol Lane and raw news footage ("Carol Lane – An Introduction"), to challenge their original producers' rhetorical strategies while as narrator, my vocal performance directly confronts the male voice-overs in the found footage.

Conclusion

Visual prosopography has been key to reanimating the composite Carol Lane. "Prosopography," as Alison Booth states, can "help acknowledge marginalized groups as well as

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[565]"The 20 Best Video Essays of 2019," https://www2.bfi.org.uk/news-opinion/sight-sound-magazine/polls-surveys/best-video-essays-2019 (both Accessed April 22, 2021).; Mittell, Jason, "Videographic Criticism as a Digital Humanities Method" in *Debates in Digital Humanities 2019*, edited by Gold, Matthew and Lauren Klein (Minneapolis, MN ; London : University of Minnesota Press, 2019), 224-242. Works of videographic criticism, or video essays, are almost exclusively published on web-based platforms such as peer-reviewed journals and more popular sites dedicated to the form. Websites like *Sight and Sound* and *Journal of Videographic Film & Moving Image Studies*, also publish or review video essays.

[566]Mittel, 2.

[567]Grant, Catherine, "The Audiovisual Essay as Performative Research," *NECSUS 5*, no. 2 (Autumn 2016), 257.

[568]Grant, Catherine, 257.

elites."[569] Even though Carol Lane was a minor celebrity for her time, and as such a member of an elite class of higher-profile working women, she has been marginalized within the annals of public relations and Shell's corporate histories. The objective of this dissertation has been to identify the women who embodied the character, while it also reconstructs her network of associates and audiences, in which she was the central node, the routes she traveled through the built environment, and the media ecology that amplified her voice.

This hybrid methodology embraces digital praxis as central to the process. Prosopography effectively guaranteed that at least one part, the relational database, would require digital software or web-based applications. Knowing this motivated the decision to combine collecting and transforming evidence into quantifiable data with its exhibition and use in digital storytelling. Reanimation and reconstruction have also been a distinctively visual, and at times performative, recovery processes. They make transparent the multimodal tactics her public relations program used to disguise the fact that she was a living trademark. For example, differentiating one yet-to-be-identified Lane performer from another necessitated researching with visual media along with gathering biographical data from disparate textual sources. Both processes were key to identifying the multiple women whose professional and personal achievements were subsumed into a living trademark's backstory.

[569]Booth, Alison, "What is collective biography?" Collective Biographies of Women. http://cbw.iath.virginia.edu/definition-collective_biography.php (Accessed June 9, 2021.)

APPENDIX I: Technical Specifications, Labor, and Ethics

ESRI ArcGIS Story Map, Long-Term Sustainability and Accessibility

Best practices for creating fully digital dissertation necessitate that the author provide a "self-reflexive discussion of the project development process." George Mason University's History and Art History department's guidelines state the following about the criticality of including this information: "This process-oriented piece should offer a full accounting of the technical and analogue work that went into building the digital dissertation. As such, it should include acknowledgement of any outside technical or design assistance that contributed to the work, and should credit/source all substantial elements of the code and software employed to produce the final dissertation (with the recognition that open-source materials are designed to be used and adapted)."[570] The following section is an accounting of that process. I prominently address long-term sustainability and an accessibility plan for my digital dissertation project, and how that need informed my choices regarding the architecture, file formats, hosting of the site, storage and preservation. With that, I will explain my choices, their impact, and future directions.

I specifically chose to use to use a cloud-based product called an ArcGIS Online Story Map (specifically the Classic Story Map version), created by the vendor Environmental Systems Research Institute (Esri), as my digital dissertation platform for two main reasons: its stability and its digital storytelling capabilities.[571] First, the Story Map "Journal" template I chose for the

[570]George Mason University's "Digital Dissertation Guidelines."

[571]"What is GIS?" Esri, https://www.esri.com/en-us/what-is-gis/overview (Accessed April 19, 2021). Esri defines GIS as follows: "A geographic information system (GIS) is a framework for gathering, managing, and analyzing data. Rooted in the science of geography, GIS integrates many types of data. It analyzes spatial location and organizes layers of information into visualizations using maps and 3D scenes. With this unique capability, GIS reveals deeper insights into data, such as patterns, relationships, and situations—helping users make smarter decisions."

"main stage" alludes – in digital form – to a typical analog guidebook one might buy before planning a trip, one with tabs demarking sections by topic. Of course, interested parties also received these sorts of booklets for free from Carol Lane; thus, it formally replicates one of her modes for disseminating ideas. Second, the company's developers have created a digital storytelling toolset that is, for me, easy to use; and it offers a fair selection web mapping and data visualization applications which serve most of my needs. The user interfaces for ArcGIS Online Story Maps are customizable to a lesser degree than I may prefer in future; but the limitations forced me to be creative under constraint.[572] The interface overlays a robust geographic information system (GIS) framework for spatial analysis and data visualization. Because the user base for Esri consists of hundreds of thousands of users from governmental bodies and universities, to small nonprofits and individuals, there is an enormous cache of ready-made and editable map layers and related datasets uploaded by the community.[573] For instance, I used the publicly accessible and uploaded to ArcGIS Online, "Cartographic Boundary Shapefiles - American Indian/Alaska Native Areas/Hawaiian Home Lands" map layer created in 2016 by the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs. I feature it in the "Carol Lane's Activities v. *The Negro Motorist Green Book* and Federally Recognized Indian Lands (2016)" map under the "Data" tab. Along with, I used two data sets created from the 1947 and 1956 editions of *The Negro Motorist Green Book*, that were made available through other sources.[574] I created rest of all the map layers on the site from scratch, and they are available to other Esri ArcGIS users in return.

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[572]Esri's desktop version, ArcGIS Pro, could be a solution to the customization issue – except that the software can – as of this writing, April 2021 – only be run on Microsoft Windows or a Windows emulator on a Mac. As I use a Mac, it simply introduces additional costs – buying a PC – on top of the subscription and hosting fees.

[573]"Fact Sheet," Esri, https://www.esri.com/en-us/about/media-relations/fact-sheet (Accessed April 19, 2021).

[574]*The Negro Motorist Green Book* editions were used courtesy of Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library, and Shawn Hill, Instructional Technologist for Digital Scholarship, Fordham University.

Critically, the ArcGIS Online Story Map also provides for a multimedia presentation space that I populate with embedded images, offers a variety of colorful base maps and ready-to-use geographical data via the integrated ArcGIS Living Atlas of the World, is compatible with commonly used video streaming platforms like YouTube and Vimeo (my choice) and is flexible enough to display embedded PDFs and enlargeable images from within the application itself. Through its Application Programming Interface (API), I have also been able to integrate necessary workarounds, some at additional cost, into the platform to compensate for some functionalities yet unavailable to ArcGIS Online users at this time: Airtable (the relational database and "Literature Review"), Dropbox (access files in the relational database), Google Drive (the "Help Identify" Google form), and Tableau Public (the "Census Tract Data [Select]" tool).[575] At a future juncture, I may enable ArcGIS Online's "Open Data" function to open direct access to the raw data underpinning data visualizations in addition to the searchable database and map layers I contribute to the ArcGIS Online community already.[576]

The second most important factor in my choosing Esri's ArcGIS Story Maps over others was the issue of sustainability of the project over time.[577] I purchase a yearly subscription to ArcGIS Online.[578] The advantages of paying for Esri's complete suite of visualization tools are

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[575]Siegel, Camille, and Collin McFarlane, "What Is API Integration?" API Friends, November 5, 2020, https://apifriends.com/api-management/whats-api-integration/ (Accessed April 19, 2021). Some of these additional functionalities (crowdsourcing forms for instance) may have been added with the latest updates to ArcGIS, but with the dissertation defense just three months away, I must stick with this configuration for now.

[576]"Enable Open Data," ArcGIS, https://doc.arcgis.com/en/arcgis-online/administer/configure-open-data.htm (Accessed April 19, 2021).

[577]"Projects," Knight Lab, https://knightlab.northwestern.edu/projects/ (Accessed April 19, 2021). Knight Lab is a "a community of designers, developers, students, and educators working on experiments designed to push journalism into new spaces" at Northwestern University.

[578]"Esri Products," Esri, https://www.esri.com/en-us/arcgis/products/index?rmedium=www_esri_com_EtoF&rsource=/en-us/arcgis/products (Accessed April 19, 2021). There are desktop versions as well such as ArcGIS Pro, ArcGIS Enterprise, and others.

access to a very responsive technical support team, additional functionalities, and server space for hosting content in the project. Their team have been instrumental in troubleshooting issues that have arisen as I pushed the limits of the toolset.[579] However, it was the longevity of the vendor's presence in the GIS field – Esri was founded in 1969 and developed as a commercial product in 1981 – as well as its innovations, and community of international peer users and in-house problem solvers, that sold me. After working with the toolset for over a year and a half, I easily traded in the possibility of customizing my dissertation site and incorporating new features from a plentitude of open-sources tools (and their respective communities of users) for the stability of a proprietary product and the challenge of creating within the limitations of what my chosen application could do within the dissertation timeframe.

Esri's ArcGIS Classic Story Maps' proprietary code is open source, downloadable, and portable, meaning I could hypothetically recreate the entire project, with its interactive features and interface features, on another hosting platform.[580] I can, however, only download the code for the proprietary templates. My project's content *is not extractable* whole cloth as code, or, say, as a neat Zip file containing all of the embedded image and text, associated maps and visualizations, and metadata about formatting and settings – intact. The text and images can be

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[579]For the map that geolocates biographical data about the various Lane performers, I had originally chosen a vector basemap which had a midcentury design aesthetic in both its 50s/kitchy background and style of font. I began to receive error messages after I attempted to embed the same map in the biography subsection for each Lane. Essentially, I found out the hard way that in ArcGIS Online a single web-based vector map cannot be used more than twelve times by one subscriber. I am following the lives of over twenty performers, and thus I could no longer use the fancy map base. The Esri support team – in particular Deidre Brandenburger – spent weeks trying to figure out what the issue was. The solution was to use a raster map base instead; and their help was integral to figuring out this workaround. Their staff had never encountered this particular issue!

[580]Evans, Owen, "An Introduction to Hosting Your Own Story Map," Esri, https://www.esri.com/arcgis-blog/products/story-maps/uncategorized/an-introduction-to-hosting-your-own-story-map/ (Accessed April 19, 2021).; "History of GIS," Esri, https://www.esri.com/en-us/what-is-gis/history-of-gis (Accessed April 19, 2021). I should add here that while Esri's ArcGIS Story Maps is open source, I do not plan to reproduce this site unless I chose at some future date to stop paying for the platform and the support services. I would, more importantly, have to learn Python and JavaScript programming languages, collaborate with or hire a person.

extracted only as a static PDF proxy or "print out" of the pubic-facing side, without any of the functionality. They can still guide its manual recreation elsewhere. This one drawback is annoying and ultimately time consuming, but any other application or software – including using another Esri ArcGIS product – would present a new set of challenges that would require manual manipulation regardless. I have secured the URL http://carollaneproject.com/ which redirects from the *very* long URL assigned to the "Changing Lanes" site by Esri.[581] Should I chose to host this site elsewhere, or stop using Esri altogether, the shortened URL will not have to change.

While I cannot extract the content easily intact and simply plug it in elsewhere, I can capture and emulate its functionality another way, in what is called a Web ARChive (WARC) file. A WARC file represents the web-accessible content on my site that has been captured in an "archived state, representing the final form disseminated in [its] final state over the web to a user agent (web browser)."[582] In fact, a preservation "hard copy" for submission to the university's digital repository and ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Database, will include a .csv copy of the database content, a video walkthrough of the project site, a PDF export of all *textual* content, and a WARC file deposited with Carolina Digital Repository.[583] My dissertation will have an afterlife online wherein content will be updated or edited as I discover and add new data, so the file will not capture "the final" form or state, but the state it was in upon final submission to my dissertation committee and ProQuest. It will capture an iteration as of July or August 2021.

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[581]The long URL looks like: https://carollaneproject.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html?appid=578aad3d851746909c6c5a83da691f13#

[582]"Format Description Categories: WARC, Web ARChive File Format," Library of Congress. https://www.loc.gov/preservation/digital/formats/fdd/fdd000236.shtml (Accessed April 29, 2021).; "How Conifer Works," https://guide.conifer.rhizome.org/docs/how-it-works/ (Accessed April 29, 2021). WARC file format is a revised version of the Internet Archive's ARC_IA file format, which has traditionally been utilized for webcrawling. I have chosen to use Conifer to capture a collection of web sessions and export my WARC files.

[583]https://doi.org/10.17615/jahb-6138 is the link to archived dissertation in the Carolina Digital Repository.

Hypothetical reconstructions speak to issues of sustainability more broadly too. Should I decide to use another GIS software or application altogether, I already have all the data sets as CSV files so I could populate most any other map or visualization I wanted. Moreover, I have the image, video and text files for recreating the exhibitions as well as redundant copies geographically dispersed for safekeeping. I intend to migrate the various open-standard file formats I currently rely upon to newer ones as archival standards dictate.[584] In the meantime, best practices for preserving my digital files of any kind dictate I periodically run each file through a fixity check, or checksum calculator, to test the integrity of the file and for errors that may have been introduced during transmission or in storage.[585]

Best practices for fully digital dissertation projects also foreground the importance of making one's digital creations accessible to as many users as possible. Esri's suite of products, including Story Maps, are comprehensive in their compliance with Section 508 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (29 U.S.C. 794d), as well as Web Content Accessibility Guidelines 2.0, and the most up-to-date version of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA).[586] In my

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[584]I used .csv files for tabulated bulk uploading of data that populate the various maps and data visualizations. Video formats uploaded to Vimeo for streaming on the project site are all MPEG-4 (mostly Part 10, but video codex varies – videos and proxies I made used H.264 video compression, other used ProRes) --- as are the digitized proxies received from repositories and collectors. PDFs that are embedded in the searchable database have not, unfortunately at this time, been optimized for keyword search using optical character recognition. Those that are embedded in the Story Map are keyword searchable and downloadable. Original (4K, MPEG-4) video footage was shot by me on a (2017?) Panasonic HC-X1000 4K Ultra HD Wi-Fi Video Camera Camcorder, and in 4K on an iPhone Xs (2019). For editing video and audio I have used Adobe Premiere Pro and Audition (2014 - 2021 versions). To digitize paper documents, I have used a Canon Canoscan 8800F scanner, and VueScan (Version 9.7.53) software. To edit scanned still images, I have used Adobe Photoshop (2011-2021 versions). I paid 3Play Media for closed captioning all of the video content that was not already.

[585]"How To: How and when to use CheckSum (MD5)," Esri, https://support.esri.com/en/technical-article/000020408 (Accessed April 20, 2021). "A checksum is a string of numbers and letters used to uniquely identify a file. Checksum is most commonly used to verify if a copy of a file is identical to an original." I will likely use this product for fixity checks: AVP, https://www.weareavp.com/products/fixity-pro/ (Accessed April 28, 2021). I know and trust the developers at AVP.

[586]"ArcGIS Online Accessibility Conformance Report, VPAT, Version: 2.0," August 17, 2018, https://www.esri.com/content/dam/esrisites/en-us/media/legal/vpats/arcgis-online-with-insights-june-2018-vpat.pdf (Accessed April 19, 2021).

preliminary attempts to adhere to accessibility guidelines, I have closed captioned over half of my video content (starting with self-authored) so far, and wrote either alternative text for images and/or included captions with citations. A significant percentage of images are enlargeable, as are the PDFs. Two structural concerns which I will attempt to address in the future will be an adjustment to the color schemes (especially the individual Hex Color Numbers for each Carol Lane performer) for users with color blindness, and I may increase the font size across the site for embedded text.

Notes on Labor and Ethical Considerations

> "Historians making arguments using archival material need to acknowledge the work of archivists, students, genealogists, fellow historians, and other contributors whose work rarely receives proper credit. Mention in an acknowledgments section alone does not adequately identify and credit that labor." – Arguing with Digital History working group white paper, 2017[587]

> "Behind the magic and marketing of data products, there is always hidden labor – often performed by women and people of color, which is both a cause and effect of the fact that this labor is both under-waged and undervalued. Data feminism seeks to make this labor visible so that it can be acknowledged and appropriately valued, and so that its truer cost – for people and for the planet – can be recognized." – Catherine D'Ignazio and Lauren Klein, Data Feminism, 2019[588]

The "Arguing with Digital History working group" collectively asserts in the opening epigraph that, "historians making arguments using archival material need to acknowledge the work of archivists, students, genealogists, fellow historians, and other contributors whose work

[587]Arguing with Digital History working group, "Digital History and Argument," white paper, Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media (November 13, 2017), 8, https://rrchnm.org/argument-white-paper/ (Accessed April 28, 2021).

[588]D'Ignazio, Catherine, and Lauren Klein, *Data Feminism*, (Cambridge : The MIT Press, 2019), 242. Valuing and respecting labor is just one facet of D'Ignazio and Klein's "seven principles of data feminism" which have significantly informed my methodology. They are "examine power," "challenge power," "elevate emotion and embodiment," "re-think hierarchies and binaries," "consider context," and "embrace pluralism."

rarely receives proper credit. *Mention in an acknowledgements section alone does not adequately identify and credit that labor*." [Italics, mine.] The aim of this section is the address labor to the extent I can. My extensive prosopographical and visual materials research has been fundamentally enabled by the labor of archivists who have processed archival paper and audiovisual collections, and cataloguers who described the items in special collections libraries. In addition, there are countless unidentified people who scanned and described thousands of primary documents like photographs, corporate and personal papers, genealogical records, yearbooks, obituaries, census records, films, and more made available through public repositories and commercial vendors. Recognizing the collective labor of a countless number of unidentified (to me) workers who made my "discovery" of so many Carol Lanes possible, is frankly untenable during the dissertation timeframe, but I do wish to acknowledge them here, en masse. [589] My commitment to addressing both visible and invisible labor, is besides a guideline for digital history practices, also a primary facet of data feminism.

"Data feminism seeks," to quote Catherine D'Ignazio and Lauren Klein, to make "labor visible so that it can be recognized and valued." So too, the impetus behind "Changing Lanes" was to recognize and value through digital storytelling the hidden labor of Carol Lane performers and their support staffs. For instance, Lane performers' workload – while glorified ("Did you know that Carol Lane travels 50,000 miles a year…?") in press releases – was, in fact, shared by multiple co-performers and primarily female support staff. This case study works to attribute biographical and professional details that make up Carol Lane's composite persona to the right

[589]I am even uncomfortable discussing labor all the way down in the appendices! This is an area of my research I would like to expand upon in future–I would particularly a deep dive into the labor behind the maps made by others which I've repurposed from Esri's database of map layers for my ArcGIS Story Map). More, I want to investigate the labor practices of sites like Newspapers.com, a service I have used extensively for digitized newspaper content. I have yet to find a statement regarding their employment practices

performers. Part of that process, however, has entailed populating a relational database and a website with a sizable amount of digitized content. As a feminist work, the concomitant issue of strangers' labor should not go ignored.

D'Ignazio, Klein, Sareeta Amrute, Patrick Keilty, Lilly Irani, and others discuss the invisible labor performed by strangers, particularly women and people of color, in the data and information sciences, and more commercial sectors. The more "tedious" tasks, as Patrick Keilty refers to them, to which they are assigned – the production of datasets and data entry, machine-readable cataloguing for libraries and archives, transcription, tagging images with metadata, coding and related services – underpin digital amenities people rely on every day. Among other things, that means data visualizations, online library catalogues, software, and streaming content. Their contributions to data-driven industries (and scholarship), reflect a continuity of the "older gendered, classed, and raced hierarchies" that have prevailed in many industries, from well before Carol Lane and her support staffs' tenure to the present day.[590]

I will specify in my acknowledgement section, and throughout the website where applicable, all the contributors to this project with whom I have communicated. Below, I also describe a fruitful collaboration between myself and a colleague. Critically, along with doing the intellectual work of curating and designing the database, the most ethical intervention I managed within the allotted timeframe was to enter all of the data myself. Transcribing and geolocating print articles and ads as data about Lane allowed me to closely read or scan over 1,500+ primary sources. By doing so, I avoided perpetuating a hierarchical division of labor – service versus

[590]Amrute, Sareeta Bipin. *Encoding Race, Encoding Class: Indian IT Workers in Berlin* (Durham : Duke University Press), 2016.; D'Ignazio, Catherine, and Lauren Klein, 181.; *The Cleaners*, directed by Moritz Riesewieck and Hans Block (Grifa Filmes, 2018).; Irani, Lilly, "Justice for 'Data Janitors,'" *Public Books*, January 15, 2015, https://www.publicbooks.org/justice-for-data-janitors/ (Accessed April 28, 2021).; ''Keilty, Patrick, "Tedious: feminized labor in machine-readable cataloging," *Feminist Media Studies*, 18:2, (2018), 191-204.

intellectual – by not farming it out to either paid (it was not in my budget to pay a living wage for data entry) workers, or crowdsourcing data entry to unpaid workers.

Before moving on from ethical considerations, I wish to quickly address the issue of the right of privacy, particularly in regard to the biographical sketches under the "Carol Lane(s)" tab, and copyright. The Arguing with Digital History working group's opening quote above continues with the following assertion: "Creation and use of digital collections also requires establishing not just the copyright status of material, but, for more contemporary sources, investigating whether individuals who appear in digitized material have consented to have information about them online, and adopting procedures that enable individuals to have materials removed."[591] Most libraries, archives, and other cultural heritage institutions in the United States that post content online. Some of this content may exhibit images of people – subjects of still or moving images for instance – or be materials of indeterminate copyright status.

For situations where a complainant wishes to claim a publicly displayed artifact equates to copyright infringement, repositories abide by a "take-down" policy which initiates a conversation, and potentially subsequent further action to remove said items.[592] In most cases posted policies are an anticipatory response to copyright infringement claims; however, occasionally an exhibited image or informational object may include a subject who would simply like the item taken down. In the European Union, this option is known as the "right to be forgotten" online.[593] In the United States, legal obligations to the subject include a right of

[591]Arguing with Digital History working group, "Digital History and Argument," 8.

[592]Durham University, "Take-down Policy" https://www.dur.ac.uk/cis/lt/video/take-down-policy/ (Accessed April 28, 2021); University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries, "Take-down Policy," https://www.library.wisc.edu/policies/take-down/ (Accessed April 28, 2021).

[593]"Factsheet on the 'Right to be Forgotten' ruling (C-131/12)," March 6, 2014, http://ec.europa.eu/justice/data-protection/files/factsheets/factsheet_data_protection_en.pdf (Accessed April 28, 2021).

privacy to prevent an unflattering portrayal without permission, and a right of publicity, which is limited to portrayals linked to a commercial use (essentially for famous people).[594] To address the such a request for my digital dissertation and its afterlife online, I confirm in writing here that any living Carol Lane performer or descendant who would like me to remove biographical information, I will follow common "take-down" protocols and we can discuss. All images on this site were discovered in *publicly-accessible publications*, or in the case of some commercial headshots, I purchased them from vendors selling deaccessioned newspapers clip libraries. I have clearly noted in citations and captions which booklets or films I believe to in the public domain, and which I know remain under copyright (such as Shell booklets published in Canada). I have not noted copyright status of all the newspaper clippings yet, but assert my right to use them under the Fair Use.[595]

My Collaboration on the Census Tract Tool with Lorin Bruckner

I am eternally grateful for the opportunity to collaborate with UNC data visualization librarian Lorin Bruckner on the interactive census chart we made. She coded it (I have the code now), and I curated the data from census reports. Coding is tedious, but she offered and I accepted with the understanding that she wanted the learning experience of hacking the software, Tableau, to see if we could pull this off! The following is a breakdown of responsibilities for this collaboration in abbreviated, bulleted form:

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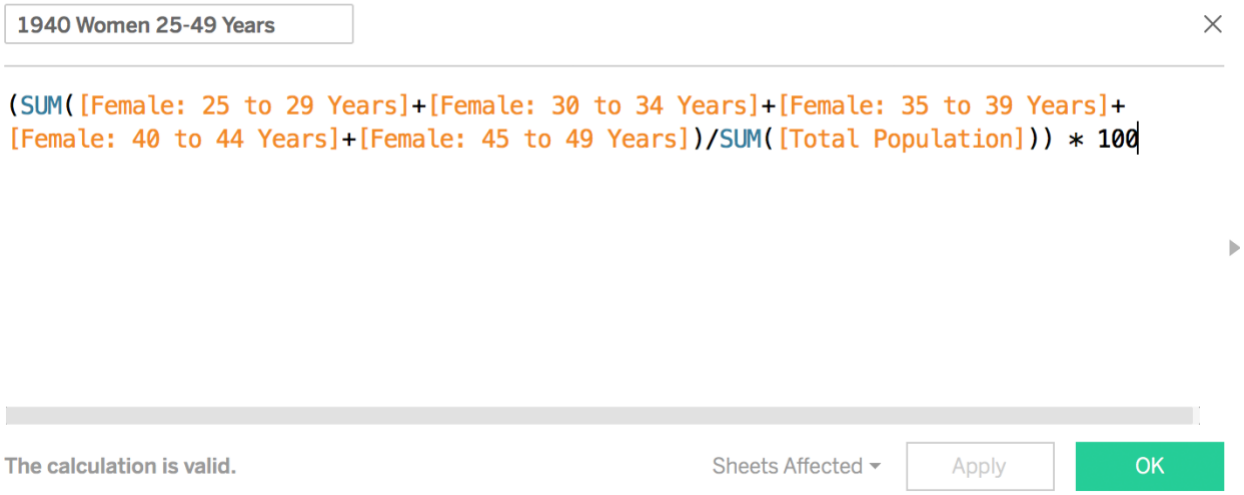
[594]Dollman, Melissa, "Opening The Can: Home Movies In The Public Sphere," ed. McNamara, Martha J. and Karan Sheldon, *Amateur Movie Making: Aesthetics of the Everyday in New England Film, 1915-1960* (Bloomington, Indiana : Indiana University Press, 2017), 2.

[595]"Charts and Tools," Stanford University Libraries, Copyright and Fair Use, http://fairuse.stanford.edu/charts-andtools/ (Accessed April 28, 2021).

- Decision to use census tract data; find a work-around in ArcGIS Online for visualizing below the county level, to the tract level, for four decades I needed. (Melissa)
- Curated the census data fields in reports in Social Explorer (Melissa); sorted and exported. (Lorin)
- Cleaned the data (taking out columns, labels, etc.) for collocation. (Lorin)
- Ingested data into Tableau. (Lorin with Melissa)
- Created calculated fields (coded scripts) in Tableau. (Lorin) **[Figure 1]**
    - To aggregate/get percentages on the census tract level data when available (1960s/1970s); and to emulate the county level for decades when tracts is not an option (1940s/1950s). **[Figure 2]**
- Made sure that redundant language from different data sets correspond to the correct fields. (Lorin with Melissa)
- Connected census data that we downloaded from Social Explorer with new calculated/collocated spreadsheet. (Lorin)
- Connected/crosswalked my data (Google Drive) with "us_cities_states_counties.csv" in Tableau. (Lorin) **[Figure 3]**
    - Created unique ID numbers for each record that were used for counting number of visits. (Melissa)
- Created dashboards for each decade in Tableau. (Lorin)
- Created menus for selection (parameters). Variables = calculated fields (data categories from census). (Lorin)

- Configured visualization: spacers in Tableau hide and show decades based on what the user selects: this replicates that how we can refine categories by what the Census Bureau originally offered for each decade. (Lorin)
- Combined all of the dashboards into one visualization. (Lorin)
- Published it to Tableau Public. (Lorin, subsequently, Melissa)
- Embedded into my dissertation site. (Melissa)
- Documented the (modified for space) process through conversation with Lorin. (Melissa)



[Figure 1]

[Figure 2]

[Figure 3]

Methods for Categorization

Transparency about how one addresses subjectivity inherent to the selection process is a basic precept to a data feminist approach to data collection, and prosopography. As Martha Lampland and Susan Leigh Star state in their book, *Standards and Their Stories*, "the work of creating" standards, quantifications and formal representations of data "is often invisible or deleted in descriptions of their development."[596] Catherine D'Ignazio and Lauren Klein reiterate

[596]Lampland, Martha, and Susan Leigh Star, *Standards and Their Stories: How Quantifying, Classifying, and Formalizing Practices Shape Everyday Life* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2009), 9.

this idea in *Data Feminism*, "[W]hen releasing a data product to the public, [project developers] tend not to credit the many hands who perform this work… [They] rarely dig deeper to discover who created the data in first place, [and] who collected the data and processed them for use…"[597] As a feminist project, including specifics about labor and the process of selection in this project is purposeful. Doing so offsets the "black box" effect, meaning their inclusion exposes biases innate to any such sorting and grouping effort headed by a human being. Take for example, the enclosure of "African-American readership" and "American Indian readership" as their own categories, separate from general newspaper readership. The reason for separating out these publications is to help point users to that fact that few editors at black-owned and native-run newspapers and magazines interacted with the Carol Lane program, and thus when they did, what kinds of coverage editors chose – or what the program staff chose for them – is now more easily discoverable. Where other publications are ascribed to the "General public – readers/viewers/listers," that is not meant to imply that "general pubic" meant white-only. American eating establishments, for instance, could turn away customers of color during much of the Carol Lane program's era, but newspapers could be purchased without harassment more easily. The following is a brief description of the process in first-person. [For more about my methodologies, see its section of the project.]

I transcribed, or partially transcribed, over a fifteen hundred newspaper and magazine articles myself. While doing so, I gathered the following data: geolocational information, publication name and place, and audience types that were identified in the texts. In some instances, classifying one audience group as separate from another was easy, such as radio and television viewers when an article mentions a Lane appearance on one or the other media. They are lumped together under "General public — readers/viewers/listeners." along with audiences

[597]D'Ignazio, Catherine, and Lauren Klein, 232.

who only encountered Lane in print. Advertisements and cartoons are other examples in this category. As mentioned above, I dedicated an entire class of publications to the "African-American readership" category for reasons mentioned above, as well as "American Indian readership."

Other categories need more explanation. I have assigned unspecified groups, in terms of gender, race or affiliation, who witnessed Carol Lane at live events to the "General public -- in-person." category. For example, this is the case for attendees of Lane's talks at a Wisconsin Vacationland conference in Stevens Point, WI, in 1952, and at the Pomona (CA) Public Library in 1973. Moreover, for clarification purposes, I split women's auxiliaries (sometimes referred to as ladies' auxiliaries or "sister organizations") into two categories. I assigned those women's organizations that were historically associated with a men's fraternal or social organization, such as the Lions Club, to "Women's club -- social, civic, or religious." However, more business- and institution-oriented entities like Chambers of Commerce, unions and hospitals also relied upon a women's auxiliaries as a volunteer base. Therefore, I created the category just for them -- "Women's auxiliary -- bureau, medical or union." I separated advertising, publicity or public relations clubs by gender. I categorized women's advertising clubs and professional associations under "Adwomen or public relations women clubs."; while due in part to their limited number, I lumped men's advertising associations or clubs together with other men's groups under "Men's club, association, or other audience." The category, "Wives of Shell gas station owners or corporate execs; mixed Shell Oil Company audience." may be a bit self-explanatory. Carol Lane appeared at functions Shell Oil organized for the wives of Shell service station owners in attempt to acknowledge their contributions they made to these ventures. Shell

also hosted fetes for the wives of Shell corporate executives. Of course, sometimes their husbands were also invited, thus the addition of "mixed Shell Oil Company audience."

APPENDIX II : Primary Sources and Archives

Digitized newspapers and magazines:

- Newspapers.com
- Newspaperarchive.com
- Google Books
- Internet Archive
- Genealogy Bank

Biographical information:

- Ancestry.com
- Internet broadly
- Personal interviews with Lucia Cucullu, Chris Conway, Betsy Brandt-Kreutz, and Heather Mae Pusztai

Commercial resources:

- Ebay
- Historic Images and Historic Images Outlet
- Pond 5
- Etsy

Repositories/Personal Collections:

- Schlesinger Library, Harvard University
- David M. Rubenstein Library, Duke University
- University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Libraries (esp. Interlibrary Loan)
- North Carolina State University Libraries
- Clemons Library, University of Virginia
- UCLA Film and Television Archive
- Arizona Historical Society
- Shell Archives, Houston
- Shell Oil Historical Archive, The Hague, The Netherlands
- Library and Archives Canada/ Bibliothèque et Archives Canada
- Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec
- Archives de la Ville de Montréal
- Digital Commonwealth
- University of Manitoba, Winnipeg
- Tacoma Public Library
- Canadian Heritage Photography Foundation
- Houston Public Library
- Northwestern University

- National Register of Historic Places
- Bay Area TV Archive
- Texas Archive of the Moving Image
- Seattle Municipal Archives
- Banning Library District Local History Collection
- Digital Collections of the Los Angeles Public Library
- Kern County Library
- Special Collections, Doheny Memorial Library, University of Southern California
- Flickr – Steve Lundeen, Jordan Smith, Bill Falk, Steve Hagy, Adam Prince, Cardboard America Archives (Jordan Smith)
- A/V Geeks
- Betsy Brandt-Kreutz and Trisha Brandt-Fox
- Mark Vassar
- Victoria Cole
- Michelle "My Giddy Jaunt" (pseudonym for YouTube user, no surname given)

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APPENDIX III : Examples of Audience Groups & Demographics

Triangulating evidence from textual and visual primary sources is at the heart of visual prosopography as a research method. As a hybrid methodology, visual prosopography has helped to preempt assumptions about who Lane's audiences were demographically, and how her program collectively reached out to them. It has required pulling together dispersed ephemera that have been borrowed, purchased, collected, digitized, and extracting data from them to turn into quantifiable data. Data extracted from over these thousands of sources underpins the maps and data visualizations, and a searchable relational database provides access to the digitized primary documents on which the data derives, alongside other displayed visual and textual evidence throughout each topical section. The resulting collocation of evidence from a variety of sources has exposed often unanticipated glimpses of the Carol Lane program staffs' rhetorical strategies and the people they targeted. Hypotheses and arguments about Lane's audiences and other factors are based on those associations. This section pulls together examples of specific Carol Lane's audience groups to show how the tool set offerings can combine to uncover and help to narrativize encounters between Carol Lane and her audiences. While there are a number of examples (34 examples out of over 1,500, or 2%), this subsection is not meant to be comprehensive or encyclopedic.

Descriptions of Carol Lane's audiences are organized in two related ways. Each of the bolded and underlined headings are umbrella terms for associated group types with whom the public relations program engaged. Under each umbrella term are the audience categories (such as "Women's club -- social, civic, or religious.") as found in the Searchable Database and on the "Carol Lane's Audiences By Location, Number, and Type" tool. Beneath those headings are

specific narratives about individual examples of audiences, including abridged histories of any official groups to which they belonged, the nature of the contact Carol Lane program made (a Lane visit or publication only), curated census tract information per location, and the corresponding Unique ID number for entry in the database so a reader can read more. Where additional contextualization serves *select* categories, readers will be pointed to "Details" subsections above. [For more information about "visual prosopography" as a hybrid methodology, see the "Methods" tab on this project. For a summarization of how that data was collected and arranged, see the introduction under the "Data" tab.]

Women's Clubs and Auxiliaries, Non-Professional

--- "Women's club -- social, civic, or religious."

- **East Moline (IL) Junior Woman's Club**
    - The East Moline Junior Woman's Club seems to have met for the first time in October 1937.[598] Miss Marion Jones was its first president.[599] They existed through at least the year 2002 when they changed the club's name to Two Rivers Junior Woman's Club. Junior Woman's Clubs nationwide serve their communities often alongside their elder Woman's Club in the General Federation of Women's Clubs. On November 11, 1963, Jeannette King gave the talk, "Tour Alluring U.S.A.," before the seventy-five club members and their guests in the East Moline State Bank Building.[600]
    - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 1450
    - **Census tract information:** The census tract tool does not include Rock Island County data for 1960. However, in the 1950 census, 21.9% of women in the county were employed, 68.9% were married, and 35.5% had graduated from high school. In 1960, the population for the whole county was 150,991.[601]

- **Roseburg (Oregon) Lions Auxiliary**

[598]"Junior Woman's Club To Be Organized Thursday," *The Dispatch*, October 5, 1937, 14.

[599]"Sixteen Members Added by Junior Club of Moline," *The Dispatch*, November 2, 1937, 4.

[600]"Travel Program Given For E.M. Junior Woman's Club," *Moline Dispatch*, November 12, 1963, 10.

[601]"Rock Island County, Illinois," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rock_Island_County,_Illinois (Accessed October 13, 2020).

- A search of Newspapers.com shows that Roseburg, Oregon Lions Auxiliary started by 1933, and seems to have been active through at least 1968 when they served a luncheon to the State Board Meeting that year. Lions Clubs still exist, yet their ladies' auxiliaries were phased in 1991. The Lions began granting women memberships in 1987.[602] The Roseburg Lions Auxiliary invited Marjory Schmid (Carol Lane, 1958-1964) to address them on February 8, 1960, at Carl's Haven in Roseburg. Her topic was "Keys To Family Fun By Car," and she was escorted to the city by J.C. Bovingdon, a Shell Oil representative from Eugene, Oregon.[603]
- **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 640
- **Census tract information:** Roseburg, Oregon, is located in Douglas County, which does not have census tract information for 1960. In 1950, however, 79.2% of the population (and thus a similar percentage of men) in the county were married, 33.4% graduated from high school, and 14.6% were employed, the largest percentage of which were in clerical positions (22.3%) and then professional/technical at 14.6%. In 1960, the total population of Douglas County was 68,458.[604]

- **Vermont Federation of Women's Clubs**
  - The Vermont Federation of Women's Clubs was founded in St. Johnsbury in 1896 with fifteen delegates. In 1916 the Federation endorsed Women's Suffrage. By 1922, governing body had sixty-seven clubs with over six thousand members. Areas of interest early on included education, state institutions and libraries. Eventually, by 1986 they identified six major work areas: "conservation, education, home life, international affairs, public affairs and the arts.[605] They appear to have wound down circa 2002. Carol Lane #5 spoke before the Vermont Federation of Women's Clubs in Rutland at their annual convention during the weekend of April 29, 30 and May 1, 1958. Her topic was "Travel Profits by the Carload."[606]
  - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 492
  - **Census tract information:** There is no census tract data for Caledonia County in which St. Johnsbury is located. Its 1950 population was 24,049.[607]

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[602]"Bringing Lionesses Into The Family: Guide to Lioness Invitation," Lions Clubs International, https://temp.lionsclubs.org/EN/pdfs/mklp2.pdf (Accessed October 13, 2020).

[603]"Community News Briefs," *The News-Review*, February 10, 1960, 10.

[604]"Douglas County, Oregon," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Douglas_County,_Oregon (Accessed October 13, 2020).

[605]Vermont Federation of Women's Clubs Records, 1896-2002, Vermont Historical Society, https://vermonthistory.org/documents/findaid/VermontFederationWomensClubs.pdf (Accessed October 13, 2020).

[606]"Around Vermont," *The North Adams Transcript*, April 18, 1958, 8.

[607]"Caledonia County, Vermont," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caledonia_County,_Vermont#Adjacent_counties (Accessed October 13, 2020).

- **Christian Women's Club (Long Beach, California)**
    - The Christian Women's Club of Long Beach was founded before December 1957. They were interdenominational and welcoming to all women who were interested in joining.[608] Lyn Johnson spoke before the club on February 13, 1973, at the Elks Club at 4101 E. Willow Street, Long Beach. The title of her talk was "Happy Vacationing," and she was on the same "bill" as a Mrs. Mabel Peek who was going to tell about her world travels. JoNel Dayen, soprano, would entertain.[609]
    - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 605
    - **Census tract information:** Long Beach is located in the extremely large Los Angeles County. In 1970, the total population of Long Beach itself was 358,879. The total white population for the county was 85.7%, the black population 10.8%, and 3.5% identified as "other." Only 5% of the county did not have a television. 41.7% of women were employed and the highest yearly income range for 49.4% of women was $1-9.99 thousand. 85.9% drove to work. 80.1% completed high school.

- **Bastion Chapter, Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (Nanaimo, British Columbia, Canada)**
    - The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) "is a Canadian women's charitable organization whose mission is to improve the quality of life for children, youth and those in need, through educational, social service and citizenship programs. Margaret Polson Murray founded the national level of this organization in 1900 in Montréal. The Order was originally named the Federation of the Daughters of the British Empire, and the Children of the Empire (Juvenile Branch). When the headquarters moved to Toronto in 1901, the Order became incorporated under the name the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE). In 1913, the Provincial Chapter of British Columbia was formally organized."[610] The Bastion chapter is now defunct. Canadian Carol Lane #1 (Carol Lane, 1958-1963) gave a talk before the local chapter at the Canadian Legion Hall in Nanaimo on May 12, 1960, at 2:30pm. Her talk was titled, "Keys to Family Fun by Car." The chapter was also hosting a "Five Roses Baking Contest" the same day as part of the event.[611]
    - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 996
    - **Census tract information:** None. The census tract tool for this project does not include Canada. However, the population of Nanaimo, Canada in 1950 was 12,600.[612]

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[608]"Lunch Meet for Christian Women Unit," *Independent*, December 11, 1957.

[609]"Club Calendar: Varied Programs Offered," *Independent Press-Telegram*, February 11, 1973, 80.

[610]"Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) Malaspina Chapter No. 1047 (Nanaimo) Fonds," Namaimo Archives, http://www.nanaimoarchives.ca/online-resources/finding-aids/imperial-order-daughters-empire-iode-malaspina-chapter-no-1047-nanaimo-fonds/ (Accessed October 14, 2020).

[611]"Travel Expert To Give Tips," *Nanaimo Daily News*, May 4, 1960, 6.

[612]"Namaimo – Population," Population City, http://population.city/canada/nanaimo/ (Accessed October 14, 2020).

--- "Women's auxiliary -- bureau, medical or union."

- **Women's Chamber of Commerce of Birmingham, Alabama**
  - It is unclear if the group is still active, but as of 2011, Birmingham's Women's Chamber of Commerce served in rather heteronormative terms, "to empower Alabama by empowering the women of Alabama to achieve their dreams. Whether they are a housewife, small business owner, or top-level executive."[613] At least in its previous form, the club seems to have started in or before 1936, and existed through approximately 1963.[614] Women's Chambers of Commerce are still common in big cities all over the United States. It has a federal body as well, the U.S. Women's Chamber of Commerce, which was founded in 2001 to "give voice to the collective strength of women in the U.S economy."[615] In an October 24, 1947, *The Birmingham News* published an article, "Two Well-Dressed Visitors Looked Nice, Complimented For It," written by New Fashion Writer, "Betty Birmingham." Carol Lane's predecessor, Claire Hoffman, and Caroline Iverson, in her new role as publicity director, were guests of the Women's Chamber of Commerce at their recent luncheon. About the pair, Birmingham wrote, "Miss Hoffman, small and blond, wore a suit of black faille. It had the most interesting neckline…Miss Iverson made use of the dramatic combination of blue with green. It was most effective."[616]
  - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 718
  - **Census tract information:** Birmingham straddles two counties and neither statistics for Jefferson nor Shelby Counties, IL, were accounted for in the closest census year, 1950. Its nearest county included in the tool, Calhoun County, lists 18.5% of women who responded were employed, 18.6% were single, and 68.3% married. The population for the Birmingham-Hoover metropolitan area was 556,926, up 21.1% from 1940.[617]
- **The Jefferson County Farm Bureau Women's Committee of Mount Vernon, Illinois**
  - The Jefferson County Farm Bureau Women's Committee of Mount Vernon, Illinois, is still in existence. Their committee calls themselves "a group of ladies from Jefferson County who have an interest in agriculture.[618] One of their main goals is "to spread the word to the general public about the importance of agriculture… and strive at offering programs and services that benefit our Farm

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[613]"Alabama Womens [sic] Chamber of Commerce," Facebook, https://www.facebook.com/alwcc/about/?ref=page_internal (Accessed October 13, 2020).

[614]"Industrial Water Or Tour of Steel Mills Arranged," *The Birmingham News*, June 6, 1936, 7.

[615]"About USWCC," USWCC, https://uswcc.org/about/ (Accessed October 13, 2020).

[616]"Two Well-Dressed Visitors Looked Nice, Complimented For It," *The Birmingham News*, October 24, 1947, 28.

[617]"Birmingham metropolitan area, Alabama," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Birmingham_metropolitan_area,_Alabama (Accessed October 13, 2020).

[618]"Women's Committee," Jefferson County Farm Bureau, https://www.jeffersoncfb.org/womens-committee.html (Accessed October 13, 2020).

Bureau members."[619] The Bureau is a member of the American Farm Bureau Federation, a national organization of farmers and ranchers including all 50 states and Puerto Rico. The national branch first organized as The American Farm Bureau in 1919.[620] It was announced in the *Mt. Vernon Register-News* on October 5, 1961, that the Jefferson County Farm Bureau Women's Committee of Mount Vernon was given one of that year's Carol Lane Award for Traffic Safety certificates of merit. They were awarded for their work in vehicle safety, in particular their clearing of weeds and brush from rural corners and the erection of stop signs where needed. Among other activities, they also fought for the use of red flags and proper lighting on tractors and other farm equipment which share country roads with vehicles.[621]

- **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 130
- **Census tract information:** Statistics for Jefferson County, Illinois, were not accounted for in the nearest census year, 1960. The county's population in 1960 was 32,315.[622] Its nearest rural county represented, Marion, had a rural population of 24.3%. Women working as farmers or farm managers equaled .2%; and 48.1% of its female population identified as white, and 2.6% black.

College women, sororities and school girls.

--- "College women or sororities."

- **American Association of University Women (Medford, Oregon)**
  - In 1882, a small group of female college graduates in Boston, Massachusetts, officially founded the Association of Collegiate Alumnae (ACA), the predecessor of the non-profit American Association of University Women (AAUW), to collectively advocate and work for women's career advancement and increased enrollment in institutions of higher education. The ACA mired with the Southern Association of College Women to create the AAUW in 1921. Since 1988, it has continued, among many civic and philanthropic activities, to fund fellowships for female college students.[623] The Medford chapter of AAUW has "since the 1930s…served [their] community, advancing advocacy, education and equity for women. [Their] Branch, together with other community organizations, has helped

[619]Women's Committee," Jefferson County Farm Bureau.

[620]"A Strong Tradition of Working for the Collective Good," American Farm Bureau Federation, https://www.fb.org/about/history#1919 (Accessed October 13, 2020).

[621]"Jefferson Co. Farm Bureau Women Win Safety Award," *Mt. Vernon Register-News*, October 5, 1961, 17.

[622]"Jefferson County, Illinois," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jefferson_County,_Illinois#cite_note-8 (Accessed October 13, 2020).

[623]"About AAUW," AAUW, https://www.aauw.org/about/ (Accessed October 13, 2020).

to establish and further some of the most esteemed institutions and cultural events in Jackson County."[624] On April 20, 1955, Sherry Baker (Carol Lane, 1953-1958) gave a talk and demonstration titled, "Vagabondage, U.S.A.," to the Medford, Oregon, branch of AAUW at the home of Mrs. W.W. Stevenson, 230 Saginaw Drive in Medford.[625]

- **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 477
- **Census tract information:** According to the 1950 census, Jackson County, in which Medford is located, 5.4% of the total population of were college graduates, and 14.7% of the female population were employed in professional or technical positions.

- **Theta Sigma Phi Honorary Journalism Sorority, University of Oklahoma**
  - The Theta Sigma Phi honorary journalism sorority was founded by female students at the University of Seattle, Washington.[626] By 1950, it had grown to over 76 chapters and alumnae groups at colleges and universities around the country. Caroline Iverson (who was elected president of the University of Wisconsin chapter in 1938), Elizabeth Baker (Carol Lane, 1949-1952), and Lyn Johnson (Carol Lane, 1971-1974) were all alumnae members. In 1972, Theta Sigma Phi was renamed Women in Communications, Inc. (WICI) when they began to admit men as well. Among their advocacy efforts, they created what became the Clarion Awards. Since 1972, the Clarions have honored "excellence in 100 categories across all communications disciplines, including advertising & marketing, audiovisual productions," and more.[627] In 1996, the organization was rechristened the Association for Women in Communications. Marjory Schmid addressed a combined audience of Oklahoma Public Relations Association, American Women in Radio and Television, and Theta Sigma Phi sorority members at a dinner event at 6:30pm on April 13, 1960. The event was held in the Town Hall room of Val Gene's Restaurant, Penn Square Shopping Center, in Oklahoma City. About her, they noted in their press release, "Miss Schmid has written numerous booklets on touring and has appeared on television. She also prepares a weekly column, 'Tips on Touring.' In addition, she has served as promotion and publicity director for special events presented by two newspapers, guest writer for national magazines in the women's activities field, written for television and published children's stories, books and poems."[628]

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[624]"About Medford AAUW," AAUW Medford Branch, https://medford-or.aauw.net/ (Accessed October 16, 2020).

[625]"Touring Expert To Speak Here for AAUW Unit," *Medford Mail Tribune*, April 17, 1955, 21.

[626]"Theta Sigma Phi. Nu Chapter papers," University of Minnesota Libraries, https://archives.lib.umn.edu/repositories/14/resources/1415 (Accessed October 16, 2020).

[627]"About Clarion Awards," womcom.org, https://www.womcom.org/content.aspx?page_id=22&club_id=903060&module_id=193199&sl=964163456 (Accessed October 13, 2020).

[628]"Travel Director Will Be Speaker," *The Daily Oklahoman*, April 11, 1960, 14.

- **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 1167
- **Census tract information:** Metropolitan Oklahoma City today covers four counties. In one of those counties, Oklahoma County, in 1960, 23.8% of the population had a college degree or higher; 12.5% of its female population worked in professional or technical fields. 43.1 of its female population identified as white, 4.8% as black. 14.7% were single, and 66.5% were married.

--- "School girls or girls' club."

- **All-girl Assembly at Palo Duro High School (Amarillo, Texas)**
  - The Palo Duro High School in Amarillo, Texas, was founded in 1954 and hosted its first incoming class in 1955. It was initially referred to as North Amarillo High. Soon after completion, the school was officially dedicated in March 1956. It remains open to this day. Marjory Schmid addressed an all-girl assembly at Palo Duro High School on September 23, 1959. [629] The newspaper wrote of Marjory Schmid's visit, "Prior to her travel work, she was a writer of Walt Disney's Mickey Mouse Club television show."[630]
  - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 500
  - **Census tract information:** Amarillo, Texas, is the county seat of Potter County. In the 1950 census, 56.6% of the population graduated from high school, and women/girls between 10-19 years of age represented 7.4% of the population.

- **Business and Professional Girls' Club (Monroe, Louisiana)**
  - The Business and Professional Girls' Club (of the Young Women's Christian Association) in Monroe, Louisiana, seems to have been founded prior to 1938, and regularly met at the local Y.W.C.A. on Jackson Street.[631] In 1965, the club changed its name to Career Girls Club of the Young Women's Christian Association. Back on January 29, 1944, the club listened to Beatrice Hansen at their January 29th meeting in the Hotel Frances in Monroe. The title of her talk was, "Vacation Dress-O-Graph."
  - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 456
  - **Census tract information:** Monroe is located in Ouachita Parish, which in 1950, had population of 26.7% who graduated high school. 7.9% percent of women/girls were between 10-19 years of age. The largest percentages of women in the county working outside the home were: 11.4% of the adult in professional or technical careers, 21% in clerical work, 9.6 in sales, and 21.3% in domestic work.

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[629] "Amarillo's Palo Duro High To Field Grid Team in '55," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, December 11, 1954, 11.

[630] "Groups Offer Travel Speaker," *The Amarillo Globe-Times*, September 18, 1959, 38.

[631] "Coming Events," *The Monroe News-Star*, September 17, 1940, 2.

In-Person Encounters with a Mixed Audiences

--- "General public -- in-person."
This category needs definition. Below are groups who witnessed Carol Lane at a live event where the audiences, besides being in the same place at the same time, were otherwise unrelated and unspecified in terms of gender, race, age, or affiliation.

- **The 1951 Wisconsin Vacationland Conference**
  - The Wisconsin Vacationland conference kicked off in Stevens Point in 1951.[632] It was co-sponsored by the Wisconsin State Chamber of Commerce from the start, and by the next year, the Wisconsin Vacationland Council. Elizabeth Baker (Carol Lane, 1949-1952) gave a talk on Friday, May 2, 1952, at the Wisconsin Vacationland conference in Stevens Point. It was the conference's second year, and Governor Walter J. Kohler was its principal speaker. It took place in the Hardware Mutual auditorium in that city. Her talk was titled, "Tour for Better Living."[633]
  - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 441
  - **Census tract information:** The county Stevens Point is in Portage County, which had a population of 34,858 in 1950, was not included in the 1950 census.[634] However, the county just to its north, Marathon, was. The percentage of total high school graduates in Marathon county was 24.3%, and college graduates equaled 3.7%. The percentage of employed women equaled 20.2, and the areas of employment what would be more likely to offer women paid vacations were in Clerical (19.4%), Sales (8.5%), Craftsmen/Foremen (1.3%), Service worker – not in a private residence (11.2%), Operatives (12.5%), Professional/Technical (11%), and Proprietors/Managers/Officials (4.7%).

- **Pomona (California) Public Library**
  - According to the Pomona Public Library's history page, it began in 1887 at different location, and moved again in 1892. By 1903, it had relocated to its current location at 380 North Main Street in that city. The library's current building was finished in 1965.[635] Its stated mission "is to provide Library services and materials which meet the diverse informational, educational and recreational needs of all of the citizens of the City of Pomona."[636] Lyn Johnson spoke about

[632]"Vacationland Meet," *The Capital Times*, November 29, 1951, 4.

[633]"Vacationland Meet Planned May 2 In Stevens Point," *The Rhinelander Daily News*, April 30, 1952, 2; "Vacation Topic Set For Point; Dells Man Goes," *The La Crosse Tribune*, May 1, 1952, 25.

[634]"Portage County, Wisconsin," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portage_County,_Wisconsin (Accessed October 13, 2020).

[635]"Library History," YouSeeMore.com, http://www.youseemore.com/pomona/contentpages.asp?loc=64 (Accessed October 13, 2020).

[636] "Pomona Library Mission," City of Pomona California, https://www.ci.pomona.ca.us/index.php/library-home (Accessed October 13, 2020).

successful inner-city revitalization efforts in a "special travel program" on April 3, 1973, at 7:30pm in the library's conference room. It was open to the public. Her program was touted to have included a 45-minute presentation.[637]

- **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 854
- **Census tract information:** Pomona, California, is located in Los Angeles County. In 1970, the 87.5% of the population identified as white, 10.8% as black, 3.5% identified as "other." The percentage of households who owned at least own automobile was 85.9%. The highest white family income range, percentage-wise, was $10-24.99 thousand dollars per year at 50.8%, along with "Other" families at 51.8%. For black families, the income range with the highest percentage (61.8%) was $1-9.99 thousand-dollar range.

- **Triple Cities Industrial Management Club (Binghamton, New York)**
  - Triple Cities Industrial Management Club was the Binghamton-Edicott-Johnson City, New York, chapter of the National Council of Industrial Management Clubs which was founded in 1948. The National Council was preceded by the National Council of Foreman's Clubs (1934) which had been formed less officially at the turn of the century with the formation of YMCA's Industrial Work Department. Their mission during the period under study was to train supervisors and managers for jobs in manufacturing. Prior, there was a concerted effort to address the needs of the working class.[638] In 1971, the national organization's name changed to International Management Council of the YMCA. Jeannette King (Carol Lane, 1961-1967) addressed the club at 5:30pm on December 11, 1962, at the Binghamton Masonic Temple. Her talk was titled, "Touring Alluring U.S.A." The meeting was open to the men's club and their wives.
  - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 1111
  - **Census tract information:** Located in Broome County, 74.4% of the population lived in urban areas wherein 51% of the females identified as white, and .3% black. Only 1.3% of the 26.6% of women employed worked as craftspeople or foremen. .3% were laborers and 24.4% worked as operatives or in mining.

- **Iowa State Fair (Des Moines, Iowa)**
  - The first Iowa State Fair was held October 25-27, 1854 in Fairfield. It moved to its current address at East 30th Street and East University Avenue in Des Moines in 1886. The Fairgrounds includes about 445 acres, about one-grid of which is wooded campground. The Fair runs in August, and it was placed on the National Register of Historic places in 1987.[639] On August 15th and 16th, 1969, Lucia Cucullu (Carol Lane, 1968-1972) addressed audiences in the Homemakers Fun

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[637] "Pomona Receives Advice On Ways of Revitalization," *Progress-Bulletin*, April 5, 1973, 13.

[638] Industrial Work Records. Kautz Family YMCA Archives. University of Minnesota, https://archives.lib.umn.edu/repositories/7/resources/846 (Accessed October 14, 2020).

[639] "History/Museum," Iowa State Fair, https://www.iowastatefair.org/about/history-museum/ (Accessed October 14, 2020).

and Action Theater in the Home and Arts Building (formerly Women and Children's Building). The title of her talk was, "How to Travel Light and Fashionably." She presented twice daily. [640]

- **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 587
- **Census tract information:** Des Moines is in Polk County, which in 1960 had a rural population of 8.3%. .2% of the women in the county were employed as farmers or farm managers out of the 28.3% of women employed. 49.9% of the women were white, and 2.1% were black. 63.7% of the county's women were married.

--- Mixed club or association.

- **Le Club Richelieu (Arvida, Québec)**
  - The Arvida, Québec (Canada) Le Club Richelieu chapter served its French-speaking community under the parapluie of La Société Richelieu of Canada. La Société was founded in 1944 by Dr. Horace Viau to curb the exodus of francophones to English-speaking clubs. More broadly, the founders saw a need to defend against the loss of their language in an overwhelmingly English-speaking country. The first club went live in Ottawa the following year. It extended to the United States and Western Canada starting in 1955. Le Société changed its name to Richelieu International in 1971.[641] Canadian Carol Lane #1 (1958-1963) addressed Le Club Richelieu at Halfway Inn, Arvada, on the afternoon of January 19, 1960. Her topic was, "Le Plaisirs de la Route," or "The Pleasures of the Road."[642]
  - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 1315
  - **Census tract information:** None. The census tract tool for this project does not include Canada. Arvida was first founded in 1927 as an industrial, or company town, by the Alcoa Company who constructed an aluminum smelter there. In 1975, Arvida, with a few other municipalities, was folded into the city of Jonquière, which is now part of the City of Saguenay. [643]

- **Casper (Wyoming) Newcomers Club**
  - The Casper Newcomers Club was founded in February 1941 by Mrs. C.R. Frazier who served as their first president. Their objective was to provide initial opportunities "for women who [were] new to the Casper area to become immediately involved and acquainted. Luncheons, parties, numerous activity

[640]"Vacation Tips for Vacationers," *Estherville Daily News*, August 14, 1969, 6.

[641]"Historique," Richelieu, https://www.richelieu.org/richelieu-international/historique (Accessed October 14, 2020).

[642]"Comment Voyager Avec Agrément Ou Les Précieux Conseils de Carol Lane," *Le Lingot*, January 21, 1960.

[643]"Arvida, Québec," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arvida,_Québec#cite_note-Peritz-2 (Accessed October 14, 2020).

groups, [and] community involvement" were their objectives.[644] Marjory Schmid spoke to the club at a Saturday noon luncheon on November 11, 1961, in the Townsend Hotel's Honeycomb Room. Mrs. George Williamson, the club's president, introduced her.[645]

- **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 1122
- **Census tract information:** Casper, Wyoming, is located in Natrona County. Unfortunately, the census tract tool does not include any statistics for Wyoming for 1940-1970. The county's population in 1960 was 49,623.[646]

- **Chamber of Commerce (Washington, Missouri)**
  - The Washington, Missouri, Chamber of Commerce was founded in 1923. Its office maintains the Chamber Office, the Washington Town & Country Fair, the Washington Division of Tourism and more. Its mission is "to provide services that strengthen [their] member businesses, and enhance the local economic climate and the quality of life of area residents."[647] Sherry Baker was guest speaker before the Washington Chamber of Commerce on February 1, 1958, at a 6:30pm banquet in the dining room of St. Peter's United Church of Christ. Her talk was titled, "Travel Profits By the Carload." Her talk was sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce.[648]
  - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 1511
  - **Census tract information:** Washington, Missouri, is located in Franklin County. In 1950, the percentage of women who were employed was 27.7% of which 8.8% were in professional or technical roles, 5% were proprietors, managers or officials. 67.2% were married (and by proxy were the men of the county), and 19.8% were single.

- **Cotati (California) Parent-Teacher Association chapter**
  - Cotati is a city in Sonoma County, California. Its Parent-Teacher Association chapter was founded by at least 1922, under the auspices of the United States National Parent-Teacher Association, which itself was founded by Alice McLellan Birney and Phoebe Apperson Hearst in 1897 as the National Congress of Mothers in Washington, DC. Its current headquarters is in Alexandria, VA. In June 1970, the association combined efforts with the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers. Their goal is to advocate for children's education,

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[644]"Newcomers Club Calls for 'First Things First,'" *Casper Star-Tribune*, September 10, 1972, 40.

[645]"Carol Lane Will Speak Here," *Casper Morning Star*, November 8, 1961, 7.

[646]"Natrona County, Wyoming," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Natrona_County,_Wyoming (Accessed October 14, 2020).

[647]"About Us," Washmochamber.org, https://www.washmochamber.org/about-us.html (Accessed October 14, 2020).

[648]"C. of C. Banquet Scheduled For Saturday Night," *Washington Missourian*, January 30, 1958, 1.

health and safety.[649] Marjory Schmid spoke at Cotati School, 7:30pm on February 10, 1961, during their Founders Day celebration. Her topic was "Adventure a La Car."
    - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 1132
    - **Census tract information:** The percentage of inhabitants who identified as white in Sonoma County in 1970 was 97.1%, while those who identified as black came in at 1%, and "other" equaled 2%. 84.9% of the population drove a car to work, and 26.7% graduated from college.

--- "Wives of Shell gas station owners or corporate execs; mixed Shell Oil Company audience."

- **Shell Oil Dealers of Central Illinois and their wives** [See also subsection "Detail: Wives of Shell gas station owners or corporate execs; mixed Shell Oil Company audience."]
    - Bloomington and Decatur seem to be the main central Illinois cities around which the Carol Lane concentrated their efforts regionally. This area was situated between Shell's water terminal in the Summit/Argo suburbs of Chicago and their offices in St. Louis where they maintained a marketing division until the 1960s. On either February 6 or 7, 1957, Dorothy Wendel (Carol Lane, 1955-1957) spoke before the Shell Oil Dealers of Central Illinois and their wives at a noontime luncheon in Hotel Orlando in Decatur. The journalist, in her profile on Wendel and her visit remarked that she was "serving under the name of Carol Lane which was instituted about 10 years ago."[650] On this same visit, Wendel was made an honorary captain of traffic safety by a Lieutenant Harold Buechler employed at the nearby Scott Air Force Base. See **Figure 1** for another image of Dorothy Wendel presenting a year before in front of two hundred wives of Shell dealers in the Boston area.
    - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 750
    - **Census tract information:** While there is no census date for Bloomington, Illinois, it had an overall population of 34,163 in 1950. 68% of women of women in Macon County, in which Decatur is situated, were married. 21.7% of all women were employed, the highest percentages of which were in clerical (27.1%), sales (9.9%), service work outside the home (16.7%), professional/technical (12.6%).

- **Wives of Shell Ohio Turnpike Plaza 4 Employees, near Elyria, Ohio**
    - A proposal for Ohio Turnpike was first put forth by a committee before the state's General Assembly in 1948, and its legislature created the Ohio Turnpike

[649]"History," PTA, https://www.pta.org/home/About-National-Parent-Teacher-Association/Mission-Values/National-PTA-History (Accessed October 13, 2020).

[650]Sutherd, 19.

Commission the following year.[651] **[Figure 2]** The turnpike broke ground on October 27, 1952, and was finished almost exactly three years later. 1956 was its first full year of operation.[652] Shell Oil Company's bid to establish a service station where was accepted in 1954. They agreed to pay 6.57 cents per gallon on fuel sold at Plaza 4 to the Commission.[653] "Shell Turnpike Plaza 4" was located at approximately Exit 145 at Elyria where it met up with Interstate 90 and Ohio State Route 57. In 1998, the Ohio Turnpike Commission began modernizing its service plazas and demolished the original ones like the one in Elyria. Plaza 4 seems to have been replaced with a service plaza at Exit 140 and now features a Sunoco Gas Station. Interestingly, Carol Lane repeatedly advocated for the shunning of turnpikes, or "shunpiking" when touring throughout the decades of program. A word still used today, "shunpiking" meant primarily sticking to the backroads, with limited time spent on two-lane U.S. Routes (Federal Highways), State Routes, and turnpikes, while touring. This slower-paced, more leisurely approach minimized reliance upon major roadways that bypassed regional small towns and roadside attractions. Carol #5 (Carol Lane, 1957-1960) gave a talk at a luncheon before wives of Shell Turnpike 4 employees (presumably all men) an hour away from Elyria in Fremont, Ohio, on April 4, 1960. Women from the surrounding towns Fremont, Clyde, and Vickery heard her talk, "Keys to Family Fun by Car" at Towne Crier Inn in North Ridgeville.

- **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 1127
- **Census tract information:** In 1960 the population of Lorain County, Ohio Fremont, Ohio, was 217,500.[654] The county was not included in the 1950 or 1960 census tract data. However, in 1950 in Sandusky County where they met for lunch, the number of employed women was 18.3%, and the percentage that were married was 68.5.

Audiences of Primarily Men

--- "Men's club, association, or other audience."

- **Louisville Advertising Club** [See also subsection "Detail: Men's club, association, or other audience."]

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[651]"Will Ask Assembly To Approve System Of Toll Highways," *Telegraph-Forum*, May 17, 1948, 1.

[652]"History," Ohio Turnpike, https://www.ohioturnpike.org/about-us/history (Accessed October 13, 2020).

[653]"Ohio Turnpike Commission: Resolution No. 163-1954 Awarding Contracts SS-2, SS-3, SS-4, SS-5, and SS-6, and Rejecting Contracts SS-1, SS-7, and SS-8," Ohio Turnpike, https://www.ohioturnpike.org/docs/default-source/resolutions/1954-resolutions/163-1954-resolution-awarding-contracts-ss-2-ss-3-ss-4-ss-5-and-ss-6-and-rejecting-contracts-ss-1-ss-7-and-ss-8---operation-of-dual-service-stations---shell-oil-company.pdf?sfvrsn=74eff5c4_2 (Accessed October 13, 2020).

[654]"Lorain County, Ohio," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lorain_County,_Ohio (Accessed October 13, 2020).

- Organized in 1906 by the Ad Writers' League of Louisville, Advertising Club (Ad Club) of Louisville, Kentucky, was still active under this name into the early 2000s when it appears to have been absorbed into or renamed the American Advertising Federation (AAF), Louisville. The membership was initially restricted to men "of good moral standing" who worked in an agency or as a buyer, manager, writer, or illustrator. It was later opened to everyone associated with the business.[655] Elizabeth Baker spoke before the group at the Kentucky Hotel on April 21, 1950. Announcing her visit, the journalist wrote about Baker (note they did not refer to her as Carol Lane): "It's a sure bet members of the Louisville Advertising Club didn't tell their wives what went on at their regular meeting yesterday. They learned how to pack a woman's 21-inch suitcase -- complete with stockings, panties, negligee, and blouse -- in 10 minutes. The lady who showed and told them how it is done was Miss Elizabeth Baker, New York City. And Miss Baker claims she imparts such information for practical use. 'The men should now be able to pack their wife's suitcase,' said Miss Baker after the Kentucky Hotel meeting. Miss Baker put toilet articles in plastic bottles, nylons in gloves, and shoes in rain boots...The representative of Shell Oil Company's touring service showed how 43 items could be packed in the small week-end case. But when she was finished, Advertising Club members were not satisfied. 'How do you find room for a fifth of Kentucky bourbon' they asked. Miss Baker allowed it could be squeezed in." [656]
- **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 1391
- **Census tract information:** There is no 1950 census tract information for Jefferson County in which Louisville is its most-populous city. The county's population was 484,615 in 1950.[657] However, there is census tract data for Jefferson County in 1960. Ten years later, the highest percentage by far (49.6) of yearly household income was $1-5.99 thousand dollars. 88.5% of its population lived in an urban environment. At least in the counties where the Carol Lane program engaged with them in some fashion, white female Kentuckians (and one can extrapolate, white men to large degree of certainty) equaled 45.1% of the population, and blacks, 6.7%.[658] The number of households with at least one car was 56.6%.

<u>Publication-Reading, Radio-Listening, and Television-Viewing Audiences</u>

--- "General public--readers/viewers/listeners."

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[655]Kleber, John E. *The Encyclopedia of Louisville* (Louisville, Kentucky : The University of Kentucky Press, 2001), 6.

[656]Ad Club Is Educated In Suitcase Packing: Visitor Gives Demonstration," *The Courier-Journal*, April 22, 1950, 8.

[657]"Jefferson County, Kentucky," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jefferson_County,_Kentucky (Accessed October 13, 2020).

[658]It's unclear at this point whether this is an anomaly within the tool set, or the census question. Strangely, the question of race plus gender brings up what looks like a correct collocation of data.

This category also needs some definition. As mentioned above, publications covering the Carol Lane program's activities only in print fall under the "General public--readers/viewers/listeners" category, and they are the largest in number at 642 (out of over 1,500). The types of materials categorized as "general public" fall into five "story types," as they are called in this project. One such story type is "CL Techniques or Book Review," or those incidents when other journalists and columnists incorporated Carol Lane's ideas into their own articles on travel and traffic safety. This category also covers articles promoting her publications. Another is the self-evident, "Ad" story type. "Ad" can actually indicate two things: a traditional unidirectional advertisement for, say, a booklet she had authored; or it might be a public-service style informational cartoon. Another print-only story type is "Column" which refers, of course, to Lane's own advice column alternately called "Tips on Touring" or "Touring Tips," or untitled, and just signed by Carol Lane. Another story type is "Image Caption," and it refers to photos or drawings working in tandem with captions to convey information quickly and more visually. Lastly, "Safety Award Announcement" refers to those articles that announced the call for submissions for the Carol Lane Traffic Safety Award.

Because these story types were distributed fairly evenly across the spectrum of publications, where they were published has been less useful for this project's purposes than, say, how many times per location. The latter number is more indicative of how and where the public relations managers seemed willing to spend financial resources in a particular region. Sending a Carol Lane to a region was more expensive. Relatedly, the "Change Over Time" tool helps to assess how those figures changed over time. **Figures 3 – 6** are examples from the "Ad," "Column," "CL Techniques or Book Review," and "Safety Award Announcement" types with associated citations. For an example of an "Image Caption" see the "African-Indian readership." subsection below.

--- "African-American readership." [See also subsection "Detail: African American and American Indian Audiences."

- ***The Chicago Defender*/*Chicago Daily Defender* (Chicago, Illinois**)
    - Robert S. Abbott founded *The Chicago Defender* on May 5, 1905. By the start of World War I, it was "the nation's most influential Black weekly newspaper, with more than two-thirds of its readership outside of Chicago."[659] *The Chicago Defender* campaigned for anti-lynching legislation and for integrated sports, according to its legacy website. It became *The Daily Defender* beginning in 1956. In 2019, Real Times Media Inc. phased out the print edition, but it continues online.[660] On August 12, 1959, The Daily Defender published a public-service style advertisement featuring an image of Carol Lane #5 (Carol Lane, 1957-1960) and what appears to be a white heterosexual couple and their child, in a canoe laughing. The caption reads, "Everybody gets in the act – that's what makes

[659]"History of The Chicago Defender," *Chicago Defender*, https://chicagodefender.com/history-of-the-chicago-defender/ (Accessed October 14, 2020).
[660]Editorial Board, "Editorial: After 114 Forceful Years, another Evolution for *The Chicago Defender*," *Chicago Tribune*, July 15, 2019, https://www.chicagotribune.com/opinion/editorials/ct-editorial-chicago-defender-african-americans-20190708-iu24m46bu5ecxax3g3g566gqma-story.html (Accessed October 14, 2020).

family fishing such fun. So reports Carol Lane, women's travel director for Shell Oil Company. Miss Lane recently made a 36-state fishing survey trip, and discovered that, with families who like to participate in a sport, it's fishing four to one. 'Since the whole family joins in," says Miss Lane, 'fishing's a wonderful way to spend a week-end or a full vacation. It's inexpensive, healthful, most sites are easy to reach by car and the rewards are delicious.'"[661]
    - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 1521
    - **Census tract information:** Cook County in which Chicago is located, had an urban population of 99% the year after this publication was printed. In 1960, the black population was 7.2%. 31.6% of the general population had no automobile, and 39.6% (the highest) had a yearly income of $1-5.99 thousand a year.

--- "American Indian readership." [See also subsection "Detail: African American and American Indian Audiences."]

- ***Adahooniłigii* (Phoenix and Window Rock, Arizona)**
    - *Adahooniłigii* was a Navajo language (Diné Bizaad) monthly newspaper that was first published in Window Rock, Arizona, in August 1943. It was printed by the Phoenix Indian School and its title means in Navajo, "those things in the process of occurring."[662] Its last issue seems to have been May/June 1957.[663] If that date is accurate, the penultimate March/April 1957 issue included a public-service style Carol Lane-authored cartoon, titled "Get the Jump on Jack," that informed readers on proper maintenance for one's auto in winter temperatures. It closes with a chirpy, "When Jack Frost paints a winter wonderland, motoring is more enjoyable if car's set for the season."[664]
    - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 1522
    - **Census tract information:** While Window Rock serves as the seat of government and capital of the Navajo Nation. It is also a census-designated place, but not so in 1957. Just three years later on April 1, 1960, the Bureau of Indian Affairs estimated that the "total number of persons, identified as Navajo and residing within the administrative area of the Navajo Agency, [was] 73,614."[665]

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[661]Untitled image, *Daily Defender*, August 12, 1959, 16.

[662]U.S. Office of Indian Affairs. "Navaho Newspaper And Dictionary," *Indians at Work*, vol. 11 no. 6 (1944: Mar.-Apr.), 12.

[663]"Libraries that Have It: *Adahooniłigii*. [volume] (Phoenix [Ariz.]) 1943-????," Chronicling America, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn92024097/holdings/ (Accessed October 14, 2020).

[664]"Get the Jump on Jack," *Adahooniłigii*, Vol. 14, Nos. 5-6 (March-April, 1957), 16.

[665]Hillery, George A. and Frank J. Essene, "Navajo Population: An Analysis of the 1960 Census," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Autumn, 1963), 300.

<u>Business and Professional Associations</u> [See also subsection "Detail: Business and Professional Associations]

--- "Adwomen or public relations women clubs."

- **Public Relations Women of Honolulu**
    - The Public Relations Women of Honolulu was founded at least by 1946. It was chartered late that year or January 1947. Mrs. E.M. Donnelly was its first president. She was in motion picture promotional and scenario work in Hollywood before moving to the islands in the 1930s. Twenty-three women engaged in public relations work signed the charter. They hoped "to bring together women whose work deals with public relations and publicity for exchange of ideas and friendly association."[666] Irma Cunha (Carol Lane, 1951-1953), a born and bred Honolulan, spoke informally about her work to the Public Relations Women of Honolulu on Monday, September 10, 1951, during at a luncheon meeting at the Honolulu YWCA."[667]
    - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 770
    - **Census tract information:** The nearest census year to Cunha's visit was 1950, but Hawai'i was still a territory, and thus, is not included in the tool until 1960 even though the U.S. Bureau of the Census has conducted decennial counts. The City and County of Honolulu had a total population of 353,020 on April 1, 1950.[668] By 1960, 25.1% of women were employed, 16.1% of whom were in professional or technical positions, and 9% were in sales. 17.5% of the female population identified as white out of a total 70.7% white population overall.

--- "Home economists/ extension/ demonstration clubs."

- **Ohio Home Demonstration Council, The Ohio State University**
    - The Ohio Home Demonstration Council was served by the Extension Service staff of the College of Agriculture and Home Economics of The Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio. It functioned as a council at some point before 1937, under the umbrella of the National Home Demonstration Council. By at least the early 1950s, it supported thriving international relations activities such as pen pal programs, a magazine, *Country Woman*, which kept members abreast of their activities around the world. Any woman was eligible to become a member, and her responsibility was "to their local community, their club or group, and to

[666]"Honolulu Public Relations Group Elects Head," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, January 11, 1947, 25.

[667]"Public Relations Women Will Hear Travel Expert," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, September 7, 1951, 15.

[668]"Hawai'i - Censuses: Historical Censuses," University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, https://guides.library.manoa.Hawai'i.edu/c.php?g=105181&p=684171 (Accessed October 14, 2020).

The Ohio State University."[669] The club had subject matter leaders, and several committees that dealt with different activities of interest to its members. Carol Lane #7 (Carol Lane, 1954-1958) spoke before the Ohio Home Demonstration Council Meeting at Ohio State University on June 14th or 15th, 1955. She was quoted as saying, "Take half as many clothes and twice as much money as you did last year."[670]

- **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 626
- **Census tract information:** Franklin county, in which Columbus is situated, is not included in the census tract tool. Its population in 1950 was 503,410 – up 29.5% from the decade before.[671] Two of its surrounding counties, Fairfield and Licking, had between 16.4% and 22.3% of women employed, and of that, between 11% and 12.4% had professional or technical careers. Between 3.9% and 5.2% of women had earned college degrees, and approximately 18% of women were single, versus married which hovered between 62.5% and 66.8%.

- **New Mexico Association of Home Extension Clubs**
  - The New Mexico Association of Home Extension Clubs had their own newsletter published by the Agricultural Extension Service of the New Mexico College Agricultural and Mechanic Arts (State College, N.M.), and the United States Department of Agriculture.[672] They seem to have begun circa 1930, and held an annual convention that they began hosting in Summer 1943. The Association existed until at least 1962. Sherry Baker (Carol Lane, 1953-1958), as part of a panel of three career women, addressed the New Mexico Home Extension Clubs at the tenth annual meeting at Eastern New Mexico University in Portales, August 17th, 18th, or 19th, 1953.[673]
  - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 462
  - **Census tract information:** Portales is in Roosevelt County which is not accounted for in the census tract data. Its population in 1950 was 16,409.[674] Curry County to its north is included in the 1950 census, and there 34.1% of the population graduated from high school and 5.3% from college. 16.9% of women

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[669]Mann, Mohindar Kaur. *A Study of the Role of Women in the Cooperative Extension Service in Ohio, with Implications for the Involvement of Rural Women in the Community Development Program of the Punjab*, dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1962. http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc_num=osu1486559657282529.

[670]"Six Homemakers Back From Meet," *The Daily Times*, June 16, 1955, 24.

[671]"Franklin County, Ohio," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Franklin_County,_Ohio (Accessed October 14, 2020).

[672]*New Mexico Extension* News 8, no. 5 (State College, New Mexico : New Mexico State University Library, May 1948).

[673]"Home Extension Clubs Meet Soon," *Alamogordo News*, August 13, 1953, 1.

[674]"Roosevelt County, New Mexico," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roosevelt_County,_New_Mexico (Accessed October 14, 2020).

were employed, and of those, clerical and service workers (not in a private home) were most common at 23.7% and 18.7% respectively.

--- "Women clerical workers/women's departments."

- **Women's Department of the Greater Des Moines (Iowa) Chamber of Commerce[675]**
  - The Greater Des Moines Chamber of Commerce's Women's Department was founded in or before 1907. Elected board members represented local businesses and they served two-year terms (as were the rules in 1955).[676] In the 1950s and 1960s, they often met in the Younkers Tearoom. They existed as a group through at least the 1970s. Chambers of Commerce are organized voluntary networks of business people and firms. They exist at every level of business from the federal down to municipal. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce was founded in 1912. Believed to have been the first municipal chapter, the Charleston Chamber of Commerce, dates back to 1773. Lucia Cucullu spoke before the Women's Department on Thursday, October 10, 1968, at the Younkers Tearoom in Des Moines. Her talk followed the group's evening dinner.[677]
  - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 583
  - **Census tract information:** In 1960, 28.3% of women in Polk County were Des Moines is situated, worked outside the home, most commonly in clerical work (42.9%). 63.7% of women were married, 49.9% of the female population identified white compared, along with 2.1% who were black. The yearly household income bracket with the highest percentage (46%) across the board was $1-5.99 thousand.

- **Desk Set Chapter, National Secretaries Association (Corpus Christi, Texas)**
  - The Desk Set Chapter of the National Secretaries Association (NSA) in Corpus Christi, Texas, seems to have been most active from the late 1940s through the 1960s. The NSA was formed, and first chapter founded, in Topeka, Kansas, in 1942. They held their first international convention in Kansas City, Missouri in 1946. In 1967, they let in men, and fifteen years later in 1982, the organization changed its name to Professional Secretaries International (PSI). In 1998, they changed the name again to International Association of Administrative Professionals (IAAP). It remains active to this day.[678] They held seminars and public programs for secretaries, and occasionally for the public on such topics as

[675]Note: This example should not be confused with Women's Chambers of Commerce in Washington, Missouri (see above). The Women's Department functioned within the Greater Des Moines Chamber of Commerce. It was not a separate organization as did Women's Chambers.

[676]"U.S. Chamber of Commerce: The Early Years," U.S. Chamber of Commerce, https://www.uschamber.com/sites/default/files/uscc_HistoryBook.pdf (Accessed October 14, 2020).

[677]"To Hear Speakers," 57.

[678]"About IAAP," IAAP-HQ.org, https://www.iaap-hq.org/page/about_iaap#history (Accessed October 14, 2020).

writing letters. They also chose an annual "Secretary of the Year," and at least in 1966, a "Boss of the Year." They met routinely at restaurants — freestanding and hotel, — in local Chamber of Commerce's meeting room, and in members' homes. Elizabeth Baker spoke before the Desk Set Chapter on Friday, December 1, 1950, at 8pm on the Deck of the Corpus Christi's White Plaza Hotel. The topic of her talk was "Travel, an American Heritage," in which she stressed "the new meaning of travel in these times." She displayed forty-three items need on a vacation in a suitcase-packing demonstration.[679]

- **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 1394
- **Census tract information:** In 1950 census tract data for Nueces County, in which Corpus Christi is located, shows that 17.6% of the women were employed, and of that number, 28.1% were indeed in clerical positions. 16.9% of the female population were single, and 71.2% were married.

--- "Women factory, retail workers."

- **"Just For The Ladies" at the Delco-Remy Division (Anderson, Indiana)**
  - Delco-Remy was founded (first as Remy Electric Company) in Anderson, Indiana, in 1896, and it incorporated in 1901. In 1916, they purchased their competition, Dayton Engineering Laboratories Company (Delco).[680] By 1918, Delco-Remy began operating as a subsidiary of General Motors.[681] The Delco Remy Division asked Carol Lane #7 (Carol Lane, 1954-1957) to come present to "just" lady employees on December 2, 1954. Her talk was entitled, "Vagabondage, U.S.A." It seems to have taken place on location at the plant.[682]
  - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 696
  - **Census tract information:** According to the 1950 census, 20.1% of women in Madison County, Indiana, worked outside the home. Of that number, 21.8% of them were operatives, but only 1.4% were craftspeople or foremen. 27.6% were in clerical work, and 10.7% were in professional or technical professions. 26.3% of the entire population had graduated from high school.

--- "Women's business and professional associations.

- **Elko (Nevada) Business and Professional Women's Club**

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[679]"National Secretaries To Hear Talk by Travel Expert Dec. 1," *The Corpus Christi Caller-Times*, November 24, 1950, 12.

[680]"Delco-Remy Moments in Time," Delco My History, http://www.delcoremyhistory.com/momentsintime.htm (Accessed October 14, 2020).

[681]"Delco Remy International Changes Name," Auto Service World, July 26, 2004, https://www.autoserviceworld.com/jobbernews/delco-remy-international-changes-name/ (Accessed October 14, 2020).

[682]"Carol Lane To Speak To Class," *Anderson Daily Bulletin*, December 1, 1954, 2.

- Business and Professional Women's Club in Elko, Nevada, was meeting and inviting others to their clubhouse by at least by 1931.[683] The group's membership must have included a number of women in public relation as they more than a few times held dinners or luncheons to address the topic. They do not show up in Newspapers.com or internet searches after 1968; however, that year they established a small loan fund for students at Elko Community College to cover the cost of fees and books. The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs was founded in July 1919, and remains a national organization. "Throughout the years, three major issues shaped BPW's legislative agenda: elimination of sex discrimination in employment, the principle of equal pay, and the need for a comprehensive equal rights amendment."[684] On November 6, 1950, at the Ranch Inn in Elko, Bea Brady (Carol Lane, 1950-1951) addressed a meeting hosted by Business and Professional Women's Club open to all city-wide clubwomen. Her talk was entitled, "You've Earned a Vacation."[685]
- **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 762
- **Census tract information:** Elko is the county seat of Elko County, which was not represented in the 1950 census, nor were any of its surrounding counties. In 1950, the population of the county was 11,654.[686]

- **Convention of Telephone Answering Services (El Paso, Texas)**
  - An answering service, or Telephone Answering Service (TAS) as they are known today, is "A business that handles outsourced inbound calls for one or more clients, and acts as a virtual receptionist."[687] Legend has it, answering services for physicians began in 1923, in Richmond, Virginia, as Mrs. Smith's Doctors Exchange. It was started by Margaret Redmond Smith, a reportedly bedridden woman who offered to answer calls for local doctors.[688] Answering services in decades to come took calls for other clients such as dentists, plumbers, veterinarians and other professional workers. The Mountain States Telephone Services, consisting of independent answering services in West Texas, New

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[683]"Clubs of Elko Join in Dinner," *Reno Gazette-Journal*, March 14, 1931, 7.

[684]"About," Business and Professional Women, https://www.bpwsoc.org/about-us.html (Accessed October 14, 2020).

[685]Upwall, Sylvia, 9.

[686]"Elko County, Nevada," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elko_County,_Nevada#Adjacent_counties (Accessed October 14, 2020).

[687]"ACC Telecom: The Future of Telecommunications Since 1979," ACC Telecom, https://www.acctelecom.com/blog/acc-telecom-the-future-of-telecommunications-since-1979/ (Accessed October 14, 2020).

[688]*S. 1086, the Telecommunications Infrastructure Act of 1993: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Communications of the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, United States Senate, First Session, July 14 and September 8, 1993*, United States, United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation. Subcommittee on Communications (Washington, D.C. : U.S. Government Printing Office, 1994), 228.

Mexico and Colorado, held their annual convention in El Paso, Texas, in 1966. Today the Association of TeleServices International (ATSI) represents more than 200 answering services and call centers worldwide, including Telephone Answering Services (TAS).[689] Jane Small (Carol Lane, 1965-1971) addressed their annual Convention of Telephone Answering Services, on Wednesday, October 12, 1966, at their noon luncheon at the Holiday Inn in El Paso. She gave advice on how to travel with children and co-presented with a Gene Thomas on the topic, "Programmed Instructions and Training Telephone Secretaries."[690]

- **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 788
- **Census tract information:** El Paso is situated in El Paso County, and in 1960, 20.2% of the women in the population were employed. Of those, 30.2% were in clerical, an amount twice in number than the next categories of employment down: service work (14.2%) or professional/technical (14.6%). The white population of the county was 48.1% and black 1.2%. 36.4% graduated from high school, 7.2% from college.

- **Bega Chapter, American Business Women of America (Burlington, NC)**
  - The Bega Chapter of American Business Women of America, located in Burlington, North Carolina, was founded in July 1959 with thirteen members. By 1969, their membership had risen to eighty-five, the Bega Chapter formed "an expansion chapter" with forty-two members from the Graham Charter Chapter. They also awarded annual scholarships.[691] Lucia Cucullu presented to the group in February 1971.[692] The topic or title of her talk went unmentioned.
  - **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 597
  - **Census tract information:** Burlington, North Carolina is situated in Alamance County. In 1970, its percentage of employed women equaled 55%, and the highest yearly income bracket for women was in the $1-9.99 thousand range at 56.2%. 89.6% of those women drove to work. 4.5% walked. The total black population for the county was 17.7%, and yearly family incomes for that demographic was $1-9.99 thousand at 74.7%, compared with white families which were nearly split between $1-9.99 thousand (50.2%) and $10-24.99 thousand (44.9%).

--- "Women teachers/principals."

- **Sonoma County Primary Teachers Association (Sonoma, California)**
  - Sonoma County Primary Teachers Association was founded before May 1940. In 1951, they held a meeting at Grace Reformed Church in Sonoma. Among the

[689] "Advocacy," Association of TeleServices International, https://www.atsi.org/ (Accessed October 14, 2020).

[690] "Shell Travel Chief to Speak," *El Paso Herald-Post*, October 8, 1966.

[691] "11th Anniversary Observed By Beta [sic] Chapter of ABWA," *The Daily Times-News*, July 16, 1970, 23.

[692] "Mrs. Joe Williams Speaks To Bega Chapter of ABWA," *The Daily Times-News*, January 13, 1971, 26.

many presentations that day, Irma Cunha demonstrated how to launder clothes while traveling, as well as a "versatile wrinkle-proof traveling outfit that consisted of one basic dress matched with unusual accessories to transform it into distinctly different costumes for sport, afternoon or evening occasions. For the mother of inquisitive children…a plan for converting the family car into a college-on-wheels."[693]

- **Unique ID in Searchable Database:** 1095
- **Census tract information:** Sonoma County had a total population of 103,405 in 1950.[694] The percentage of women employed in the county in the same census year was 18.3%, out of which 14.5% were in professional or technical positions. The number of single women was 16.9%, and at least some of the 6.6% of the elementary children were between 10 and 19. The number of high school graduates generally equaled 39.3%.

[693]"Notes About Our County Schools," *The Press Democrat*, October 7, 1951, 24.

[694]"Sonoma County, California," Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sonoma_County,_California (Accessed October 14, 2020).

APPENDIX IV : A Brief, Curated, History of Shell

> "The present volume will amply fulfill its purpose if it can assist some future historian, twenty-five or fifty years hence, in arriving at a better appraisal of the Shell companies and their place on the American scene."[695]

It is outside the scope of this project to recount in significant detail the over one-hundred-year history of multinational company Royal Dutch Shell's activities in North America, under that name as well as Shell Oil Company and Shell Canada Limited/Limitée, Shell Union, and others. With few exceptions the outline below excludes Royal Dutch Shell Group's activities in Europe.

Shell's two-tiered ownership structure, maintained from afar during the post-WWII period under study, requires some explanation. The North American Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Country Chairs, and managers of the semi-independent subsidiaries maintained a certain degree of autonomy to oversee the needs of their regions until the 1980s. The unification and centralization of more localized American and Canadian marketing campaigns and public relations efforts makes more sense when considered in this context. Moreover, the company's long-time vertical integration — meaning control over all aspects of the supply chain from exploration to refining to transport to distribution and marketing — deserves some outlining for the reader. It provides a backdrop against which to analyze where, and perhaps why, they concentrated their national and regional marketing efforts geographically.

For a map of the geographical locations of the company's refining, transportation, and research and development endeavors, as well as headquarters during Carol Lane's tenure, see the

[695]Beaton, vii.

"Carol Lane's Activities v. *The Negro Motorist Green Book* and Federally Recognized Indian Lands (2016)" map under the "Data" tab.] What the map does not include are locations of pipelines. They will likely be included in future iterations of this project.

Much of this corporate history is drawn from Shell Oil Company, Shell Canada and Shell Global websites, Kendall Beaton's 1957 tome, *Enterprise in Oil: a History of Shell in the United States*, Tyler Priest's *Offshore Imperative: Shell Oil's Search for Petroleum in Postwar America* (2007), and *Marketing Oil* (2014) by M. Robinson. This represents a very selective history, mainly highlighting shifts in geographical location or company name, and probably asides about advertising and marketing.[696]

- **Early-mid 1800s**: Marcus Samuel, a business owner in London imported, exported, and sold decorative seashells from the Far East during an interior design craze for them. In the 1880s his sons took over the business and expanded into kerosene export. In 1897 the Samuel sons renamed their company the Shell Transport and Trading Company and launched a refinery in Dutch Borneo (now Borneo or "Pulau Borneo" in Malay, "Kalimantan" in Indonesian) in the Greater Sunda Islands.
- **1890:** Royal Dutch Company organized in The Hague.
- **In 1901**, international collaboration begins. Marcus Samuel, Jr., won the transport and distribution rights over newly discovered oil deposits in Texas (beating out Standard Oil).
- **By 1907** the company merged their transport company with Royal Dutch Petroleum Company to form the Royal Dutch Shell Group. During this time, they began oil exploration throughout Europe, South and North America.

[696]Shell Global spells it Royal Dutch Shell Group. Shell.us and Shell.ca place a backslash between "Dutch" and "Shell." Since 2005 the company has been called Royal Dutch Shell PLC, headquartered in The Hague and incorporated in the United Kingdom. Shell Canada has been wholly owned by Royal Dutch Shell since 2007.

- **In 1911**, the Royal Dutch Shell Group began operating in Canada in the Montreal area. By the end of the 1910s they also had a marine terminal near Vancouver.[697]
- **In 1912,** the Royal Dutch Shell Group founded the American Gasoline Company in New York City and begin opening up the Pacific Northwest for gasoline sales.
- **In 1912,** Roxana Petroleum Company organized in Oklahoma.
- **WWI era**: Royal Dutch Shell becomes the main fuel supplier of the British army
- **In 1915**, Shell opened its Martinez, CA, refinery, the first of its kind in the United States that maintained continuous production, or twenty-four hour a day manufacturing and processing of crude oil in this instance. In the same year it changes its name from American Gasoline Company to Shell Company of California, and takes over California Oilfields, Ltd.
- **Opening in 1918**, the Wood River Refinery, built by Roxana Petroleum near St. Louis, and was the first in the oil industry to install a thermal cracking unit to produce gasoline.
- **1919:** Roxana moves offices to Arcade Building in St. Louis.
- **In the 1920s,** Shell begins to issue credit cards on a limited basis.
- **In 1921**, Shell set off an oil boom in the Signal Hill area of Los Angeles. By late 1921 Shell had built or acquired over 200 retail service stations and by the end of 1925 2,913 stations were pumping Shell gasoline on the Pacific Coast of the United States.
- **In 1922**, Shell Union Oil Corporation forms and incorporates Shell Company of California, Union of Delaware, Roxana Petroleum Corporation, and Ozark Pipe Line Corporation.

[697]The Shell Oil Company website https://www.shell.us forwards a visitor to their site to Shell Global's website https://www.shell.com/ where one finds a much more comprehensive branding and corporate history. Using the Internet Archive's Wayback Machine function, I discovered as recently as 2017 that Shell.us provided a brief timeline of the Shell Oil Company in the United States, but no longer does.

- **In 1923**, Roxana purchases Tri-States Oil Company and begins selling Shell-branded gasoline for the first time in the Midwest. Chicago becomes the regional marketing division headquarters.
- **In 1925**, the first filling station in Montreal opens.
- **In 1926**, offices for the Royal Dutch Shell's subsidiary, The Shell Petroleum Corporation, open in St. Louis, MO.
- **1927**: the touring service begins to feature a Shell-branded road map and mileage chart. Dominguez refinery of Shell Company of California begins operation. Ozark Pipe Line Corporation changes its name to Shell Pipe Line Corporation.

- **In 1928**, Shell begins working with J. Walter Thompson on advertising and PR campaigns in California, and later in 1931 nationwide.
- **1928:** The Shell Development Company opened in Emeryville, CA (closed in 1966). Also, by this year 19 service stations functioned along the west coast in Canada.
- **1928:** Roxana changes name to Shell Petroleum Corporation.
- **In 1929**, Shell Oil Company of British Columbia incorporated, and in 1932, they opened their first refinery there at Shelburn. Shell Chemical Corporation organized to manufacture chemicals from petroleum by-products.
- **1929**: A precursor to the Shell Touring Service begins in Boston with the opening of Shell Eastern Petroleum Products, Inc. By December of that year, Shell Eastern begins marketing in the District of Columbia – Shell now operates nationwide, in all 48 states and Hawai'i. By 1930-31, Shell Eastern starts one in New York City.
- **1930:** New 29-story Shell building in San Francisco dedicated.

- **1931:** Shell Union acquires 50% interest in Shell Company of Canada, and changes name to Shell Oil Company of Canada, Ltd., and construction of Montreal refinery begins.
- **By 1931:** Shell Touring Service is available at all Service Stations in Canada.
- **In 1934**, Shell creates its in-house Shell Film Unit in the U.K. It lasts until the 1980s, eventually changing its name to Shell film and Video Unit.

  In 1936, Shell Eastern Petroleum Products, Inc., becomes Shell Eastern Division of Shell Union Oil Corporation; it is reorganized and marketing is handled by West Coast executives.
- **1937**: Shell Union Oil Corporation announces the expansion of its marketing facilities in New York.
- **In March 1939**, Shell Oil Company of San Francisco merged into Shell Petroleum Corporation, St. Louis becoming Shell Oil Company, Inc. By April of the same year, it took over Shell Eastern properties. San Francisco and New York offices maintain separate, local, vice presidents and department heads.
- **In 1939,** Shell also set up a small public relations team in St. Louis, although its executives combined with those in the New York headquarters in 1940. A marketing division remained until the 1960s.
- **1940:** New York becomes the head office. Regional marketing division established in Atlanta, Georgia.
- **1940s era forward (in the U.S. and Canada — earlier in Europe)**: Shell really begins marketing to women (see *Alice in Motorland*, 1944 in the "Publications & Columns" subsection under the "PR: Strategies" tab.)

- **WWII era**: at the beginning of the war, Shell manufactured 25% of the aviation gasoline used by the military. "[In] most Shell installations…women filled an interesting variety of jobs formerly held only by men. In marketing department depots, they became yard clerks and loaders; in drum-filling installations, they took on the jobs of men; they worked in service stations. In the refineries, women became truck drivers, machinists' assistants, blacksmiths' and electricians' helpers, car washers, warehouse counter "men," tank gaugers, tool room attendants, boilermakers' and welders' helpers, sample carriers, and in the refinery laboratories they practically took over from the men. At a refinery such as Martinez, women held some 20% of the jobs at the peak of the war effort, working 48 hours a week at all kinds of jobs except those requiring heavy lifting. Nationwide, the number of Shell's male employees declined by 3,000 between 1941 and 1945, while the women on the payroll increased by a like number."[698]
- **1942/43:** Shell Oil Company of Canada opens its Touring Office, led by Audrea Lear (Canadian Carol Lane, ca.1952-1969**.**
- **In 1943,** Shell Chemical Company takes over a government-owned butadiene plant at Torrance, California, to produce rubber for the war effort. In March 1955, bid and won it from the Office of Rubber Reserve. They sold it in 1972. [This is now referred to as the Del Amo Superfund Site.]
- **1945-1950**: Shell increases and streamlines marketing and public relations efforts, working internally and with advertising agencies such as J. Walter Thompson Co. (primarily) from the 1930s, and later Ogilvy, Benson & Mather and Kenyon & Eckhardt.
- **In 1947**, the American Petroleum Institute launches the Oil Industry Information Committee to which Shell lent "a heavy over-all contribution in time, money, and men."

[698]Beaton, 631.

- **ca. 1930-1947**: Claire Hoffman, Head of the Shell Touring Bureau/Service in New York City, is the face of Shell women-focused public relations program and predecessor of Carol Lane. Starting in 1947, she overlapped or traveled with Caroline Iverson who acted as researcher, booking agent, ghost writer of articles, supplied info for press releases to central PR, and eventually co-presenter.
- **From 1947-1950,** a "Shell marketing school" was revived under the direction of a Dr. Koch. It had originated in 1928 in the Martinez refinery, and he took it on the road until its first demise in the late 1930s.
- **1947-1948**: Carol Lane Program begins with Caroline Iverson, first using her own name and then under the pseudonym starting in 1948.
- **In 1949**, Shell Union Oil Corporation absorbs Shell Oil Company, Inc., and the name was changed again to Shell Oil Company. The San Francisco executives, who operated independently from the 1920s through the 1940s, were moved to New York's corporate headquarters in Rockefeller Center in 1949. Marketing execs remain. The American operations are now united as one entity.
- **1949**: A exploration and production office set up in Calgary, Alberta.
- **1950s**: Shell Oil and Shell Canada respond to increased postwar demand for automobile gasoline by renovating and updating many of its service stations. In the U.S. Shell discovers and oil and gas reserves in Louisiana and Texas. Houston and New Orleans offices maintain public relations teams.
- **1952**: Carol Lane Safety Award campaign kicks off in the U.S. and Canada. (Winds down circa 1963 in the U.S. and ca.1970 in Canada). Touring Service office opens in Atlanta, Georgia.

- **In 1952,** Canadian Oil Companies Limited builds what is now known as Shell's Sarnia Manufacturing Centre (AKA Corunna Refinery), near Sarnia, Ontario, Canada.
- **In 1953,** the company establishes its Shell Companies Foundation, Incorporated to support educational and other charitable causes.
- **1955**: Shell marketing in Alberta province begins with the opening of several service stations.
- **In 1955**, Shell begins allocating budgets for and establishing eighteen marketing divisions with managers (twelve on the East Coast, six on the West Coast).
- **In 1958**, Shell redesigned its service stations and introduced the ranch-style station, designed to blend in with the environment. Shell Canada moves its head office to Toronto, ON.
- **Around 1958**, Shell Oil in the U.S. begins working with advertising firm Kenyon & Eckhardt on institutional public relations work.
- **In 1960**, Shell begins a relationship with Ogilvy, Benson, & Mather to handle advertising for its petroleum products (ended in 1999), retaining J. Walter Thompson for its chemical division for a period, and later global advertising outside of the U.S. and Canada.
- **1963**: Shell Company of Canada, Ltd. officially changed its name to Shell Canada Limited.
- **Ca.1965/1966:** Shell eliminates eighteen marketing divisions in favor of four major regional ones: Eastern (New York City), Central (Chicago), Western (San Francisco), Southern (Atlanta).
- **In 1968**, Shell Canada was the first major oil company to open self-serve gas stations in Vancouver; and by 1971 they were doing so in the U.S.

- **In 1970**, Shell Oil moved its headquarters to Houston, TX. Shell Canada was the first Canadian company to remove lead from gas.
- **1971**: Shell introduces the first self-service filling station.
- **In 1972:** Shell moves into a new building in University Place and Common Street in New Orleans.
- **1974**: Carol Lane Program ends due to the 1970s oil crisis according to interviews with two Lane performers, and a post-Lane article about Elizabeth Baker (Carol Lane, 1949-1952). Shell Canada creates The Community Service Fund (CSF) "with a mandate to provide supplementary financial support to community organizations in which Shell employees are personally involved." (https://www.shell.ca/en_ca/about-us/who-we-are/canadian-history-timeline.html -- this archived URL may take a moment to load.)
- **In 1977**: Shell Centre skyscraper opens in Calgary (the headquarters from Toronto in 1984.

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